EUGENE VICTOR DEBS
FOREWORD

This little book is the joint work of a number of contributors, which has been compiled under the general editorship of Alexander Trachtenberg, Director of the Department of Labor Research of the Rand School of Social Science, and James Oneal, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. Benjamin Glassberg of the Rand School also rendered valuable assistance in the editorial work.

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The book is the result of a request made by the National Executive Committee that the Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science co-operate in the preparation of material for it.

The editorial committee believes that the book marks an advance over the bulky campaign books that have been prepared in the past, in that the material is much less in quantity, it is presented in a more popular style, statistics have been reduced to a minimum, while the information will prove of service to party speakers and editors and at the same time serve as a propaganda book among the workers.

The editorial committee takes this opportunity to express its thanks to all those who have contributed to the volume and helped in any way to make its publication possible.
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SECTION I

The Socialist Party

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS.

It is given to few great movements to be so wholly typified in the personality of a single being as the Socialist movement in America is in that of Eugene V. Debs. For Debs is Socialism incarnate. Debs is love, humanity, freedom. And Debs is a prisoner at Atlanta, serving a term of 10 years in the 65th year of his life.

Only in America with its boasted liberty is such a paradox possible. The greatest living American is shut up behind bars and kept there along with hundreds of other men and women by the broken autocrat of the White House, because he dared preach the truth as he saw it, because he raised his powerful voice against the injustice of war and the persecution of Socialists and others who opposed the "war to end war."

It was at Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918, that Debs delivered the speech for which he is now serving a jail sentence. He made the speech after due deliberation, and during his trial refused to withdraw a single statement. If it was wrong to oppose war he was willing to suffer even if he stood alone.
On April 13, 1919, almost a half year after the war with Germany had actually ended, Debs entered the Moundsville (W. Va.) prison. In his parting message to the friends and comrades who had accompanied him he said:

“I enter the prison doors a flaming revolutionist—my head erect, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquerable.”

On May 13, 1920, 13 months after his entry into prison, the Socialist Party at its national convention nominated Debs as its standard bearer for the fifth time. The demonstration which followed the nomination was unsurpassed in the history of the Socialist movement, as delegates and spectators applauded and cheered with unabated enthusiasm for 30 minutes.

On May 29, 1920, there took place in the warden’s office at Atlanta, a spectacle unique in modern history. A candidate was notified of his nomination for his country’s highest office clad in a convict’s garb. Always anxious to serve as a simple soldier in the ranks and avoid positions of prominence, he accepted the nomination for president, with the hope that he would help to unite the workers of America in an aggressive campaign against capitalism and reaction.

Eugene V. Debs has been the real leader of the Socialist movement in America for the past 20 years. Indeed he is one of the original founders of the Socialist movement in the United States. Leadership is distasteful to him. He leads by virtue of his example; nothing else. “I am no Moses to lead you out of the wilderness” he says, “because if I could lead you out, someone else could lead you in again.” Debs at the present moment enjoys the love and confidence of the mass of the plain people of America as no other American does, and justly so. At the same time Debs is without doubt the best hated man in America. No man is so feared by the capitalist class.

His Life.

Eugene Victor Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, on November 5, 1855. His parents, Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Marie Mettrich (“Dandy and Daisy” the children affectionately called them) were of French descent, having come to the United States from Colmar, Alsace. Eugene was one of ten children, and like millions of other children of workers, he was compelled to leave school in his fourteenth year.

In May, 1870, at the age of 14, he began to work in the shops of the Terre Haute and Indianapolis railroad,
and later as a fireman on that road, now part of the Pennsylvania system. He continued this work for a number of years and in 1874 took a clerkship with a large wholesale grocers' concern in his native city.

Before Debs was 20, he had helped to organize a lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (February 27, 1875). He likewise aided in the organization of the switchmen, the Railway Carmen, the Railway Telegraphers, and other unions. In a very real sense, he is the father of the powerful "Big Four" brotherhoods. Recently, he was voted a life membership by the Indiana branch of the Locomotive Firemen.

A Union Official.

At the 1878 convention of his union, when he was but 22, he was made associate editor of the Firemen's Magazine. Two years later, he was made secretary-treasurer, and editor and manager of the periodical. He had arrived as a labor leader of power and force. Old Josh Leach, the patriarch of the Firemen, said at the St. Louis convention of his organization, "I left a tow-headed boy in charge of the Brotherhood in Terre Haute. He is going to be heard from."

At about this time, Debs made his first political speech. He had joined a local debating society, and everything on earth, and under the earth, and in the seas, had been settled in the manner of the country debating society. Debs himself writes how he became a speaker. It was because he was interested in what he was speaking about. "No one ever made a great speech on a mean subject" he wrote; "Slavery never inspired an immortal thought." Likewise, he was a great reader, omnivorously devouring everything that came within his reach.

He had become a popular figure in Terre Haute, and it was considered quite an event when he made a public speech in favor of the Democratic ticket. But although he was offered a place on the Democratic ticket as candidate for Congress again and again he always declined. He did serve two terms as a member of the Indiana legislature, and one term as city clerk of Terre Haute, both times as a Democrat.

During the years up to 1893, Debs traveled tens of thousands of miles, organizing the railroad men. He was an indefatigable worker. He loved his work—he loved his railroad men. But at the end of the tour, he was always back again in Terre Haute, with his mother.

In 1892, he left his organization to organize the American Railway Union. He had lifted the Brotherhood out
of debt. He was drawing $4,000 a year—and his com-
rades begged him to stay with them. They offered him
any salary he wanted. They offered him a free trip to
Europe, a year’s pay as a bonus, and $2,000 into the
bargain. But he declined. He had seen the vision of
One Big Union, and he organized it at Uhlich’s Hall in
North Clark Street, Chicago, accepting from it infinite
toil, and $75 a month.

Within a short time, he won the great victory of the
Great Northern strike, beating “Jim” Hill to a standstill.
The strike began on April 13, 1894 and lasted but 18
days without the slightest trace of violence or disorder.
Then came the Pullman striked, called against Debs’ ad-
vise, with its manufactured violence, and its Federal
troops under General Miles, sent into Chicago by Grover
Cleveland over Governor Altgeld’s protest.

Then the cars began to burn, and men to be slugged.
Following this period of lawlessness came the conspiracy
trial against Debs and his associates, a trial that was
mysteriously adjourned when a juror became “ill”—and
hasn’t recovered yet. Everything was going along well
when Judges Woods and Grosscup enforced an injunc-
tion of Judge William Howard Taft, an injunction that
denied the strikers every right they had as citizens.
Debs, Sylvester Kelliher and three other strike leaders
scornfully refused to obey the injunction, “and they were
sent to jail for contempt of a court that was contempti-
ble,” as Ben Hanford put it. And just before he went,
he received this message: “Stick to your principles re-
gardless of consequences—Your father and mother.”
Debs went to Woodstock jail a union man, he says, and
came out a Socialist. It was Victor L. Berger who
visited Debs in jail, and made a Socialist of him.

Woodstock Jail.

At the end of Debs’ six months’ term, in November
1894, over 150,000 workers met the leader at the train
and gave him a welcome such as no returning warrior
has ever received in American history. At the armory
on the lake front, Henry Demarest Lloyd began his great
speech of welcome with these words, “From the begin-
ing of time, the bird of freedom has been a jailbird.”

In the following years, Debs undertook to pay the
debts of the shattered A. R. U.—for which he was not
at all legally responsible. He lectured in every part of
the country, riding in smokers all night, to save Pullman
fares. He spoke to vast audiences everywhere, his won-
derful eloquence, his humanity, his enthusiasm, captivat-
ing all who came into contact with him.
In 1896, there was a determined attempt to nominate Debs for President on the Populist ticket, and the move achieved considerable strength. In 1897, the old A. R. U. formally dissolved, and became the Social Democracy of America. In the following year, in the same Uhlich's Hall in which the A. R. U. had been born, there was a convention from which the anti-political, utopian and communistic elements were excluded and the Social-Democratic party founded. Debs' closest associates in that work were Seymour Stedman and Victor L. Berger.

From that time, Debs has been in the service of the Socialist party. He was candidate for president in 1900, 1904, 1908 and 1912. Each year he polled a greater vote than in the previous election. He aroused countless millions by his glorious eloquence. With the advancing years, his spirit has become more and more fiery and his ardor greater. He has gradually become the inspiration of the Socialist movement. No one could come to Debs with a request without having the request more than complied with. He has gone into strike regions at the risk of life, and he has faced death numbers of times in the interest of the workers.

Then came the war.

When the St. Louis Convention was in session, Debs was seriously ill and was unable to attend, but a few weeks later, he was again on his feet, carrying his burning message from one end of the land to another. As if feverish lest there be not time enough left to him, he spoke again and again.

Some "intellectuals" recanted their Socialism and joined the Jingoes. To help the Socialist movement hold steadfast to its stand for internationalism, 'Gene Debs stepped forward, and made his Canton speech. Every Socialist received renewed inspiration from this heroic act.

In Jail Again.

And so Debs is in jail, firm and unconquerable. He does not complain, nor does he ask for better treatment than the murderers and the felons around him. And he will not ask for pardon, although it has been repeatedly said that the slightest hint of "repentance" on his part will bring a full and free pardon. But he will not bend.

Debs' writings and speeches bear the imprint of a remarkably beautiful style. The messages of freedom from industrial slavery which he has carried to every corner of America are expressed in a manner that captures the imagination and holds it much as Lincoln was
wont to do. The dignity, the beauty, the poetic charm of his writings have rarely been equalled in American prose. Take for example the closing passage of his address to the court at Cleveland before sentence was passed upon him.

"When the mariner, sailing over tropic seas, looks for relief from his weary watch, he turns his eyes toward the Southern Cross, burning luridly above the tempest-vexed ocean. As the midnight approaches, the Southern Cross begins to bend, and the whirling worlds change their places, and with starry finger-prints the Almighty marks the passage of Time upon the dial of the Universe; and though no bell may beat the glad tidings, the look-out knows that the midnight is passing—that relief and rest are close at hand.

"Let the people take heart and hope everywhere, for the cross is bending, the midnight is passing and joy cometh with the morning."

And again in the opening remarks of his address to the Court with rare beauty and strength, he paints his great love and sympathy for all classes of men, everywhere:

"Your honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Fortunate is he who has had the privilege of knowing this great humanist, this lover of mankind, this internationalist whose affection breaks down frontiers, levels barriers of race, creed, color and nationality and penetrates the concrete of prison walls.

THIS IS OUR YEAR!
By Eugene V. Debs.

The laws of evolution have decreed the downfall of the capitalist system. The handwriting is upon the wall in letters of fire. The trusts are transforming industry and next will come the transformation of the trusts by the people. Socialism is inevitable. Capitalism is breaking down and the new order evolving from it is clearly the Socialist commonwealth.
The present evolution can only culminate in industrial and social democracy, and in alliance therewith and preparing the way for the peaceable reception of the new order is the Socialist movement, arousing the workers and educating and fitting them to take possession of their own when at last the struggle of the centuries has been crowned with triumph.

In the coming social order, based upon the social ownership of the means of life and the production of wealth for the use of all instead of the private profit of the few, for which the Socialist Party stands in this and every other campaign, peace will prevail and plenty for all will abound in the land. The brute struggle for existence will have ended, and the millions of exploited poor will be rescued from the skeleton clutches of poverty and famine. Prostitution and the white slave traffic, fostered and protected under the old order, will be a horror of the past.

The social conscience and the social spirit will prevail. Society will have a new birth, and the race a new destiny. There will be work for all, leisure for all, and the joys of life for all.

Competition there will be, not in the struggle for existence, but to excel in good work and social service. Every child will then have an equal chance to grow up in health and vigor of body and mind, and an equal chance to rise to its full stature and achieve success in life.

These are the ideals of the Socialist Party and to these ideals it has consecrated all its energies and all its powers. The members of the Socialist Party are the party and their collective will is the supreme law. The Socialist Party is organized and ruled from the bottom up. There is no boss and there never can be unless the party deserts its principles and ceases to be a Socialist Party.

The party is supported by a dues-paying membership. It is the only political party that is so supported. Each member has not only an equal voice, but is urged to take an active part in all the party councils. Each local meeting place is an educational center. The party relies wholly upon the power of education, knowledge, and mutual understanding. It buys no vote and it makes no canvass in the red-light districts.

The press of the party is the most vital factor in its educational propaganda and the workers are everywhere being aroused to the necessity of building up a working class press to champion their cause and to discuss current issues from their point of view for the enlightenment of the masses.
The campaign before us gives us our supreme opportunity to reach the American people. They have but to know the true meaning of Socialism to accept its philosophy, and the true mission of the Socialist Party to give it their support. Let us all unite as we never have before to place the issue of Socialism squarely before the masses. For years they have been deceived, misled and betrayed, and they are now hungering for the true gospel of relief and the true message of emancipation.

This is our year in the United States. Socialism is in the very air we breathe. It is the grandest shibboleth that ever inspired men and women to action in this world. In the horizon of labor, it shines as a new-risen sun and it is the hope of all humanity.

Onward, comrades, onward in the struggle, until Triumphant Socialism proclaims an Emancipated Race and a New World!
Seymour Stedman was born in Hartford, Connecticut on July 14, 1871. His ancestors were of revolutionary stock, and among his relatives were Edmund Clarence Stedman and William Cullen Bryant. His father was well enough off at first, but reverses drove his family west, and they settled in Solomon City, Kansas. Here a series of droughts wiped out the family fortunes, and young Seymour went to work tending sheep at a wage of $5 a month.

When the boy was ten years old the family came to Chicago and he went to work, first in the Crane Brothers Manufacturing company at $3 a week and later as a messenger boy. His first strike experience was in 1883.

"We went on strike" said Stedman, "because the work was too hard. We went out for shorter hours. I was a uniformed boy, and I had to work until 7 four nights a week, and to 9, 10 and 11 the other three nights. I knew what I was striking for."

Later he got a job with the firm of Baker and Greeley, where he had to dust desks, sweep floors and read. The two members of the firm were writing lives of Lincoln, and taking trips abroad, and there was little left for the curly headed boy to do, except to read.

At nights, he read works on economics, and he argued long hours, as thoughtful boys will, with many people, including several philosophical anarchists, settling the affairs of the universe every night. He was a free trader—the family was of that persuasion almost by tradition—and he soon became a Single Taxer.

At the age of 17, it entered Stedman's head that he wanted to be a lawyer. He went to the dean of the Northwestern University School of Law, told him that he had achieved the 3rd grade of school, and no more, and asked to be admitted into the law school. After an hour’s quizzing on the boy’s general reading and intelligence, the dean said, "I will pass you."
During the day, Stedman held to his “cinch” job, reading law, Ingersoll, Herbert Spencer and economics to while away his spare time, and attending lectures at night. He made a fine scholastic record, and whenever there were any students exempted from examination, Stedman was one of them.

At the age of 18, the youth decided that he wanted to speak for the Democratic Party. “I knew the tariff thoroughly” he said, “from the nursing bottle to the brimstone tax of $10 a ton.”

Before he was 20, he was already known as one of the foremost orators of Chicago.

In the same year he was admitted to the bar, and tried his first case before Judge Altgeld.

Then came the great strike of the American Railway Union.

With the coming of the Federal troops under General Nelson A. Miles, sent by Grover Cleveland over the protest of Governor Altgeld, Stedman left the Democratic party, never to return. In quitting the party, he deliberately turned his back on a career of political advancement that might easily have led him to the United States Senate or to the Cabinet.

The A. R. U.

Stedman wanted to help in the strike. He went around to strike headquarters, but some of the men wouldn’t trust a Democratic lawyer. Then he got a friend named Kelliher to vouch for him, and he was given the pass word, which was, significantly enough, “READ, THINK AND STUDY.”

He got to be one of the leading speakers of the A. R. U. strike. He joined the union as a former telegraph worker, and he came into contact with the leader of the strike, Eugene V. Debs.

When Debs was sent to Woodstock jail for violating an injunction that would have deprived the workers of every one of their legal and constitutional rights, Stedman went to see him many times. He came back to Chicago with Debs on the triumphal journey when his term was over, and marched in the great procession of 150,000 workers who greeted their beloved leader on his return to Chicago.

From that time, Stedman’s work and Debs’ were closely intertwined, even to the year 1920, when the two old Comrades are associated on the national presidential ticket.

In 1896, Stedman, together with most of the Socialists of the Middle West, were in the People’s party. He
went to the St. Louis convention of that party, representing the Fifth Congressional district. Stedman started a "boom" for Debs as candidate for president. At one time, he had 412 written pledges, out of 1300 delegates, with Debs stock rising fast. The Bryan forces offered Debs second place, if they would take Bryan as candidate for President. But Stedman, Victor L. Berger and others, would not compromise. The Debs boom, however, was killed by the simple trick of shutting off the gas lights; and the next morning, Henry Demarest Lloyd read a message from Debs declining a nomination that could easily have been his had he desired it. Stedman supported Bryan in the 1896 campaign.

In 1897, new developments took place. In that year, the remnants of the great A. R. U. came together for a convention. It was nearly dead. Debs had become a Socialist, and at the A. R. U. convention, which was in reality a membership meeting (June 18th, 1897) the organization was changed into the Social Democracy of America, and merged with a communistic organization, the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, which had as its object the colonization of some western state by Socialists.

Victor L. Berger sought to convert the Social Democracy—which his Milwaukee Social Democratic Union had joined—into a political party of Socialism. A committee including Debs, Stedman, Berger, and other old time Socialists met nights at McCoy's hotel, Chicago, perfecting the organization. But in the meanwhile, the colonizers were trying to destroy the political character of the organization and continue as a communistic organization, committed to colonizing Colorado and making it a Socialist state. They actually sold shares of stock in the colony. A number of anarchists and utopian communists utterly unfriendly to Socialism likewise joined for the purpose of "capturing" the organization. The "showdown" came in the 1898 convention, held June 7th, at Uhlich's Hall, North Clark Street, Chicago, the same hall in which the A. R. U. had been launched, and from which the great strike had been called.

The Social Democracy.

There were 70 delegates, and Debs presided. The colonizers had enlisted as delegates many out-and-out anarchists, including Lucy Parsons and Emma Goldman, who had come there to swamp the convention and capture the organization. The debate on the colonization scheme lasted until 2:30 A. M., Stedman closing the de-
bate for the anti-colonization faction in a memorable address. The convention then voted, 53 to 37 in favor of the colonization scheme.

The 37 withdrew, held a caucus, and at the Hull House next day, launched the Social Democratic Party of America, with Eugene V. Debs as chairman of the executive committee, and Stedman a member of the executive committee.

Since that day, Seymour Stedman has continued his work as a loyal, devoted and brilliant member of the Socialist Party. He has been a delegate to practically every party convention, and in 1908, he received 46 convention votes for Vice President to 106 for Ben Hanford. He has run for nearly every office "except United States Senator," he says, "and I suppose that I haven't run for that because they are afraid I will be elected."

He has served a number of unions as their counsel, and from time to time, he is called upon to repel tenders of nominations for judge and other high offices by one or another of the old parties.

In November, 1909, the Cherry Mine disaster shocked the world. Stedman investigated the disaster and proved the responsibility of the company by showing 27 major and minor infractions of the law, leading directly to the explosion. The maps of the mines were either hidden or destroyed by the company, but Stedman drew a map, getting his material by skillful cross-examination, a map that was later printed in the Chicago Tribune. Stedman was retained as attorney for the coroner in that case.

In 1913, he investigated the West Virginia mine strike for the United Mine Workers, and in 1914, the Calumet copper strike.

In 1912, Stedman was elected to the Legislature and served for one term. He was a member of the Judiciary committee and he made it a rule that no bill should die in committee. As a result, every one of his Socialist bills was taken out of committee and debated affirmatively on its merits.

Espionage Cases.

In later years, Stedman's work has been largely defending espionage cases. He had charge of the cases of Debs, the five Chicago Socialists (Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker), the case of Rose Pastor Stokes, the case of Scott Nearing and the American Socialist Society, J. O. Bentall, Max Eastman, John Reed, Art Young and the other Masses editors, the Syracuse Socialists, and many others. He was associated with Mor-
ris Hillquit in the Albany "trial"—and he can boast that except for Debs, not one of his clients is in prison today.

At the outbreak of the war, Stedman espoused the unpopular position of the party, and wrote and spoke much on the party's anti-war stand. On the resignation of John Spargo from the party and the National Executive Committee, Stedman was elected to fill the N. E. C. vacancy, and was re-elected a year later. In 1917, he spoke in the New York campaign, making a brilliant address in Madison Square Garden.

Recently, Stedman has been commuting between Chicago, New York, Albany and other places, defending Comrades on trial, delivering superb addresses at great mass meetings, petitioning the President for the release of Debs, debating his late opponents in Albany, and calling upon Debs at Atlanta.

Stedman is still a young man, only 49. He has behind him more than a generation of work for Socialism. He is loyal to his cause, enthusiastic in its advocacy, and one of its most eloquent orators.

In the campaign, Stedman takes his place beside his old partner and Comrade of 1894, and of 1897 and '98. He is the Voice of Labor, and he will bring the glad news of the rising Socialist tide to the workers everywhere, putting hope and optimism in their hearts, where there has dwelt sorrow and despair.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

By Seymour Stedman

I accept the nomination you tender me, deeply appreciating the confidence and comradeship with which it comes, and pledge my best efforts to meet the duties and requirements of the task you have set for me.

Our beloved standard bearer is mute by the judgment of a harsh and unreasonable interpretation of war-time legislation. His imprisonment is continued by a ruthless despotic chief of the Democrats, supported by a Republican Congress. Yet his clarion call will rally together all the intelligent workers of hand and brain, all who love liberty and believe in freedom and humanity.

The aim of our party is to transform the present capitalist system into a collective and co-operative society. We have always in the past advocated a peaceful change and this high hope is still cherished by us.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth, there were obvious symptoms of the breakdown and decay of capitalist so-
ciety. Prices for the necessities of life were continuously rising, accompanied by a vast number of unemployed — the capitalist paradox, unemployment and scarcity — this condition prevailed within the dominion of every industrial nation, and was reflected even in countries predominately agricultural. Trustified industries had reached mammoth proportions, and following the rise of the industrial capitalist class, a new class came into existence — the finance group — extending its investments into every land, seeking foreign fields of exploitation and large returns from investments. The threatened crash and breakdown was interrupted by the world war, the great massacre and murder-lust, the unholy offspring of international finance and dynastic imperialism.

The masses of our people entered into this conflict with lofty ideals. The humane declarations of the President, in depth and breadth were unmatched in all history. Inspired by this world crusade for democracy, justice and lasting peace, thousands of the bravest and the best, with full faith, rallied to the support of the Allies' cause.

The President of the United States pledged the faith of our people to exalted purposes in matchless phrases. The fourteen points became historic. Secret treaties were to be abolished. The dark chambers of charlatans pretending to preserve the peace of the world by a balance of power, was to go forever.

Self-determination of nations was to be recognized and guaranteed, a cohesive nationalism encouraged as an essential basis for internationalism.

The Armistice came and the victor nations assembled to make a lasting peace, a peace "without sting."

"Open Covenants."

At the very threshold of this conference the curtains were drawn, the sunlight excluded and in darkness the people of the world became the pawns and toys of designing, grasping, hating and revengeful men. The faith pledged by the people of this country was broken by their representatives.

Without reference to race or natural boundaries, they have carved up Germany, Middle Europe and Asia Minor, parcelling out oil, minerals, forests and trading rights among the victors and creating irresistible causes for new world wars.

Self-determination meant to our party and comrades what it said. It was a declaration which first came to life from a convention of our party and at this hour we are the only political party in the United States which stands for keeping the faith and recognizing the Russian
Socialist Republic, the only party at this hour in the United States which demands the recognition of the Irish Republic.

India is a vassal and subject country of many millions of people. They too are not less entitled to self-determination. It is a fundamental principle of democracy that the people of a country are the source of all its political and industrial rights and power.

To the charge that we are meddling in foreign affairs by these declarations, we reply that all the allied countries accepted, expressly or by their silence, the declaration made by the President as the purposes for which we entered the conflict.

As the recognized and only genuine internationalist movement, we favor a league of free peoples administered by delegates elected directly by and responsible to the people.

We denounce the proposed league of nations as an organization of international capitalists banded together for the purpose of subjugating and exploiting the peoples of the world.

The proposed League of Nations breaks into the established traditions of this country "against outstanding alliance with foreign countries." It constitutes the grouping of international bandits who propose to subjugate and exploit the workers in every civilized and uncivilized country.

The League of Nations in Part Thirteen, with forty articles, makes a provision for a conference of twenty-four persons, twelve to represent the governments, six to represent the employers and six to represent the workers. And in this it is provided that the League of Nations may prevent the adoption or compel the repeal of laws for the benefit of the working class in this country.

I call attention to the above provision with an analysis which appears in the Congressional Record for October 29, 1919, Pages 8137 to 8145, inclusive.

On November 11, 1918, the Armistice was signed. War then ended, yet oppressive war legislation remains unrepealed and the President of the United States recently announced that these laws would continue to be enforced.

The Espionage Act is today in full force and effect, the most cowardly, brutal and inexcusable act ever passed by political representatives of the capitalists. For a citizen to announce that the war was a commercial and industrial war was construed a crime for which hundreds were sent to the penitentiary.
Notwithstanding this, the President of the United States announced in his address in Turin that "a country is owned and dominated by the capital that is invested in it. I do not need to instruct you gentlemen in that fundamental idea." And in 1919, in the city of St. Louis, he said, "Does not every man know, does not every woman know; nay, I will say, does not every child know, that this was a commercial war?"

Many a citizen who stated this fact became a felon.

Freedom of speech has become a byword; the liberty of the press is a lost liberty; representative government is attacked and successfully throttled in the state legislature of New York; the citizens of a congressional district have twice been denied representation by denying its elected representative his seat and participation in Congress; newspapers, the most enlightened in the country, are denied the use of the mails; mob violence and murder has been and is being tolerated and approved; houses have been searched and papers seized and people arrested without warrant or legal procedure.

Large industries go unchecked in grabbing profits; the railroads are handed back to private privilege with a loan and guaranteed dividends; the miners and railroad workers are crushed by injunctions and indictments, and tried under war statutes for offenses charged to have been committed within the last few months. And now, by no means do we behold a relaxation. The most firmly entrenched capitalists of the world are in this country. The world war has solidified and united them. They control the press and the avenues of information and the economic power and wealth of the country.

The closing of war in Europe opens more clearly the class conflict. There is no middle ground and no moderate sublime phrase can conceal the big truth. We are drifting into a firmly established capitalist despotism with thousands of spies, reckless power and subdued workers. Capitalism may topple over and bring in its wake chaos, starvation and destruction; to meet this impending change intelligently, to avert this chaos and destruction, our party offers the only program, sane and practical.

We are pre-eminently the American party, because we stand four-square with the ideals and traditions now betrayed by self-styled patriots. We are pre-eminently the party of civilization and progress because we are the only party which has the courage to face the impending breakdown without compromise. We offer the only possible solution for the preservation of civilization.
The ever increasing cost of living, shortage of coal cars, scarcity in coal production, high interest rates, increasing unemployment, calls for an immediate remedy.

We declare the remedy now,—socialize the railroads, the coal and metalliferous mines, now; the flour mills and stockyards, now; open unused land to cultivation, now; prepare to substitute for this capitalistic oligarchy, the social ownership and democratic management of the means of production and the control of government for the producers, by the producers.

Our prophesies of the past have been fulfilled. When the hurricane of passion and hate swept across the country, our party weathered the gale. Our comrades stood the storm-shock and now rise to the call. When we behold the trees twist and bend before the hurricane, and they rise again and again; finally, after the storm has passed, to stand erect, triumphant in the clear sunlight, we know that down beneath the soil the strength of thousands of roots has been tested; they have held; they have taken their grip and the large trunks stand true because the roots run deep. So, the candidates of our party know that their strength and power for the fleeting hours of an election campaign rests upon the deep strength, the determination and the will of the working-class which is the base and power of the movement.

Mere political issues will not meet the requirements of today's social problems. Economic readjustment of a fundamental character must be made, and can be made peacefully if we prevail. We enter the conflict with the call “from the dungeon to liberty,” “from the white walls of Atlanta Bastille, to the White House at Washington.” Brave workers fired with the zeal for work in a great cause, respond.

THE PLACE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
in the
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1920.*

In the nominating convention of 1920, the Socialist Party is confronted by a tense and unusual situation.

Within the last year all the powers of darkness and reaction have united in a concerted attack upon the Socialist movement unparalleled in ferociousness and lawlessness.

The obvious object of the provocative onslaught is to crush the spirit and paralyze the struggles of the Socialist movement, or to goad it into a policy of despera-

*From the opening speech of Morris Hillquit at the National Socialist Convention, New York City, May 8, 1920.
tion and lawlessness, thus furnishing its opponents the pretext for wholesale violent reprisals and physical extermination.

The great question before this convention is, Will the Socialists of America prove true enough and brave enough to survive the attack and to withstand the provocation? **They will!**

Persecuted, defamed and outlawed as they may be, the Socialists of America enter into the national campaign of 1920 with frame erect, spirit unbroken, and enthusiasm unchecked, determined to continue the battle without let-up or relaxation. Confident of the righteousness of our cause and the imminence of our victory, we defy and challenge the combined powers of capitalist reaction.

For while our frightened profiteers are engaging in a stupid campaign to kill our movement by violence, every social force at home and abroad is working irresistibly for the triumph of Socialism.

In Europe, where the ruling classes are wiser than ours, one nation after another is surrendering to the overwhelming tide of the Socialist movement. The great working-class republic of Russia has survived all counter-revolutionary attacks, domestic and foreign, and now after a continuous and embittered struggle for thirty months, it stands before the world more strongly enthroned, more hopeful and confident than ever.

In Sweden and Czecho-Slovakia, in Germany and Austria, Socialists are largely in control of the government.

In England and Italy, in France, and in the Scandinavian countries, the Socialist workers are fast gaining political power. The most enlightened nations have openly or tacitly recognized that Socialism alone has the moral and intellectual resources to rebuild and revivify the shattered world, and in this as in all other vital currents of modern life, the United States cannot effectively or permanently seclude itself from the rest of the world.

Nor do we, American Socialists, depend for our hope of success solely upon the precedent and example of Europe. The conditions in our own country and the record of our own party are the gauge of our ultimate victory here.

We have nothing to retract, nothing to apologize for, in connection with our stand in recent years.

When Congress committed the United States to participation in the world war, ours was the only organized political voice in the country to protest. We declared that the inhuman slaughter in Europe was born in a sanguinary clash of commercial interests and imperialistic ambitions.
We warned our countrymen that the savage contest of arms would bring no peace, no liberty and no happiness to the world, but that it would result in misery and desolation. Now the whole world is beginning to see the justice of our criticism and the tragic fulfillment of our prediction.

One year and a half after the formal cessation of hostilities, there is no peace in Europe; the victorious powers are intriguing among themselves for land grabs and national advantages, while Europe is starved and the ghastly wounds inflicted by the war upon the whole system of human civilization remain open and bleeding.

Today it is becoming increasingly clearer that if the treaty of “peace” is not rewritten all over, the war will have to be fought all over, unless the world-wide triumph of Socialism overtakes both the treaty and the war.

And as time goes on, the passions and prejudices aroused by the war will die out, its stultifying slogans will be forgotten, its horrors and ruins alone will stare accusingly at mankind from the blackest page of the world’s history.

We Kept the Faith.

Then a sobered America will look back with gratitude to the small band of Socialists who saw the danger and sounded the warning, and were persecuted and jailed. This will be one of the factors that will make the American people turn to Socialism.

And this time it must be not merely a general and abstract spirit of so-called Socialism, but the definite and organized Socialism of the Socialist Party which shall lead the fight of the workers.

Time and again the Socialist struggle has been side-tracked by the appearance of a so-called radical leader in the ranks of one of the old parties who held out the promise of immediate victory and salvation for the common people. Time and again have the common people believed in the false prophet and voted him into power, only to reap a heavy harvest of bitter disappointment.

If there remain any large sections of workers who put their naive faith in old-party messiahs, Woodrow Wilson must have effectively destroyed their faith. For be it remembered that in 1916, Woodrow Wilson ran as a radical. He promised practical Socialism through the short-cut of the Democratic party.

One-half of the normal supporters of the Socialist Party ticket cast their votes for him. Woodrow Wilson was elected over Charles E. Hughes by the vote of Socialists.
Mr. Wilson’s administration in the last three years has furnished the most striking and abhorrent proof of the fallacy of the “good man” theory in politics.

Wilson, the pacifist, drew us into the world’s most frightful war.

Wilson, the anti-militarist, imposed conscription upon the country in war, and urged a large standing army and a huge navy in peace.

Wilson, the democrat, arrogated to himself autocratic power grossly inconsistent with a republican form of government.

Wilson, the liberal, revived the mediaeval institutions of the inquisition of speech, thought and conscience. His administration suppressed radical publications, raided homes and meeting-places of its political opponents, destroyed their property and assaulted their persons.

Wilson, the apostle of The New Freedom, infested the country with stool pigeons, spies and provocative agents, and filled the jails with political prisoners.

Wilson, the champion of labor, restored involuntary servitude in the mines and on the railroads.

Wilson, the “Good” Man.

Wilson, the idealist and humanitarian, inaugurated a reign of intellectual obscurantism, moral terrorism and political reaction, the like of which this country has never known before.

The morbid national psychology which he has helped to create has produced such atavistic political types as Palmer, Burleson, Sweet and Lusk. It has advanced to places of honor political mountebanks like Ole Hanson; but has put into prison stripes the noblest and truest types of American manhood,—persons like Eugene Victor Debs and others.

The pitiful collapse of Wilson’s liberalism was nothing accidental. Woodrow Wilson was probably inspired by the best of intentions when he ran for re-election. But he did not express the sentiments, convictions or interests of the class he represented or the political party to which he owed allegiance.

When the great crisis came and he was forced to choose between the class and the party to whom he belonged and the workers for whom he professed a platonic affection, he rallied to his class and party interests.

Nor was Wilson’s fall purely personal. When Woodrow Wilson fell, the entire structure of middle class and capitalist liberalism tumbled with him like a house of cards.
Today there is not throughout the length and breadth of the United States a single radical or even progressive political group of any importance outside of the organized Socialist movement.

The attempts of some advanced organized workers to form an independent political party of labor on a national scale has so far foundered upon the rock of a conservatism and narrowness of the American Federation of Labor leadership, and the efforts to create a progressive middle class party have met with little response.

The only active and organized force in American politics that combats reaction and oppression, that stands for the large masses of the workers, and for a social order of justice and industrial equality, is the Socialist Party.

It is in the light of this fact that the importance of the Socialist Party in American politics must be measured. Its present strength counts for little. Its ability to build for the future is of tremendous historical significance.

In the Socialist movement alone lies the hope of America's workers, their hope for relief from excessive toil and starvation wages, from suffering at home and oppression in the shop, their hope for a better, juster, more liveable world. The sooner Socialism becomes a dominant and determining power in the political and industrial life of the country, the sooner will the hour of salvation strike for the toiling masses.

The Socialist Party is the party of the future. A vote for Socialism is the only vote that will count in the long run.

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THE 1920 PLATFORM.

In the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist Party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the government into their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist Party.

The outgoing administration, like Democratic and Republican administrations of the past, leave behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed.

It obtained the suffrage of the people on a platform of peace, liberalism and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war, and inaugurated a regime of despotism, reaction and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of the republic.
It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy. It gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their populations and cut off from their sources of sustenance; nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of the much heralded right of self-determination have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue and starvation blockades.

To the millions of young men, who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of the peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working-class governments and perpetuate strife and warfare.

While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence and oppression abroad, our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home.

Upon the pretext of war-time necessity, the Chief Executive of the republic and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers (which were often exercised arbitrarily), and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression.

Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war were indicted under the Espionage Law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria and are now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country.

Agents of the Federal government unlawfully raided homes and meeting places and prevented or broke up peaceable gatherings of citizens.

The postmaster-general established a censorship of the press more autocratic than that ever tolerated in a regime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their advanced political and economic views, by excluding them from the mails.

And after the war was in fact long over, the administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repres-
sion and terrorism under the shadow and hypocritical guise of war-time measures.

It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercing them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign born workers by administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views, and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes.

In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty and economic rights which this republic has built up in more than a century of struggle and progress.

Under the cloak of a false and hypocritical patriotism and under the protection of governmental terror the Democratic administration has given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits, and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has become reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists out of the suffering and misery of their fellow men. The American financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while the condition of the American workers has grown more precarious.

The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic party alone. The Republican party, through its representatives in Congress and otherwise, has not only openly condoned the political misdeeds of the last three years, but has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of political reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic administrative policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of political liberty and concentration of economic power into the hands of the few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction of the country to a state of absolute capitalist despotism.

We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties, of investing countless hundreds of millions of dollars in armaments after the victorious completion of what was to have been the "last war." We call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried on prior to 1914, and culminating in the Great War; we declare that such a policy, adding un-
bearable burdens to the working class and to all the people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the nation, and ultimately to war; and we demand immediate and complete abandonment of this fatal program.

The Socialist Party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to defeat both parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist Party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about complete industrial freedom.

The Socialist Party of the United States therefore summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups in harmony with our industrial development, and with citizenship based on service; that we may end forever the exploitation of class by class.

To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following program:

1. Social.

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the government, and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government, and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with reference to the Negroes, and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.
2. Industrial.

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter work-day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

3. Political.

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage Law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the Espionage Law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the Writ of Injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the Cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.

7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.

8. Because of the strict residential qualification of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election; adequate provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory workers.

9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will
and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

4. Foreign Relations.

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be canceled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be canceled. The largest possible credit in food, raw materials and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the “League of Nations” and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the Treaty of Peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims of American capitalists.

5. Fiscal.

1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal Government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed; all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.
DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party, May 12, 1920.

The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

America is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few.

These are the ruling classes of America. They are small in numbers but they dominate the lives and shape the destinies of their fellow men.

They own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of farm products; they own their own homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds.

* * * *

Around and about the capitalist class cluster the numerous and varied groups of the population, generally designated as the "middle classes." They consist of farm owners, small merchants and manufacturers, professional and better paid employees. Their economic status is often precarious. They live in hopes of being lifted into the charmed spheres of the ruling classes. Their social psychology is that of retainers of the wealthy. As a rule they sell their gifts, knowledge and efforts to the capitalist interests. They are staunch upholders of the existing order of social inequalities.

The bulk of the American people is composed of workers. Workers on the farm and in the factory, in mines and mills, on ships and railroads, in offices and counting houses, in schools and in personal service, workers of hand and brain, all men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ramified ways of modern civilization. They have made America what it is. They sustain America from day to day. They bear most of the burdens of life and enjoy but few of its pleasures. They create the enormous wealth of the country but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, and yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries but have no say in their management. They constitute the majority of the people but have no control in the government. Despite
the forms of political equality the workers of the United States are virtually a subject class.

* * *

The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It espouses their cause because in the workers lies the hope of the political, economic and social redemption of the country. The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. Individual members of these classes often join in the struggle against the capitalist order from motives of personal idealism, but whole classes have never been known to abdicate their rule and surrender their privileges for the mere sake of social justice. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing the present profit system.

The Socialist Party desires the workers of America to take the economic and political power from the capitalist class, not that they may establish themselves as a new ruling class, but in order that all class divisions may be abolished forever.

* * *

To perform this supreme social task the workers must be organized as a political party of their own. They must realize that both the Republican and Democratic parties are the political instruments of the master classes, and equally pledged to uphold and perpetuate capitalism. They must be trained to use the ballot box to vote out the tools of the capitalist and middle classes and to vote in representatives of the workers. A true political party of labor must be founded upon the uncompromising demand for the complete socialization of the industries. That means doing away with the private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth, production and distribution, abolishing workless incomes in the form of profits, interest or rents, transforming the whole able-bodied population of the country into useful workers, and securing to all workers the full social value of their work.

* * *

The Socialist Party is such a political party. It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the legislatures and other public offices, to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and when in power to
transfer to the ownership by the people of industries, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation and communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership as rapidly as their physical conditions will permit.

It also proposes to socialize the system of public education and health and all activities and institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare, including dwelling houses.

The Socialist program advocates the socialization of all large farming estates and land used for industrial and public purposes as well as all instrumentalities for storing, preserving and marketing farm products. It does not contemplate interference with the private possession of land actually used and cultivated by occupants.

The Socialist Party, when in political control, proposes to reorganize the government in form and substance so as to change it from a tool of repression into an instrument of social and industrial service. It affirms a fundamental truth of the American Declaration of Independence, that when a government fails to serve us, or becomes destructive of human happiness, "It is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

* * * *

The Socialist transformation cannot be successfully accomplished by political victories alone. The reorganization of the industries upon the basis of social operation and co-operative effort will require an intelligent and disciplined working class, skilled not only in the processes of physical work but also in the technical problems of management. This indispensable training the workers can best gain as a result of their constant efforts to secure a greater share in the management of industries through their labor unions and co-operatives. These economic organizations of labor have also an immediate practice and vital function. Their daily struggles for betterment in the sphere of their respective industries supplement and reinforce the political efforts of the Socialist Party in the same general direction, and their great economic power may prove a formidable weapon for safeguarding the political rights of labor.

The Socialist Party does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of labor unions, but will always support them in their economic struggle. In order, however, that
such struggle might attain the maximum of efficiency and success, the Socialists favor the organization of workers along lines of industrial unionism, in closest organic co-operation, as an organized working class body.

* * * *

The Socialist Party does not seek to interfere with the institution of the family as such, but promises to make family life fuller, nobler and happier by removing the sordid factor of economic dependence of woman on man, and by assuring to all members of the family greater material security and more leisure to cultivate the joys of the home.

The Socialist Party adheres strictly to the principle of complete separation of state and church. It recognizes the right of voluntary communities of citizens to maintain religious institutions and to worship according to the dictates of their conscience.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly and constitutional methods, so long as the ballot box, the right of representation and civil liberties are maintained. Violence is not the weapon of the Socialist Party but of the short-sighted representatives of the ruling classes, who stupidly believe that social movements and ideals can be destroyed by brutal physical repression. The Socialists depend upon education and organization of the masses.

* * * *

The domination of the privileged classes has been so strong that they have succeeded in persuading their credulous fellow citizens that they, the despoilers of America, are the only true Americans; that their selfish class interests are the sacred interests of the nation; that only those that submit supinely to their oppressive rule are loyal and patriotic citizens, and that all who oppose their exactions and pretensions are traitors to their country.

The Socialists emphatically reject this fraudulent notion of patriotism.

The Socialist Party gives its service and allegiance to the mass of the American people, the working classes, but this interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous and happy while its neighbors are poor and miserable. No nation can be truly free if other nations are enslaved. The ties of international interdependence and solidarity are particularly vital among the working classes. In all the advanced countries of the world the working classes are engaged in the identical struggle for political and
economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is immediately reflected upon the progress and fortunes of all.

* * * *

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism and to wars among nations. Modern wars are generally caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of the capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

* * * *

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of human civilization. The Socialist Party of the United States co-operates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the class-conscious workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government in their respective countries, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, cooperating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

SOCIALIST PARTY RESOLUTIONS.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party held in New York in May, 1920, adopted the following resolutions:

Russia and Poland.

The Socialist Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in New York City, again sends greetings to the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia in their heroic struggle against Entente imperialism and in their efforts to consolidate the fruits of the revolution. The Socialist Party joins with the advanced sections of the Socialist and labor movements in all countries in opposition to the continued outlawing of Russia from the family of nations. It hails the magnificent courage displayed by the Russian masses in hurling back the mercenary armies financed and munitioned by the imperialist powers. It rejoices in their display of endurance under the most trying conditions that have ever faced a new nation. It congratulates the workers and peasants of Russia in having averted the famine which interna-
tional capitalism sought to impose upon them and their children.

In all history no nation has ever stood the tests of stability that have been imposed on the Soviet Government of Russia. For three years it has withstood the intrigues of the imperialist diplomats and the armed assaults of the most powerful capitalist governments. It has withstood an infamous starvation blockade. It has survived all attempts at counter-revolution. It has had no friends outside except in the Socialist and labor masses of the world. It has won the affection and esteem of the enlightened sections of the world’s workers. Yet the governments that had welcomed the representatives of the former Czar’s regime in their capitals, the governments that sent their own representatives to the court of the Czar, these governments that welcomed a regime ruled with the Cossack’s knout, the hangman and official pogromists, reject a government of workers and peasants in the name of “international morality.”

The imperialist governments of the world refuse recognition. The working class of the world accord it gladly. It is the international duty of the workers to strive to impose their will upon the governments and secure the recognition of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

For the moment Asiatic imperialism, through Japan, has invaded Siberia, overthrown the government at Vladivostok, and seeks to hold vast regions for Japanese exploitation. The Entente powers and their associates have connived at this bandit raid by their own imperialist adventure in Siberia and their support of the late Kolchak regime.

French and British capitalism, with the apparent aid and support of the Wilson administration, are now using the vassal state of Poland in a last desperate thrust at the Russian people. Tutored in the school of Entente imperialism, Polish imperialism does the bidding of its western masters. Polish imperialism is red with the blood of Jewish massacres. Its own tortured masses are crying for bread. Its frontiers have been extended nearly two hundred miles beyond those allotted even by the peace conference. The Polish militarists and Junkers now seek to make a vassal of the Ukraine to be held in trust for the exploitation of western capitalism, and to strike a foul blow at Russia.

The Socialist Party again raises its voice in protest against this new assault against Russia and calls upon the workers of the United States to join with us in opposing this new adventure of the imperialist powers. As against Polish and Entente imperialism we pledge our
solidarity with those sections of the Polish workers opposing the capitalist-Junker government at Warsaw, and who are seeking to establish in Poland a Socialist Workers' Republic.

Away with this continued torture of the masses in Poland, the Ukraine and in Russia! Away with the imperialist intrigues of Entente diplomats! We demand a cessation of this bloody strife that can only serve the ruling classes, that stimulates hatreds and delays the recovery of the famine-stricken peoples of Europe.

We pledge ourselves anew to that international solidarity so essential to the welfare and the final liberation of the workers of all countries. Make peace with Russia! Call off the Polish mercenaries! Dispel this nightmare of war, famine, desolation and destruction promoted by international capitalism to establish its consolidated rule over the world!

Resolution On Hungary.

The Socialist Party in National Convention in New York City having knowledge of the bloody massacres raging in Hungary for many months, arraigns the Entente Governments at the bar of History for their acquiescence in these terrible crimes.

The ferocity of the Hungarian ruling classes, directed against the supporters of the late government of Bela Kun and his associates, against the Socialists, the trade unions and other labor organizations, surpasses in horror anything recorded in history.

The Bela Kun government assumed power at the request of the Karolyi Government. It resigned at the earnest request of the Hungarian workers and agents of the Entente powers in Budapest. A coalition government of Socialists and labor unionists took its place. Pledges were given by the Entente agents against any reprisals from either side.

How these pledges were ruthlessly broken and the present reign of executions, torture and mass murder was inaugurated is now a matter of history. Just as the Polish mercenaries are encouraged in a raid upon the Ukraine and Soviet Russia, so the Rumanian mercenaries were permitted by the Entente powers to raid Hungary and overthrow the government of Socialists and trade unionists.

Hungary, already affected by an acute shortage of foodstuffs and materials, was plundered by raiding bands of Rumanian soldiers. Foodstuffs, rolling stock, machinery, live stock and buildings were stripped and the loot
shipped to Roumania. A monarchist regime was installed at Budapest. A White Guard, consisting of monarchist officers and the youth of the ruling classes, inaugurated Jewish massacres, pillaged and wrecked the headquarters, publishing houses and houses and homes of the workers. The leaders of all sections of the workers were hunted and executed by thousands. Many died lingering deaths in the torture chambers established by the White Guard officers. Filthy and disgusting orgies and tortures, involving both men and women, make a record so sickening in some of their revolting details as to make it impossible to recite them.

Under the regime of Admiral Horthy these crimes have reached the limit of beastiality. Their record makes the rule of the present ruling power at Budapest the most criminal of modern times, exceeding even that of the Finnish counter-revolution.

In accord with its international duty and acting in concert with other Socialist parties abroad, the Socialist Party of the United States through its National Executive Committee has made direct representations to the State Department at Washington, calling attention to the horrors inflicted upon the Hungarian workers. Confident that the State Department must be aware of these atrocious conditions in Hungary, that it must have some knowledge of the appeals being sent out by the Committee of Refugees in Vienna, we demand that the Washington government intervene at Budapest to put an end to the tortures and mass murders in Hungary.

We also urge all organizations of labor in this country to reinforce the protest we have made to the State Department. The whole labor and Socialist movement in Hungary, representing the striving and sacrifice of a century, lies in ruins. To rebuild it is an enormous task. In the process of rebuilding it the workers of Hungary merit the sympathy and support of the workers of all countries.

Considering that at the present low rate of exchange American money will go much further than in normal times in extending aid, we also appeal to all sympathetic organizations to make appropriations for the relief of the Hungarian refugees. All such contributions should be sent to Otto Branstetter, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, who will forward funds direct to the relief committee in Vienna.

RESOLVED, That this convention calls the attention of all those interested in and espousing the cause of free-

Ireland.

RESOLVED, That this convention calls the attention of all those interested in and espousing the cause of free-
dom for Ireland and of other small and subject national-
ities to the fact that political oppression has in every
case an economic or business cause.

British capitalism fears a free Ireland as an industrial
and business rival, because of the magnificent harbors of
the country, its natural resources, its advantageous posi-
tion, and the great technical skill and enterprise of the
Irish people.

We urge them to work for the economic freedom of
Ireland, by securing the possession of all natural advan-
tages to the producing forces rather than to the exploit-
ing forces of the world; for only in this way can Ireland
or any other country be either politically or industrially
free.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

This convention records its appreciation of the vitally
important work being done by the Intercollegiate So-
cialist Society among the young men and women in
American colleges. We especially commend the estab-
ishment by them of the monthly periodical, The Socialist
Review, and ask its extended support among the party
membership.

Albany Ouster.

We denounce the expulsion of the five constitutionally
qualified and legally elected Socialist members of the
Assembly of the State of New York as an act of anarchy
and violence. This outrage is the product of unscrupu-
ulous political ambitions, legislative jobbery and servility
to vested interests. We brand it as a menace to democ-
ratric institutions without which a peaceful solution of
our social difficulties is impossible. We direct the at-
tention of the American people to the fact that Socialist
legislators were denied their seats and their thousands of
constituents were arbitrarily disfranchised solely because
their Republican and Democratic opponents in the As-
sembly disapproved of their political beliefs, and warn
them that if such an act is permitted to go unchallenged
the very life of representative government is endangered.
We declare that the voters of the nation, particularly
those of the Empire State, will soon have an opportunity
to repudiate the lawlessness that was perpetrated at Al-
bany and we call upon them most emphatically to assert
themselves through the channels of the Socialist Party.

Anti-Syndicalist Legislation.

The Socialist Party of the United States in convention
assembled unreservedly condemns the so-called anti-
syndicalist, anti-anarchy and sedition acts which legisla-
tures of various states have been enacting during the past few years, as well as old acts of the same character which have been revived for the sole purpose of persecuting educators of radical thought and leaders of various working class organizations.

We brand all such legislation and the conviction of men and women under it as a part of the concerted campaign of the ruling class of this country to crush the organization of labor, to intimidate the workers of the country into servility, and to prevent the education and consolidation of the working class along the lines of the class struggle.

Militarism.

The world has had enough of militarism and of war. At the end of a world conflict which was proclaimed as a war to end war, we behold all the victorious governments increasing their military and naval strength far beyond anything existing before.

The root of this competition in armaments is the increasing bitterness of commercial rivalry. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we proclaim to the people of the world who groan under this increasing burden, that armaments can never be abolished until this commercial rivalry which causes them is ended; and that only through the triumph of the working class over its exploiters through the International Socialist Movement can militarism be ended and the threat of war removed forever.

On Passports.

Resolved, That this Convention demand that the State Department vise the passport of Jean Longuet, so that he may be admitted into this country.

We denounce the refusal of the State Department to admit Jean Longuet on the frivolous pretext that "his coming is not a meritorious necessity." This action, which is in line with the consistent attitude of the United States Government in preventing intercourse between the American labor and Socialist forces and those of all other countries during and since the war, is a part of its program to prevent the people of this country from knowing the truth about the actual conditions in Europe, and is in line with the action of the British and other European governments in refusing to permit Americans to bring the truth of American conditions to the European world.
Postoffice Employes.

Postoffice employes of the United States are at present allowed so miserable a pittance that they are unable to live upon it in decency and comfort. Efforts and requests made by them for the betterment of their condition is met with repression and hostility on the part of the Postoffice Department. In the absence of the right to strike, tens of thousands of them are of necessity quitting the service, so that the postal system is almost wrecked. They have appealed to the American people for redress, for the establishment of a decent standard of living for a body of public servants absolutely essential to the maintenance of public communication. Therefore be it

RESOLVED by this convention, That we demand of Congress as a matter of common justice and a necessary public precaution, that the salaries of postoffice employes immediately be raised.

Government Ownership of Railroads.

WHEREAS, the entire industrial and social life of the nation has been disrupted and disorganized by the breakdown of the railway service of the country, and
WHEREAS, this crisis has been brought about solely by the conflict of interests between the owners and the workers of the roads, and
WHEREAS, this deplorable condition calls for an immediate and permanent solution, therefore be it
RESOLVED, That we urge that the government at once take over the ownership and control of the railroads of the United States, vesting the management in a joint board consisting of the classified employes, the operating officials and representatives of the public, on the general basis outlined in the Plumb Plan.

A HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The first steps taken to form an organized Socialist Party in America was in 1874, when various working class elements came together to form what was later called the Socialist Labor Party. For some years, the party struggled under great disadvantages. Political activity was sometimes discouraged altogether and sometimes attempted in temporary alliance with a larger radical group such as the Greenback Party in 1880 and the United Labor Party in New York in 1886. The Socialist Labor Party was at the outset on friendly terms with the two important labor organizations, namely the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of La-
However, Daniel De Leon, the leader of the Socialist Labor Party, soon became involved in disputes which brought the party as a whole in antagonism to each of these national bodies. By the creation of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance in 1895, a labor federation under the direct control of the party, a final breach was made, and the Socialist Labor Party remains still opposed to all non-Socialist unions.

During this period insurgency was rapidly developing within the party, and a process of "purification" was resorted to from time to time, by which "heretics" and insubordinates were expelled. In 1899 the break proved final, and the seceding members proceeded to form a new organization at Rochester, N. Y., in January, 1900.

Meanwhile Socialism was beginning to emerge in the West, in forms growing directly out of American conditions. Eugene V. Debs, whose imprisonment in connection with the strike of the American Railway Union had made him a Socialist, had gathered together a vaguely Socialist organization, and another group, centering around two Socialist publications, The Coming Nation and The Appeal to Reason had in 1897 united with these followers of Debs to form the Social Democracy of America. As the majority of the new party, however, inclined more to Utopian schemes of colonization than to political action, a split took place almost immediately, and Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger, leader of the Social Democracy in Wisconsin, bolted to found still another organization, the Social Democratic Party of America. It was to the last-named group that the Rochester wing of the S. L. P. made its overtures for union in 1899.

The First Ticket.

Negotiations were at first fraught with much difficulty owing to the mutual distrust of the Eastern and Western sections. For a time the confusion grew still worse and the presidential election of 1900 saw three Socialist parties in the field in New York in addition to the old Socialist Labor Party. For the purposes of the election, however, the three parties agreed upon Eugene V. Debs of Indiana and Job Harriman of California as the presidential candidates. After a campaign of work together all distrust disappeared, and all with the exception of De Leon's wing of the S. L. P. united in 1901 to form what presently received the title of the Socialist Party.

The next convention of the party was held in 1904 in Chicago and nominated Debs and Ben Hanford for President and Vice-President respectively. The party had polled 96,116 votes in 1900, which, in the congres-
sional elections two years later had increased to 223,494 votes, a result that was encouraging to the delegates when they assembled in Chicago on May Day, 1904.

The 1904 convention seated 198 delegates. The convention formulated state and municipal programs which were of considerable value to the inexperienced members in many of the poorly-organized states, adopted ringing resolutions on the brutal class war in Colorado, pledged its solidarity to the workers of Japan and Russia who had been hurled into war by their ruling classes, and expressed its solidarity with the struggles of the organized workers.

In 1908 the convention again met in Chicago, beginning May 10 and closing on the 17th. The vote in 1904 had nearly doubled, the total being 408,230, but in the congressional elections of 1906 it had declined to 331,043, which was some disappointment to the membership. There were 209 delegates in the convention of 1908. The national platform was completely overhauled, and it was preceded by a declaration of principles, followed by the platform proper, and concluding with a general program.

A survey of the party membership in 1908 regarding its composition revealed some interesting data. The figures collected showed that 71 per cent of the members were American born, 9 per cent German, 5 per cent Scandinavian, 4 per cent English, 2 per cent Finnish, 9 per cent other nationalities. Its class composition showed that 62 per cent were members of labor unions, 17 per cent farmers, 9 per cent commercial men, 5 per cent professional men. Thirty-five per cent had been Republicans, 40 per cent Democrats, 15 per cent Populists, 6 per cent Independents and 4 per cent Prohibitionists. The vote in 1908 was the highest received by the party up to that time, 420,973 for the presidential ticket, although the votes for other candidates in the states were about 4,000 in excess of this number.

In 1910 the party held a National congress in Chicago for the discussion of questions not related to a presidential campaign. The number of delegates apportioned to the states was reduced and the number seated were 103. The dues-paying membership had increased from 15,975 in 1903 to 58,011 in 1910. The language federations also began to appear at this time, eight being represented in the congress, including the Bohemian, Finnish, Italian, Jewish, Lettish, Polish, Scandinavian and South Slavic. There were 108 delegates.

“Section Six.”

The 1912 convention was held in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, being in session seven days, from May 12 to
There were 277 delegates to the convention, seven representing language federations. The convention proved to be one of the most stirring in the history of the party. The struggle raged around famous Section 6 of Article 2 of the party's constitution, adopted after a prolonged debate, and which read as follows:

"Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform."

The report of National Secretary John M. Work showed the progress that had been made in the 12 years since the party had been united. The Socialist officials elected to public office were 1,039, including one Congressman and 145 aldermen. There were 323 Socialist publications, of which 262 were published in English, five of them being dailies and eight language dailies. Only two states—Delaware and South Carolina—remained without a state organization. Since the National Congress in 1910 the party membership had increased from 58,011 to 125,826, the highest the party has thus far recorded.

For the first time in the history of the party a Socialist Congressman submitted a report to a national convention. Victor L. Berger was elected from a Milwaukee district in the fall of 1910. His report consisted of a detailed account of his activities in Congress from April, 1911, to and including May of the following year. The convention nominated Eugene V. Debs and Emil Seidel for President and Vice-President, respectively.

The end of the campaign found that the party had polled the largest vote in its history. In the congressional and state elections of 1910 the vote had increased to 607,674. The party had registered a steady increase every year since its organization, except for the one reverse in 1906. It now had to its credit 901,062 votes, a result contrary to the pessimistic predictions of those dissatisfied with the actions of the convention, and particularly with Section 6 of Article 2.

In 1914 the world war broke out and the congressional and state elections in November showed a small decrease in the vote, the total being 874,691. The language federations had increased in number and membership so that two years later, in 1916, they numbered 11, with a membership of 29,055, and exercised an increasing influ-
ence in the party. This was to continue and be stim-
ulated by the end of the war, while the membership of
the Russian nationalities increased very rapidly after the
Russian Revolution, and became more and more militant
within the party councils.

The 1916 Setback.

The campaign of 1916 proved in many ways a disap-
pointment. The membership voted against holding a
national convention and nominated candidates by a gen-
eral referendum vote. Allan L. Benson of New York,
and George R. Kirkpatrick of New Jersey were nominat-
ed for President and Vice-President respectively. Ben-
son proved a disappointment as a speaker, but the largest
quantities of leaflets ever distributed in any presiden-
tial campaign were circulated by the membership.
More than 22,000,000 pieces were printed and distributed,
of which there was a series of 10 written by Benson.
Kirkpatrick was a more experienced speaker and proved
more satisfactory as a campaigner. The vote polled was
590,295, a heavy loss from the vote polled in 1912.

However, the setback was only a temporary one, as lo-
cal elections soon showed. In 1917 Morris Hillquit
polled 142,178 votes for Mayor of New York, 10 Social-
ists were elected to the State Assembly, as were 7 Alder-
men and one Municipal Judge. Hillquit's vote was more
than had ever been polled in any state. Local successes
were also realized in other states.

The most dramatic period in the history of the party
came with the imminence of war in the spring of 1917.
It was apparent in March of that year that the United
States would be drawn into the world war, and an Emer-
gency National Convention was called by the National
Executive Committee to meet in St. Louis on April 7.
Despite the short time for election of delegates, 44 states
were represented. The number of delegates seated was
about 200, of whom nine were representatives of language
federations and one the Young People's Socialist League.

The American Socialist Party was never confronted
with so grave a crisis as that which it faced at this Con-
vention. That the crisis was faced bravely and without
flinching is a tribute to the courage and clear-sightedness
of the delegates. That the stand taken at St. Louis was
that of the party membership was evidenced by the tre-
mendous enthusiasm evoked by the decision of the Con-
vention, and by the extraordinary growth of the party
soon after. Morris Hillquit of New York was elected
temporary chairman. In his opening speech, he rapidly
traced the development of the International, and its col-
lapse at the beginning of the European War. He outlined the probable effect of the war on America, and stated that the Socialist Party was "the only considerable organized force which has still retained a clear vision." He urged the Socialist Party to oppose the war, even after it had begun. He pointed out that the war would not be one merely of money, but that men would be sent to the trenches, that at home unreason would rule, and liberties would be sacrificed. He spoke of the Russian Revolution, and predicted that the war would be ended by the revolutionary working class of Europe.

The St. Louis Convention.

The Committee on War and Militarism, of which Kate Richards O'Hare was chairman, was charged with the consideration of the chief problem before the convention—namely the attitude of the Party towards the war. There were two minority reports, and a majority report which was adopted by the Convention and overwhelmingly by the party membership. This report which has since become famous as the St. Louis Resolution, will forever remain as proof of the integrity of the Socialist Party in the war crisis; of its remaining true to the principles of International Socialism in spite of the stimulated "patriotic" hysteria raging throughout the land. The St. Louis Resolution clearly analyzed the cause of modern wars, pointing out that they are due to commercial and financial rivalry; that the wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers; and they were therefore called upon to refuse support to their governments in their wars; that the only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the workers of the world to free themselves from economic exploitation and political oppression. The resolution explained the nature of Imperialism and the inevitable result of the Imperialist policies of the European nations. It declared that the entrance of the United States into the war could not be justified, for the American workers had no quarrel with the German workers. It pledged the Party to continuous and active opposition to the war and to all efforts to finance the war by any means except conscription of wealth.

Although a few pro-war Socialists left the Party because of the St. Louis Resolution, it helped to maintain the unity of the party throughout the war, although almost all other Socialist parties were splitting up into mutually hostile factions.
The achievements of the Russian Revolution, and the great increase of foreign-speaking members in the Socialist Party led to the denunciation of the party organization as lacking in revolutionary fervor and failing to adhere to revolutionary Socialist principles by a noisy group of people, most of whom had joined the party after the end of the war.

The “Left Wing.”

A so-called left wing movement developed at the beginning of 1919 which came to a head in the September conventions, in the formation of two separate parties—the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties. Both parties were born in Chicago. At the same time an Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party was in session. Most of the time of the Convention was taken up in the settling of disputes that had arisen as a result of left wing controversies.

The most important achievement of the convention was the adoption of the Chicago Manifesto, a ringing challenge to the reactionary imperialist forces of the world. It exposed the mockery and sham of the Treaty of Versailles and dubbed the League of Nations, “the Capitalist Black Internationale.” It denounced the strangulation of civil liberties at home and the destruction of Socialist governments in Finland and Hungary. It declared that the Socialist Party had squarely taken its position with the uncompromising section of the international Socialist movement, and pledged support to Soviet Russia and to the radical Socialists everywhere in their efforts to establish working class rule in their countries. It urged the workers to abandon their present futile leadership and organize on the economic field on broad industrial lines as one powerful and harmonious class organization and to be ready in case of emergency to reinforce the political demands of the working class by industrial action.

The Convention adopted the Majority Report on International Relations, which while declaring that the Second International was dead, urged the reconstitution of the international movement to include only those parties which had remained true to the principles of the class struggle. The Minority Report urging affiliation with the Third (Moscow) International with reservations as to tactics was adopted by a majority of the membership.

Debs for President.

The last convention of the Socialist Party was held in New York City, May, 1920. This convention will be
remembered for the wonderful demonstration which followed the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for the presidency. Seymour Stedman was nominated as his running mate. The Convention adopted a national platform and declaration of principles. It likewise reaffirmed its affiliation with the Third International, providing, however, that no special formula such as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of soviets, or any other special formula, be imposed by Moscow as conditions of affiliation. A minority report on International relations urging affiliation without mentioning any specific reservations was sent to a referendum of the membership along with the Majority report adopted by the convention. The minority report was rejected by the party's membership.

The convention demanded economic as well as political freedom for Ireland and other subject nationalities, and condemned specifically the treatment meted out to India and the American attitude towards Hindoo revolutionists. It denounced all anti-anarchy, anti-syndicalist and anti-sedition acts as efforts to crush the organization of the workers, and exposed the reasons for the illegal ousting of the five duly elected Socialist Assemblymen of New York.

The Socialist Party faces the campaign of 1920 more confident than ever before that the workers of America will turn to it to lead them out of the morass of Capitalism to the New Day of Socialism.

SOCIALIST PARTY INSTITUTIONS.

There are newspapers that support the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. There are periodicals whose owners are enthusiastic in the advocacy of the "principles" of those organizations.

But there is no record of thousands of men and women giving their last dollars, giving even their rings and watches and bits of jewelry in order to keep a Republican newspaper above water. There is no record of working people opening up their savings banks and giving the meager contents to the support of daily newspapers that support of the Democratic party.

But this has been true of every newspaper, every institution of learning maintained by the Socialist party.

Years ago, there were hundreds of Socialist newspapers in every part of the country. Many of them have been killed by official persecution (see section on Civil Liberties) and many more by boycotts, by anti-labor business men, and the excessive cost of white paper. But
today, nevertheless, there is a large number of daily, weekly and monthly publications supported by the Socialist party and its membership, and maintained by the heroic sacrifices of its adherents.

There are the three dailies in English, and several dailies in foreign languages. The New York Call was launched on May 30th, 1908, and has been maintained for twelve years by the most heroic sacrifices of its supporters. It is the principal daily of Socialism in the Eastern part of the country. In the spring of 1919, a great drive among the working people was engineered that netted some $150,000 in cash, with which a great printing plant and a building were purchased. There are hundreds of workers whose entire savings are invested in that plant. The Call is edited by Charles W. Ervin and James Oneal.

In December, 1911, the Socialists of Milwaukee, then as now under Socialist government, launched the Milwaukee Leader, under the editorship of Victor L. Berger. This paper, likewise, has its own building and plant, and it has weathered stormy weather solely through the enthusiastic loyalty of its readers. Neither The Call nor The Leader is permitted second class privileges at this time.

On August 16, 1920, the Oklahoma Leader was started, published by the same Social Democratic Publishing Company that publishes the Milwaukee Leader. During the black days of war terrorism, a band of devoted Comrades combed the Socialist and Labor movement of the state and raised $200,000 in cash; with it they built a fine building, installed a modern and efficient plant, and began publication of the paper as soon as they secured a supply of white paper.

The Jewish Daily Forward of New York was founded in 1897, as an organ of a faction of the Socialist movement, supporting the Social Democracy of America, which had been founded by Eugene V. Debs. In 1904, it became an organ of the present Socialist Party, and began its wonderful career of successful teaching of Socialism. It, too, represents almost untold sacrifices. It was supported by almost fanatical loyalty when it seemed as if it could not live. But today, it is the largest daily newspaper in America in a language other than in English, it has a circulation of some 250,000, and it carries the message of Socialism in every issue. Abraham Cahan is editor.

Lately, The Forward has established a thriving Chicago edition, which does the work for Socialism in the middle west that the New York paper does in the East.
Socialist Weeklies

There are many Socialist weeklies, and they have all the same record of struggle, sacrifice, and high idealism. Some of them are The New Age (Buffalo), The Citizen (Schenectady), The Tribune (Davenport, Ia.), The Miami Valley Socialist (Dayton, O.), The Socialist (Chicago), The World (Oakland, Calif.), Labor (St. Louis), The Pennsylvania Socialist (Reading), The Examiner (Bridgeport), Truth (Erie, Pa.), and many others.

There are many weeklies and monthlies in other languages, either affiliated with the party, printed by the party, or supporting the party. There are Obrana (Bohemian), The Arbeiter Zeitung (German, Chicago), The Arbeiter Zeitung (St. Louis), The Neue Welt (Jewish), and numerous others.

The national organization of the party publishes a weekly and a monthly, the New Day being a propaganda sheet, and The Socialist World being a monthly magazine, discussing the issues of the day from the standpoint of Socialism. They are both edited by William M. Feigenbaum.

There are likewise many party institutions, such as the Rand School in New York, the Labor Lyceums in many parts of the country.

The Rand School is the “party school” (to use a European expression) that has the support and endorsement of the National organization. Founded in 1906 by Mrs. Carrie Rand, it is the property of the American Socialist Society, and is supported by the entire movement. There are classes in Socialism, English, History, Biology, Physical Training, and many similar subjects. A research department is maintained. A correspondence bureau is supported. The school is housed in the People’s House, purchased by the Socialist movement in 1917, after a spectacular drive for funds that enlisted the support of the entire movement.

Wherever there are Finns, one will find a Finnish Hall, built and owned by the Finnish Socialists for Socialist party work.

The Labor Lyceums are found in New York, Brooklyn, Brownsville, Rochester, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and many other cities. In most cases, they have been purchased by the Socialists for the use of the Socialist and the labor movement.
SECTION II.

CONGRESS AND THE WORKERS.

Congress cannot be viewed 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 tend 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 for the Record 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 previously 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 bipartisan 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 100 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 an imposture.

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 high, 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 indignant 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 have been as follows:

- Democrats 231 instead of 194
- Republicans 193 instead of 235
- 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 unanimous 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 approve 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 capitalists, 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 skinners 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 had reached $1,072,000,000, an average annual 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 peacetime 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 canceled, 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 hurried 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 number 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 embodies anti-strike legislation in the Esch-Cummins Railroad Bill. It spent much of its time discussing more bills to strangle all civil rights which the 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 a 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, co-operating 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 Stedman, 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!

THE TWO PLATFORMS OF THE CAPITALIST PARTY.

The work of James Bryce on "The American Commonwealth" is considered the most authoritative study of the development of American governing institutions. In his chapter on "The Parties of Today" he asks, What are their principles and how do they stand on the railroad question, and many more issues that are alleged to divide them? After many years of careful study he gives this as his answer:

Neither party has, as a party, anything definite to say on these issues; neither party has any clean-cut principles, any distinctive tenets. Both have traditions. Both claim to have tendencies. Both have certainly war cries, organizations, interests, enlisted in their support. Both those interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage of the government. Distinctive tenets and policies, points of political doctrine and points of political practice, have all but vanished. They have not been thrown away, but have been stripped away by Time and the progress of events, fulfilling some policies, blotting out others. All has been lost, except office or the hope of it.—Volume 11, p. 21.

M. Ostrogorski is recognized as the greatest authority on the rise, growth, development, and composition of political parties, their methods and character, and his judgment is the same as Bryce's. Of the national conventions of the old parties he has the following to say in his "Democracy and the Party System:"

A greedy crowd of office-holders, disguised as delegates of the people, on the pretense of holding the grand council of the party, indulged in, or were the victims of, intrigues and manoeuvres, the object of which was the chief magistracy of the greatest Republic of the two hemispheres,—the succession to the Washingtons and the Jeffersons. With an elaborate respect for forms extending to the smallest details of procedure, they pretended to deliberate, and then passed resolutions settled by a handful of wire-pullers in the obscurity of committees and private caucuses; they proclaimed as the creed of the party, appealing to its piety, a collection of hollow, vague phrases, strung together by a few experts in the art of using meaningless language, and
adopted still more precipitately without examination and without conviction; with their hand upon their heart, they adjured the assembly to support aspirants in whose success they had not the faintest belief.—p. 159.

The New York Journal of Commerce, one of the leading Wall Street publications, makes the same admission. An editorial appearing in its issue of June 24, 1920, contains the following paragraph:

It is not too much to say that a minority of both the Democratic and Republican parties, headed by exceedingly clever and able politicians, absolutely control the millions of the rank and file of the voters, women as well as men. Furthermore, these leaders are completely out of touch with the wishes of a heavy majority of the members of their party, and the latter seem utterly helpless as well as disgusted.

The Wall Street Journal is the highest authority of big finance in the United States. Its comment on the nomination of Cox is delicious. The reader will certainly enjoy this from its issue of July 8:

On the nomination of Governor Cox the stock market, which had been improving slowly for some days before, showed definite strength. It is philosophical and plays no favorites. Mr. Cox is a good sportsman, and Franklin Roosevelt is a gentleman.

The New York Commercial is another of the leading organs of the financial oligarchy. Its happiness over the nominations of Cox and Harding reveals its tender affection for both. It regards the candidates and the platforms as so near alike that the League of Nations will have to be "forced" as an issue. This appears in its issue of July 7:

Both Governor Cox and Senator Harding are men of the type the country rather likes to see in the White House, and except for party lines there is not very much difference between either the men or the platforms. Business will be safe with either man. As a matter of fact the issues are not very sharply drawn. The League of Nations will probably be forced into the forefront.

What these authorities and these Wall Street publications say is what many hundreds of thousands of voters are coming to realize. This year these quotations are specially apt. They characterize the rotting parties of capitalism for what they really are. For that reason hundreds of thousands of voters are groping for some new political affiliation.

The Platform of the Democratic Branch.

In 1900, just 20 years ago, the Democratic party definitely committed itself against imperialism. The Spanish-American War had launched the government on a career of overseas adventures by the acquirement of territory from Spain. The Democratic platform of 1900
warned "the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home," and that the "burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish war, involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions."

One significant paragraph of that platform reads like a prophetic prediction today. We quote it here:

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose on our peace-loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation, and would be a constant menace to their liberties. This Republic has no place for a vast military establishment, a sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription.

Every warning of the Democratic party in 1900 has been realized by the Democratic administration during the past three years. Imperialism, militarism, conscription, despotism at home, intimidation and oppression, staggering taxation and the destruction of liberties have been realized! This prophecy and fulfillment of prophecy by the same political party is the most remarkable event in the party history of any nation.

The facts are too well known to require any long recital. The Espionage Act, the suppression of many independent newspapers by the Postmaster General, the persecution of dissenting opinions, the imprisonment of men and women for long terms for mere expression of opinion, the brutal raids and terrorism of Attorney General Palmer, all this is a literal fulfillment of the forecast of the Democrats in 1900.

Yet in spite of this black period of three years the same party in its platform for 1920 makes a sweeping denial of its forecast and what has happened these three years. Its platform this year reads:

We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic Administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

No utterance from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed, which has not been animated by treasonable purpose and directed against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war.

We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the State or nation by force or violence.

This astonishing denial of what is known in every household of the United States shows the amazing depths of reaction to which this party has sunk. In 1864 this party and many of its supporters were affected by the abuse of arbitrary powers. In its platform of
that year the Democratic party protested against the
"administrative usurpation of extraordinary and danger-
ous powers not granted by the Constitution;... the
suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the
denial of the right of asylum," etc. Its grievances were
as real then as ours are now.

This party forgets its own history, ignores its crimes
of but yesterday, insolently denies it has many victims
of its usurped powers in the penitentiaries, and brazenly
faces the masses it has outraged with a colossal lie for
its platform!

The same duplicity is displayed regarding the inter-
ests of the workers of the nation. The platform says
that "labor is not a commodity," that it has the right of
collective bargaining and "adequate compensation" and
professes "scrupulous regard for the conditions of pub-
lic employment." All this in spite of the fact that postal
employees have no right to organize or work for their
political beliefs, while in England they are thoroughly
organized in a union and affiliated with the British Labor
Party! All this in spite of Attorney General Palmer's
brutal use of power to crush the strike of the miners and
the sweatshop wages paid to the postal workers! All
this in face of Palmer's propaganda against the steel
workers! All this despite the shameful treatment of the
railroad workers and the anti-strike clause of the Esch-
Cummins Railroad Act! Nay, the platform outrages the
wounded feelings of the sweated, underpaid, and over-
worked postal employes by approving the record of Post-
master General Burleson. Of this it says:

The efficiency of the Post Office Department has been
vindicated against a malicious and designing assault by the
efficiency of its operation. Its record refutes its assailants.
Their voices are silenced and their charges have collapsed.

Those who know the facts of the wreck, ruin and
sweating of this department cannot be other than stupe-
ified at this amazing perversion of facts.

Like the Republican platform, the platform adopted at
San Francisco contains a threat for Mexico. Uctious
sympathy is expressed for the Mexican people, but this
is followed by a demand that the Mexican Government
should have "written upon its statute books just laws
under which foreign investors shall have rights as well
as duties." This is a definite commitment of the Demo-
cratic party to the support of a few hundred American
oil investors, a demand that Mexico shall enact laws in
favor of these exploiters. This is followed with the hint
that the party is ready to "demand full protection" for
these millionaires.

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This insolence towards another people is only equalled by the Republican platform which demands a "consistent, firm and effective policy towards Mexico." If any other country demanded of the United States that it should rewrite its laws in the interests of a few foreign capitalists it would lead dangerously near to war. Imperialism and conquest possess both parties. They seek to hurl masses of workingmen into Mexico after the dirty dollars of exploiting American investors.

The Democratic party expresses "sympathy" for China, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Poland and Ireland. The leader of this party signed a treaty that took Shantung from China and gave it to Japan. Finland has a government established by a German-Finnish-Junker coalition that murdered thousands of Finnish workingmen and women. Poland is an imperialist and militarist state doing the dirty work of the Entente in the Baltic. Ireland is held under the boots of generals commanded by Great Britain, one of "our glorious allies."

It approves the Esch-Cummins Railroad Bill which makes it almost impossible for railroad workers to strike and which gives hundreds of millions of dollars to the railroad gamblers. A straight-jacket for the workers and plunder for the owners. It promises a reduction of the cost of living. What both parties have done along this line is told in another part of this book.

The Democratic party in this platform has belied its own history, has reversed itself since 1900, is evasive and lying, is insolent regarding its black reaction, is imperialist in its aims, and just as aggressive against all the forces making for human emancipation as its Republican "enemy." Confronted by its record of servility to the profiteering and patrioteering class it serves, it seeks to divert attention from its misdeeds at home by fixing attention on a sham League of Nations. Whether the league is approved, modified, or rejected makes no difference to the masses. Imperialism and capitalism dominates the world in the interest of an international financial and capitalist oligarchy. The system itself must be ended before the grievances of the workers can be mended.

The Platform of the Republican Branch.

The Republican platform is a collection of adroit phrases, obscure in their evasions and commitments, showing a mastery in word juggling that has rarely been exceeded by professional politicians. On industrial relations the platform recognizes "the justice of collective bargaining," yet in the very next paragraph "we justify government initiative to reduce its (the strike's) frequency
and consequences.” This is either an endorsement of Palmer’s methods in breaking the strike of the miners or it means nothing. Considering that both Republicans and Democrats joined in a unanimous vote in Congress in approving Palmer’s methods, there is no difficulty in determining what is meant.

Moreover, this section, which has to do with the status of the working class, is one of the shortest in the platform. The overseas interests of investors, bankers and capitalists occupy five times the same space with careful consideration of trade, the tariff, a merchant marine, foreign relations, Mexico and the League of Nations.

Its position on the Esch-Cummins Railroad Bill is practically the same as that of the Democrats. This is a warning to the railroad workers that the dose bearing a Democratic label will be the same when administered by the Republicans.

The platform asserts that the high cost of living is due to—the high cost of living! We do not exaggerate. It states that it is due to a “50 per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar.” Reversing this proposition and saying that the depreciation of the dollar is due to the high cost of living and there is just as much sense to it.

It demands the “ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives.” Yet the representatives of this party joined with the Democrats in Congress in tearing down these rights. Their main criticism was that the Democrats were not reactionary enough. It was also the Republican majority with a big following of Democrats who, in the New York Legislature, which denied seats to “duly chosen representatives” by expelling five Socialist members of that body.

The aspirations of women for the suffrage receive clever treatment: “We earnestly hope,” the platform reads, “that Republican legislatures in states which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment.” No demand, no vigorous protest against delay, but a modest “hope” that these states will act favorably. If they don’t—well, didn’t we earnestly “hope” in national convention assembled?

The shameless blighting and sweating of children in industry is met with characteristic camouflage. “If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.” The acute question of housing is met in the same way. “Both the national and state
governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens." But the "proper way" has never been to interfere with the property rights of the angels who guard the G. O. P., without which the foul housing conditions for millions cannot be improved.

The odor of oil also rises from the plank on Mexico. The flag of Doheny and Company may be seen waving over that country in the promise of a "firm and effective policy toward Mexico." If the party has its way the bones of American workers are to bleach on Mexican plains in order to protect the "security of life and enjoyment of property" of American capitalists in that unhappy country. The approach of the Democrats to the same position brings the two parties of capitalism together in aims of imperialist conquest across the Rio Grande.

Every faction was satisfied with the section on the League of Nations, the bitter enders as well as the reservationists. It smites the holy covenant, while at the same time affirming that the party stands "for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world." Further, that "an international association must be based on international justice," and this can be accomplished "without compromise of national independence." Every faction required a sop and a sop went to every faction in this cleverly worded section, which is credited to the weasel, Elihu Root.

Nowhere is there any clear and unmistakable statement of any solution of the real problems of the working class. Both parties are two wings of the coal monopolists, the big banks, the profiteers, the 100 per cent patrioteers, the packers, the steel hells and the enemies of the workers in general. They represent the great capitalist oligarchies that control the productive plants and agencies of the nation and use them to exploit labor and enrich themselves.

The working masses of the country require a party of their own and the Socialist Party meets the need of the hour.

THE GOLD TRUST TWINS.

Some of the reasons why the Republican party has nominated Warren Gamaliel Harding, of the scab town of Marion, Ohio, as its presidential candidate, are as follows:

"Dollar a Day" Harding.

Mill operatives in his own town are denouncing him as having avowed in 1913, a year before the world war began, "a dollar a day is enough for any working man."
He is financially interested in the Marion Steam Shovel Works and other institutions that have discharged men who insisted upon joining labor unions.

When Senator Harding, now presidential candidate, was appealed to by the workers in their efforts to organize the Marion and Osgood steam shovel works and the Huber Manufacturing Company, which makes tractors and steam rollers, he answered that "Judge" Elbert H. Gary's United States Steel Corporation's "open shop" scheme was the one on which he would insist.

Shades of Mark Hanna! The master politician of capitalism in days ago couldn't have picked a better candidate for Wall Street than Warren Gamaliel Harding.

Let Wall Street speak with the voice of Boies Penrose, its spokesman on the floor of the United States Senate, who says:

"The final result of the contest for the presidential nomination could not be more satisfactory to me." To which we add "And to the American plutocracy."

But let us not slight the lesser half of the Gold Trust Twins, Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, vice-presidential candidate.

He made his greatest appeal to the sympathizers of the money power when he used all the power of his office to break the strike of the underpaid policemen of Boston.

He's a strikebreaker. That's enough. Make him Vice President and head of the United States Senate. So says the millionaire Senate clique, Reed Smoot, Henry Cabot Lodge, Murray Crane, Boies Penrose, and the rest.

There is but one alternative for America's working class:

Vote for Debs and Socialism.

COX AND ROOSEVELT

The Democratic candidates in this campaign are Governor James M. Cox of Ohio and Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York. Governor Cox is noted principally for the fact that he was elected Governor of Ohio three times, a feat accomplished hitherto by only one other man, Rutherford B. Hayes, who was thereupon elected President as a reward. Mr. Roosevelt was nominated frankly because he bears the same name as his late fifth cousin.

Mr. Cox and Mr. Roosevelt stand squarely with Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party. Mr. Cox is said to be responsible for much liberal legislation in Ohio. There is much proof of the claim that Mr. Cox has been an able executive: but immediately upon his nomination,
Mr. Cox got into connection with President Wilson and pledged himself to President Wilson's policies.

In selecting him for their candidate, the Democrats were influenced by three considerations: first that he might beat Senator Harding in Ohio; second, because he is acceptable to the President, and third, because it is believed that he will swing the booze vote, so important an element in the Democratic Party.

Mr. Roosevelt is an amiable nonentity, of old Dutch family, wealthy, and occupying one of the old patroon estates on the Hudson river. Nine years ago he led a comic opera "revolt" against the Tammany organization in the New York senate. He has been living on that revolt ever since. That is his political stock in trade.

Both men have large and luxurious country estates. Both men are exceedingly wealthy. Both men are Democrats. The very best that can be said for the Democratic ticket is that it is made up of two men, individually worthy. There it ends. Both of them stand for the regime of terrorization, of lynching, of espionage and of the betrayal of the faith of the world. Both of them are suitable to the National administration, and to the crooked underworld Democratic machine of the large cities. Both of them are committed to the present order of things. Neither has a message for the suffering world in this, its most critical hour.

The Republican convention struck a blow at every self-respecting worker in the country by their nomination of Harding. The Democratic convention concealed its mailed fist in a velvet glove; the velvet glove is the comparatively superior character of their candidates, a superiority that sharply stands out beside the cynical indifference of the other capitalist party in the character of its nominations. But this comparative superiority cannot take the curse off the fact that in its platform, in its passionate ovation to Wilson, in the fact that A. Mitchell Palmer secured a very great strength in the convention, and later threw that strength to Governor Cox, the party of Cox and Roosevelt is the party of espionage, persecution and betrayal.

In just as real a sense as did the Republican Party, the Democratic Party in its nominations surrendered unconditionally to the demands of the most brutal and reactionary elements in the capitalist class.
SECTION III.

THE LABOR PARTY.

The Socialist Party was the first to urge the workers to organize politically. Slowly, painfully, it built up an organization, acquired political power, and directed attention to that organization as the proper place for the workers. In certain cities the organized workers cooperated with the Socialist Party. This was true of labor in Milwaukee, in Minneapolis, in Chicago (upon occasion) and in Los Angeles (on other occasions). Certain sections of the workers in New York have constantly worked with the party. In other cities the Socialist Party has been indorsed by organized labor.

The now almost forgotten McNamara incident stirred the Socialists to a renewed insistence upon the correctness of their stand. The McNamara brothers were high officials of an International affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They followed the "no-politics-in-the-union" policy made famous by their chief. They found themselves against a blank wall. Socialists lost no time in pointing out the sterility of this policy, and the necessity for political action.

The Schmitz Affair.

If the workers organized parties separate and distinct from the Socialist Party what attitude would the Socialists take? The answer is at hand in the actual experience of the Socialists in San Francisco when there was a United Labor Party headed by Eugene E. Schmitz, who said that at last the workers were in politics. Many Socialists united with that party because they felt it would be wrong for them to stand in the way of workers who were taking Socialist advice and organizing a bona fide party of the workers on their own account.

The controversy over that question raged bitterly for a few months. Then it suddenly died out. Schmitz was elected Mayor of San Francisco, was convicted of corrupt practices and was sent to jail. For some time thereafter, when the question of a labor party, separate and distinct from the Socialist Party, was raised, Socialists would say, "Look at what happened in San Francisco;" that settled it, for some time at least.
But the question would not down. That Schmitz happened to be dishonest did not alter the real issue. Suppose that labor began to do what was done in England, organize a labor party on a large scale and with an honest purpose? History repeated itself again in New York, when the unions officially went into politics through the Central Federated Union as an adjunct of the Tammany machine. And again, Socialists said, “Behold! When the workers enter politics, they get snarled up in the meshes of the old parties!” And again the still small voice kept asking, “What if the workers did take the advice of the Socialists, and went into politics as an organization, not as tails to Tammany kites, but on their own account?”

The War.

The war came. The Socialists stood by their convictions. They were loyal to their consciences, and for their loyalty they were made the objects of a torrent of abuse. Socialists, the capitalist press said, were “discredited” in the eyes of the people. “The principles of Socialism are all right,” the papers declared, “but the Socialists—the traitors! Now the real Socialists, for example”—and so on. With the war came many other questions. Labor proclaimed loyalty to the government. Labor suspended its struggles for better conditions while the war lasted. Labor was rewarded by honorable “citations.” Labor was told to keep away from the Socialists, who, unlike the Socialists of Germany, France, and Belgium, refused to stand by their government.

The Labor Party.

The war came to a close, and with its conclusion came more problems. The labor truce was over, and the plutocracy addressed itself to the task of making up for the months when labor was treated semi-decently. New grievances and more grievances appeared day after day. The workers, however, had learned something. They began to feel that they had been betrayed. They felt this more keenly when they were confronted by regiments on asserting their right to organize.

Once again they considered the question of politics. They asked who betrayed labor, and realized that it was the judges who issued injunctions, the governors who sent regiments, members of cabinets who sent major generals to strike districts, major generals who declared for martial law. Labor was betrayed by Republicans and Democrats who held their power through votes alone. Labor determined to go into politics in all earnestness. “But,” said the Socialists, “here is the Socialist
Party. We have been telling you for years that this would happen. We are your party. Look at our record—is it not the record of a real labor party?” “Yes,” replied the leaders of this new move of the workers. “We know that you speak the truth. But you Socialists are discredited. You mean well, but no one will listen to you. Doesn’t the New York Times say so?” The Socialists replied that they were “discredited” only with the enemies of labor, and that the workers would see what their fine record of alleged “patriotism” during the war would accomplish for them the moment they impinged upon the interests of the profit-taking class. Samuel Gompers roundly condemned both sides, the Socialists on the ground that they were “economically unsound, socially wrong and industrially an impossibility;” the laborites—on general principles.

**Chicago Elections.**

There remained therefore, but the one final test, the trial by (electoral) battle. Nowhere has the test been made under fairer conditions than in Chicago. In that city, the powerful Chicago Federation of Labor, headed by the popular and aggressive John Fitzpatrick, launched a labor party. A weekly paper was started under able editorship, a paper that is not only a credit to the Labor Party, but one that would be a credit to any radical movement. Its editor, Mr. Robert M. Buck, is as clean and fair a man as may be found anywhere. He instantly took up the cudgels for the “unpopular” causes of the workers—the organization of labor, political liberties, amnesty, and recognition of Soviet Russia. That paper became the organ of the projected national Labor Party. In Chicago, many local unions joined the Labor Party in a body, union men through their dues contributing to the party organization. Many unions make a subscription to the party paper a part of their dues.

There have been three elections in Chicago since the launching of this movement. In every case, the alleged superior appeal of the Labor Party, untinged by the “unpopular” name “Socialist,” was made to the workers—and likewise the “unpopular” Socialist appeal. In the first election, the fight was for Mayor. The Labor Party had as their candidate John Fitzpatrick. The Socialists had no one but a loyal and devoted Socialist comrade, with no appeal at all except the appeal of the Socialist Party. He, also, was a labor man, a worker in the shops. In that election, many Socialists, believing in the dogma that they had set up, that is, that the Socialist Party could not “appeal” to the workers, voted for Fitzpatrick to make good their dogma and the vote
was 24,079 for John Collins, and 55,990 for Fitzpatrick. But it was noticed that the total vote for Collins and Fitzpatrick together was something of a decrease over the whole Socialist vote at the previous election when the Socialists were just as "unpopular;" that the Labor Party had not gained new recruits, but had split the workers' vote and had driven many voters away from independent workers' politics.

Splitting the Vote.

That was not all. In the various wards where the Socialist Party had been strong, just enough Labor Party votes were cast, and just enough voters were alienated from independent working class politics by the separation, to defeat the Socialists in the two formerly strong Socialist wards. In the 9th and the 15th wards, Socialist Gibralters in the past, the result shows that it was the Labor Party appeal, unsuccessful in gathering many votes, that wiped out working class representation in Chicago's City Council. Of course, in those wards; the Socialists outvoted the laborites, 4,990 to 742 and 2,861 to 1,788. It will be remembered that that election was during the first enthusiasm of the promoters of the party, while the Socialist Party was in the throes of a depressing factional fight that dissipated most of the energies of the party members.

A few months later, with the Labor Party members still enthusiastic and the Socialists still in the throes of their factional fight, another election was held. This time, however, there was nothing to be voted for except minor officials, and no attractive candidate like Fitzpatrick to divert attention from issues to personality. The Socialist Party was still "discredited." Socialists were still "Bolsheviks" in the capitalist press, and there was a perfect opportunity to test out the correctness of the Labor Party contention that workers would vote for Socialism, but not for the Socialist Party. The vote was very light. The Socialist Party vote for two judges was 20,715 and 20,187; while the Labor Party polled just half—10,192 and 10,171.

Decline in Labor Vote.

A few months later there was still another election. The paper of the Labor Party was growing. The editor, in recognition of his excellent services, had received an increase in salary and the assistance of two associate editors. There was no financial stress to harrow. The party organization was perfected in ward after ward. The Socialists continued to be "in bad." Their regularly elected members in Congress and the New York leg-
islature had been denied seats by the plutocracy. Here was an opportunity for still another test of the efficacy of the labor appeal as opposed to the Socialist appeal—with the cards again stacked in favor of the Labor Party. Both organizations appealed for votes on the basis of their principles—not for men. Both parties had most of their candidates thrown off the ballot on technicalities. The Socialist Party had 14 candidates out of 35 wards, while the Labor Party had 15. The Socialist vote was 16,845, while the Labor Party polled 11,626. The Socialists polled some 12 per cent of the total vote of the wards in which they were placed—and in some of the strongest Socialist wards there was no candidate at all. In 10 of the wards there were both Socialist and labor candidates. In four there were Socialist, and no labor men, while in five, labor and no Socialist nominees. In those ten wards, the Socialist vote was 9,806 and the Labor Party vote, 5,328. Furthermore, in the 15th ward, with an aggressive Socialist campaign made impossible by the depressing schism, the laborites made a strong fight for one of their leaders. They made their fight as strong as they could—and the result was that many workers didn't vote, while the Socialist received 2,129 votes to 423 for the laborite.

Here were three tests under conditions most favorable to the Labor Party. In each case there were two sets of Socialist sections, and split the labor vote. The workers' psychology is this, that if they want what Socialists advocate they can go to the Socialist Party and obtain it. And they are going to the Socialist Party; nowhere else. There is no need to go elsewhere.

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

The Farmer-Labor party is a coalition of various radical and “liberal” groups with farmers' and workers' organizations predominating. The amazing reaction of the Wilson administration, the complete collapse of Mr. Gompers’ childish political policy, the riot of unchecked profiteering, the strikebreaking of the Wilson administration, the stark reaction of Congress, the rise of a capitalist “patriotism” that made the Garys, the Morgans and their kind our national heroes, all contributed to driving masses of organized workers to consider the need of independent political action.

Local labor parties were organized in 1919 and on November 22 of that year a national convention met in Chicago and organized the Labor Party of the United States. This convention adopted a declaration of principles, leaving the platform to the convention of 1920. The
party declared that “Labor is the primary and just basis of political responsibility and power” and affirmed that it is the “duty of the workers by hand or brain to become a political party.” It arraigns the administration, the Congress and the two major political parties, as agents of the exploiting classes and cites the autocracy and reaction of these forces as specific grievances of the workers.

Its Platform.

In international affairs it demanded a “league of the workers of all nations pledged and organized to enforce the destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world” and opposed a “league of imperialistic governments.” It demanded abolition of secret diplomacy and disarmament, and opposed conscription and military training.

In domestic affairs it demanded “immediate repeal of the infamous Espionage Law,” the restoration of all civil rights, and the release of all political and industrial prisoners.

It favored political and industrial equality of the sexes and races, reduction of the cost of living, and nationalization of natural resources, stock yards, telephones, telegraphs, railroads on the basis of the Plumb plan, grain elevators, cold storage and terminal warehouses, elevators, packing plants, flour mills “and all basic industries which require large scale production and are in reality on a non-competitive basis; these to be democratically managed.”

It demanded the socialization of banking and credit, democracy in education, heavy taxation of incomes and inheritances, home rule for cities, revision of the Federal Constitution and the usual political and industrial reforms urged by progressive organizations of the workers.

The 1919 convention also adopted the following clause in the Constitution of the Labor Party regarding its relations to other political organizations:

“No member of the Labor Party shall permit his name to be placed in nomination by any political party other than the Labor Party, and no branch of the Labor Party shall endorse the nominee of any other party. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall prevent a working alliance between any branch of the Labor Party and any organized Farmers’ group which shall endorse the principles and platform of the Labor Party, or other progressive organization or party which shall subscribe to and support the principles and platform of the Labor
Party. The National Committee shall expel any member or organization offending against the foregoing provisions.

The second convention of the Labor Party met in Chicago on July 10, 1920. The Single Taxers, the Committee of 48, and the American Constitutional Party, a brand-new Hearst "party," also met in the same city at the same time and many efforts were made to unite these various groups into one party. In the struggle over this proposed coalition some of the leading 48ers withdrew, leaving many of their delegates to cast their fortunes with the Farmer Labor Party, which issued from the conference. The new party nominated Parley P. Christensen of Utah for President and Max S. Hayes of Ohio for Vice-President. The platform, except for some minor variations, is similar to the platform adopted by the Labor Party of the year before. The labor delegates showed a marked distrust of the "liberals" represented by the 48ers and the latter showed fear of all radical labor tendencies, even to the extent of opposing the word "Labor" in the party designation.

The main difference between this party and other labor and agrarian parties organized since the Civil War is that it stresses economic questions while its predecessors hawked all sorts of freak money schemes. The Socialist Party (as will be seen by its resolution on the Labor Party on another page) has observed a tolerant attitude towards the Labor Party. It recognizes that among large numbers of organized workers this movement has its origin in a sincere disgust for the childish and barren political policy of the elder statesmen of the American Federation of Labor. On questions such as lifting the blockade against Russia, recognizing the Russian and Irish republics, repudiating the League of Nations, the release of political and industrial prisoners, the restoration of all civil rights and opposing the conquest of Mexico the Farmer-Labor Party has taken as advanced a stand as that taken by the Socialist Party.

In formulating its principles it has advanced as far as any of the older labor parties of Australia and England. On the question of the socialization of industry it goes as far as any of these parties. Its points of agreement with the Socialist Party are more numerous than its points of disagreement.

For these reasons the reader may ask, "Why a new party?" This question should be directed to the new party, not to the Socialist Party. The Farmer-Labor Party's citation of grievances that have accumulated as a result of the war shows that the position of the Socialist Party during the war was correct. The great mass
of the delegates to the Farmer-Labor Party convention had disagreed with our position that the war was not fought for "democracy." Only actual experience such as the Russian blockade, the peace treaty, injunctions, arbitrary seizures, arrests and deportations, bogus patriotism, anti-strike legislation, Palmerism, conscript labor, destruction of civil rights, profiteering, etc., convinced them of the menacing dangers which a capitalist plutocracy thrust upon them.

The Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party, by its foresight and clear vision of what would happen, by holding aloft its banner of no compromise with imperialist wars and militarism, by its courageous facing of official and mob terrorism, because of its lone voice raised in a period of black reaction and brutal vandalism, has earned the respect and the right to the support of the masses in this election.

Its candidates, Eugene V. Debs and Seymour Stedman, never for a moment had any illusions about the "democratic" professions of the war lords and the capitalist press. Debs today in his prison cell symbolizes all that the intelligent workers of the nation want. The Socialist Party has been faithful to its trust and to its claims upon the working class.

The future of the Farmer-Labor Party depends not only on its program but also upon its actions when it elects representatives to power. It depends also upon its leadership. Should the Gompers type gain ascendency in the party it would degenerate into a meaningless collection of "statesmen" who would use the party as a bargaining asset for place and power for its officials.

Its selection of Christensen for President, a man unknown in the struggles of the workers, a man who was willing to withdraw in favor of LaFollette, shows the danger of deserting the Socialist Party for the Farmer-Labor Party. LaFollette, Christensen's choice, was unwilling to have the platform contain a protest on behalf of the Negro. LaFollette opposed any "radical" platform. He wanted a "liberal" platform that would not offend many conservative voters, one that would not suggest a "class party."

If LaFollette and his views can be satisfactory to Christensen the latter cannot be satisfactory to determined and enlightened workingmen and women. A class party of the workers is needed. The Socialist Party is a class party of the workers. Through the most trying conditions of nearly 50 years the Socialists of the United States have urged this need. For 20 years the Socialist Party has been a party of the work-
ers, urging through storm and stress, disappointment and misunderstanding, hostility and misrepresentation, the need of independent political action by the working class.

It stands for a complete reorganization of the capitalist system by abolishing capitalist ownership of transportation, production and distribution. While marching to this goal the Socialist Party seizes every opportunity through legislation to acquire more power for the workers and rendering assistance to the workers in all their organized strikes and struggles. This work is the task of a class party of the workers, skilled and unskilled, of all colors and nationalities, and of both sexes. The Socialist Party recognizes and, since its organization, has proclaimed the antagonism that exists between the working class and those who exploit the working-class. It is a party of the workers in this struggle of the classes.

This antagonism of the classes is apparent today as it never was before. It is brutally exhibited in the hatred of the employers' organizations for the claims of the workers; in the craven fear of labor displayed by Congress and the public officials that enact anti-strike legislation, those who crushed the miners' strike and who defeated the slaves of the Gary steel hells. It is exhibited in the bogus "patriotic" organizations financed by the great banks and corporations. It is displayed in the malignant editorials of powerful capitalist journals.

It is knowledge of these opposing interests between capitalists and workers that has enabled the Socialist Party to hold its banner aloft during the war and to forecast the black reaction that has followed the war.

The Socialist Party and its candidates deserve the support of the workingmen and women of the nation. No mistake is made in voting the ticket headed by Debs and Stedman.

ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TOWARD THE LABOR PARTY.

At its January, 1919 meeting, the National Executive committee of the Socialist Party issued the following statement addressed to members of the party with regard to the formation of Labor parties in this country:

The formation of Labor parties in several of the larger cities has aroused the interest of members of the Socialist Party. This new political party, an expression of the radicalism of the times as well as a protest against the conservatism of the American Federation of Labor, may spread to other industrial centers. In view of this possi-
bility, we, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, remind every Socialist Party member:

1. That State and National Constitutions of the Socialist Party forbid members from joining any other political organization.

2. That endorsement of any other political organization by any member of subdivision of the Socialist Party is equally prohibited.

3. That even though the new Labor Party may proclaim in favor of industrial democracy, may enunciate the fact of the class struggle, and may profess internationalism, the history of all such organizations has shown that they must be judged by their deeds rather than their promises.

Socialist Party members are asked to view this new political venture in the light of these facts. They should understand that it is the persistent and uncompromising attitude of the Socialist Party, together with the sweep of late events, which accounts for the radical expressions in Labor Party platforms. It is only by continuing our position and our economic interpretation of events that we can hope to organize the workers so that they will not only declare for industrial democracy, but will also act through the Socialist Party to gain this goal.

On the other hand, our members must realize the futility of destructive criticism of this new Labor Party. Where the Labor Party is dominated by old party politicians and corrupt influences, there we must oppose the Labor Party. But where it is a rank and file movement, declaring for independent political action, based upon the class struggle, we must refrain from criticism which would result in enmities and hostilities. We must maintain an open mind and a philosophical attitude towards this new political manifestation. In times like these, a measure of common sense instead of prejudice, because of the competition in the political field, should rule us.

Middle and Western Europe is ablaze with revolution; Great Britain is making strides towards Socialism; unrest and dissatisfaction is fast ripening in the Orient; Russia is living through the labor pains of an industrial democracy. Times such as these may give rise to a new party in this country, Socialist in all but name; but unless such a party should manifest its character by proof in action, all Socialists must maintain their position of advance guards of labor's forces upon the political field. Only by this method can we hope to educate all workers in the fundamental principles as enunciated and practiced by our party, and which are absolutely essential to the winning of the world for the workers.
A. F. OF L. POLITICAL POLICY.

The political policy of the American Federation of Labor has been to discourage and oppose independent political action by labor and in the interest of labor. Mr. Gompers, the author and expounder of this policy, contends that the workers should endeavor to secure legislation from the very parties which he has denounced over and over again.

This policy is glorified as one of “punishing enemies and rewarding friends.” The records of Congressmen and other officials are published and the workers are advised to support this “friend” and oppose that “enemy.” In practice this policy has made of the A. F. of L. an annex of the Democratic party, this party having received A. F. of L. endorsement in presidential campaigns for many years.

In the early 'nineties and late 'eighties the organized workers sustained some disastrous defeats at the hands of courts and governors. The Homestead strike, the brutal struggle with the bosses by the miners in the Coeur d'Alene district of Idaho, the defeat of the switchmen at Buffalo and the uprising of the miners in Tennessee, made the workers consider the necessity of placing their class representatives in offices of public power.

A. F. of L. Favors Collectivism.

At the convention in 1885 the Federation by a large majority urged its members to “give cordial support to the independent political movements of the working class.” Nothing definite came of this, but by 1893 the disasters suffered by the organized workers were so numerous that in the convention of that year an important resolution was adopted. It congratulated the trade unionists of Great Britain on having adopted political action, adopted a platform which included famous plank 10 in favor of “the collective ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution,” and concluded with a resolve that the “delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.”

Mr. Gompers supported this resolution, saying that “An intelligent use of the ballot by the toilers in their own interest must largely contribute to lighten the burdens of our economic struggles.” A motion to strike out a recommendation that affiliated unions give this resolution “favorable consideration” was carried by a narrow margin, 1,253 to 1,182. But the resolution itself was carried in the convention by the overwhelming vote of 2,244 to 67!
Following this convention unions began to adopt this program. As this tendency gathered momentum Gompers, McGuire and Strasser demanded that famous plank 10 be stricken out. Only a partial list of the unions that adopted the program can be given, but they include the mine workers, iron and steel workers, lasters, tailors, wood workers, flint glass workers, brewery workers, painters, furniture workers, street railway employees, waiters, shoe workers, textile workers, mule spinners, machinists, cigar makers and German printers. It was also approved by 11 state federations and many city central bodies.

Old Guard Secures Reversal.

In the convention of 1894 the decision in favor of independent political action was repudiated, Gompers leading the attack. Delegates of unions whose members had endorsed independent action, including the painters, some of the miners' delegates, the iron and steel workers, the tailors and the lasters, violated the wishes of the members and voted against the program. Ever since this the A. F. of L. has gone begging to the two capitalist parties and has been "rewarding friends and punishing enemies."

By 1906 the British workers were sending their own representatives into public office while in this country the organized workers were impotent politically. In fact, conditions had become so bad here that in March of that year Mr. Gompers and his associates met in Washington and framed a protest called "Labor's Bill of Grievances." This document complained to Congress that "we have long, patiently, and in vain waited for redress" of labor's wrongs. Intelligent workers had to endure the spectacle of their "leaders" crawling before the enemies of the workers and begging that something be done.

In 1908 the results achieved were revealed in another document called "Labor's Protest to Congress." It was another confession of failure to get anything from Congress. The Democratic ticket was endorsed in 1908 and in 1912. While professing to be non-partisan as between the two enemy parties, facts show that the A. F. of L. had become simply an auxiliary of the Democratic party. In the Weekly News Letter of the A. F. of L. of October 24, 1914, Mr. Gompers became enthusiastic over the work of the Democratic party in the states and in the nation.

But in 1913 the newspapers published under great headlines the exposures of Martin M. Mulhall, agent of the National Association of Manufacturers. With docu-
ments and letters he showed how this organization managed affairs at Washington and among its tools was one of Mr. Gompers' "union card" Congressmen! He allowed the manufacturers to use his franking privilege and a room at the Capitol. Mulhall showed that he had many trade union officials on his payroll all over the country. The manufacturers knew how to "reward friends" too.

Gompers' Policy a Failure.

Again Mr. Gompers admitted the barren results of his political policy. In charges against the activities of the manufacturers he made this admission:

"We are, in the United States, not less than two decades behind many of the European countries in the protection of the life, health and limb of the workers. We are behind England ten years; we are behind Germany twenty years."

In 1912 Mr. Gompers boasted that in Colorado almost the entire state government was controlled by his "friends of labor," many of them having union cards. Among the union card "friends" was the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor and 24 others. There were 10 members of the State Senate and 12 members of the House that were listed as "friends."

Yet under this regime of Mr. Gompers' "friends" the most frightful brutalities against the striking mine workers were shortly after committed. In one black day the Ludlow massacre took place, in which men, women and children were murdered by the thugs of the mine owners. Frenzied mothers clasping babies to their breast were shot down like rabbits.

Mr. Gompers' policy proved to be a colossal fraud in Colorado and the blood of union men and their loved ones was the price paid to prove it. In that same year 42 Socialists and Labor men sat in the British House of Commons, not begging, but fighting the battles of the working class and commanding the respect of their enemies.

In 1916 Mr. Gompers, despite all experience, again followed this barren policy. In December, 1919, there followed the customary denunciation of the old parties for their black reaction and enmity to the working class. This document is known as "Labor's Bill of Rights." It protests against the denial of the right to organize the steel workers, against the attitude of the employers' group at President Wilson's Industrial Conference, against government by injunction, against anti-strike legislation, and citing many other grievances.

Now after all the threats of all these years to "punish
enemies,” what does this policy mean? Does it organize and mass the workers’ political power in any effective way? Mr. Gompers’ admissions of failure all these years are an answer to these questions. But he also specifically states that the voting power of the workers is not mobilized by his policy. Testifying before the House Lobby Investigation Committee in Washington, December, 1913, Mr. Gompers said:

“As a matter of fact, during the 1908 campaign it was studiously circulated and repeated time and time again by the spellbinders who were opposed to us that I had pledged the 2,000,000 votes of the workmen to the Democratic party, that I carried the workmen’s votes around in my vest pocket, etc. I took occasion to say that I could dictate the vote of not more than one citizen in the United States; that I have three sons, all of them voters, and I could not, if I would, and would not if I could, dictate how they should vote; that the only vote I could control was my own. I tried to emphasize that fact upon every occasion. * * *”

What folly then to threaten to “punish enemies” by a policy that admittedly does not mobilize power against them! And Mr. Gompers is correct. His policy is such that it has not affected, in all probability, 500 votes in any election. Bryan was defeated in 1908 though he was supported by Mr. Gompers. In 1912 Wilson was supported and elected, but Wilson received 100,000 less votes than Bryan did, showing that it was the split in the Republican party that elected Wilson, not the support of Gompers. If the latter had any influence at all it was to deprive Wilson of votes. Wilson was re-elected in 1916 on the plea that he would “keep us out of war” and Mr. Gompers supported him, with what results we know.

The Socialist party offers an intelligent program to the working class in place of the barren, discouraging, and reactionary policy pursued by Mr. Gompers in politics. It frankly recognizes both of the old parties as the enemies of labor. Progress requires the defeat of the parties of capitalism and the triumph of the working class as an independent and effective political party. The Socialist party is organized to achieve this end.

THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE.

The National Nonpartisan League was organized a few years ago by the farmers of North Dakota as a direct result of the failure of the capitalist parties to enact badly needed reforms. It advocates the acquisition by the state of terminal and local grain elevators; establishment of a state marketing system; establishment of a system of state hail insurance; establishment
of a state agency to purchase and distribute farm supplies; creation of a state rural credit system to make loans to farmers on a four per cent basis.

The League draws its membership almost exclusively from actual farmers, i.e., landowners and tenant farmers. The membership fee is eight dollars per annum, which automatically bars all farmhands so far as they are not barred by the first requirement.

The League picks its candidates for political office in mass meetings of its members who must, however, pledge themselves to vote for and to support the candidates so chosen both in primaries and at elections irrespective of their own political affiliation. Thus the League permits Republicans, Democrats, Progressives and Socialists to support its candidates, and defeat their own candidates and demands that these parties refrain from putting up their own candidates altogether.

It appears that the landowning farmers, having freed themselves from their mortgage holders and other creditors through the high prices of foodstuffs, are feeling a thirst for political power. They are slowly groping their way toward political supremacy in the Northwestern states where the farmers already are holding the economic supremacy.

Another significant fact about the League is its attempt to be non-partisan and non-national. Of course, it does not deny its political aspirations. But inasmuch as it tries to draw its supporters from all existing political parties, it must needs pose as non-partisan. The sole, or at least the main political and economic benefit aimed at by the League is to advance the interests of the land-owning class.

Early Nonpartisanship.

There is nothing new about this non-partisanship. The People's Party, for example, and the Henry George Single Tax movement were also non-partisan movements. Every middle class reform movement abhors the idea of organizing a new political party for its old and conservative aims. If it does venture to launch a brand new political party, as the Progressives did in 1912, it is doomed to failure, for such revolutionary tactics are not suited to their old ideas.

None of the League's demands embodies the principle of democratic management of the state industrial establishments required by it. None of these demands recognizes even the existence of the farm laborers to say nothing of the ideas advanced by Socialists for its emancipation.
The aim of the League is to invoke state aid and the political machinery of the state to increase the landowners' rent and to keep a larger share of profits obtained from agriculture for the landowners.

It is not improbable that on many occasions the Nonpartisan League will align itself with the reactionary political and economic forces. Being a class of owners their interests are in conflict with those of agricultural workers and their actions in the long run must be dictated by their interests. The League is likely to oppose state insurance of agricultural workers against sickness, old age and unemployment. The League is likely to oppose the fixing of maximum prices for farm produce and the compulsory sales of such produce. During the war its representatives in Congress succeeded in inserting in the Food Control Bill minimum sales prices for wheat to be paid to the farmers, so that the consumer may be compelled to pay at least two dollars per bushel of wheat and as much more as the farmers, through the aid of their state grain elevators, will be able to exact from him.

The N. P. L. Position.

The Republican character of the League stands out pretty clearly in North Dakota. In other states it may become Democratic. The main feature of the League, however, is that it is organized to help the new landowning class of the country to political power.

Whereas in European countries the usual sequence of political power was from the landowning class to the capitalist class and from the latter gradually to the working class, in the United States, the reverse seems to be the case, from the manufacturing interests to the landowners.

But this contradiction is only apparent. The landowners have been in power in the Eastern manufacturing states and to a certain extent, are even now. The country farmers, together with the city real estate owners, make up a solid reactionary mainstay in most of the eastern legislatures. In the great manufacturing state of New York, the farmers with the industrial interests are able to defeat almost any labor reform.

In the Western States the political power was grabbed, together with the franchises and big land grants, by the great corporation or trusts: railroads, copper, iron ore, coal, oil and other interests. Now the agricultural landowners are seeking their share of political power. The Nonpartisan League is organized to secure that power.

The attitude of the Socialist Party toward the NonPartisan League was clearly expressed in a resolution
passed at the St. Louis Convention in 1917, in which it emphatically repudiated affiliation with the Nonpartisan League on the ground that the League was essentially interested in the acquisition of political power for a "certain division of the industrial class of the United States;" whereas the historic mission of the Socialist Party was the economic emancipation of the working-class.

It further enjoined all "state organizations facing the solution of this question to remember that to fuse or to compromise is to be swallowed up and utterly destroyed;" and urged them to "maintain the revolutionary position of the Socialist Party and maintain in the utmost possible vigor the propaganda of Socialism, unadulterated by association of office seekers...."

The attitude of the party was epitomized in the final sentence of the resolution: "The Social revolution, not political office, is the end and aim of the Socialist Party. No Compromise, No Political trading."

The League members of Congress, likewise, all voted affirmatively in favor of expelling Congressman Victor L. Berger from his seat on two occasions.

**Attacks upon the League.**

It must not be forgotten, however, that the Nonpartisan League has suffered terrific persecution. The reactionaries of the entire Northwest, well financed by the Chamber of Commerce and their capitalist organizations, have carried on a campaign of terrorization against the Nonpartisan League and all its spokesmen. There is published in Bismarck, North Dakota, a paper called "The Red Flame" in which the old, hackneyed slanders against Socialism — free love, atheism, lack of patriotism — are attributed to the Nonpartisans and are peddled to a credulous public week after week.

For example, when Kate Richards O'Hare got into trouble at Bowman, North Dakota, the anti-Nonpartisans began a ferocious campaign against both the League and Mrs. O'Hare, attacking her because of her alleged connection with the League, and attacking the League because one of its members had harbored such a wicked woman. Nonpartisan League speakers have been lynched and tarred and feathered. Nonpartisan leaders have been sent to prison. Although there has been a disposition on the part of the leaders of the organization to back water and to appear "respectable," the reactionary elements have not slackened in their fiendish assaults upon them and their organization.
SECTION IV.

RUSSIA.

During the past four years there have been three successive groups in control of the Russian government: (1) the Czar, the hereditary nobles and great landowners; (2) the liberal group of Milyukov, Lvov and Kerensky; and (3) the Socialist administration of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Socialist (Communist) Party.

In the United States there has been one group in control; the Democratic party under the leadership of the "liberal" President Woodrow Wilson.

The conduct of the Wilson administration toward the three successive Russian regimes is proof of the following facts:

(1) The government of the United States, as well as of the other Entente Allies, reflects the interests of the bankers and big business men in their opposition to the aspirations of the working people of the world for industrial democracy and international peace.

(2) The half-way, or "liberal," position in this struggle between big business and the workers is futile.

(3) Only a party and a government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers, can serve the interests of the workers—who form the majority of the people in every country.

In 1917 the United States entered the world war. The declaration of war came at the moment when the vast trade of the United States in war materials was threatened by the unrestricted submarine campaign of Germany. The United States entered the war and continued in it as an ally or active associate of the Entente Powers.

The Czar as Our Ally.

One of those Powers was Russia. The government of Russia had been at that time out of mind, an absolute autocracy. The character of that government was an international scandal. "Russian" had come to be a byword to describe the qualities of ruthless oppression. The Czar's government represented the interests of a small clique: nobility, great landowners, large commercial interests. It was responsible to itself alone. The people had no voice in its affairs. In the perpetration of its autocratic control over the Russian masses it stopped at no measure of violence and repression. The
number of people this government exiled to Siberia for political opposition between 1866 and 1910 alone has been estimated at 50,000. It executed between four and five thousand people during that period for the same reason.

What the objects of the Russian government were in the war with Germany may be gained from a study of the secret treaties negotiated with England, France and Italy during the war and made public by the Soviet government upon its assumption to power.

On March 4, 1915, for instance, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the British and French Ambassadors a memorandum which later received the assent of both their governments. It demanded the “annexation to Russia of the following territories as the result of the present war: the city of Constantinople; the western shores of the Bosphorus, Marmora Sea, and the Dardanelles; Southern Phrygia, to the line of Enos-Media; the shores of Asia Minor, between Bosphorus, the River Samara, and a point of Ismud Gulf to be subsequently defined; the islands of Marmora Sea and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.” Other documents show that England and France agreed to allow Russia “complete freedom in fixing her western boundaries” and also that Russia be allowed considerable territorial acquisitions in Persia, Afghanistan and elsewhere; that German trade be driven out of China, etc.

In a word, the Russian government aimed to extend the Russian Empire over a vast territory and to strengthen its economic position at the expense of the Central Powers.

With this government of Russia the United States government had always been in most cordial official relations. Its ambassador had been accorded full diplomatic honors. Its representatives received all the privileges and attention of plenipotentiaries of a friendly foreign power.

The First Revolution.

In March, 1917, only one month before the United States entered the war, the masses of the Russian people, exasperated beyond measure by the continuation of a conflict for aims with which they had no sympathy and hardships of the most extreme character, and driven to desperation by the accumulation of years of oppression and misrule, revolted against the government of the Czar. Taking advantage of this mass movement a small group of constitutional monarchists and republicans—most of them intellectuals and business men whose
interests were not favored by the Czarist regime—seized the reigns of power and held them for a few months. Milyukov, Lvov, and Kerensky successively attempted to hold the government together without any mandate from the people. No revision of war aims was made by the new regime. In fact the continuation of the war was an issue stressed by the new leaders on every possible occasion.

The United States government accorded diplomatic recognition to the new Russian government within six days after its formation. Boris Bakhmetev was later received as Russian Ambassador at Washington to succeed Georges Bakhmetev, the Ambassador of the Czar's government. The close relation between the United States and the Russian government continued. Missions were sent by the Russian government to make vast purchases in America. The railroad mission alone actually purchased $50,000,000 worth of material. Every facility was accorded these missions. The Treasury Department, with the sanction of the Department of State, advanced loans to Mr. Bakhmetev between June 6th and November 1st, 1917 to the amount of $187,729,750 at the expense of the American people. The expenditure of this money later by Mr. Bakhmetev in furthering the propaganda against the Russian government which succeeded the one to which he owed his appointment has become a public scandal.

Continued prosecution of the war for aims with which the masses had little sympathy, the refusal of the Allies to revise these aims in accordance with democratic principles, and the postponement of popular elections, industrial and land reforms, caused the collapse of the Kerensky government. All over Russia organizations of workers, soldiers and peasants had been forming to voice the desire of the masses for peace, land, bread, and control of the government. These "Soviets" at first delegated powers to cabinet after cabinet of different complexions. Now they began to demand power for themselves.

The Soviets.

"All power to the Soviets" came to be the universal demand. Colonel Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross in Russia, who saw as much of the revolution and its results as any foreigner, says in his story, written in book form by William Hard:

"These Soviets instead of being a mere German intrigue, were a tidal wave of irresistible popular emotion, as spontaneous, as Russian, as a folk-song on the Volga."
On November 7, 1917, Kerensky and his government fell. The soldiers, workmen's and peasants' organizations, supported by the majority of the Russian people, took control. These Soviets elected by and responsible to the working masses in their various labor unions automatically became the governing bodies of Russia: the All-Russian Congress of Soviets became the national legislature; its executive committee, the cabinet. The city and country Soviets became the legislative bodies of the local regions. The popular demand was so unanimous for the new regime that the revolution was accomplished practically without bloodshed. Only a few hundred lives were lost in the November revolution.

The new regime was the first revolutionary Socialist national administration in history. True to its pledges, it began at once to secure control of Russia's economic life for the workers and small farmers. Democratic management of the government and industry by the workers for the benefit of the masses was substituted for private ownership and autocratic control for the personal wealth and gratification of the wealthy classes. The big estates were divided among the poor farmers to work as their own, free from the tyrannies of the landowners. All who worked by hand or brain were given a vote—in the government of the factory as well as of the state. All others were deprived of every vestige of control.

Socialists in Action.

The real nature of the new regime soon became apparent to the world: a Socialist Party, not preaching, but acting; a workers' government not seeking power, but in possession of it, and dominated by a firm determination to establish complete control for the masses over an area of one-fifth of the surface of the globe. The success of the Russian Republic would be the greatest impetus to Socialism in history. Its failure would set the workers' movement back at least a generation. The issue was clear. The new world was at last arrayed in the flesh against the old.

Not only have the United States government and the governments of the Allies not accorded recognition to the Russian Socialist Republic, but they have subjected the Russian government and its leaders to the most powerful and aggressive opposition encountered by any nation short of subjection in history. In each of the great Allied nations the press, the pulpit, the school, the government, and big business have united to secure the overthrow of the political institutions of Russia.
Every possible means, lawful and unlawful, has been used to further this campaign.

The government of the Allied nations undertook to foment rebellion against the established government of Russia by intrigue, bribery and espionage. Russian seditionists plotting to overthrow the Soviet government by force and violence received aid and comfort from Allied representatives. Roger Lewis, the well-known correspondent, writing in Collier's Weekly of December 6, 1919, stated that:

"I can prove that diplomatic representatives of the United States and the associated governments, while they were still on outwardly friendly if unofficial terms with the Soviet government, backed with large sums of money various counter-revolutionary bands and conspiracies which were not only anti-Bolshevik but anti-Russian in their character."

The Allied governments undertook to subsidize vast military operations conducted by reactionary and monarchist elements seeking to saddle the old regime by force of arms upon the Russian masses. Admiral Kolchak in Siberia, General Denikin in the South, General Yudenitch on the West, General Wrangel in the Crimea, and the Polish armies, received arms, equipment and money from the United States, England, France, and Italy.

Aid for Poland.

There has been no public accounting of the money spent by the United States in these operations. Official English figures up to July, 1919, showed a total of $345,000,000. The latest campaign is that of the Polish army with $100,000,000 worth of military equipment sold by the War Department at Washington to the Polish authorities for a promise to pay for them in six years. Each new campaign has dashed itself to pieces on the rock of the indomitable defense by the Russian masses of their country and its institutions.

Not until the Allied powers thus sought by intrigue, armed intervention and the moral and material support of seditionists seeking to overthrow the Russian government did the Soviet administration resort to stern measures to suppress rebellion. The forces of disruption, heartened by aid from the Allies, sought to destroy the government by force and violence. The government protected itself and the Russian masses to which it was responsible.

The conduct of the Soviet authorities was, considering the circumstances, mild and humane. In comparison with the methods of the Czar it was nothing. It may be left to the imagination what the Wilson administration would have done under similar provocation—not a
war three thousand miles away, but foreign invasion on
every frontier; not a hysterical imagining about plots
within, but plots hatched in violence against the govern-
ment; not newspaper stories about foreign gold foment-
ing rebellion, but rebellion already fomented, and by the
most powerful nations in the world—all at a period of
most profound social, economic and political domestic
change.

Under such pretexts as that of protecting Allied stores
in Vladivostok and Murmansk from German troops
(who were thousands of miles away), and of protecting
Czech soldiers from armed German prisoners (who were
not armed), England and France waged an aggressive
military campaign against the Soviet troops in North
Russia and Siberia. Without authorization from Congress
to conduct war, and in violation of the United States con-
stitution, American troops by authorization of President
Wilson took an active part in these operations. Up to
July, 1919, 139 American boys lost their lives and 301
more were maimed in this amazing attempt to destroy the
institutions of the Russian people.

In violation of every dictate of humanity, as well as
of the letter of international law, the Allied governments
have maintained a complete blockade of Soviet Russia.
All communication with Russia has been cut off—mail,
telegraph and transportation. The Democratic adminis-
tration at Washington has refused to issue license for
the export and import of goods between the United
States and Russia and has refused passage to mail mat-
ter or cable message to or from points in Soviet terri-
tory. Even though legal authority for this action was
based on war legislation (the Espionage and Trading
with the Enemy Acts) the United States government has
continued this blockade since the time when President
Wilson stated to Congress "the war thus comes to an
end."

The fruits of the blockade for the entire population of
Russia have been economic need, suffering and starva-
tion. When this policy was first discussed at the meet-
ing of the "Council of Ten" on January 16, 1919, the
official minutes quote the views of Premier Lloyd
George as follows:

"Mr. Lloyd George stated that there seemed to be three
possible policies: (1) Military Intervention * * * (2) A cor-
don. The second suggestion, is to besiege Russia. Mr.
Lloyd George wondered if those present realized what this
would mean. From the information furnished him Bolshe-
vik Russia has no corn, but within this territory there are
150,000,000 men, women and children. There is now star-
vation in Petrograd and Moscow. This is not a health cor-
don, but a death cordon. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the people who would die are just the people that the Allies desire to protect. * * * the cordon policy is a policy which, as humane people, those present could not consider."

The results of this policy, afterwards adopted "by those present," show Mr. Lloyd George to have been its most discerning critic.

The government of the United States has, since the November Revolution, subjected Russian citizens living in the United States to the most brutal persecution. Without warrant in law or common humanity the Department of Justice has seized, tortured, jailed and deported Russian citizens whose only offense in many cases has been the fact of their nationality.

In the pursuance of these activities the Department of Justice has resorted to methods which strike at the root of liberty and freedom. Agents of the Department have even posed as sympathizers with Soviet Russia, joined radical organizations and incited their members to illegal acts to facilitate their arrest and persecution.

The official representative of the Russian government in the United States, Mr. L. A. Martens and his staff, was treated with scarcely less indignity. The government at Washington raised no interposition when the offices of Mr. Martens in June, 1919, were forcibly raided by order of a state legislative committee of New York acting under the direction of Archibald Stevenson, a prominent member of one of the most influential and reactionary political clubs in the country. Mr. Martens and his staff were subjected to the most partisan and abusive public investigation. His papers and documents were inspected by paid agents of the Committee and used in press statements to discredit him. The Department of Justice went so far as to issue a warrant for his arrest on a trumped-up charge. He would probably have been deported had it not been for the efforts of one courageous official in the Department of Labor.

The character of the treatment which Mr. Martens has received at the hands of United States government and other officials has been emphasized by the scrupulous care he has taken to avoid even the suspicion of any illegal conduct. The blamelessness of his activities in this country is attested by the fact that no criminal action has been brought against him for the violation of any Federal or State law—and this in spite of the organized efforts of the most powerful official and unofficial agencies in the country to discredit him.

The government of the United States in company with the governments allied and associated with it, has used
every avenue of publicity at its command to discredit the government of Russia and to bring it into disrespect among the American people. In the accomplishment of these ends it has stopped at nothing.

The Committee on Public Information issued and sent broadcast throughout the country copies of forged documents since repudiated even by the bitterest opponents of Russia, in an effort to support its claim, now admitted in all quarters as absurd, that the Russian government was set up and financed by the Imperial German government with which the United States was then at war. The Attorney General of the United States, without warrant in law, has sent out over his own signature press publicity to newspaper and magazine editors throughout the country containing the most vicious fabrications about the Russian government and the personal character of the leaders.

Committees of the United States senate, as well as local legislative bodies, have been used to give wide newspaper publicity to slanders upon the Russian people and the government of their choosing. The Department of State and other government agencies have continuously given out press statements predicting the early downfall of the Russian government, and misrepresenting in a manner equally gross conditions prevailing under the Soviets. The fact that subsequent events have proven the falsity of this propaganda has not lessened in any material way the effect it has had upon the public mind.

Official Persecution.

The continuous efforts of the Soviet government to come to a peaceful settlement of all its difficulties with the United States and other Entente governments throw the conduct of these governments into an even more sinister perspective. A careful compilation of these offers from official sources was published in the Nation of January 17, 1920. It discloses the fact that from August 5, 1918 to December 5, 1919 the Soviet government made no less than 21 separate attempts to open negotiations with one or more of the Allied governments. Three of these offers were made directly and exclusively to the United States government.

Among the specific guarantees put forward to the Allies in these communications were absolute non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations; recognition of the debts incurred by former governments; and vast concessions in the national resources of Russia (with ample protection for the sovereignty of the Russian masses) in return for economic assistance. No acknowl-
edgment or answer was ever given by the United States government or the government of any other Allied nation to these offers of negotiations. The Department of State at Washington has even gone so far as to suppress all information concerning them.

There is but one advantage that the government of Soviet Russia has gained from the attacks that have been massed upon it. The fact of its survival in the face of such unprecedented difficulties is conclusive proof of its stability and strength. No government could have remained in power through three years of foreign invasion, revolution, famine and distress, unless it held the confidence of the masses—least of all a government of awakened Russia. The workers and peasants discovered their power when they threw off the Czar and Kerensky. The government of Lenin would have been treated with as little ceremony if it had not been satisfactory to the people as the masses have become more conscious, more militant and more completely armed and equipped since 1917.

The Republican Party has proven the identity of its interests with the Democratic Party in the United States by its failure to oppose the Russian policy of the Democratic administration. Apart from the objections of Senator Johnson to the use of United States troops in Russia, for obvious personal political effect, the Republican representation in Congress have raised no protest against the treatment of the Russian people and their government by the agencies of the United States government both at home and abroad.

In all of this campaign the government of the United States, as well as of its Allies, has been supported, as it has echoed their desires, by the powerful business interests. The newspapers have given columns of space to attacks upon the Russian government and have suppressed the statements of its sympathizers. Fabrications about conditions in Russia have received first page features; facts have been relegated to the editorial waste basket. Petrograd fell eight times in the columns of the New York papers and not once in reality. Every organ of public opinion in any way owned or controlled by the business interests has followed the same pursuits. Even the schools and the churches have, for the most part, been used for the same ends.

In the face of this concentrated attack of great forces against Russia the objections of liberals and well meaning, but detached, individuals here and in Europe have been singularly futile.
A Wilson "Point"

No better illustration can be found of the futility of the "liberal" than the efforts of President Wilson himself to secure fair treatment for Russia in the early months of the Soviet regime. In his famous speech of January 8, 1918 before Congress, outlining his Fourteen Points of a just and lasting peace he demanded:

"The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire."

Mr. Wilson very wisely and prophetically remarked further that "the treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

He further sent a message of congratulation to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets sitting at Moscow March 14-16, 1918, in which he said:

"Although the government of the United States is unhappily not in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the Congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence for her own affairs and full restoration to her great role in the life of Europe and the modern world."

The record of the United States government under the direction of the same Woodrow Wilson in its subsequent relations with Russia is sufficient commentary on the effect of the individual liberal, even in the highest places, upon the vast economic forces that determine the policies of government.

Whatever opposition has been effective against the Russian policies of the Allies has been the organized power of the working masses. The amount of this effect has been proportionate to the amount of conscious organization which has been achieved by the workers themselves.

The Workers Act

Large shipments of arms from Allied interests to the enemies of Soviet Russia have been held up by the refusal of the workers in Seattle, at Italian ports and elsewhere to load them on vessels for shipment. That the
possibilities of organized opposition on the part of the workers in the Allied nations was all that prevented the military conquest of Russia by the Allied governments is indicated by a statement of Lloyd George at the meeting of the "Council of Ten" in Paris on January 16, 1919. The official minutes quote his remarks as follows: "As to putting it ['The Bolsheviki movement'] down by the sword, is there anyone here who proposes it? * * * If he now proposed to send a thousand British troops into Russia for that purpose, the armies would mutiny. The same applies to United States troops in Siberia; also to Canadians and French as well." President Wilson is quoted as stating at the same meeting that he "would not be surprised to find that the reason why British and United States troops would not be ready to enter Russia to fight the Bolsheviki was explained by the fact that the troops were not all sure that if they put down Bolshevism they would not bring about a re-establishment of the old order."

The case is a clear one. The Democratic administration and the Republican "opposition" have demonstrated beyond question their attitude toward Russia. They, like the governing groups in the other Allied nations, represent those interests which are intent upon the defeat of the laboring masses in their struggle for liberty, freedom and a richer life. The liberal groups, lacking the power of large masses wielded by economic interests as well as by humane aspirations, are futile before the stupendous power of organized business. It is only the workers themselves who can help the cause of the workers and humanity.

The Socialist Party alone of American parties comes before the voters with clean hands as to Russia. It has voiced time and again, when all other parties were silent, its sympathy with the Russian masses in their stupendous struggle for emancipation. It has opposed every move of Allied policy in Russia. It has fought against the blockade, intervention in all its forms, and the sending of United States troops to North Russia and Siberia. It has stood four square upon the right of the Russian people to determine their own institutions in their own way free of foreign interference of any kind.

In the success of the Socialist Party lies not only the hope of the workers of the United States but the promise of friendship and humanity towards the workers of Russia and the institutions they have created.

On the Russian issue the Socialist Party can rightly claim the vote of every American worker.
AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND LATIN AMERICA

Imperial ambitions acquire a place in the foreign politics of a nation for two reasons. Either a reigning dynasty is anxious to extend its rule over other territories and peoples, or the bankers and capitalists of a nation seek loans and concessions in another country or strive to control the rich natural resources of other countries.

The United States entered upon an imperialist career at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898. American imperialism is purely capitalist and financial and is inspired by bankers and powerful magnates of capital.

An imperialist nation never seeks to control another imperialist nation. It seeks domination over weaker countries where there are rich natural resources and raw
materials, where the factory system has not been built up, where the governments are weak, and where their weakness makes them the prey of bullies. The workers of an imperialist nation are generally exploited by big capitalist firms. They produce enormous values which go into the hands of the exploiting capitalists. This surplus has become so enormous in countries like England and the United States that the capitalist class seeks to invest it abroad. When surplus capital is sent abroad the tendency is for the home governments to build powerful navies and enlarge their armies to protect this overseas capital of the investors.

When this period is reached a nation has become imperialistic. Capitalists or their agents invade the weaker and less developed countries like Mexico, China, Persia, etc. They seek to control ore beds, oil deposits, timber lands, ranches, coal deposits, gold mines, etc. They intrigue in native politics. They bribe public officials and encourage revolutions. They finance political parties and become interested in laws that will give them a strangle hold on the resources of these weaker countries.

As a result of these intrigues there is more or less disorder. News of this gets into the newspapers of the imperialist country. Well paid publicity men work up convincing stories of bloodshed and lawlessness. The impression is given that the weaker peoples are cursed with bandits, that the country “must be cleaned up.” The wires are pulled that lead to the imperialist government, the State Department protests to the native government, demands that its “citizens shall be protected,” battleships and troops begin to move, and the workers of the home country are hurled into Mexico, Persia, or China to overthrow the native government or to make it servile to the imperialist interests of a few hundred foreign capitalists.

The Panama “Revolution.”

Roosevelt “took Panama” in the interest of American commercial interests. Colombia, of which Panama was a province, did not want to part with her province except on her own terms. There was $40,000,000 of old junk, the rusting equipment of an old Panama canal company, at the Isthmus. The investors wanted to realize on this junk. Buana-Varilla, a French investor, organized the “revolution” in New York City which separated Panama from Colombia. In his book, “The Great Adventure At Panama,” he boasts that he prepared the “Proclamation of Independence.” He made the military arrangements. His wife designed the flag of the new
"republic." He set the time for the "revolution." He provided his agent, Doctor Amador, with the funds to finance the "revolution." He selected himself as the first Minister of Panama to Washington. After a talk with Roosevelt he was satisfied the latter would send a battleship to protect the schemers and the battleship was sent. All this was arranged in New York City unknown to the masses of people in Panama. Varilla and his associates in the canal company realized $40,000,000 on their junk!

The Seizure of Santo Domingo.

This is an unusually clear case of international robbery. It is what imperialism means. In November, 1916, the Wilson administration seized Santo Domingo and the people of that country have been ruled by American bayonets ever since. **A censorship is maintained and the civil rights of the masses no longer exist.** In 1905 President Roosevelt had taken over the customs houses in the interest of New York bankers. Taft and Wilson have continued the imperialist policies of Roosevelt. Their imperialism is referred to by Prof. Hart in his book on "The Monroe Doctrine" as a "combined policy of gold and steel." He writes that this policy "leads in the direction of annexing the whole island of Haiti with its two republics, and all Central America, with its five states." All in the interests of bankers and capitalists.

The Plots to Loot Mexico.

Mexico, however, is the biggest prize in the Western Hemisphere. It is fabulously rich in oil, minerals, timber and fertile soil. Under former President Diaz American and other foreign capitalists had bought or bribed great natural resources from this foul despot and his ruling associates. The masses of Mexicans were slaves to Mexican and foreign capitalists. They were beaten and robbed and even sold into slavery. In sheer desperation the Mexican workers rose in the Madero revolution. Then followed the Huerta counter-revolution, the Carranza revolution and the Obregon revolution.

During all this time the masses have been endeavoring to shake off the foreign capitalists while the latter have been intriguing to do to Mexico what has been done to Santo Domingo, Haiti and Panama. In December, 1918, American capitalists with investments in Mexico organized in New York City "to present a solid front in Washington," as the Journal of Commerce (Dec. 12) reported. On February 23, 1919, the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., announced the organization of an inter-
national committee of French, British and American bankers "for the protection of foreign investors in Mexican securities." The following day a Paris cable to The World contained this sinister announcement:

That Mexican problems have been the subject of formal discussion between the delegates of the Peace Conference and that Great Britain and France have indicated a willingness to leave to the United States adjustments of all questions in Mexico in which their nationals are interested, was revealed by the publication in Paris newspapers of the announcement of the formation of an international committee of bankers to protect the holders of Mexican securities.

The plot to raid Mexico has been engineered by these international bankers and was even the subject of a formal understanding by the delegates to the Peace Conference. On July 30, 1919, the New York Tribune printed a dispatch from Washington with this leading paragraph:

President Wilson, just before returning to this country from Paris, gave assurances to Great Britain and France that steps would be taken by this country to protect foreign interests in Mexico, according to information obtained from usually well informed sources here.

The dispatch proceeds to state that Canadians with interests in Mexico cabled Sir Robert Borden "urging that something be done in Mexico" and that they received a cable in reply stating that "President Wilson was willing to take a stronger stand in Mexico." It further stated that it is "common knowledge that virtually every (oil) company is paying large sums of money to the leaders of bandits in the neighborhood" of Tampico, Mexico. All in the same news dispatch from Washington.

In the closing months of the same year William O. Jenkins, American Consular Agent at Puebla, was "kidnapped" by the Mexican bandit, Cordova. This "kidnapping" has never been cleared up and it is charged that this was a mutual arrangement with the bandit to secure the invasion of American forces.

Senator Fall, of New Mexico, is listed in the Congressional Directory as one who is "engaged * * * in mining in Mexico." How large his investments are is not known. Yet Senator Fall, noted for his belief in Mexican intervention, was made chairman of a committee to "investigate" Mexico in the summer of 1920. On May 31 he made an insolent report recommending that the Mexicans should amend their Constitution to suit foreign capitalist investors and as a bribe suggested that a loan be made if the amendment was enacted! Other recommendations were made which if suggested to a big
power like Great Britain would call for an apology or lead to war.

In July, 1919, correspondence between Charles F. Hunt, an El Paso broker and intimate friend of Senator Fall, and the Mexican Bandit, Pancho Villa, was published in Mexico City and later in this country. In March, 1916, Villa had raided Columbus, N. Mex., and killed 9 soldiers and 8 civilians, yet here was Senator Fall's personal friend writing to this same Villa suggesting that he meet Fall "at a place designated by you (Villa) on the border"! **Mexican bandits seem to be good allies of American imperialists!**

In the meantime the oil interests of this country maintain a press bureau which sends poisoned news to newspapers regarding Mexico. Lecturers have been hired to supply forums with intervention propaganda. They exert a powerful influence at Washington and have jingo Congressmen and Senators at their call. Their plan is to invoke some excuse for raiding Mexico, conscripting American workers, and then hurling them into war to save their dirty dollars invested in Mexican ranches, oil fields, mines, etc.

Since the return of President Wilson from Paris several threatening notes have been sent to the Mexican Government, thus indicating that the story of the meeting of the international bankers abroad is correct. Yet Wilson himself at an earlier period warned that American capitalists were back of the border rumors and the anti-Mexican propaganda. In a note to the Mexican Government of April 2, 1918, President Wilson called attention to "the necessity which may arise to impel it to PROTECT THE PROPERTY OF ITS CITIZENS IN MEXICO." On July 22, 1919, in another note he threatened to "ADOPT A RADICAL CHANGE IN POLICY WITH REGARD TO MEXICO."

These are the threats that go to Mexico. In public addresses beautiful promises are made. In his speech accepting the nomination in 1916 Mr. Wilson said:

The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be, and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they never could have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences, and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government, I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way.
Reconcile this promise with the threats that have been made, if you can, and for every promise made a threat can be quoted to match it. The Democratic administration policy consists of sweet words at home and threats in Mexico when the Mexicans attempt to throw off their foreign exploiters. The Republicans promise a "strong policy" toward Mexico which means the same thing—eventual war, war waged by workingmen for a handful of American bankers and capitalists, war for British and French bankers and capitalists. War to crush the aspirations of the Mexican workers. War that will leave the bones of American workers to rot on Mexican plains. War that capitalist imperialism may sweep across Mexico and down the South American continent to Cape Horn.

Workingmen should vote the ticket of the Socialist party to avert being used as cannon fodder for investing bankers and exploiting capitalists.

Vote for Debs and Stedman, the anti-imperialist candidates of the working class.

SECTION V., CIVIL LIBERTIES

President Wilson charges his critics "to prove that the power given the Government during the war has ever been unjustly used against the people; that a single citizen has been unwarrantably punished for any act of aggression or disloyalty against the nation; that any man has been punished for expressing his opinion. I have read charges to the contrary, but in each instance I have had the matter thoroughly looked into, and am in a position to contest the accuracy of any statement that the rights of a single citizen have been unjustly invaded." Interview at the White House, June 18, 1920.

I. WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLAGE.

Immediately on the outbreak of the war freedom of public discussion was sharply restricted. Meetings were in several places broken up by organized mobs; soldiers and sailors attacked street speakers in several cities. The press became violent against dissenting opinion. The so-called patriotic organizations began a nation-wide campaign for "national unity," for the suppression of all opinion which they regarded as prejudicial to the success of the war. Thousands of citizens volunteered as secret service agents, co-operating with the Department
of Justice. The federal authorities promptly secured the passage of the Espionage Act (approved June 15, 1917) State Councils of Defense organized rapidly to conduct the war activities of their states, and to suppress propaganda they regarded as inimical to the "national interest."

As the restriction became more and more complete, it became evident that they were directed in large part against radical movements, particularly in those parts of the country where the industrial struggle was tense. This was especially true in the west, where the chief attacks were directed against the I. W. W. and the Farmers' Nonpartisan League. That the cause of the attacks was not anti-war activities, but their radical economic programs is evident at once from the fact that the Nonpartisan League was attacked with equal ferocity as the I. W. W., although it was aggressive in its support of the war and of the president's war aims. In all the record of prosecutions under war laws or of mob violence, the I. W. W. and the Nonpartisan League figure as the chief victims. Next come the Socialist Party and pacifist groups, and last, German sympathizers or alleged sympathizers of German descent.

As the war progressed the middle west became the chief center of the organized attack on minority opinion and radical movements. Minnesota appears to have been the state most rigorous and thorough in its sweeping abolition of all freedom of opinion. Conditions in Wisconsin, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Montana, and other far western states were similar.

The activities of the Post Office Department were also directed more to the control of radical opinion than to the suppression of "German propaganda," the avowed object of the Espionage Act, under which the Department received its authority. Of all the papers suppressed, most were radical economic publications.

The chief instrument of control of opinion was the Espionage Act (approved June 15, 1917, and amended May 18, 1918). The prosecutions of German agents and sympathizers were few—ten or twelve altogether—compared with those of radicals. No spy prosecution was brought under the Espionage Act, whose avowed chief purpose was the control of spies and enemy agents. There was wide discrepancy in the application of the law throughout the country, dependent on the local forces of public opinion, the press and commercial interest,—and the attitude of the district attorney and judge. Statements for which a person would be prosecuted and sentenced to a long term in one jurisdiction,
would be totally ignored in another. So great was this diversity of application that the Attorney-General required finally (October 1918) that all proposed prosecutions be first submitted for approval to the Department at Washington. The same was true of other federal war laws. The policy of the various states varied greatly, some passing and enforcing rigorously a sedition statute, others having no such enactments at all.

The total number of all prosecutions during the war (from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918) involving the freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, is estimated roughly at 4,500 to 5,000. Of these 998 were under the Espionage Act (to July 1, 1918.) Many more have been instituted under that act since that date. Most of the remainder were under the state laws or city ordinances. This is exclusive of the draft act cases of men liable to military service. Of this total some 1,500 are estimated to have been convicted and sent to prison for comparatively short terms. The report of the Attorney-General for the year ending June 30, 1919, shows 363 actually convicted for such offenses. Most of the well-known cases involving long sentences of 10 to 20 years, have been appealed, and the defendants released on bond.

Prosecutions and Convictions.

Among the victims of the government crusaders to make America safe for the National Security League were five officials of the Socialist Party. Congressman Victor L. Berger, Irwin St. John Tucker, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Adolph Germer, were indicted on February 2, 1918, but the indictments were not made public until March 9, 1918. They were placed on trial in Chicago before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis on December 9, 1918, a month after the armistice was signed. They were convicted after a trial lasting five weeks and given the maximum sentence permitted by the law namely 20 years. The judge who sentenced them said privately, that he would cheerfully have sentenced them to death had the law permitted such a punishment.

These men are now out on bail, pending the determination of the appeal argued by Seymour Stedman before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The outstanding figure of the Socialist movement for the past 25 years has been Eugene V. Debs. On June 30, 1918, he was arrested for a violation of the Espionage Act. His crime consisted in pointing out that there were Junkers in America as well as in Germany; that our institutions were not democratic and that the judges
were the tools of the capitalist class. He praised the Russian Socialists and he expressed his sympathy for Rose Pastor Stokes and for the I. W. W. For this he was brought to trial on Sept. 9. He was tried by a jury whose average age was 70 years. The average wealth of the jurymen was $50,000. He was naturally convicted. It was then that Judge Westenhaver, who presided, had his great opportunity to write his name among the great liberals of history. He might have, had he so desired, imposed a nominal sentence on Debs and in so doing vindicated his own conception of the majesty of the law. But Judge Westenhaver failed, and he will be remembered for many years as bloody Jefferys and Torquemada are remembered, by having imposed upon Debs a ten-year sentence.

Debs first went to Moundsville, West Virginia, April 13, 1919, and was later transferred to Atlanta, Ga. He has now served more than one year of his prison term.

When Debs faced his judge he said: "It is because I happen to be in this minority that I stand in your presence today charged with crime. It is because I believe, as the revolutionary fathers believed in their day, that a change was due in the interest of the people, that a time had come for a better form of government, a higher social order, a nobler humanity and a grander civilization. You may hasten the change, you may retard it, but you can no more prevent it than you can prevent the coming of the sunrise on the morrow." On Jan. 27, 1919, Seymour Stedman argued an appeal in the Debs case before the Supreme Court. He contended that the Espionage Act was a violation of the Constitution. On March 10, 1919 the Supreme Court overruled this contention declaring that Debs was guilty of wilful obstruction of recruiting and of having the specific intent to do so in his mind.

Kate Richards O'Hare

On May 29, 1920, Kate Richards O'Hare, was released from prison where she had spent more than a year. She too was convicted under the Espionage Act. Her indictment was the result of a bitter struggle in Bowman, North Dakota between the old party politicians and the Nonpartisan League. The entire evidence against her was manufactured. At the trial it developed that out of her audience of 135 persons, only two could be found to swear that she had made the statements alleged to have been made. Three people who were not present at the meeting were permitted to testify at the prosecution. Nevertheless after a four-day trial she too was convicted.
In reading his sentence in the case of Kate Richards O'Hare, Judge Wade quoted a letter from the St. Louis office of the Department of Justice as follows:

“We have been unable to obtain anything specific on her that would be a violation of federal law. Nothing would please this office more than to hear that she got life.”

A great many other Socialist Party officials, including several members of the National Executive Committee were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment because of alleged violation of the Espionage Law.

Jacob Abrams, Mollie Steimer and two other young Russians were convicted because they had distributed a leaflet opposing armed intervention by the United States in Russia, with which we were not at war, and were sentenced to serve terms of 15 and 20 years. Mollie Steimer was 19 years old when she was sentenced.

In the spring of 1917, Scott Nearing wrote a pamphlet called The Great Madness. The Rand School of Social Science published the pamphlet. Five months elapsed. Then Nearing and the school were indicted for conspiring to cause insubordination of the armed forces of the United States and to obstruct recruiting and enlistment. He took full responsibility for everything that was said in the book but was acquitted. The Rand School of Social Science which had published the book was convicted. No scintilla of evidence was used in the case of the Rand School that had not been used in the case of Scott Nearing. The school was fined $3,000. The case has been appealed.

Prosecution of the Rand School.

Immediately after the conviction of the Rand School a course of persecution set in designed to put the school out of business. The Rand School of Social Science, the educational institution which has been serving the Socialist and labor movement for 13 years has long been a thorn in the side of the reactionaries. Armed mobs were sent to destroy the school's property and to intimidate its students, beginning on Armistice Day and continuing to May Day, 1919.

Under a resolution prepared by the Union League Club of New York, the New York State Legislature appointed in 1919 an “investigating” committee known as the Lusk Committee. On June 21, 1919, 55 state troopers and respectably dressed mobbists raided the school and carried off everything that they could lay their hands on. For two weeks the Lusk Committee carefully read all the papers and documents seized in this raid. From day to day they printed their “sensational discoveries” and tried to impress upon the public what a dangerous in-
stitution the Rand School was. The Assistant Attorney General then brought a motion before the Supreme Court asking for a revocation of the school's charter. So widespread was the public's indignation over the illegal raid on the Rand School and so manifestly unjust were the proposed proceedings against the school that the case was dismissed by Justice McAvoy before whom the motion was brought.

The Post Office Censorship Under the Espionage and Trading With the Enemy Acts.

The arbitrary discretion vested in the Postmaster General by the Espionage Act was exercised to the limit in the control of opinion. Under the guise of military necessity, scores of radical publications were summarily put out of business by withdrawal of second class mailing privileges, and by total exclusion from the mails of certain numbers of periodicals and various books and pamphlets. Three suits were brought in the courts to test the powers exercised by the Postmaster General. In all three cases the courts upheld the Postmaster General's full discretionary power over the mailability of all matters. These cases were:

- The Jeffersonian Publishing Co. vs. West, Postmaster, Georgia.

Some hundreds of papers have had their second class privileges withdrawn or issues suppressed. Some ten or more periodicals using third class rates were barred altogether. Some twenty books and pamphlets have been forbidden circulation by mail. Under the Trading with the Enemy Act, the Department of Justice has forbidden, in addition, the sending of many publications by express.

The Post Office Department refuses even to furnish Congress with the record of suppressions on the ground of protecting the public interest. Practically every Socialist and I. W. W. paper was either completely destroyed by Post Office persecution or seriously crippled by being denied the mails. Among the important papers thus deprived of their second class privileges or issues suppressed are the American Socialist, New York Call, Milwaukee Leader, Volkszeitung and The Masses.

Mob Violence.

Cases of the breaking up of meetings by mobs arose at once with the advent of war. Soldiers and sailors in New York, Boston, and Seattle, engaged in violent at-
tacks on street meetings and parades in the first few months following the declaration of war. But it was not until the Liberty Loan campaigns got under way that organized violence on a large scale broke out, especially in the west. Where the industrial struggle was tense, the mob of the commercial interests took the law to themselves. At Bisbee, Ariz., over 1,100 miners were deported to the desert; at Butte, Mont., Frank Little was lynched; at Tulsa, Okla., 17 I. W. W. were tarred, feathered, and whipped; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow was beaten by a mob near Cincinnati; Robert Prager was lynched in the Illinois coal-mining district; Little, Prager, and a Negro preacher, W. T. Sims, were the only persons reported killed by mobs. Many others were maimed and injured. In only two cases were the mob leaders prosecuted (Bisbee and Prager cases). In the Prager case the jury acquitted the self-confessed leaders. In the Bisbee case the indictments were quashed by the court.

II. THE CRUSADE AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS SINCE THE ARMISTICE.

Immediately after the signing of the armistice, organized business came out into the open with its program against Labor. This program involved two lines of activity, first, the passage of legislation, curtailing the civil liberties of the people, and second, the direct-actionist tactics of a nation-wide open-shop campaign. This double movement first developed on the Pacific Coast. It was aimed first at the I. W. W. through the passage of "criminal syndicalism" laws, and later at the A. F. of L. unions through the open-shop campaigns, following the shock of the Seattle general strike.

The legislative program called for the passage in each state of criminal syndicalism or sedition laws, provisions for a state constabulary, the prevention of picketing by law or injunction and the beginning of a system to make strikes unlawful. The first legislation of this latter character was the Industrial Court established in Kansas under the leadership of Governor Henry J. Allen (bill passed and effective March, 1920).

Federal Action.

The legislative campaign was carried on, and is still being carried on through pressure on federal, state and local governments. The activities of the federal government have been directed chiefly against aliens and against labor in strikes of a national character. In the absence of a federal sedition act, the Lever Food Control bill, which is supposedly a war measure exclusively, has
been used to prosecute and retrain leaders of strikes (note the action of the Federal Government in both enjoining and prosecuting the heads of the United Mine Workers of America in connection with the strike of November 1st, 1919, and against various persons connected with the strike of the switchmen and yardmen in the spring of 1920).

State Laws.

But the activities of the Federal Government in recent months have been few compared with the activities of the state and local governments against labor and the radicals. Twenty-nine states have criminal syndicalism, criminal anarchy or sedition acts under which persons may be punished for expressing opinions interpreted to advocate "the overthrow of government by force and violence," or for advocating "the unlawful destruction of property" or for language "tending" to bring about these ends, or for "joining any organization" with such purposes.

There are also laws in fourteen states prohibiting the display of red flags or other red emblems. Some states like Minnesota, Iowa and Washington have a combination of all three laws: criminal syndicalism, sedition and red flag. These are usually in states where the Nonpartisan League has been active; and where the I. W. W. has also been an issue. It should be noted that there are no such laws in the states of North Dakota and Wisconsin, because of the strength of the organized farmer-labor movements and of the Socialist party in those states. Nor are there any in the South, or northern New England, which have not been stirred by the new issues. Similar statutes are in effect in Alaska, Porto Rico and Hawaii, where there have been a considerable number of prosecutions of radicals and labor leaders.

City Laws.

The city ordinances punishing sedition and criminal syndicalism, follow the state statutes very closely. There are, for instance, over twenty cities in the State of Washington with criminal syndicalism ordinances. Under such an ordinance there have been over one thousand convictions of I. W. W.'s in the past year and a half in the city of Spokane alone, carrying sentences of sixty to ninety days. Many other city ordinances, which interfere with civil rights are those passed for quite different purposes, such as the control of the distribution of literature under street littering ordinances, the breaking up of meeting under traffic ordinances, and the prohibition of
picketing under ordinances intended merely to keep ob-
structions off of side-walks.

Whatever the form of law, the forces of organized
business are able to secure action in their own behalf
wherever they are in control. And they are in control,
with few exceptions throughout the country. Civil rights
exist only in those communities where the organized
Socialist movement is strong enough politically or in-
dustrially to force recognition.

III. ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT.


A great number of bills were introduced in the last
Congress to continue in peace time the work done by the
Espionage Act during the war. Most of the bills pur-
ported only to punish advocacy of "force and violence"
or "unlawful means." When such bills become law, the
question which is actually put up to court and jury is
whether extremist doctrines do not in themselves imply
advocacy of force and violence. That phraseology is
merely a cloak to cover attacks on all radical opinion,
and has been the historic device in all European coun-
tries to that end.

The bills were defeated in Congress through the or-
ganized opposition of the American Federation of Labor
and such agencies as the National Popular Government
League, the American Civil Liberties Union and a group
of lawyers who have been defending labor and radical
cases. A considerable section of the press opposed the
extreme demands of the Department of Justice for bills
which penalized even an "act of hate" against an officer
of the government, whatever that meant in the mind of
the bill's framer.

The Illegal Practices of the Department of Justice.

No better statement of the lawlessness of the Depart-
ment of Justice under A. Mitchell Palmer has been made
than that signed by a committee of twelve distinguished
American lawyers who published a pamphlet with docu-
mentary proof of the Department's methods.

The statement made by these lawyers omitting the
exhibits and references to them follows:

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

For more than six months we, the undersigned lawyers, whose
sworn duty it is to uphold the Constitution and Laws of the
United States, have seen with growing apprehension the continued violation of that Constitution and breaking of those Laws by the Department of Justice of the United States government.
Under the guise of a campaign for the suppression of radical activities, the office of the Attorney General, acting by its local agents throughout the country, and giving express instructions from Washington, has committed continual illegal acts. Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held *incommunicado* without access of friends or counsel; homes have been entered without search-warrant and property seized and removed; other property has been wantonly destroyed, workingmen and workingwomen suspected of radical views have been shamefully abused and maltreated. Agents of the Department of Justice have been introduced into radical organizations for the purpose of informing upon their members or inciting them to activities; these agents have even been instructed from Washington to arrange meetings upon certain dates for the express object of facilitating wholesale raids and arrests. In support of these illegal acts, and to create sentiment in its favor, the Department of Justice has also constituted itself a propaganda bureau, and has sent to newspapers and magazines of this country quantities of material designed to excite public opinion against radicals, all at the expense of the government and outside the scope of the Attorney General's duties.

We make no arguments in favor of any radical doctrine as such, whether Socialist, Communist or Anarchist. No one of us belongs to any of these schools of thought. Nor do we now raise any question as to the Constitutional protection of free speech and a free press. We are concerned solely with bringing to the attention of the American people the utterly illegal acts which have been committed by those charged with the highest duty of enforcing the laws—acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute.

These acts may be grouped under the following heads:

(1) **Cruel and Unusual Punishments.**

The Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides:

"Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

Punishments of the utmost cruelty, and heretofore unthinkable in America, have become usual. Great numbers of persons arrested, both aliens and citizens have been threatened, beaten with blackjacks, struck with fists, jailed under abominable conditions, or actually tortured.

(2) **Arrests without Warrant:**

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution provides:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

Many hundreds of citizens and aliens alike have been arrested in wholesale raids, without warrants or pretense of warrants. They have then either been released, or have been detained in police stations or jails for indefinite lengths of time while warrants were being applied for. This practice of making mass raids and mass arrests without warrant has resulted directly from the instructions, both written and oral, issued by the Department of Justice at Washington.
(3) Unreasonable Searches and Seizures:
The Fourth Amendment has been quoted above. In countless cases agents of the Department of Justice have entered the homes, offices, or gathering places of persons suspected of radical affiliations, and, without pretense of any search warrant, have seized and removed property belonging to them for use by the Department of Justice. In many of these raids property which could not be removed or was not useful to the Department, was intentionally smashed and destroyed.

(4) Provocative Agents:
We do not question the right of the Department of Justice to use its agents in the Bureau of Investigation to ascertain when the law is being violated. But the American people have never tolerated the use of undercover provocative agents or "agents provocateurs," such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into the radical movements, have reached positions of influence therein, have occupied themselves with informing upon or instigating acts which might be declared criminal, and at the express direction of Washington have brought about meetings of radicals in order to make possible wholesale arrests at such meetings.

(5) Compelling Persons to be Witnesses against Themselves:
The Fifth Amendment provides as follows:

"No person * * * * * shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

It has been the practice of the Department of Justice and its agents, after making illegal arrests without warrant, to question the accused person and to force admissions from him by terrorism, which admissions were subsequently to be used against him in deportation proceedings.

(6) Propaganda by the Department of Justice.
The legal functions of the Attorney General are: to advise the Government on questions of law, and to prosecute persons who have violated federal statutes. For the Attorney General to go into the field of propaganda against radicals is a deliberate misuse of his office and a deliberate squandering of funds entrusted to him by Congress.

Exhibit 18 of the full report is a description of an illustrated page offered free to country newspapers at the expense of the Department of Justice, patently designed to affect public opinion in advance of court decision and prepared in the manner of an advertising campaign in favor of repression. These documents speak for themselves.

The Exhibits attached are only a small part of the evidence which may be presented of the continued violation of law by the Attorney General's Department. These Exhibits are, to the best of our knowledge and belief (based upon careful investigation) truthful both in substance and detail. Drawn mainly from the four centers of New York City, Boston, Mass., Detroit, Mich., and Hartford, Conn., we know them to be typical of conditions which have prevailed in many parts of the country.

Since these illegal acts have been committed by the highest legal powers in the United States, there is no final appeal from them except to the conscience and condemnation of the American people. American institutions have not in fact been protected by the Attorney General's ruthless suppression. On the contrary those institutions have been seriously undermined, and revolutionary unrest has been vastly intensified. No organ-
izations of radicals acting through propaganda over the last six months could have created as much revolutionary sentiment in America as has been created by the acts of the Department of Justice itself.

Even were one to admit that there existed any serious "Red menace" before the Attorney General started his "unflinching war" against it, his campaign has been singularly fruitless. Out of the many thousands suspected by the Attorney General (he had already listed 60,000 by name and history on Nov. 14, 1919, aliens and citizens) what do the figures show of net results? Prior to January 1, 1920, there were actually deported 263 persons. Since January 1 there have been actually deported 18 persons. Since January 1 there have been ordered deported an additional 529 persons, and warrants for 1,547 have been cancelled (after full hearings and consideration of the evidence) by Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post, to whose courageous re-establishment of American constitutional law in deportation proceedings are due the attacks that have been made upon him. The Attorney General has consequently got rid of 810 alien suspects, which, on his own showing, leaves him at least 59,190 persons (aliens and citizens) still to cope with.

It has always been the proud boast of America that this is a government of laws and not of men. Our Constitution and laws have been based on the simple elements of human nature. Free men cannot be driven and repressed; they must be led. Free men respect justice and follow truth, but arbitrary power they will oppose until the end of time. There is no danger of revolution so great as that created by suppression, by ruthlessness, and by deliberate violation of the simple rules of American law and American decency.

It is a fallacy to suppose that, any more than in the past, any servant of the people can safely arrogate to himself unlimited authority. To proceed upon such a supposition is to deny the fundamental American theory of the consent of the governed. Here is no question of a vague and threatened menace, but a present assault upon the most sacred principles of our Constitutional liberty.

The foregoing report has been prepared May, 1920, under the auspices of the National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C.


Activities of the Department of Labor.

The Department of Labor is charged with the administration of the Immigration Act. By an arrangement with the Department of Justice, much of that work was virtually taken over by the Department of Justice, as it related to the deportation of alien radicals, or those assumed to be radicals. This development was the climax, early in 1920, of a series of attacks by the Department of Justice on the radical movement as a whole, under
an amendment to the Immigration Act, approved October 6, 1918, reading as follows:

That aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization, etc., shall be excluded from admission into the United States.

"Sec. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been, at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in Section 1 of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of February fifth, nineteen hundred and seventeen."

The first groups to be attacked under the amendment were the I. W. W. The spectacular trip of the so-called "red special" from Seattle to New York in January, 1919, bearing the first group of victims, called public attention forcefully to the matter. The I. W. W. continued to be the chief group attacked (with the Union of Russian Workers running a close second) until the organization of the Communist and Communist Labor parties in September, 1919. They then became the objects of the attention of the Department of Justice, thousands being taken in the spectacular raids on January 2, 1920. Previously on December 20, 1919, the Government had deported to Russia on a special steamer, the Buford, 257 aliens who had been held for varying lengths of time.

The efforts of the Department of Justice to railroad aliens without proper hearings and proof have been largely frustrated by the determined protests of a considerable section of the public and by the vigorous work of assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post, who had cancelled by May 6, 1,547 out of 3,000 warrants issued. Decisions of various federal judges, particularly that of George W. Anderson of Boston, throwing out the Communist party cases, have contributed to securing some measure of law in the handling of these cases.

The Department of Labor has officially held that membership in the I. W. W. or the Communist Labor party does not constitute in itself sufficient ground for deportation under the law. The Department holds that membership in the Communist party or the Union of Russian Workers justifies deportation. There has been no ruling on membership in any other organization.

Much of the evidence upon which these cases are based was obtained through seizure, without warrant,
of papers, and documents, through raids of organization headquarters and private homes of aliens. In the Silverthorne Lumber Co. cases, the Supreme Court had decided on January 26, 1920 that evidence secured in this manner could not be used by the Government.

On February 12, 1920, U. S. Dist. Judge Bournquin of Montana handed down a decision in the cases of John Jackson, an alien held for deportation because of his membership in the I. W. W. He had been arrested at the I. W. W. headquarters at Butte, Mont., and questioned without advice of counsel. Judge Bournquin decided that the proceedings were illegal because they violated the searches and seizure and due process clauses of the Constitution. He characterized the raiders as ones who had

"forcibly entered, broke and destroyed property; searched effects and papers; seized papers and documents, insulted, beat, dispersed and bayonetted members by order of the captain commanding; likewise entered petitioner's adjacent living apartments, insulted his wife, searched and seized his papers, several times arrested him and others, and in general in an orderly and populous city, perpetrated an orgy of terror, violence and crime against citizens and aliens in public assemblage, whose only offense seems to have been peaceable insistence upon an exercise of a clear legal right * * * * *"

Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, on April 10, 1920 handed down a long opinion in the case of Thomas Truss. Truss, a Pole, living at Baltimore, was arrested on January 9, 1920 without a warrant, questioned in secret and then charged with being an anarchist and member of the Communist party. Mr. Post reviewed the evidence and concluded that Truss was not an anarchist but a Socialist; that he had applied for membership in a branch of the Communist party prior to its organization, but the branch receiving no precise information concerning its purposes from the central organization, the branch and all its members withdrew, Truss never actually becoming a member of the Communist party. Moreover, he ruled that unless the alien had some knowledge of the unlawful character of the organization and that he had some unlawful intent, he could not be penalized, and further that statements made by the alien at a hearing at which he was given no opportunity to be represented by counsel, or warned that anything he said might be used against him, could not be received in evidence. In this same opinion, he characterized a great many other cases he had received as follows:

"** ** ** The aliens are arrested and imprisoned; while imprisoned they are subjected to a police office inquisition;"
an affidavit showing probable cause (upon information and belief) is thereupon presented to the Department of Labor, whereupon the Department of Labor issues its warrant of arrest, takes over the custody of the alien as by law it is required to do, and proceeds as usual in warrant cases under the expulsion clause of the immigration law. When the hearings at Immigration Stations are reported verbatim in regular course to the Department of Labor, the Secretary of Labor (or his lawful representative) who is charged with exclusive responsibility, comes to examine these records, it is found in a large proportion of the large number of cases I have examined that there is no better reason for deportation than is disclosed in the present case * * * * * As a rule, the hearings show the aliens arrested to be working men of good character who have never been arrested before, who are not anarchists or revolutionists, nor politically or otherwise dangerous in any sense. Many of them, as in this case, have American-born children. It is pitiful to consider the hardships to which they and their families have been subjected during the past three or four months by arbitrary arrest, long detention in default of bail beyond the means of hard-working wage earners to give, for nothing more dangerous than affiliating with friends of their own race, country and language, and without the slightest indication of sinister motive, or any unlawful act within their knowledge or intention."

In the course of these proceedings such clear proof of the illegal practices used by the Department of Justice in its war on the "Reds" was found as to shock the mass of American people. It developed that arrests had been made on blank warrants, or no warrants at all; searches without any color of lawful process, examinations in secret; the use of agent provocateurs, who were used to arrange Communist meetings. As Judge Anderson said in response to the District Attorney's protest that the agent provocateur was used:

"I don't know anything about it, but there is evidence here that the government owns and operates part of the Communist party. That means something to anyone who has had experience with spies in private industry * * * * * There are all kinds of legitimate inferences to be drawn as to what will happen in hysterical times like these when you start heretic hunting and put spies among the heretics whose fate is at stake."

The Activities of the War Department.

The use of troops in areas of industrial conflict has become increasingly common since the armistice. The War Department issued an order about the time of the steel strike in September, 1919, providing that Federal troops might be furnished on request of any Governor of a state by the local commanded without reference to the Department at Washington. This, in order to expedite the sending of troops.
Activities of the Post Office Department.

The Post Office Department still exercises in less degree the powers entrusted to it under the Espionage Act, which is still technically in force. Letters addressed to the Milwaukee Leader are still returned to the sender marked "undeliverable under the Espionage Act." The scores of radical publications which had their second-class mailing privileges taken away are still denied these privileges.

Federal Political Prisoners.

It is impossible to secure any accurate data as to the number of Federal political prisoners still in prison or out on bond pending appeal. The number is constantly changing. The following is a general estimate of persons convicted and out on appeal, July 1st, 1920:

Under the Espionage Act, the Act penalizing threats against the President, and conspiracy to obstruct the war or draft, 500. Of these, about 25 are members of the Socialist Party, 166 are members of the I. W. W., and the remaining 300 with various connections or none. It will be noted that the Attorney General's report up to June 30th, 1919, shows 988 convictions under the Espionage Act.

The President pardoned outright or reduced the sentences of 102 persons convicted under the Espionage Act in 1919 and possibly 15 or 20 since. The exact number cannot be obtained for the first six months of 1920. The Government refuses to recognize the existence of political prisoners as such, and declines therefore to consider any such step as a general amnesty. The administration has maintained the policy of acting in individual cases on grounds too obscure to characterize. The demand for amnesty has been repeatedly voiced in conventions of labor, the Nonpartisan League, Socialist and religious bodies. It is supported officially by the A. F. of L. and a large number of other labor and liberal organizations.

Of the 450 conscientious objectors, court-martialed and sentenced to military prisons during the war, all but 42 had been released on June 30th, 1920. These 42 were distributed as follows: 37 in the War Prison Barracks at Fort Douglas, Utah; 2 at Alcatraz Island Disciplinary Barracks, San Francisco; 2 in the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, and 1 at the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Two of the men still have ten-year sentences. The sentences of all the others expire in 1920 or 1921. Practically all of the conscientious objectors held are
among those who refused to perform any service whatever under the draft act. Most of them are members of the Socialist Party or the I. W. W.

IV. THE ACTIVITIES OF STATE GOVERNMENTS.

Practically all the significant trials since the armistice have been brought under state laws. The Federal Government has been engaged only in the trial of cases begun during the period of hostilities (with a few exceptions). This does not apply to the cases under the Lever Act connected with the coal and switchmen's strikes.

Most of these cases under state laws, concern members of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist and Communist Labor parties, although some few have been members of the Socialist Party. The cases have been brought chiefly in New York, Washington, Illinois and California. There are scattering cases in other states, particularly Idaho, Kansas, Oklahoma, Utah, Oregon, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut.

Among the most conspicuous of the trials have been those of Harry Winitsky, James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow, Communists, tried in New York City and sentenced to 5 to 10 years under the anti-anarchy statute; the murder trial of the ten members of the I. W. W. and their attorney at Montesano, Washington, in January, 1920, for the armistice day shootings at Centralia, Washington, 8 convicted and 3 acquitted; appealed; the group of criminal syndicalism cases at San Francisco involving members of the Communist Labor party, (especially the case of Charlotte Anita Whitney, treasurer of the Labor Defense League of California) and the trial of various members of the I. W. W. at San Francisco and Los Angeles under the same law; also the trial at Los Angeles of Sydney R. Flowers, editor of the Dugout, an ex-soldiers' magazine, resulting in two disagreements. At Chicago, 85 members of the Communist party, 37 members of the Communist Labor party, and 38 members of the I. W. W. are indicted under the state sedition law.

The latest and most noted of these cases was that of the Chicago Communist trial. Wm. Bross Lloyd, Ludwig Lore, Edgar Owens, L. E. Katterfeld, N. Juel Christensen and a number of other members and officials of the Communist Labor Party, twenty in all, were tried under the laws of Illinois, not for any overt act, but merely because of their activity in launching and formulating
the platform of the C. L. P. After a sensational trial, characterized by much cheap flag waving on the part of the state's attorneys, the defendants were found guilty and were sentenced from one to five years in prison and to heavy fines. This was a deliberate attempt to penalize people merely for their membership and activity in an organization.

The Lusk Committee of the New York Legislature introduced in March a series of measures one of which provided for the licensing by the state of all private schools, and provided for the withholding of such licenses from all schools whose teachings were "detrimental to public interest." This was aimed at the Rand School. Another would give the Commissioner of Education the right to dismiss any teacher in the State whose views were such as would raise a doubt as to his loyalty to American institutions.

At the same time Senator Lusk and Assemblyman Fearon, both Republicans, introduced a measure designed to destroy the Socialist Party in New York State. According to the proposed bill, the third Appellate Division of the Supreme Court (elected in the Albany district) would have the right upon information supplied by the attorney general or any other individual to pass upon the platform of any political organization and to determine whether such an organization was inimical to the well-being of the State. Measures such as this have no parallel in American History. They were passed, but fortunately for New York State, all the labor and liberal forces brought powerful pressure to bear upon Governor Smith and he vetoed the bills.

V. OVERTHROWING REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

THE ALBANY OUSTER.

What will probably stand for many years as the most daring act of lawlessness of any of the State Legislatures during this period of post-war hysteria is the expulsion of the five legally elected Socialist members of the New York State Legislature.

On January 7, 1920, the five Assemblymen, Charles, Solomon, Louis Waldman, Samuel Orr, Samuel A. DeWitt, and August Claessens, presented themselves at Albany, and as members of the Legislature took part in the election of Speaker and in the organization of the House. When these formalities were concluded, they were called before the bar of the Assembly and the Speaker, Thaddeus C. Sweet of Oswego, informed them that they would be suspended, pending the investigation of certain charges
to be made against them. They were not permitted to argue the question but were escorted to their seats by the sergeant at arms. In the meantime a resolution had been introduced by the Majority Leader of the House, Simon Adler of Rochester, Republican, presenting in general outline the usual charges against the Socialists and asking for the suspension of the five Assemblymen. The resolution was carried by a vote from 140 to 6, the speaker ruling out of order any discussion. The next day a storm of indignation broke over the heads of the self-elected "saviors" of America. With the exception of the New York Times, every metropolitan paper condemned the motion of the Legislature in unmistakable terms.

After a farcical trial in which every irrelevant "argument" concerning Socialism was brought up, the five Socialist assemblymen were expelled on April 1st, 1920, three by votes of 118 to 26 and two by votes of 106 to 40.

THE BERGER CASE.

Even more important was the case of Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist ever to sit in the House of Representatives. Berger received a startlingly large vote for United States Senator in a special election in Wisconsin in the spring of 1918: immediately afterwards he was indicted under the Espionage Act. While under indictment, in November, 1918, he was elected to the United States Congress in the 5th Wisconsin district by a plurality of 5,000 votes. He was opposed, however, by a divided opposition, and the combined vote against him was about 5,000 larger than his vote.

A month after his election, the trial of the five Socialist officials began, and together with Germer, Tucker, Engdahl and Kruse, he was found guilty and was sentenced to prison.

Pending the appeal of his case, Berger presented himself as a member-elect of Congress at the special session in April, 1919. He was not permitted to take his oath of office, his right to a seat was challenged, and a committee on Privileges and Elections under the chairmanship of Congressman Dallinger was charged with the task of looking into his qualifications.

Berger's conviction by the Chicago jury was not an issue in that investigation. The committee undertook an independent investigation, using much the same material that was used against him in the Chicago case, but avowedly making the investigation of Berger's beliefs and those of the Socialist Party independently.
Berger made a brilliant fight. Before the committee and later before Congress, he presented the position of the Socialist Party with magnificent courage and candor. By an overwhelming vote (only one Congressman voting "No") he was expelled from his seat on November 18th, 1919.

Up to the time of his expulsion, Berger drew his pay as a "member-elect." He had his office in the House Office Building in Washington, he had the franking privilege, and he was permitted to use the stationery of Congress; and he was even allowed a seat on the floor of the House as a former member. He was treated with cordial courtesy by his former colleagues who respected and admired him; but they threw him out because they pretended to have found that his opinions and utterances made him unfit to sit in Congress with them.

Immediately upon his expulsion, Governor Philipp of Wisconsin called a special election. The Democrats and Republicans united upon H. H. Bodenstab as a fusion candidate against Berger, and a spectacular campaign was waged, speakers coming from all over the country to work against Berger. Berger was re-elected on December 19, 1919, by a clear majority of 5,000 votes, and on January 4, 1920, he was again expelled from membership, this time six members voting to seat him. After this expulsion, Governor Philipp refused to call another special election.

At the same time, Senator Newberry of Michigan, convicted of corrupt practices in securing his election and under prison sentence for the corruption of an entire state was permitted to retain his seat, draw his pay and speak and vote in the Senate chamber. But he is not a Socialist!

The Berger and the Albany cases were the most spectacular of the expulsions of elected Socialists because of their opinions. Another case is that of Frank Raguse, Socialist State Senator from the 8th Wisconsin District (Milwaukee), who was expelled from the Wisconsin Senate on April 26, 1917.

Raguse had made a speech on April 24th, in which old party members believed that he had insulted the patriotic feeling of the American people. Because of the large Socialist vote in the state and the anti-war attitude of Senator LaFollette, the Wisconsin Senators felt that it was necessary to do something drastic to clear the fair name of their state.

Raguse apologized to the Senate for his tactless statements and said that if it was their wish, he would put his
apology in writing, but the Senate drew up a form of retraction in which Raguse, if he had signed it, would not only have apologized for his statement, but would practically have recanted his Socialist principles. Raguse refused to sign, and thereupon by a vote of 30 against 3 (the three Socialists voting in the negative) Raguse was expelled from the Senate.

Many people believed that this was to be the beginning of an attempt to expel all Socialists in office in Wisconsin, but the political strength of the Socialist Party in that state caused reactionaries to stop with the Raguse case.

Another important case was that in Cleveland, Ohio, the removal from office of two Socialist aldermen and one Socialist School Commissioner. John G. Willert, Noah Mandelkorn, elected Socialist aldermen in Cleveland, were expelled because of the "unpatriotic" platform of the Socialist party upon which they had been elected.

At the same time, A. L. Hitchcock was sent to prison for ten years and expelled as a member of the school board for the same reason. On account of the factional quarrels in the Socialist party in Cleveland, it was impossible to carry on the fight for representative government after the expulsions.

These four cases are the most important of the expulsions of Socialist officials because of their party's position. There have been others, and there probably will be more before the present crisis is ended.

VI. THE PERSECUTION OF THE I. W. W.

The bitterest persecution of any organization in America is directed today against the Industrial Workers of the World. The united forces of federal, state and city officials, chambers of commerce, newspapers—every force of privilege and reaction—have been relentlessly hounding them. In the West, where the organization is strongest, they are opposed by three of the most powerful industrial forces in the country—the copper, lumber and oil trusts.

 Everywhere in their struggle the I. W. W. have been denied the most elementary American rights. Every constitutional right has been violated times without number.

Here in brief are the facts to April, 1920, as given by the General Defense Committee:

1. Between 3,500 and 4,000 members of the I. W. W. have been prosecuted since the beginning of the war
for their industrial activities. Over 1,000 are now in prison, or awaiting trial. About 200 convicted members are out on bail pending appeal. In all but a few of these cases the only "crimes" proved were the expression of opinion by word or in print. No overt acts were proved. In other words, the men were convicted of exercising what American tradition held to be their constitutional rights.

2. Of all the men convicted, 166 were in three federal cases charging conspiracy to obstruct the war (Chicago, 1918, 101 convicted; Sacramento, 1919, 37; Kansas City, Kansas, 1919, 28). These cases are all appealed to the United States appellate courts. One hundred and two of these men are in the penitentiary at Leavenworth, about 50 are out on bail. Two other federal conspiracy cases were brought at Omaha and Spokane. The Spokane case was dismissed and it is understood the Omaha case will never come to trial. The defendants are all out on bail.

3. Practically all the other cases (not under federal law) were brought under recently enacted state laws aimed at the I. W. W., creating a new crime—criminal syndicalism. Practically all the Western states now have such statutes. Under such a law, 846 I. W. W. were recently held in the state of Washington alone. About 60 are serving prison terms in that state. About 100 are indicted or committed in California; 60 in jail in Portland, Ore.; 37 are indicted in Chicago. Scores in Oklahoma, Texas, Iowa, Minnesota and other states are either in prison, in jail awaiting trial or out on bond.

4. Literally thousands of cases have been brought under city ordinances and men jailed for short terms—a few weeks to a year. Practically all involved the free speech issues. In many Western towns, the jails have been at times filled to capacity with I. W. W.'s who tried to speak in the streets. They are sometimes even arrested in their halls. Scores in Oklahoma, Texas, Iowa, Minnesota and other states are either in prison, in jail awaiting trial or out on bond.

5. In many, if not most of these cases, the men were denied every ordinary civil right—arrested without warrant, held incommunicado with the right to consult counsel, refused bail, or held in prohibitive sums, denied a hearing or trial for months, left in the filth and misery of the average county jail. Hundreds were beaten up. Some died in jail of brutality, disease or neglect, others went insane and the health of many was wrecked for life. Hundreds, too, were held for months without charge, only to be released and run out of town without trial. In the federal cases at Wichita, Kansas, bail was
not even fixed until the men had been in wretched jails for 18 months, and then at the excessive sum of $10,000 each.

6. Several score I. W. W.'s have been deported or held for deportation. The exact number is not known. The Department of Labor maintains that mere membership in the I. W. W. is not sufficient ground for deportation, but that is the only evidence given in most cases.

7. The raids on I. W. W. halls and headquarters have made open organization impossible in many cities. Thirty to forty halls have been closed, the furniture and papers seized (without warrant) and the members arrested or run out of town. These raids have been made by Federal and local officials working together, and often openly participated in by the chamber of commerce, fraternal organizations and the American Legion.

8. The I. W. W., contrary to the current impression, has suffered very little from mob violence. The "mobbing" in practically all cases of violence was the deliberate, planned attack of officials and hired thugs—backed by commercial interests. All the conspicuous cases bear witness to this—the Bisbee deportations, the Tulsa outrage, the lynching of Frank Little, the assault at Red Lodge, Mont., and the Armistice Day attack at Centralia, Wash.

The Post Office Department has used every possible effort to put the I. W. W. out of business and cripple the defense work. The general defense committee estimated that over 2,000,000 pieces of stamped mail delivered to the postoffice has never been delivered and were destroyed without legal process or notice to the organization. The organization was forced to resort to all manner of subterfuge to get out its appeals for defense and to conduct the ordinary legal and relief work. One Chicago postoffice station had a rubber stamp, "I. W. W., Nixie," used to mark I. W. W. mail for destruction. Some registered mail with relief checks for the wives of men imprisoned was held up for months, and some were never delivered. Every I. W. W. paper with second class mailing privileges had them taken away. Some were forced to discontinue entirely by postoffice oppression.

VII. COMPANY CONTROLLED DISTRICTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Industrial districts are frequently dominated so completely by the corporation interest that no civil rights whatever are permitted. This is true today with few exceptions of the steel towns of western Pennsylvania;
the coal mining districts of southern West Virginia, the
copper mining districts of northern Michigan and Minnes-
to, and in many of the coal and copper camps of the
Rocky Mountain states, to say nothing of conditions in
the coal and iron mines of the South and Southwest.
Similar conditions prevail in the timber industry in the
South and Southwest and, of course throughout the
entire tenant farming area of the South where the plan-
tation owners and overseers are the dictators of law and
order.

VIII. LEGALIZED VIOLENCE

The following, from a letter addressed by James H.
Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of
Labor, to Governor Sproul, gives something of an indica-
tion of the extent to which public officials threw all their
strength into the fight against the workers:

"I charge and submit evidence upon the following counts

1. That after permission had been given to hold a meet-
ing at Clairton, Pa., State Troopers suddenly rushed with
their horses, upon the peaceful assembly, which was attend-
ined by scores of men in uniform of United States soldiers,
cursing and beating up innocent men, women and children,
tearing down the American flag, trampling upon it with
horses and one State policeman shouting, "To hell with the
flag."

2. That on September 21st and 22nd, in Clairton, Pa.,
numerous citizens and non-citizens, as well as business men,
were arrested by State troopers at their homes, or near their
homes as they were proceeding on their lawful errands.
Men and women were arrested and many were beaten up
and put in jail and even beaten while in the cells of the jail
by outsiders and kept there until they could find $1,000 bail,
and in some instances, relatives and friends who came to
bail them were also arrested.

3. That at Homestead, Pa., men were stopped by State
policemen on the streets as they were in pursuit of their
business, arrested and fined without charges against them,
or held in jail for several days. Peaceful and respectable
homes were broken into, property was destroyed without
cause whatsoever, and without compensation for the damage
done. Men and women were taken out from their beds,
beaten and kicked and not even permitted to dress, were
dragged to jail and kept there for several days and then
fined. Men were beaten and medical assistance refused them
while held in jail. The arrest of one of these resulted, in
one family, in much suffering and in a premature birth."

IX. MOB VIOLENCE

Most of the cases of mob violence since the armistice
have been the definitely and openly organized efforts of
business interests against labor. The two most conspic-
ious cases, that at Centralia, Washington on Armistice
Day, 1919, and at Butte, Montana, on April 21, 1920,
were open attacks on the I. W. W. by business interests. At Centralia a procession of ex-service men attacked the I. W. W. hall which was defended by arms in the hands of the I. W. W. and three ex-service men were killed and one member of the I. W. W. was lynched. At Butte on April 21, a squad of mine guards under the direction of a company official and in the presence of the sheriff of the county shot into a crowd of two to three hundred pickets assembled in orderly fashion on a public highway and wounded 17 of them, killing one.

As a result of the mob violence which affected the deportation of 1,174 miners from Bisbee, Arizona in July, 1917, several trials have taken place in an attempt to punish those responsible. The local elections in the county in which Bisbee is located have turned upon that issue. Neither the Federal or State trials have yet produced a conviction. This is the only case in which leaders of a mob against the workers have been prosecuted.

There have been many attacks organized by business interests on agents of the Nonpartisan League in various parts of the agricultural territory of the Middle West and the Southwest.

NOTE:—Those desiring further information about the issues of Civil Liberty can get various pamphlets by addressing the American Civil Liberties Union, 138 W. 13th St., New York City. A postal card will bring a full list of publications.

X. FOUR YEARS OF ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION.

Entrance of the United States into the war in 1917 was seized upon by reactionary interests as affording the opportunity of a lifetime to enact legislation tying labor hand and foot in its efforts to improve its conditions and its status. Once more patriotism was to be made the last refuge of scoundrels.

Even before the war against Germany was formally declared on April 6, 1917, war against labor had been declared in Congress and in the state legislatures.

The return of peace with the enemy countries left the domestic legislative war against labor still in force. In fact, since November 11, 1918, assaults upon the position of labor have increased rather than diminished. The class struggle like hunger, knows no armistice.

Suspension of Protective Legislation.

The first legislative drive against labor took the form of battering down the protective laws which had been secured only by decades of effort, and which, slight as they were, afforded some measure of protection against un-
bridled exploitation. Three New England states—Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont—got the jump on the situation by immediately authorizing the governor or the commissioner of industries to modify or suspend the labor laws for definite periods during the war upon request of the Council of National Defense. Massachusetts established a “war emergency industrial commission,” composed of two employers, two working people, and the commissioner of labor and industries as chairman, to consider applications from individual plants for exemption from the labor laws for stated periods. New Hampshire, in addition to the law already mentioned, enacted a statute reducing the hours of women and children, but providing that the law was not to apply during the war to labor entirely on munitions for the United States or the state. More than a month before the official declaration of war was made, Congress authorized the President, “in case of national emergency,” to suspend the laws prohibiting more than eight hours’ work a day on contracts for the United States, provided time and a half were paid for all hours over eight. A year after the armistice was signed, Vermont re-enacted in permanent form a portion of its war-time adjournment of protective legislation. It authorized the commissioner of Labor to suspend the laws regulating the employment of women and children for two months yearly for any manufacturing establishment or business dealing in perishable goods. The establishments chiefly in mind are the canneries, which have always been consistent opponents and violators of laws for the protection of women and children.

Compulsory Work Laws.

Early in 1917 Maryland enacted the first modern American compulsory work, or “lazy man’s” law. This statute provided that all able bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty, not usefully occupied, might in time of war be required to register and work in some public or private employment. The act did not apply to persons temporarily idle because of differences with their employers. Otherwise strikers could have been “assigned” to the very jobs they had good cause for leaving. Failure to register was punishable by a maximum fine of $50; failure to do the work assigned by a maximum fine of $500, or a maximum term of six months’ imprisonment, or both. Altogether eleven states adopted laws of this type. (1) Thus “conscription of labor,” which

(1) Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and West Virginia.
Anti-Sabotage Laws.

Learned cabinet members were denouncing in 1920 as the crowning atrocity of Soviet Russia, was a fact in America two or three years before.

During the war manufacturers, timber owners, and railroad executives who were themselves sabotaging the government on a large scale caught up anti-sabotage legislation as a handy way of getting rid of “agitators.” In seven states the legislatures, usually in the first few days of the sessions, rushed through laws prohibiting the “malicious, felonious, intentional or unlawful destruction of property.” (1) Idaho protected especially lumbering operations, Nebraska railroading, and North Dakota farming and stock raising. The Montana law of 1918 made sabotage punishable by a fine of $200 to $1,000, one to five years’ imprisonment, or both. Arizona made mere attendance at a meeting at which sabotage was advocated a felony, punishable by anything up to $5,000, ten years, or both. Since no audience can tell beforehand exactly what speakers at a meeting will say, this clause put every labor gathering in a state at the mercy of the provocative agent, governmental or private. Montana took the additional step of designating it a misdemeanor to allow the use of a meeting place for the advocacy of sabotage, attaching a penalty of $100-$500, sixty days to one year in prison, or both. Not content with state action, Montana also requested Congress to pass legislation defining as a crime and providing punishment for destruction of property and interference with its management for the purpose of bettering working conditions, and other acts that might be construed as sabotage.

Criminal Syndicalism Laws.

Not feeling themselves sufficiently armed in their fight against labor by the anti-sabotage law, the interests in Idaho put through the legislature in 1917 a statute outlawing “criminal syndicalism.” This new offense was defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. Advocacy or practicing such a doctrine, or organizing a society to teach it, was made a felony. The maximum penalty for it was $5,000, or imprisonment for ten years, or both. Even permitting the use of a hall for the advocacy of such principles was declared a misdemeanor, rendering one liable to a maximum penalty of $500, one year’s imprisonment, or both.

(1) Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Washington.
The idea was quickly taken up by Minnesota. The next year Montana and South Dakota followed suit, and in 1919 a round dozen of states and territories (1) seized on this new method of getting rid of industrial unrest. Except for a slight variation in the severity of the penalties, these laws are practically alike in all states, which indicates their common origin.

Typical definitions of "Criminal Syndicalism" and "Sabotage" are those contained in the California statute (Chapter 188 Laws of 1919): "The term 'criminal syndicalism' as used in this act is hereby defined as any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, or aiding and abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning wilful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control or affecting any political change."

The most astonishing of these laws is probably the Connecticut statute (Chapter 191, of 1919) providing that:

"No person shall, in public, or before any assemblage of ten or more persons, advocate in any language any measures, doctrine, proposal or propaganda intended to injuriously affect the Government of the United States or the State of Connecticut."

The latest and perhaps the most complete product of the sedition hunters is the anti-syndicalist and sedition law adopted by the Kentucky legislature and signed by Governor Morrow on March 25, 1920. It contains provisions customary in sedition legislation, penalizing by 21 years in prison membership in organizations which advocate sedition or criminal syndicalism as defined in the Act and prohibiting advocacy by speech, printing or writing of the forbidden doctrines. It declares any assembly where such doctrines are advocated to be unlawful and sets forth other customary legislative devices for dealing with heresy. Another section of the act makes it unlawful by speech, writing, or otherwise to arouse "discord or strife or ill feeling between classes of persons for the purpose of inducing public tumult or disorder *. * *

Section eleven makes it a crime for two or more persons to "agree, band, or confederate themselves together to do any of the things prohibited and it shall not be necessary to prove any overt act in order to secure a conviction."

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(1) Alaska, California, Hawaii, Iowa, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, and Washington.
Anti-Picketing Laws.

One state during the war made it a misdemeanor to picket in a strike. This was Washington, in 1915. Picketing was described as standing or continually moving back and forth before the employe's place of business or home, or carrying any banner or sign to call attention to a trade dispute.

Anti-Strike Laws.

To quit work at any time, singly or with one's fellow employees, for any reason that seemed worth while, has usually been considered the right of American citizens.

The first legislative breach in this theory was made by the Colorado Industrial Commission law of 1915. This law, in certain clauses patterned after the Canadian industrial disputes investigation act, forbade strikes, lockouts, or changes in the terms of employment until after thirty days' notice, in all employments except domestic service, agriculture, and shops with fewer than four workmen. During the thirty days the commission is to compel a hearing on the dispute, and deliver an award, which is, however, not binding.

In the year America entered the war, New Hampshire went a step further, and absolutely prohibited strikes or lockouts in factories manufacturing materials for federal or state military use.

In the same year Congress passed the Lever Act, which on the ground of the war emergency prohibited interference with the production of foods and fuel. While the act was under debate, efforts were unsuccessfully made to introduce an amendment making it clear that the measure was not aimed at labor. Nevertheless Senator F3ustin.ing stated on the floor of the upper house: "I am authorized by the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson, to say that the administration does not construe this bill as prohibiting strikes and peaceful picketing, and will not so construe the bill, and that the Department of Justice does not so construe the bill and will not so construe the bill." In spite of this pledge, when the coal miners went out for better conditions on November 1, 1919, an injunction obtained under the Lever Act was used by the government to crush the strike.

Emboldened by the success of this maneuver, the drafters of the legislation which returned the railroads to private operation on March 1, 1920, inserted a section which makes walk-outs on railroads almost if not actually illegal. The newspaper outcry against the switchmen's strike in the spring of 1920 as an "outlaw" strike was based on the assumption that such an effort of the
men was barred by the law. This is not the case. The transportation act merely declares that it shall be the duty of all railroads and their employees to "exert every reasonable effort and adopt every available means" to avoid any interruption of service. The act then sets up a complicated system of conferences, railroad boards of labor adjustment, and a national railroad labor board composed of three labor members, three managers, and three representatives of the "public" appointed by the President, to which disputes are to be referred. Awards of the national labor board are not binding, but if they are violated the board is to investigate and make public its decision on the matter.

The culminating piece of anti-strike legislation so far enacted in America is the Kansas act of 1920 establishing a "court of industrial relations." This law flatly and outspokenly makes strikes and lockouts permanently illegal in the four important groups of industries covered, namely, food, fuel, clothing, and transportation. In case of a serious controversy in any of these industries the court, consisting of three judges appointed by the governor for three-year terms, is to summon the parties before it and investigate conditions. The findings of the court are to state "the terms and conditions on which said industry * * * * * should be thereafter conducted." The standards of wages, hours, or working conditions decreed by the court must, however, be "such as to enable such industries * * * * * to produce or transport their products." In other words, the decree must not seriously interfere with profits. The court of industrial relations may bring suit in the supreme court of the state to compel compliance with its orders. The abstract right of collective bargaining is recognized, but strikes, picketing, boycotts, or similar acts to make effective labor's power in the bargaining process are forbidden. In case an industry covered by the act is actually hampered or stopped, the court may take it over and operate it during the emergency. It will be interesting to see how many workmen and how many employers in industries not covered will take advantage of the provision that they may voluntarily submit disputes to the court. Hardly was the governor's signature dry on this first permanent large-scale American involuntary servitude act for supposedly free workingmen, when vigorous campaigns were launched in New York, New Jersey, and other states, to secure its enactment there also.

The Drift.

While certain improvements in women's hour legislation, workmen's compensation, and safety acts have been
secured since America entered the world war, the statutes here described are evidence of a contrary tendency at work. They lead one to question whether the workers have not lost in statutes more than they have gained in material betterments. They suggest that the attitude of the capitalist-minded or capitalist-controlled legislators toward the workers is closely akin to that entertained toward domestic cattle by the mid-century poet who sang:

If I had a cow that gave such milk
I'd dress her in the finest silk,
I'd feed her on the choicest hay—
And milk her forty times a day!

SECTION VI.

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES—BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR.

Practically without exception, all the estimates of the amount of wages received by the wage earners in the country, and the relation of these wages to a minimum standard of living, show that at no time has labor in the United States approached even the very low minimum considered necessary to keep body and soul together.

In 1915, Professor Frank H. Streightoff set the minimum standard of living in New York City at $876 for a family, and even then he was able to allot but $7 for furnishings, $5.63 for education, newspapers, etc., $20 for health, and $40 for all such miscellaneous expenses as “tobacco, carfare, shopping, purchase of toys for the children, toilet articles, washing and laundry, tools, moving, and the spending money of various members of the family.”

This estimate in general agreed with that made by Dr. Chapin in 1907 who estimated that in New York City a family could provide itself with the bare necessities of life at between $800 and $900 a year. At about the same time, Scott Nearing estimated (1) that one third of the adult males of America were earning $10 a week or less; four-fifths $15 or less; and nine-tenths $20 or less. Of the women workers, three-fourths were earning less than $10 a week and nine-tenths less than $15 a week. This means that at least four-fifths of the men and practically all the adult women workers were earning less than what was considered to be a minimum wage of the barest decent standard of living.

In the report of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, issued in 1915, Basil Manley, the Director of Investigation and Research, estimated that between one-fourth and one-third of the male workers 18 years of age and over, in factories and mines, earned less than $10 a week; that two-thirds to three-fourths earned less than $15 a week and that only about one-tenth earned more than $20 a week, without taking into account lost working time for any cause. The wages for women were very much lower; from two-thirds to three-fourths, it was estimated, were earning less than $8 a week. (1) These estimates agree pretty closely with those of Nearing.

One of the latest estimates before the war was made by Lauck and Sydenstricker in 1916, both known as among the closest students of American economic and industrial conditions.

After examining practically all authoritative data available prior to the war, these economists concluded that fully one-fourth of the adult male workers in the principal industries and trades earned less than $400 a year or less than $7.70 a week; one-fifth, less than $600 a year or less than $11.35 a week; four-fifths, less than $800 a year or less than $15.40 a week; while less than one-tenth received $1,000 a year or about $20 a week. (2) This estimate agrees with the two given above. The wages of women they likewise found are very much lower than those of men.

These pre-war wages were woefully inadequate as compared with what was necessary for a decent standard of living. Accepting the minimum family standard of $800 set by numerous economists prior to the war, "it appears to be an inescapable fact that a very large proportion, possibly half, of the wage earners' families in the principal industries of this country," according to Lauck and Sydenstricker in 1916, "have been below that level during the past few years." (3)

A detailed examination of the wage conditions in manufacturing, mining and agriculture previous to the war again proves that the average wage was in general below the minimum standard of living.

(1) Final Report Industrial Relations Commission, p. 31.
(2) Lauck & Sydenstricker, Cond. of Labor in Am. Industries L-60-1.
(3) Lauck & Sydenstricker, N. 376.
1. MINES AND QUARRIES. (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1902</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Employees</td>
<td>46,694</td>
<td>38,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Earners</td>
<td>1,093,286</td>
<td>581,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,139,980</strong></td>
<td><strong>619,856</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>$56,286,988</td>
<td>$39,020,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages</td>
<td>606,135,238</td>
<td>369,959,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$662,422,226</strong></td>
<td><strong>$408,980,512</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average annual wage for wage earner and salaried employee: $582 $659
Average annual wage for wage earner: $554 $635

The average annual earnings of the Illinois pick miners, according to the State Board, were only $526 in 1913—less than the 1909 average for the United States. The average earnings of all mine workers in Illinois in 1913, a very prosperous year, were only $704; in Ohio $766; in Indiana $708; in Western Pennsylvania, $856, the average for all of these states being $761. During 1914 the average earnings were only $615. The mine workers were not able to maintain the barest physical requirements of their families on these wages. (3)

2. WAGES IN MANUFACTURING, 1904, 1909 and 1914. (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Establishments</td>
<td>216,180</td>
<td>268,491</td>
<td>275,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons engaged</td>
<td>6,213,612</td>
<td>7,678,578</td>
<td>8,263,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors and firm members</td>
<td>225,673</td>
<td>273,265</td>
<td>262,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Employees</td>
<td>519,556</td>
<td>790,267</td>
<td>964,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Earners</td>
<td>5,468,383</td>
<td>6,615,046</td>
<td>7,036,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries and Wages</td>
<td>$3,184,884,275</td>
<td>$4,365,612,851</td>
<td>$5,366,249,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>574,439,322</td>
<td>938,547,967</td>
<td>1,287,916,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages</td>
<td>2,610,444,953</td>
<td>3,427,037,884</td>
<td>4,078,332,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value added by man-</td>
<td>$6,293,694,753</td>
<td>$8,529,260,992</td>
<td>$9,828,345,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facturing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the form of averages we get the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Production per Person</td>
<td>$1,051.06</td>
<td>$1,151.00</td>
<td>$1,234.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Production per Wage Earner</td>
<td>$1,150.92</td>
<td>$1,290.00</td>
<td>$1,403.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Income per Wage Earners and Salaried Employees</td>
<td>$531.99</td>
<td>$589.00</td>
<td>$670.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Income per Wage Earner</td>
<td>$477.37</td>
<td>$518.00</td>
<td>$581.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is most interesting about these statistics for manufacturing is what the average wage in each of these three census periods was far below the minimum subsistence level, being only $477 for 1904, $518 for 1909 and $581 for 1914.

It would be interesting to be able to determine from the statistics on manufacturing just what were the profits made by the manufacturers. The Census Bureau warns against attempting to make any deductions as to profits, because the expenses do not show the entire cost of manufacture, as for example interest and allowances for depreciation. It should be kept in mind that the value of the products means their selling value at the factory—a sort of estimate of what they are worth—not the amount at which they were sold. This makes it impossible to determine with any accuracy the amount of profits and the degree of exploitation—that is the amount of wealth which the worker produced that went to the employer.

A number of states publish figures showing the wages in manufacturing. The report from New Jersey for 1916 shows that of the 315,055 male wage-earners employed in New Jersey industries, 67,041 or 21% received less than $10 per week and 194,051 or 62% received less than $15 per week. Among this entire group of wage-earners only 48,501 or 16% were earning more than $20 per week and 15,286 or 5% were earning over $25 per week. In this instance 17/20 of the male wage-earners of the great state were being paid less than $1,000 a year or $20 a week.

The average wage of those engaged in manufacturing in the state of Massachusetts for 1913 was $569.43 (1) or $100 less than the average for the United States in 1914.

3. WAGES IN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH INDUSTRIES. (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Telephone Employees</th>
<th>Telephone Wage and Salaries—Total</th>
<th>Telegraph Employees</th>
<th>Telegraph Wage and Salaries—Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>183,361</td>
<td>$96,040,451</td>
<td>37,295</td>
<td>$424,964,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>144,169</td>
<td>68,279,127</td>
<td>28,034</td>
<td>17,808,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>78,752</td>
<td>36,255,621</td>
<td>27,627</td>
<td>15,039,673</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Annual Average of Wages and Salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>$473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>$460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Telephones and Telegraphs, Bureau of the Census, 1915, p. 48 and 159.
The wages of Telephone Operators, nine-tenths of whom were girls, averages $337 a year for 1912, or about $6.50 per week; $311 for 1907 and $270 for 1902, or a little over $5 a week.

4. WAGES OF HIRED FARM LABOR. (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Day Labor By the month.</th>
<th>Day Labor at Harvest.</th>
<th>Day Labor Not Harvest.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With Board</td>
<td>Without Board</td>
<td>With Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$21.38</td>
<td>$30.31</td>
<td>$1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>21.05</td>
<td>29.88</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>21.26</td>
<td>30.15</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>23.25</td>
<td>32.83</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average wage without board by the month, counting 12 months to the year, for 1916, was about $394, or almost $300 less than the average wage for manufacturing. The Day labor wage not at harvest time, was slightly higher than the monthly wage paid—but making allowances for loss of working time, the annual wage is probably lower than $394.

A recent investigation made shortly before the war by the Bureau of Plant Industry (2) into farmers’ incomes in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa drew forth the fact that owners who worked their own farms made a little less than factory wages. “Deducting 5 per cent interest on the average capital,” declared the report, “leaves an average labor income of $408 for the 273 farm owners * * * * * One farmer out of every 22 received a labor income of over $2,000 a year. One farmer out of every three paid for the privilege of working his farm, that is after deducting 5 per cent interest on his investment he failed to make a plus labor income,” and this in the most prosperous farming district of the United States.

The picture presented by the wage conditions in agriculture, mining and manufacturing do not present a very inspiring spectacle—workers in all branches of production were receiving an average wage which was far from sufficient to enable them to live on a minimum comfort standard.

“Labor’s Profiteering”

During the war and since the war a feeling spread throughout the country that labor was profiteering; that workers were demanding and getting huge wages, and were waxing rich as a result of the war.

An examination of the facts fails to bear out this notion. On the contrary the facts warrant the conclusion that labor as a whole is able to buy less now than before the war. The cost of living has risen steadily since 1914.

(2) Bureau of Plant Industry, Dept. of Agriculture.
In December, 1917, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it had risen 44.6% over December, 1914. By March, 1918, it advanced 48% over 1914; August 1918, 64% and December, 1918, the cost of living was 77.3% higher than in 1914. This includes not only food but also clothing, rent, fuel and light and furniture. In December, 1919 living cost had advanced to 103.8%. (1) According to the National Industrial Conference Board, there was an additional increase of 7% by March, 1920, or a total increase of 111%.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in August, 1919 made a study of what it cost to maintain a family of 5 at a minimum of health and comfort—slightly above the bare minimum. Revised to May, 1920, this budget is $2,534 a year. It is not "the American standard" but a bottom level of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical and moral deterioration." Prof. Ogburn, formerly statistician for the National War Labor Board, calculated a similar budget on a somewhat stricter basis. Corrected for May, 1920, it totals to $2,182. (2)

Wages increased during the war—they had to if the worker was to survive. Wage increases, however, should be compared with increased living costs, otherwise they mean nothing.

The Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1918 furnishes a table showing the union scale of wages in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918 for several trades, such as the building, metal, granite and stone, baking, printing and others. (3) The table gives the wages in a percentage form, showing increases over 1913 which is taken as the basis. According to these figures, taken from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports the increases in wages are as follows:

Bakers, 36%; Building Trades: Bricklayers, 14%; building laborers, 30%; carpenters, 25%; hod carriers, 36%; painters, 27%; plumbers, 16%; structural iron workers, 26%; teamsters, 23%. The granite and iron trades show an increase of 30%. The metal trades show a slightly higher increase: boiler makers, 46%; machinists, 59%; iron molders, 50%; patternmakers, 56%. The printing and publishing trades were far behind the metal workers: bookbinders, 21%; compositors, 19%; linotype operators, 13%; machine tenders, 14%; press feeders, 28%.

(2) The Nation, June 19, 1920.
The cost of living had increased by 78% at the same time. It can be readily seen that these skilled trades were very much behind in purchasing power at the end of the war.

The wages of the railroad workers are interesting. In 1914 the average wage of the 1,693,403 employees—not counting the general and other officers—was $787. (1)

About April 30, 1918, the U. S. Railway Administration published a report of railway wage rates that were being paid at that time.

The total number of railway workers employed was 1,939,399. Of this total 26% were paid less than $60 per month ($720 per year); 42% were paid less than $70 per month ($840 per year); 59% were paid less than $80 a month ($960 per year); and 70% were paid less than $90 per month ($1,080 per year). The cost of living in April, 1918 was about 50% higher than in 1914. The average wage in 1918 if corrected to allow for the increased cost of living should have been slightly less than $1,200 a year. According to the report of the Railway Administration over 70% or about three-fourths of the employees were getting less than this average, which itself was at least $300 a year less than the minimum subsistence level for 1918.

The average yearly earnings in 1918 for all wage earners in Massachusetts was $944.65 (2) an increase of 66% over 1913, but below the increase in living costs.

With the exception of a very few war trades, (in some of which the workers were very much underpaid before the war), such as the iron and steel, boot and shoe, shipbuilding and navy yard trades, the workers of the country were able to buy less with their wages after the war than before.

The wages of coal miners also failed to keep step with the increase in cost of living. They increased only 36.4% over 1914.

While the cost of living went up to 104% by the end of 1919, wages during 1919 again failed to rise in proportion.

According to a report by Director-General McAdoo the average daily wage for railway workers in July, 1919 was $4.93, and the average monthly wage $119.38, ranging from $78 per month for flagmen and gatemen to $256 per month for passenger engineers and motormen. (3) The monthly average, if living costs are taken into

(2) Report Statistics of Manufactures, Mass., 1918, p. VI.
consideration, was less than the 1914 average. A study of union wage scales for May, 1919, conducted by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, showed that the average rate of wages was 55% higher than in 1913. (1) The increase in cost of living was at least 85% at the time.

The wage conditions in a number of industries in 1919 were investigated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which brought out the following results:

The average weekly wage for all employees, male and female, in the cigar industry (Spring 1919) was $17.17. The average for the males was $20.84 and for the females, $15.54, which constituted an increase of 53% over 1913. (2)

In the clothing industry, (Spring 1919) the wages ranged from $27.58 a week for machine cutters to $14.20 a week for hand sewers (males). The average for the entire industry was $21.24 or an increase of 56% over 1913. (3)

In the hosiery, underwear and silk industries (Spring 1919) the average for the various occupations was $19 a week, varying from $13.77 for spinners (female) to $26.35 for machine fixers. The hosiery and underwear industry as a whole showed an increase in wages of 72% over rate of 1913, while the silk industry showed an increase of 77%. (4)

In the women's clothing industry the average weekly wage for the men was $35.11 and for the women $15.95. In the confectionery industry the average weekly wage for men was $18.45 and for women $10.08. (5) The wages for 1913 are not given and percentage increases can not be calculated.

The average wage in representative New York state factories for 1919 was $23.50 (6) an increase of 88% but still less than the increase in the cost of living.

The Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Industrial Commission in a report made public on June 8, 1920 stated that taking the week of December 13, 1919 as a typical week, it found that more than one-half of the telephone operators were receiving a basic wage of less than $16. This represents the actual earnings of the operators, which includes pay for overtime.

(3) Monthly Labor Review, March 1920, p. 89.
The highest peak was reached by those earning between $15 and $18 a week. While the bureau was making its study the company raised the wages of New York City operators $3 a week and the up-state operators, $2, making the minimum wage for New York City, $15, and the maximum $23, and for the up-state districts, $17, and $19, respectively. The maximum is reached after six years of service. (1)

In 1919 a schedule was made of the earnings per day in 103 different occupations, including all those where, we were told, labor was making exorbitant wages, such as the skilled trades in steel mills, shipyards, and building. Of these occupations only four—shearmen, rollers, blowers and heaters in the steel plants—were paid at a rate of more than $8 for eight hours. These occupations include only a very small minority of the workers in the steel industry itself, probably not more than five per cent. Only 24 occupations out of the 103 were paid at a rate of more than $6.50 for eight hours. These are largely the more highly skilled in the shipyards, in the building trades, and on the railroads. They certainly do not include more than five per cent of the nation’s workers. It is true, of course, that some of these men work more than eight hours and receive overtime; but it is also true that many of them, especially in the building trades, are subject to seasonal unemployment and do not work 365 days a year.

We may look at the negative side of this showing: 79 out of 103 occupations, representatives of the overwhelming majority of the nation’s wage earners, do not earn enough to maintain a family of five “without danger of physical and moral deterioration.” Fully a quarter of them are subject to actual undernourishment and overcrowding, and are underclad. Of course, one may say that not every workman has to have three children, and that many do not. Quite true; but these figures show that while rollers, heaters, boilermakers, and plasterers may have three or possibly more children with impunity, painters, steam-fitters, linotype operators, brakemen and a host of others may have three or even fewer children only at the cost of racial and social deterioration. To such “profiteers” our best people hold out the prospect of lowered wages.

Only 28 out of the 103 occupations mentioned above received increases of more than 100 per cent for the period. Sixty of them received increases of under 80 per cent. The percentages of increase range as low as 20. That

(1) New York Call, June 8, 1920.

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means that without question the majority of wage-earners are not so well off, with respect to the cost of living, as they were before the war. Their “real wages” have actually declined. (1)

Wages in the cloak industry are now (1920) from $6 to $14 a week less than the 1914 scale in terms of the cost of living. In the printing industry (book and job) weekly wages are in most cases from $4 to $18 behind 1914. The building trades workers are still behind the 1914 scale and likewise the New York harbor employees. (2)

Wages of hired farm labor for 1918 and 1919 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Day Labor at Harvest</th>
<th>Day Labor Not Harvest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By the Month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With Board</td>
<td>$34.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Without Board</td>
<td>$2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918 (1)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918 (2)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>56.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monthly wages for either with board or without for 1919 were somewhat below the wage of 1914: day labor at harvest almost equaled the 1914 scale, as did day labor at non-harvest times.

Wage workers throughout the country with very few exceptions are not earning as much as they did before the war. Let every worker multiply his 1914 wage by $111.70 (increased cost of living to March, 1920) and he can determine for himself whether he is able to buy for his wages as much as he was able to buy in pre-war days.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING—LABOR OR CAPITAL?

That unlimited profiteering in life’s necessities on the part of producers, middlemen and retailers, and not increased wages has been the fundamental cause of the high prices of practically all commodities, has been incontrovertibly proved by W. Jett Lauck, consulting economist for the seventeen Brotherhoods and Unions of railroad employees. Dr. Lauck assembled the statistics of the Income Tax Division of the Treasury, the Tariff Commission, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, as well as other governmental agencies. The result has been a mass of authenticated detail which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that profiteering and not increased labor costs, has caused the cost of living to reach such dizzy heights.

(2) New York Call, May 7, 1920.
Contrary to the generally accepted belief that price advances have invariably followed upon wage increases, it is proved that wage increases have been the inevitable result of constantly rising living costs. Labor has had no control over the forces which has operated to increase the cost of living. In practically every industry examined, wage increases have lagged far behind price increases.

The belief that labor has made an improvement over its pre-war status is a common fallacy. Undoubtedly it is true that labor has secured for itself and must secure for itself higher wage returns than formerly. With constant leaps in the cost of living what other alternative is left to it if it is to subsist? It is a matter of statistical fact, however, that only a small percentage of the wage earners of the country have been able to keep pace with the cost of living. Today a day’s wage buys less than it did in 1914.

It has been estimated that profiteering is responsible for probably one-half of the price increases. The difficulties in the way of estimating the true measure of profiteering are many—since every conceivable means is employed to conceal the true profits. Extravagant salaries, excessive allowance for depreciation, increasing the capitalization through stock dividends and grossly fictitious royalties and rents—are all used as a means of decreasing the profits and wealth during and after the war can hardly

How unfair and one-sided has been the distribution of profits and wealth during and after the war can hardly be better told than in the words of Mr. Lauck himself.

The simplest way to state the only conclusion to be drawn from the income statistics is to say that as a result of the war the rich are richer and the poor are poorer; but the startling fact that the people are in ignorance of is this: that one-eighth of the total taxable income from all of the toil and ingenuity going into all of the productive processes of the country at the present time goes to six one-thousandths of one per cent of the whole people, or six out of every 100,000 of the population.

This means that 6,664 people had a combined income in 1917 of $1,709,365,988. Seventy per cent of this, or over $1,250,000 came from property. On the face of later, but as yet unofficial figures, their incomes have greatly increased.

Profits of Corporations.

It is difficult to conceive how gigantic have been the profits realized by corporations controlling the products essential to daily life. From evidence gathered from their own published reports, it has been estimated that the average profits during the three war years of all the
corporations in the United States with net incomes of 
$1,000,000 or more approximated 24 per cent on their 
capital stock, which means that this group of corporations 
made profits sufficient to replace the entire value of their 
capital stock within a period of slightly over four years. 
After all deductions were made, the net corporate income 
for 1917 amounted to over ten and a half billion dollars. 
There were in 1917 over 5000 corporations which earned 
over one-half the value of their capital stock, and over 
200 that earned the entire value in a single year.

The following figures are taken from corporation re-
ports which cover all corporations of one-million dollar 
income in certain lines of business such as metal, cloth-
ing, food, fuel, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Profits</th>
<th>Percent Net Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912-14</td>
<td>$438,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-18</td>
<td>1,234,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the percentage of the net income in 1918 was 
three times that for the pre-war years.

Yearly Toll to Profiteers.

The combined corporations of the country earned in 
net profits approximately $4,800,000,000 more per year 
during the three war years, 1916-17-18, than during the 
three pre-war years period; and this excess of profits 
over and above what the same corporations were satisfied 
with during the pre-war years constituted during 1916-
17-18 a profiteering tax of $240 per year per family of five 
throughout the nation. Furthermore, in two industries 
alone, namely, iron and steel and coal, two billions 
dollars of net profit in excess of the pre-war average were 
exacted during the three war years, constituting virtually 
a levy of $20.00 upon every man, woman and child in 
the United States.

For the four years, 1916-17-18-19, corporate profits, 
not inclusive of royalties, rents, excessive salaries, stock 
dividends, or any other form of compensation, cost each 
family of five throughout the United States a total of 
$1,500. (This is on the basis of 22,000,000 families.) 
During this same period the average income of these 
families totaled for the four years less than $7,300, so that 
the toll exacted as profits by corporations consumes more 
than one-fifth of the family income. This is a conserva-
tive estimate. More likely the number of families in the 
country is under 21,000,000 and the proportion of prices 
to profits twenty per cent higher than available figures 
indicate. Experts figure that one-fourth of the income of 
each American worker is taken from him in the shape of 
corporate profits.
Profiteering in Food.

Eating is a universal experience and all of us have grumbled at the high prices we have had to pay for our food. Profiteering, which has been rampant throughout the industry is the chief cause. Sugar offers a good example of the exorbitant profits which accrued to the speculators. How small has been labor’s share of these fabulous profits is borne out by the following facts: Sugar has advanced 14 cents a pound or 300 per cent over pre-war prices. During the same period there was an increase in the labor cost of 2 cents, or less than 15 per cent of the increased cost to the consumer and only 18 per cent of the advance in the wholesale price of sugar over pre-war prices. The tribute exacted from the American people this year by the sugar profiteers will exceed $600,000,000 at the most conservative estimate, and may approach $1,000,000,000 if sugar goes up to 35 or 40 cents. This means that every family in the United States this year will pay a tax of from $30 to $50 and even $100 over and above a legitimate profit to everybody concerned for this one food essential. Had the producer and the retailer been satisfied to receive as their profit margin what labor received as its share, sugar could have been sold at 11½ a pound instead of from 22 to 25 cents.

Meat-Packing.

This industry which is virtually controlled by five big packing houses has vast and far-reaching ramifications throughout almost every branch of food production. In a report made by the Federal Trade Commission, net profits of packers after all deductions including war taxes were made, were three times as large in 1917 as before the war. Between 1912-18 the net earnings of the packers was $266,000,000, which constituted nearly twice the value of their total capital stock. To cover up these huge profits, new capital stock to the amount of $120,000,000 was issued. In these years, the increase in the profits of the packers was from 300 to 400% and the increase in prices from 50 to 100%. In the years 1915-17 four packers earned $140,000,000, and this in spite of the huge advertising projects which they carried on. And what share of this luscious harvest did labor receive? Here is the testimony of Swift and Company, August 1919. The labor cost up to the point of distribution to retailer, was 69c per 100 lbs., or 5% of the total cost—a wholly negligible quantity. If labor had reaped an increase of even 100% the increase in the price would have been only 5%. The advance in the retail price of meat was over twelve times the entire labor cost in the meat-pack-
ing industry. An increase in wages of 1000% would not account for the tremendous increase in the price of meat. As a matter of fact, wages did not go up more than from 50 to 75%. These are the sinister facts one must keep in mind when one wonders how meat has risen to such prohibitive prices as to be almost a luxury.

**Canned Goods.**

Let us next consider the product termed “canned goods”—one of the most extensive food commodities. In the case of canned corn for instance, the increase in the wholesale price between 1916-17 was $1.53 a case—of this amount labor received 4c. Canned tomatoes increased $1.21 on the wholesale price—labor’s dividend being 5c. In the case of canned salmon, where prices increased 62%, labor costs increased less than 1%. The profits of the canners in 1917 was three times that of 1916. Throughout the industry the percentage of the wholesale price which was absorbed by labor actually decreased from 1/8 to 1/12, while the canners’ profits equalled one-half of the total cost of production. And while the public looked on and wondered whither prices were going to, patriotic profiteers unblushingly reaped enormous profits.

**Clothing.**

The profits in the clothing industry have been three times as great as before the war. One-half the retail price is absorbed by profits, while labor costs amount to from one-fourteenth to one-twentieth of the price. Let us consider a specific article of clothing. Take the ordinary suit of clothes, made of medium priced wool, that sold for $25 in 1910 and now retails for $65 and we find that profits are absorbing $27.64 of the price paid by the consumer. The mill profit on the cloth has increased 365 per cent, the manufacturer’s profit on making the suit, 255 per cent and the retailer’s profit, 141 per cent. The largest woolen manufacturing company in America increased its annual net income from an average of $1,600,000 in the pre-war years to an average of nearly $9,000,000 during 1916-17-18. The Department of Justice recently charged that this corporation’s profits for the first quarter of the present year, 1920, were within one-twentieth of its entire capital stock.

Profiteering in textiles, which, of necessity, is closely allied with the clothing industry—reveals the prevalence of identical conditions. In the case of two standard cotton cloths, blue demin and gray sheeting, the labor cost in 1919 was about twice that in 1910, while the profits of the manufacturer are six or seven times as great, with
somewhat smaller profits for the retailer. Specific figures for gray sheetings tell a significant story. In 1910 profits absorbed 25% of the price, labor receiving 11½%, while in 1919 profits absorbed 50% of the price, labor received 7% of the price. Had the manufacturers in 1919 been satisfied with a profit three times as great as that in 1910, wages could have been increased 100% and the price of raw materials reduced by 10%.

Shoes.

Here too, the unmistakable imprints of exorbitant profiteering are revealed. In 1914, the profit returns absorbed nearly one-half the price paid by the consumer, or nearly three times the total labor costs, while in 1917, the profit items amounted to about three-fifths of the total price and over five times the total labor costs. In 1914 all the labor from a hide to a finished shoe absorbed less than one-sixth of the price paid by the consumer while in 1917 this share of labor decreased to one-ninth. Thus, of the $3.50 increase in the price of a pair of standard shoes labor received 15¢ while the profits of the manufacturers and merchants absorbed $2.75. In the Tanneries, labor received 6% of the price paid by the consumer, while the Tanners' profits absorbed 20%. Chairman Murdock of the Federal Trade Commission showed that:

Shoes, retailing for nine dollars in the fall of 1919 and ten dollars and fifty cents in the spring of 1920, cost the manufacturer respectively, four dollars and thirty-six cents and five dollars and forty-eight cents. The leather used in making these shoes cost, respectively, two dollars and thirty-three cents and three dollars and thirty-seven cents. The labor cost, respectively, ninety cents and one dollar and four cents. The manufacturer's profits were eighty-nine cents on one pair of shoes and one dollar and two cents on the other pair. The retailer's profit was three dollars and seventy-five cents in the one instance and four dollars in the other.

Another report of the Federal Trade Commission shows that the entire cost of manufacturing shoes for which the consumer pays $8.50 is only $3.46, or two-fifths of the price. The balance goes in the shape of profits to tanner, manufacturer and retailer. Here is a graphic table showing how meagre was the portion eaten up by labor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Profit</th>
<th>Labor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Profit absorbed ½ the price.</td>
<td>Labor absorbed 1/6 the price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Profit absorbed 3/5 of the price.</td>
<td>Labor absorbed 1/9 of the price.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nothing can speak more clearly of the almost ridiculous disparity between labor's and capital's share of the great increase in prices.

**Fuel.**

Generally speaking, the profits in the fuel industry were two and a half times as great as in pre-war times. For 1916-18, the average profit was one-quarter of a billion and for 1916-19 inclusive, more than one billion dollars. During this period, these corporations earned—after every conceivable deduction had been made—enough to replace their entire capital stock.

**Coal.**

Profits of 17 corporations indicate that their profits were four times the pre-war rate, from 7½% to 27% on their capital stock. One-third of the coal companies showed net profits of over 100%; one-half over 50% on their capital stock. A tax on every man, woman and child amounting to $10.00 would have to be levied to cover the profits made in the coal industry. The increase in the cost of coal has been caused by the increase in the labor cost, say the profiteers—and the credulous public believes it. Here are undeniable figures to show how the advance in the price of coal has been out of all proportion to the increase granted labor. It has been calculated that the increase in the retail price of bituminous coal is four times the increase in labor costs. Taking a definite instance, we learn that bituminous coal miners were given a wage increase of 27 per cent, effective April 1. This amounted to 40 cents per ton. Immediately the price of coal at the pit-head in the Virginia field which had been $2.35 and $2.75, jumped to $4.35 and $4.75, an increase exactly five times the labor cost.

Similarly in the case of anthracite coal. The profits of producers and distributors were larger than the entire cost of production; viz.: in 1918, the consumer in New York paid $11.32 for a ton. Of this $4.22 is consumed in the production and loading; $2.30 in transportation, and the balance of $4.80 eaten up in the form of profits. While the cost of labor between 1914 and 1918 (December) increased $1.38 per ton, the advance in the wholesale price was $4.28, or more than three times the increase in the labor cost. This is exclusive of the profits which are concealed through stock juggling and never appear in reports. According to income tax returns, the profits in this industry have more than doubled.

**Oil.**

Some of the earnings in this industry seem almost unbelievable. Thus the Standard Oil Company of Indiana
took from the country during the pre-war years profits which averaged more than 1,000 per cent on the original capital stock, which represents the whole real investment. In those years the profits averaged over $10,000,000 per year. The percentage of profits to capital stock for the years 1916-18 was more than two and a half times as great, the earnings being approximately $26,000,000. Of course in the published report it does not appear that this corporation earned so enormous a per cent on its capital stock. For in 1912 the capitalization was increased from $1,000,001 to $30,000,000 by a 2,900 per cent stock dividend. The return on investment then, appears to have risen from approximately 33 per cent to approximately 85 per cent. An increase in profits which is significant enough, for it means that in 1916 the corporation took profits equal to the entire value of the capital stock which has been increased to 30 times the value of the original investment. In other words, 1916 was a marvellous year to the original stock holders, for they received profits in a single year equal to 30 times what they had actually put into the business. Such facts suggest an explanation of the present prices of fuel oil.

Iron and Steel.

The United States Steel Corporation at its organization in 1901 was over-capitalized to the extent of over $720,000,000. During the period 1901-18, the corporation actually paid out in dividends on these fictitious securities the enormous sum of $693,500,000. During 1916-18, its profits were more than four times its pre-war rate. In 1917 its net profits were 220% greater and in 1918, 111% greater than had been averaged for three years prior to the war. The Bethlehem Steel Company made a profit in three years equal to three times the entire value of its stock in 1916. Here again labor can hardly be said to be responsible. The following figures are eloquent proof. Steel rails show an increase in price of $26.00, or four times the total labor cost and eight times the increase in the labor cost. The labor cost in operating a blast furnace is not more than 3% of the selling price of pig iron. While the labor cost in making a ton of iron was going up from about 40c to about 86c the price went up from $15 to $30. It is found that as prices rise, they rise at a rate four times the increase received by labor. Even a 100% increase in the labor cost would not cause a product to rise more than 12½%. Profits of over one billion dollars were turned over to the steel corporations during 1916-18. This constitutes a tax of $10 for every man, woman and child in the United States. Their
whole-hearted patriotism did not prevent them from accumulating profits which were 323% greater in 1917 than they had ever been before the war.

Copper.

In 1918 the price of copper shows that 54% of the total price was absorbed by royalties or by profits. Capital received more than two and a half times as much per pound as labor received. During four years profits to the extent of half a billion dollars on a capital stock of quarter of a billion dollars were made. The return to labor could have been doubled in 1918 and a fair profit paid to capital without raising the price of copper. One-third of the selling price of copper would still have gone to capital in the form of net profits and royalties which would mean a return of 10% upon the invested capital.

And so through every industry producing items of general consumption—the prices of which have a considerable influence on the cost of living—this same predatory process has continued. The soap industry, rubber goods, building materials, hardware, matches, paper, furniture, electric concerns—none have escaped the gold-lust of the High Priests of Industry.

Labor, in sorry contrast with this accumulation of boundless wealth, has in spite of all its efforts, failed to catch up with increased costs. The cry which has gone up against labor as the chief reason for the high cost of living, cannot but be silenced by such striking and authentic evidence.

THE STORY OF WOOL.

On Friday, June 18, 1920, the American public was amazed and shocked by a statement issued by J. M. Wilson of McKinley, Wyoming, President of the Wyoming Wool Growers’ Association. This Mr. Wilson issued an appeal to the United States Government, to Secretary of the Treasury Houston and to Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board, to help the wool growers sell a surplus stock of wool worth One Hundred Million Dollars.

“We cannot sell this wool to the woolen clothing manufacturers,” said Mr. Wilson, “because there is a glut. Clothing manufacturers refuse to buy wool until the public has bought what they now have on hand!”

The public rubbed its eyes and pricked up its ears. A wool glut of a hundred million dollars!

We have been told for the past four years that there is a great world wide shortage in wool; and on the basis
of this excuse the prices of wool clothing have shot up as high as 422 per cent over the 1914 selling price.

How enormous the profits made by the woolen manufacturers have been is shown by the statement of the American Woolen Company, which reported that in spite of increasing its surplus from eight million dollars to thirty one million dollars, in spite of $6,000,000 dividends paid to stockholders in the last three years, in spite of charging up against gross profits every conceivable kind of item, including dividends on preferred stock, it now declares a dividend of $15,513,415.

And on top of this comes a report by Basil M. Manly, who has dug out of the Treasury reports the fact that the American Woolen Company concealed a profit of another $15,000,000 from the public.

On the showing of these facts it looks as though there might have been "profiteering" somewhere. But the Federal Courts say no.

Judge Julian Mack presided in the court in which an indictment for profiteering of more than 300 per cent was on clothing, woolen cloth is not clothing! And therefore the indictment was quashed!

And on top of this, six railroad men in California were sentenced to prison, under this same Lever Act, for quitting work when they were not earning enough to buy clothes for their children!

And at the same time, Justice Rodenbeck in Rochester, New York, fines the Amalgamated Clothing Workers $10,000 for attempting to unionize a scab clothing firm, now defunct, so that decent wages could be paid to those who manufacture the clothes on which such huge profits are paid! Honest, now, can you believe it?

Here is the situation: Surplus wool to the amount of $100,000,000 going begging because nobody will buy it! Clothing manufacturers running up the price of wool clothing 500% because there is a "shortage of wool."

Indictments against these manufacturers quashed because "wool cloth is not clothing."

Indictments against workingmen for asking more pay resulting in conviction and fines and imprisonment.

And these same workingmen voting to keep in power the courts and the legislatures who make such laws as these!

It looks as though the only thing to do is for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to organize their own factory, buy up this wool that is offered for sale, manufacture it in their own factory, keep all the profits themselves and sell clothing to the public for one-fifth of the price the retail men are charging.
And if they do that, under a capitalist government, ten to one they would all be sent to prison for combination in restraint of trade!

If we are to get decent clothes for reasonable prices, there is only one thing to do—elect a Socialist government which will not merely punish profiteering, but prevent profiteering, and supply all wants at cost by the encouragement of workers' co-operative factories, in which labor is the only charge on the products.

WEALTH AND INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1910, Prof. W. I. King, a conservative professor of the University of Wisconsin, estimated that a little over half the total national income went into the hands of a small portion of the population in the shape of rent, interest and profits. He gives the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of total income distributed as rent, interest and profits</th>
<th>53.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest ..................................................................</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent .......................................................................</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profits ....................................................................</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expressed in terms of money that in 1910, workers received in wages and salaries $11,300,000,000 while profits and interest absorbed $12,800,000,000. (1)

Since 1910, especially since 1916, the studies of W. Jett Lauck, former secretary of the National War Labor Board, have shown quite conclusively that the portion of the national income going to profits has increased immensely. (2) The income tax returns also indicate that the rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer.

NET INCOME OF ALL CORPORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912-18. (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1917</th>
<th>1918</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>$482</td>
<td>$439</td>
<td>$425</td>
<td>$430</td>
<td>$528</td>
<td>$630</td>
<td>$600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1,541</td>
<td>1,550</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>2,027</td>
<td>1,591</td>
<td>2,790</td>
<td>5,027</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercantile</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>1,205</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total .........................$3,832 $4,340 $3,711 $5,184 $8,766 $10,500 $9,500

The profits of corporations were about three times as great in 1913 as in 1912; wages, however, had not even doubled.

(1) W. I. King, Distribution of Wealth and Income among the People of the U. S., 1910, p. 158.
(2) See W. Jett Lauck, Relation between Wages and the Cost of Living.
ESTIMATED DIVIDENDS PAID BY ALL CORPORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912-18. (1)
(In millions of dollars.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1917</th>
<th>1918</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1,002</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>1,180</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>1,760</td>
<td>2,230</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercantile</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,498</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,871</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,667</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,766</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,784</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,500</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROFITS OF MEAT PACKERS.

The net profits of the five great packers are interesting in view of the advertising campaign of the packers that their profits are almost negligible. For the years 1912 to 1917, inclusive, they have been found, after adjustment, to be as follows: (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$18,035,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$18,581,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$22,894,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>$37,385,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>$59,236,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>$95,639,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 6 years: $251,770,000
Net profits in three pre-war years, 1912, 1913, 1914: $59,510,000
Net profits in three war years, 1915, 1916, 1917: $192,260,000
Increase, war years: $132,750,000

Thus the net profit for the three war years was over three times as great as for the three years preceding.

These figures are not as reported by the several companies, but result from certain adjustments by the Commission, whereby income and excess profits taxes, sundry surplus items, and certain other unwarranted charges have been eliminated. That a more intensive analysis would reveal the necessity of making further adjustments, is more than probable, and these figures are accordingly in the nature of minima. They show, however, the effect of the war on the profits of the great packers, net earnings being at least $132,000,000 more in the three war years than they were in the three pre-war years, an excess of 233 per cent. "Net Profit" as used above is arrived at after deducting interest paid as an expense. If investment be defined as net worth (capital

stock and surplus) the following percentages have been earned for the five companies combined:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average for six years............ 14.5
Average three prewar years, 1912, 1913, 1914.......... 7.8
Average three war years, 1915, 1916, 1917 ............. 19.4

**INCOME TAX RETURNS.**

An examination of the total number of income tax returns indicates that less than 2% of the population filed any returns in 1917, not counting those who filed returns for less than $2,000; and less than ½ of 1 per cent in 1914, 1915 and 1916.

**Classification of Income Tax Returns.**

The number of returns filed for incomes of different amounts is as follows: (1)

**Comparison of Personal Returns for 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917, by Income Classes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Classes</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1917</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ 1,000 to $ 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,640,758</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 to 2,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>460,486</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500 to 3,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>358,221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 to 4,000</td>
<td>82,754</td>
<td>69,045</td>
<td>85,122</td>
<td>374,958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 to 5,000</td>
<td>66,525</td>
<td>58,949</td>
<td>72,027</td>
<td>185,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 to 10,000</td>
<td>127,448</td>
<td>120,402</td>
<td>150,553</td>
<td>270,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 to 15,000</td>
<td>34,141</td>
<td>34,102</td>
<td>45,309</td>
<td>65,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 to 20,000</td>
<td>15,790</td>
<td>16,475</td>
<td>22,618</td>
<td>29,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000 to 25,000</td>
<td>8,672</td>
<td>9,707</td>
<td>12,953</td>
<td>16,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 to 30,000</td>
<td>5,483</td>
<td>6,196</td>
<td>8,055</td>
<td>10,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 to 40,000</td>
<td>6,008</td>
<td>7,005</td>
<td>10,068</td>
<td>12,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000 to 50,000</td>
<td>3,185</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>5,611</td>
<td>7,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 to 100,000</td>
<td>5,161</td>
<td>6,847</td>
<td>10,452</td>
<td>12,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 to 150,000</td>
<td>1,189</td>
<td>1,793</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>3,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150,000 to 200,000</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>1,284</td>
<td>1,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 to 250,000</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250,000 to 300,000</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000 to 400,000</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000 to 500,000</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000 to 1,000,000</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000 and over</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total .......... 357,515 336,652 429,401 3,472,890

Married women making returns separate from husbands (1) 7,635 (1)

Total number of returns filed 357,515 336,652 437,036 3,472,890

The number of income tax returns for incomes of more than $25,000 show a considerable increase while incomes of over $100,000 show increases ranging from 100 to nearly 300 per cent. Apparently the larger incomes are the ones that have shown the greatest increase during the past few years.

The very great increase in the number of returns in 1917 accounted for partly by the increased war profits and also by the fact that returns were filed for 1917 for incomes between $1,000 and $2,000; they numbered 1,640,758.

The highest percentage of returns filed in any occupational group appears in the group designated as "brokers—all other," not including stock and bond brokers. The number of persons engaged in this occupation according to the census is 36,016. Of this number 7,479, or 20.77% filed income tax returns. Following close upon this are the Stock and Bond Brokers with 2,839 or 20.68% filing returns out of a total of 13,729. Next come the lawyers and judges with 18.97% representing 21,273 out of a total of 112,149 filing returns. Then come the following groups: "All other business": Mine-owners and mine-operators; engineers, civil, mining; lumbermen, manufacturers, architects, insurance agents and solicitors; Public Service; Military; Medical Profession. authors, editors, reporters, etc., and so on until we come to the bottom of the list. Here we find the teachers—from kindergarten to University; also school and college officials with .47% or 2,919 out of a total of 614,905 filing income tax returns. Last of all come the agriculturists-farmers, stock raisers, orchardists, etc. Here .24% or 3/4 of 1% of all those engaged in the occupation filed returns.

From this data it is evident that the lowest percentage of income tax returns were filed by the groups most useful to the life of the community.

(1) The net incomes reported on separate returns made by husband and wife in 1916 are combined and included as one return in the figures for the several classes. In 1914, 1915 and 1917 the returns of married women filed separately are included in their individual income classes independent of husbands' income.
Representative Henry T. Rainey, of Illinois, on April 22 and 27, declared that we developed during the war 23,000 new millionaires. He did not give his authority for this statement, or for the additional declaration that the 69,000 men whose income in 1914 exceeded $20,000 a year, received $3,000,000,000 more during the war years than during the three pre-war years; but both statements are undoubtedly deductions from the income tax returns. Mr. Rainey also pointed out that one man reported an income last year of $34,000,000; that two received more than $16,000,000; that five had more than $5,000,000 each; and that 248 enjoyed a humble competence yielding at least $1,000,000 a year.

The following table, based on Mr. Rainey's figures, which were derived from a preliminary compilation of income tax returns, shows the comparative numbers of persons receiving the incomes specified in 1914 and 1919:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1919</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Above $1,000,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500,000 to $1,000,000</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000 to 500,000</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000 to 400,000</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250,000 to 300,000</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 to 250,000</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150,000 to 200,000</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 to 150,000</td>
<td>1,189</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above $100,000          2,426  7,033

The figures show that the number of persons in the groups receiving huge incomes multiplied three-fold during the war.

Number of Millionaires. (1)

Frequently the question is asked: How many millionaires are there in the United States? The figures for income taxes furnish the best answer.

A million dollars at 5 per cent will yield $50,000 a year; therefore, any one who has an income of $50,000 a year is, in that sense, a millionaire. The method is not accurate. There are people with incomes of $50,000 who have less than a million in property. Nevertheless, it gives an approximate idea of the number of very rich people in the country.

Accepting this definition of a millionaire—a man with an income of $50,000 a year—the following table shows that there were:

7,509 millionaires for 1914
10,671 millionaires for 1915
17,085 millionaires for 1916
19,103 millionaires for 1917

Since the year 1917 there has been a further increase in the number of large incomes. The estimated number of millionaires in 1918 is placed at 25,000.

SECTION VII.
U. S. SPENDS CENT ON WELFARE FOR DOLLAR ON WAR.

Startling figures as to the character of government expenditures during the current year were disclosed in a public statement made by the National Women's Trade Union League and the National Federation of Federal Employes.

Only 1.01 per cent of the total of $5,686,005,705 provided for in the supply bills for 1920 was spent for human welfare and development purposes (educational work, labor problems, agriculture, women and children's welfare, public health, libraries, research, etc.) as distinguished from military and commercial purposes. (2)

The money spent upon the special needs of women and children was but 56-100,000 of the whole amount appropriated. To the study of labor conditions in general is given about the same amount, and for general educational work the sum spent is a fraction less than for either of these two purposes.

More than 93 per cent of the total appropriation was absorbed by the expenses of the recent and previous wars and the maintenance of the War and Navy Departments. The remaining 5 per cent was spent to maintain the machinery of civil government and public works such as rivers, and harbors, and public buildings.

These figures have been worked out by Dr. E. B. Rosa, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards, a member of the Scientific and Technical Branch of Federal Employees' Union No. 2, and are offered as a plea that Congress give a fairer proportion of the public money to the development of the nation's human and educational needs.

Dr. Rosa's analysis of the 1920 expenditures of the government as given in the regular supply bills and three deficiency bills, classifies the items in the total in the following group:

1—Expenditures arising from recent wars (including interest on public debts, pensions, care of soldiers, and sailors, war risk insurance, etc.), 67.81% $3,855,482,585
2—War and Navy Department (25.02%) 1,424,138,676
3—Primary governmental functions (salaries members Congress, President and White House Staff, courts, administration of Federal departments, etc.), 3.19% 181,087,225

(1) N. Y. Call, June 8, 1920.

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4—Public work (rivers and harbors, buildings, post roads, reclamation, repairs, etc. (2.97%) 163,203,557
5—Research, educational and development (Bureau of mines, fisheries, animal and plant industry, markets, foreign and domestic commerce, standards, labor statistics, children and women's bureau, public health, education, vocational education, libraries, etc.), 1.01% 57,093,660

Why not elect a Socialist administration which will change the proportions, giving to education and welfare what now goes to militarism?

LABOR IN THE COURTS.

The same West Virginia in which eleven men were killed in a street battle between coal operators' detectives and coal miners has also contributed to the nation certain legal principles which promise much bitterness for the future. The same industry, in fact, which gained prominence by the shooting to death of eleven men at Matewan on May 19 brought to light this industrial law which is having far reaching consequences. For the skirmish in Mingo county where now the United Mine Workers are endeavoring to organize the coal miners is in fact but a gruesome episode in a long struggle between the miners and the operators. Out of an earlier campaign came the enunciation of rules of law which finally received the imprimatur of the Supreme Court of the United States. The application of these rules is extending widely the area of industrial conflict. The net result is that in some detail the United States is reproducing the contest which was carried on in England between 1801 and 1824.

On December 10, 1917, the United States Supreme Court decided the so-called Hitchman case. The Hitchman Coal and Coke Company had brought suit against the United Mine Workers of America. The coal company had originally dealt with the union but later it decided to deal individually with its employees. In consequence individual contracts were made. The union attempted, by a strike, to prevent the development of the individual contract system because it was the antithesis of collective bargaining. District Judge Dayton granted the Hitchman company a permanent injunction against the union.

His opinion in part was based on the theory that the law of England, as it existed prior to 1776, forbade combinations of workmen to raise wages or in any way to restrain trade. The English law was Virginia law after the War of Revolution, he argued, and after the separation of West Virginia from Virginia the English law of

the pre-revolutionary days continued to be the law of West Virginia for the reason that the legislature had not repealed it. Judge Dayton ruled that the United Mine Workers constituted an illegal conspiracy both under the common law and under the Sherman anti-trust act because the union sought to "control the freedom of its members to work when and for whom they please" and to "destroy the right of the employer to conduct his business as he pleases." The Court of Appeals reversed Judge Dayton, pointing out that the ancient English law obtained when "property rights were recognized as paramount to personal rights" and when labor's "domination by the landlord and capitalist was absolute in most respects." The Supreme Court, however, sided with Judge Dayton and reinstated the injunction.

The Hitchman case has so far attracted less attention than it might have, possibly, because of war conditions and of the scarcity of labor. It is now being utilized. Its most significant application has been in the case of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation against the International Association of Machinists. The parallel of this controversy to the conditions in the West Virginia coal district is close except that violence and other acts in themselves illegal apparently did not occur. The shoe machinery company provided individual contracts for its employees. The machinists' union struck in protest because individual contracts and collective bargaining are in fact mutually exclusive. Of the issue there seemed to be no doubt in the court's mind.

Justice Edward P. Pierce of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts ruled that the company, by reason of the Hitchman decision and of other cases, had the undoubted right to make non-membership in the union a condition of employment "even though the exercise of such right made the right to collective bargains with the company valueless." Because of this Judge Pierce ruled that a strike against the individual contract was illegal and in consequence he enjoined the continuance of the strike. The laws of Massachusetts, New Jersey and of West Virginia are admittedly less favorable to trade unionism than are the laws of other states, but none the less through the Hitchman case the way seems to have been prepared for a totally new strategy in the industrial struggle.

What form this will take cannot be safely forecast. It is interesting, however, to recall that the English law which existed prior to 1776 and on which the latest American rulings have in part been based was repealed by Parliament in successive acts beginning in 1824. This occurred as the result of the investigations of the par-
liamentary commission of 1824. This commission reported that the law rendering trade unionism a criminal conspiracy—the common law had been strengthened by a specific statute at the end of the eighteenth century when England was badly alarmed over the possible contagious powers of the French Revolution—had, in fact, stimulated industrial unrest. The struggle between employers and workers had been driven underground and rendered highly dangerous to the safety of the state. Parliament accordingly began then to give trade unions legal standing. With some vacillation that process of repealing the common law and the statutes which considered unions conspiracies has gone on to the present. So great has been the progress that the United States Industrial Relations Commission in 1915 could think of nothing better than in the precedent of the British Industrial Disputes Act which more than a decade ago gave almost complete legal sanctity to the unions.

LABOR AND THE PRESS.

During the recent steel strike, John Fitzpatrick and Wm. Z. Foster, the two most prominent leaders of the strike declared that with the exception of the two Socialist dailies, the New York Call and the Milwaukee Leader, not a single newspaper in the country told the truth about the great steel strike. They minimized the extent and effectiveness of the strike; they presented highly colored stories of “violence” and helped materially in the final defeat of the greatest strike in the steel industry.

This is just one illustration of the close alliance that has always existed between the newspapers and magazines and the capitalist interests of the country. The press of the country has always been used to prevent the worker from learning the truth about his conditions and social and economic conditions generally. The press can always be depended upon to give its millions of readers wholly false and vicious information about the Socialist and Labor movement. The villification of Russia by the capitalist press is typical. No lie has been too foul, no infamy has been too great to be attributed to the Russian Workers’ Republic by the “kept press.”

During the war, the press outdistanced all rivals in inciting the people to mob-violence; in urging the lynching and shooting of all who dared raise their voices against the war or to strike for a living wage. Since the war every effort of a labor union to better its condition is immediately denounced as Bolshevism, or as the work of paid agents of the Russian Reds. Upton Sinclair, the well known writer on public affairs and other subjects,
recently published “The Brass Check,” a book of over 400 pages proving by means of hundreds of examples the consistent misrepresentation of the cause of the workers in every industrial struggle. Among others, he reviews the history of the Lawrence Strike, the Paterson and the Cabin Creek (W. Va.) strikes; the Ludlow massacre; the Michigan copper strike. In every instance is evidenced the faithfulness of the press to the cause of their masters, Big Business.

What is “News”

The kind of news that the American public is allowed to read is determined by the Associated Press. The Associated Press correspondents know what is “news” and what is not “news.” Detailed descriptions of “Red” raids together with all the vaporings of Attorney-General Palmer about the “criminal Bolsheviks” is “news” fit for general consumption. How innocent men are brutally maltreated by government agents and lodged for days in filthy, unsanitary quarters is not “news.” The Report on Illegal practices of the Department of Justice issued by twelve nationally prominent lawyers gets scant mention. The shooting of several ex-service men at Centralia gets columns of space. The testimony of one of the paraders that the paraders and not the I. W. W. were the first to attack is not news.

Anything detrimental to the interests of large department stores is not news, and must not even be mentioned. On May 10, 1920, a federal warrant was issued at Philadelphia charging Gimbel Brothers with making “unjust and unreasonable rates and charges”—that is with profiteering. It might be thought that the issuance of a warrant charging one of the biggest stores in the city with illegal profiteering would be news with a capital N. The Evening Ledger at first thought so. Its “Night Financial Extra” contained a story, but the next edition omitted the story. Neither the “North American,” the “Record,” the “Public Ledger” or the “Inquirer” carried any news of the persecution. Gimbel’s advertises heavily in all of them. Only the “Press” owned by Rodman Wanamaker, a Gimbel rival, carried the story. The very same papers however did carry news of the fact that some insignificant firms in New York City had been charged with profiteering.

Labor Sees the Light

Fortunately, signs are not wanting that labor is beginning to awaken to the treachery of the press. In the recent “outlaw” strike of the railroad men, the “vacationists” refused to have anything to do with the press.
"Skunks" was the term universally applied by the strikers to the reporters. No reporter could come anywhere near strike headquarters. Not a single statement was issued to the press except for a time to the Socialist New York Call.

It was one of the most important collective expressions of the nation-wide discontent with the press. The workers felt that it was far better for the public to remain in ignorance than that the press should totally misrepresent their real aims. The railroad workers set down the press as a chief enemy to their kind. This policy did not, of course, prevent much of the usual misrepresentation on the part of the press.

A few months previous the employees of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer compelled it to print in its own columns, on the first page, a notice to all its readers, that its columns were filled with lies and falsehoods. Following is part of the statement printed:

Day after day we have put in type, stereotyped, printed, and mailed calumny after calumny, lie after lie, insult after insult. We have even weekly witnessed your unfair and reprehensible campaign of falsehood and ruin result in the suppression of the last medium of honest expression for our cause in Seattle, not only denying our brothers the means of livelihood, but denying us a far greater boon—the American right of a free press.

Writing in the Editor and Publisher, one of those trade journals for newspapermen which usually never criticizes any newspaper or admit any professional shortcomings, Mr. Charles Grant Miller, lately editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, has set on paper these plain truths.

Every edition of every newspaper is tinctured with lies, and every sensible editor knows it and at heart is sick about it. He cannot see how he can help it.

For five years there has been a world-wide famine in facts. Truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about anything of grave public interest, seems to have disappeared from the face of the earth. The date line is no longer any sign of the real source of news. Assertion is little indication of the truth. The news of Russia, the Balkans, the Bosphorus, and Central Europe mostly originates in London or is trimmed to London’s shifting interests; tidings of conditions in England, France, and Italy are carefully strained through the foreign loan centers of Wall Street; and where all the rest of the worldful of interested if not interesting misinformation comes from the Lord only knows.

“The evils of war come after the war,” said Salmon P. Chase.

“It leaves an army of cripples, an army of thieves, and an army of prostitutes.” Our army of thieves, plundering and profiteering with devilish boldness and activity, have neglected no seductions or expense to make of our newspapers an army of prostitutes.
Another significant illustration is the following statement issued by Roger W. Babson in his Statistical Service:

The war taught the employing class the secret and the power of widespread propaganda. Imperial Europe had been aware of this power. It was new to the United States. Now, when we have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have learned. We have the schools. We have the pulpit. The employing class owns the press. There is practically no important paper in the United States but is theirs.

THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION.

Since the dawn of organized education, teachers have been fighting to secure for themselves the privilege of free intellectual expression. This conflict continuing through the ages, today still taints our whole educational system.

Already before the war, the autocratic infringement of the rights of teachers to speak their minds freely was making itself felt. In many colleges, teachers who were at all sympathetic with labor incurred the displeasure of conservative administrations. They were dismissed from college faculties and in various other ways were discriminated against. During the war, however, the attempts on the part of the authorities to fetter and bind the intellectual integrity of the teaching profession reached the high-water mark.

A noteworthy instance of the violation of academic freedom was the case of Dr. Louis Levine, professor of economics of the University of Montana. Dr. Levine had been commissioned by the University to study the taxation system of the state of Montana. In December, 1918, it was completed and characterized by Professor E. R. A. Seligman, as an admirable and thorough bit of work. But it showed that the Anaconda Copper Co. was paying a smaller proportion of taxes to the state than any other property in the state of Montana. The University could not countenance such an embarrassing truth and decided not to publish the manuscript. Whereupon Dr. Levine published it privately and on February 7, 1919 was suspended for insubordination. Widespread protest arose and at a meeting of the state board of Education, Levine was reinstated by a vote of seven to two.

The years between 1917 and 1919 saw many arbitrary dismissals in many colleges of the country.

Prof. J. McKeen Cattell, professor of Psychology at Columbia University for twenty years, was dismissed because of his opposition to conscription—prior to the
passage of the Conscription Act. At about the same time, Dr. H. W. L. Dana, professor of English in Columbia University was dismissed on account of his peace activities.

Attendant upon these dismissals came the resignation of Prof. Charles A. Beard, eminent political scientist, as a protest against the Prussian spirit which he declared to be manifest in the University. Prof. Henry R. Mussey resigned soon afterwards.

In the Spring of 1917, Dr. Scott Nearing, Dean of Toledo University was dismissed because of his opposition to the war.

Dr. Carl Haessler, Instructor in Philosophy in the University of Illinois, was refused reappointment because of his stand as a conscientious objector.

For expressing his willingness to speak at a rally of the Socialist Party on May 1st, Dr. Russell Scott, instructor in French at Vanderbilt University, was suspended on a charge of economic radicalism.

Dr. L. Ford Edward, Department of Sociology, Rice Institute, Texas, was dismissed in May, 1919, after explaining the Soviet state to members of a Sunday school class of men and women.

Public Schools.

Miss Alice Wood of Washington, D. C., was charged with “discussing Bolshevism and similar heresies” in her school-room. Her suspension caused wide-spread indignation and led to the demand of the Washington Committee of the National Trade Women’s League for Labor representation on the Board of Education in Washington.

B. Hiram Mattingly, for advocating the election of a Socialist administration and declaring the Espionage Law to be a measure of despotism was dismissed from the public schools of Poughkeepsie, New York.

Miss Mary McDowell, a Brooklyn public school teacher, was dismissed from the school system in 1918, because of pacifist proclivities.

In December, 1917, Samuel Schmalhausen, A. Henry Schneer, and Thomas Mufson, teachers in the De Witt Clinton High School, New York City, were dismissed from the school system on the charge of conduct unbecoming a teacher. They had not been sufficiently aggressive in their loyalty, although no definite accusation of positive disloyalty could be conjured up against them and this constituted sufficient evidence in the minds of the Board of Education to warrant their dismissal.

Benjamin Glassberg, New York high school teacher, was dismissed by the Board of Education on May 29.
1919, charged with defending Bolshevism to his pupils and urging the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Of more recent occurrence was the revocation of the license of Miss Sonia Ginsberg, a teacher in the Brooklyn public schools in November, 1919, charged with membership in the Communist party.

In June, 1920, Dr. Arthur Wolfson, Principal of the High School of Commerce resigned his position. An excerpt from his letter of resignation reads:

Frankly, during the past two or three years, I have not felt free to follow the intellectual habits of a lifetime. On numerous occasions, I have had to act in my position as principal in a way that did not accord with my convictions *** *** On several occasions I have been forced to refuse to discuss questions openly and frankly with students and teachers, because I could not express myself freely for fear that my statements would not be in accord with the doctrines which, as principal, I was supposed to uphold.

What has happened, it might be asked, to the vainglory boast of our Chief Executive?

If there is one thing we love more than another in the United States it is that every man should have the privilege unmolested and uncriticized, to utter the real convictions of his mind.

WAR CASUALTIES.

It is difficult to present accurate figures as to the total casualties of the war. Many soldiers originally reported as missing are later found to have been killed or captured, many are wounded more than once, and many killed were previously included in the wounded column. The following figures, however, are compiled from official reports of many of the belligerents, with the figures for the other belligerents obtained by using the ratio of total casualties to deaths obtained among these reports:

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTELE ALLIES.</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Total Casualties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>3,500,000</td>
<td>5,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,366,000</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>4,366,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>2,800,000</td>
<td>3,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>462,000</td>
<td>950,000</td>
<td>1,412,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia, Montenegro</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>290,000</td>
<td>415,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>102,000</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>337,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>100,000</td>
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<td>330,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>49,000</td>
<td>230,000</td>
<td>279,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4,183,000 11,255,000 21,188,000

(1) American Labor Year Book, 1919-1920, pp. 113-114.
### CENTRAL POWERS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Austria-Hungary</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
<th>Bulgaria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,620,000</td>
<td>3,700,000</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>4,100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>575,000</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>700,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,770,000</td>
<td>6,675,000</td>
<td>11,600,000</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>17,930,000</td>
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### TOTAL WAR EXPENDITURES. (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
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<td>New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1,461,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>243,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>584,000,000</td>
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<td>British Empire</td>
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<td>France</td>
<td>26,522,000,000</td>
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<td>Russia</td>
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<td>Rumania</td>
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<td>Serbia</td>
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<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
<td>24,858,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1,802,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>732,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Powers</td>
<td>$76,008,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$232,058,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### LOANS TO ALLIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>$8,467,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,293,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2,261,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>9,102,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$21,123,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TOTAL NET WAR EXPENDITURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$210,935,000,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### THE LAND PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The continually increasing cost of living and the continuous increase of rents bring home the land problem. The world war with its unparalleled destruction of labor power and waste of food has called the attention even of statements to the problem of farming. Under capitalism, where private land ownership is the rule, almost all benefits from improved methods of agriculture and from increased prices of foodstuffs accrue to the landlord. Ruined farm tenants, tramping farmhands and

---

starving city proletariat are the inevitable corollaries of this system.

The slow progress of technique in agriculture has been counterbalanced everywhere by the enormous increase of land values. While the output of agriculture produce grows but slowly, the prices of foodstuffs go up by leaps and bounds. The ten cent loaf of bread is already a fact, but a twenty-thirty cent, even fifty cent “war bread” of equally small dimensions and possibly of lesser food value, may become a reality in the near future, if the imperialistic war continues long enough, and if the patience of the workers endures.

The supply of food under capitalist farming never keeps pace with the actual needs of the masses of the people who get only as much food as they can pay for. Even during bumper crop years prices of food continue to rise because private ownership of land and of means of transportation enable the capitalist class and the landlords to hang the bread basket higher every year. While the output of the farm crops in the United States increased from 1899 to 1909 ten per cent only, their market value rose 66 per cent during the same period, and the average value of farm land per acre increased 108 per cent from 1900 to 1910.

A truly phenomenal rise of land values has been brought about by the present war. The value of each acre of land was estimated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1917</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unimproved Land</td>
<td>$36.23</td>
<td>$45.55</td>
<td>$50.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved Land</td>
<td>57.89</td>
<td>69.45</td>
<td>74.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivated Land</td>
<td>58.39</td>
<td>62.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means a 26 per cent increase in the capitalized land rent (from $36.23 to $45.55) within four years which means roughly $700.00 additional burden on every 140 acre homestead. It means an even more accelerated increase in the prices of improved land. Both these phenomena are indicative of the strong grip of the landlord and the capitalist classes on the nation and the whole world’s food supply.

THE MIDDLE CLASS LAND REFORMS.

A. National: Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Among the loudly proclaimed land reforms in this country perhaps the reclamation of arid and of swamp lands stand out above all others. It may not be amiss, therefore, to mention here briefly the effects of the well known Carey Land Act of August 18, 1894.

Up to Jan. 30, 1914, under that act, irrigation could be applied to 1,343,193 acres. The average actually irri-
gated in 1913 was, however, only 699,183 acres, and the total estimated acreage included in the project of irrigation was 2,910,488 acres. The areas applied for by states under the Carey Act up to June 30, 1914, were 7,682,445 acres of which only 3,692,230 acres had been segregated and only 460,054 acres had been patented to private owners. This slow process of the reclamation of arid lands is easily explained by the simple fact that irrigation costs from $25 to $90 per acre, the average in 1915 being about $55.00 per acre.

On the other hand, the U. S. Census of 1910 reported that the average value per acre for irrigated crops was only $25.08, or less than one-half of the money outlay needed for the irrigation of one acre. As, on the whole, the value per acre of crops grown without irrigation was $17.54 the difference in favor of irrigation seemed to be but $7.54 per acre. Potatoes, sugar beets, alfalfa and fruit are among the leading crops of irrigated lands. The cultivation and marketing of these crops require a great deal of initial outlay in addition to the cost of land. These sums cannot be expected from poor settlers. Hence many of the irrigated lands have remained unsettled for quite a time. This has caused several irrigation works to decay.

As a rule, the farmers of the irrigated areas are small tenants renting land from water and land companies. The irrigation projects have been looked upon by Western politicians as a sort of pork barrel to match the much larger Eastern pork barrel of the "Rivers and harbors" bills. But the greatest pity is that the government irrigation projects have come to a standstill at a time when the constantly increasing cost of living demands the extension of the area of cultivation.

In 1914 the estimated revenue from the sales of public lands under the reclamation service was only $2,823,510, the receipts from water rentals $2,305,302 and the balance of bond loan available for irrigation purposes was only $19,000,000. (1)

**B: State Aid to Farmers.**

Realizing that it is hard for the average farmer to invoke the aid of the national government for the furtherance of his interests, there have sprung up movement among farmers favoring state aid to them in various ways.

It has already been stated that the big trusts, notably the railroad and banking corporations with their control

over packing houses, grain elevators, docks and ships, have gouged the farmers. The state granger's movement sprang up spontaneously as a protest against these monopolists who had robbed the country through land grants and other schemes.

C. Other Commonly Advocated Agricultural Reforms.  
1. Rural Credits.

Rural credit schemes have been urged by reformers, farmers and governments. The usual effect of these land credit schemes has been to help along the stronger property owners to secure more property through a cheaper government guaranteed credit. It is rather significant that even the recently enacted federal land bank system does not contemplate to loan any money to tenants, but to landowners only. Great Britain has aided the small Irish tenants to acquire title to the land they cultivated as tenants through state credit. So has Egypt.

The climax of even the best land credit bank schemes seems to be to bind the farmhand to the soil he tills, to make him the owner of a small parcel of land and create in him the longing for more property.

2. The Lease System.

The lease system has been condemned by many statesmen as bad. Its evil results can be easily gathered from the simple fact that few people are willing to buy farms which have long been in the hands of tenants. The tenant tries to exact as much as possible from the soil and to give back to it as little as possible.

But these evil effects could be easily avoided if the leases were made sufficiently long, say to run for twenty-five years, and if the landlord is compelled to reimburse the tenant for all improvements.

On the whole, state leases ought to be preferred to private leases. The inefficient lessee, or the one who fails to till his plot altogether, would immediately forfeit any claim to the land.

It is probable that this system will have to be adopted by Great Britain to ensure more effective production of foodstuffs. Under this system the government can prescribe to the tenant the improvements and methods of farming, and it can not only fix the rents justly, but it can more easily fix and control the price of foodstuffs produced on such lands.

3. The Single Tax.

The single taxers are attempting to improve farming without making the land a state domain. They maintain that high taxes on land rents will force all land
into cultivation and fill the state's treasury. There is some truth in their argument, but there are many fallacies in it. If taxation alone could improve farming and force all idle lands into cultivation, then the war taxes would have accomplished that. Yet even in France and the United States, where land is the chief object of taxation, this has not been accomplished. France has been compelled to adopt stringent measures to enforce the cultivation of abandoned or idle lands. In the United States the farmers are threatening to contract the area of cultivation for wheat or potatoes, if the minimum price for their crop is not fixed high enough to suit their ideas about fair returns.

The idle lands should be forced into cultivation, but this could be done only partially by taxation. As a state revenue scheme the single tax must be regarded as a failure. Land rent is not the sole source of income, and not even the most important income in capitalist society. Stocks, bonds and other industrial investments yield even more to their owners than land rents and royalties.

The single taxer would exempt from taxation improvements made on the land. Now it can be easily demonstrated that the improvement is in many cases the main thing which makes the land valuable. On arid lands the irrigation works make the land valuable. Oil lands without pipe lines lose much of their value. In the city the buildings are more valuable than the land they are built upon and the income from the land—rent—certainly is derived from the use to which the buildings are put.

It is no secret that the so-called property tax in American cities has broken down as a revenue yielding source. The city governments are contemplating taxes on movable (stocks, bonds, savings deposits), and the federal government has resorted to the income tax to defray its ever growing expenditures. The unearned increment tax has largely taken the place of new taxation schemes. Whether such unearned increment springs from land values or from war profits is immaterial.


Co-operation is another favorite reform scheme. Its main "virtue" lies in the fact that it is easy to confuse the idea of co-operation among farm owners or tenants with co-operation among farm laborers. The former try to buy their supplies cheaper and to market their supplies at a higher price. Farmers' co-operatives are still non-existent. But the ever growing scarcity of food should counsel state and city government to give idle land and advance the necessary funds to farm
laborers who could cultivate it on a co-operative basis, electing their own managers and selling the produce direct to the city or to the state. This would be a long step toward eliminating middlemen and bringing the food producer together with the food consumer.

**Summary of the Evil Effects of the Middle Class Land Policy on the Working Class.**

The states and the cities have imitated the bad national land policy. Title to land, and with it political power, has passed from common ownership into private hands in the new western states. Colorado, California, Montana, Utah, Texas, Arizona, and the two Dakotas are governed by land grabbers, mining and railroad companies. Not only are the lumber and mining camps and railroad construction shacks the most unsanitary dwellings, but they are completely under the control of armed guards of the respective companies. These companies have assumed control even over polling booths and have prevented workers from the exercise of their political rights.

Artificial unemployment, migratory labor and the early turning of able-bodied workers into tramps and paupers are the corollaries of our land system. Agricultural labor has become casual and tramp labor. Overseers and watchmen seem to be the only permanent residents on the big ranches of Texas and Montana.

On the other hand, the eagerness of mining companies to fasten their workers to the coal lands by selling them lots for garden and home plots is no less an evil than tramphood. The home and lot chains the worker to his employer's business place, makes him timid and reluctant to strike, fearing to lose his savings and installations. Especially in the smaller cities where all land is owned by a few corporations and where jobs are scarce, home ownership becomes a burden upon the worker.

In the larger cities home ownership by the worker is gradually giving way to tenantry. The higher the land value, the harder for the worker to keep up his home. And the land values in the cities have risen enormously. The land upon which the city of Boston stands was valued at $366,000,000 in 1890 and at $672,000,000 in 1910, that is, its value was doubled within 20 years. This increase in land values means the doubling of rents primarily in the working class districts where the taxation rates are highest. With the land and house as the main basis of our property tax, the millionaires' and the businessmen's holdings escape taxation and the workingmen's little home must make up for the deficit created by the wealthy tax-dodgers.
With the enormous growth of cities the tendency to segregate business districts from residential sections has become the rule everywhere. This means that the workers must live far away from their jobs. Their daily travel has increased their workday by from two to four hours. Parks and playgrounds have become ugly and scarce in the large metropolitan cities.

The creation of slums in the most recently built cities like Chicago, Duluth, etc., threatens the lives of the workers with all sorts of diseases. It is no coincidence that most cases of infantile paralysis in New York City in 1916 were in the poorest and most unsanitary districts populated by the working people.

The abolition of private ownership in land is, therefore, one of the cornerstones of the programme of the Socialist parties.

Increase of Farm Tenancy.

The figures for the last four decades are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While in 1880 the Census showed that only 26 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants, the number of tenant farms had reached 28 per cent in 1890, 35 per cent in 1900 and 37 per cent in 1910. In the Eastern Central Division tenant farms increased from 20 per cent of the total in 1880 to 27 per cent in 1910; in the Western North Central division from 20 per cent to 31 per cent, while in the most prosperous agricultural states, Illinois and Iowa, the tenants constituted in 1910, 41 and 39 per cent respectively of the entire number of farm operators.

There has also been a steady decrease in the proportion of farms held free from encumbrances by owners. In 1890, of farm homes operated by their owners, 71.8 per cent were free from mortgages. In 1900, 68.9 per cent; in 1910, 66.4 per cent. Inasmuch as very large numbers of these mortgages are held by the great insurance and trust companies and large money-lenders in the city, an indirect form of concentration is here evidenced.

Summing up the results of his studies in land tenure in the United States, Professor C. L. Stewart finds that the landless farmers have not shared equally with the landed farmers in advances that have occurred in land prices. He further points out that "the speculative element in land values has been a decided handicap to those

(1) Stewart, C. L., Land Tenure in the United States with special reference to Ill. Univ. of Ill. p. 113.
without land, that owners hold the land at a value capitalized at a rate below that at which money may be borrowed for the purchase of land. The greater the discrepancy between the two rates, the smaller is the portion of the market value for which a mortgage loan can be negotiated on the purchased land. As a consequence of these conditions, the opportunity for tenants to acquire land has been greatly reduced. Thus capitalist prosperity inevitably breeds landlords and tenants on one hand, and farmhands on the other.

SECTION VIII.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The first demand for woman's enfranchisement in America was made by Margaret Brent of Maryland in 1647, who, inasmuch as representation was based upon property, demanded a vote in the legislature as a property holder.

The first evidence of a "suffrage movement" is found in the history of the Continental Congress, and that body established a precedent that was always eagerly endorsed by major political parties—that of leaving the question of woman's enfranchisement to the states to determine. Following that decision, the state of New Jersey conferred the ballot upon women, with property restrictions, but not liking their way of voting, the Legislature passed an unconstitutional measure in 1807 taking the ballot away from them.

In the year 1848, the American Suffrage movement was formally inaugurated by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Martha C. Wright, Lucretia Mott and other progressive women. In that year they succeeded in their struggle to amend the common law so as to permit married women to hold property. Eight years before, women delegates were refused recognition at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and at that time Mrs. Stanton formed the determination to devote her life to the suffrage cause. She was instrumental in calling the first suffrage convention in 1848. In 1869 the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association were formed. Inseparably linked with these organizations are the names of Júlia Ward Howe, Henry Ward Beecher, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone and many other historic names. In 1890 the two organizations united, as the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Mrs. Stanton was elected president.

Following the first suffrage convention, seventy-one years of bitter struggle followed before the adoption of
the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution of the United States by Congress in June, 1919, conferring the ballot upon women upon equal terms with men.

During the first fifty years of the suffrage movement, the Prohibition party was the only political organization that recognized the justice of woman’s enfranchisement. In 1901, the Socialist party was organized, and in its first platform is found a declaration in favor of equal civil and political rights for men and women. In every subsequent platform adopted by the Socialist party will be found the same declaration. It is the only political party ever represented at Suffrage conventions by fraternal delegates. On January 16, 1912, Congressman Victor L. Berger introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives, proposing a suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

A congressional hearing on the proposed Susan B. Anthony Amendment was had on March 13, 1912, and upon invitation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Miss Caroline A. Lowe, Secretary of the Woman’s National Committee of the Socialist Party, appeared as one of the speakers at the hearing.

In the same year, the Socialist party circulated and presented through Congressman Berger a monster petition for equal suffrage.

In June, 1916, the National Woman’s Party was formed. It had a one-plank platform—“to use its united vote to secure the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, irrespective of the interests of any national political party; and pledges its unceasing opposition to all who oppose this amendment.”

In furtherance of its program, the Woman’s Party advocated the cause of complete enfranchisement before the Republican and Democratic conventions of that year. The result was that both conventions took refuge in the old decision of the Continental Congress, and, while “favoring” the extension of suffrage to women, recognized “the right of each state to settle this question for itself.”

In considering this “endorsement” of woman suffrage, it is significant to note that state after state was entering the suffrage column, and that ultimate victory for the cause was conceded. By 1913, complete enfranchisement had been won, first of all by Wyoming in 1869, and in succeeding campaigns by Colorado, Idaho, Utah, California, Washington, Arizona, Kansas and Oregon, and limited suffrage by Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont and Wisconsin. During the next year, 1914, full enfranchisement carried
in Montana and Nevada, and restricted suffrage in Florida, Michigan, Mississippi, New Mexico and Ohio.

In 1917, members of the National Woman's Party picketed the White House as a protest against President Wilson's opposition to national legislation for suffrage. They conducted a vigorous campaign that year which resulted in full enfranchisement in New York and limited suffrage in Arkansas.

On January 10, 1918, a bill was introduced in the House proposing the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution. It was adopted with 102 Democrats and 33 Republicans voting against the measure. On October 1 following, the bill was defeated in the Senate. Upon motion to reconsider on the next legislative day, fourteen Senators from the Solid South voted no, but the motion was adopted and the amendment remained on the calendar.

The Nineteenth Amendment was again introduced in the House on the first day of the special session of the Sixty-sixth Congress and was adopted two days later, May 21, 1919. Despite efforts to obtain delay, especially from the Southern Democrats, the amendment was passed in the Senate on June 4th following.

During the national conventions of the Democratic and the Republican parties, determined efforts were made by the Woman's Party to insure ratification before the November election. The Republican convention was picketed, but no resulting action was taken. At the Democratic convention a resolution was adopted calling upon "Democratic Governors and legislatures of such states as have not yet ratified to unite in an effort to complete the process." However, every southern state east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Tennessee, was represented by a negative Democratic vote—most of them by two—when the Suffrage Amendment was voted upon and adopted by the Senate. Efforts to bring Democratic Louisiana into line since the convention and thus give the Democratic party the "credit of enfranchising woman" met stubborn refusal.

Seeking the same "credit," Republican leaders called upon the Governor of Republican Vermont to call a special session of the legislature, but this the Governor refused to do.

The Governor of Tennessee called a special session of the legislature and on August 17th the Suffrage amendment was finally ratified by that state. On August 27th, Secretary of State Colby formally certified the Nineteenth Amendment as an integral portion of the Constitution.
By contrast with this eleventh hour conversion, in every campaign of the Socialist party the enfranchisement of women has been a fundamental issue. It has unwaveringly supported the cause of suffrage, even though it was clearly understood that in some circumstances the granting of the franchise to women might result in a temporary loss for the Socialist party owing to prejudiced misrepresentation of the Socialist program. Equal suffrage has been advocated continuously through the press, through special literature and from the platform. Foremost women Socialists have taken an important part in the struggle. In the state of Washington, the first woman candidate for Governor, Anna Agnes Maley, polled 40,000 votes in 1912 on the Socialist party ticket. In New York City the Socialists waged an aggressive fight for suffrage throughout the campaign which resulted in full enfranchisement of the women of New York, November 7, 1917, and to the Socialist party largely belongs the credit for that victory.

SECTION IX.

GREETINGS FROM EUROPE

The nomination of Eugene V. Debs for the presidency by the Socialist Party evoked a great deal of interest among the Socialist and Labor elements throughout the world. The editors of this volume received several communications from Socialist and Labor leaders which are reproduced below.

FROM ROMAIN ROLLAND.

Romain Rolland, the noted French novelist and author of Jean Christophe, has been associated with a number of Socialist journals. He has been a staunch defender of Revolutionary Russia and has combatted chauvinism among the intellectuals of the warring countries.


"Accept my best wishes for the success of the candidacy of Eugene V. Debs. In this time of mental and moral collapse, the lofty and pure character of Debs, the altruism of his life, the firmness with which he has fought in the struggle against reaction, has won for him the sympathy and admiration of the free spirits of the world.

"Debs behind prison bars is stronger and greater than his persecutors. They have but succeeded in making him the invincible symbol of the downtrodden masses."

FROM HENRI BARBUSSE.

Henri Barbusse, famous as the author of "Under Fire" which so vividly pictured the horrors and the brutality of the Great War, is now active in the movement to make future wars impossible; he is an ardent international Socialist, and contributor to L'Humanite and Le Populaire, the two great French Socialist dailies.
Antibes, June, 1920.

“Our comrades of ‘Le Populaire,’ ‘L’Humanite’ and other journals, have already appreciated, as it deserves to be, the noble and inspiring attitude of the great American apostle of Socialism, and have decided to launch a great movement in our country to arouse public opinion to the shame and injustice which has been meted out to Debs.

“I am happy to have this occasion to give expression to the feelings of my comrades of ‘Clarté’ and ‘Anciens Combattants’ (War Veterans), as well as my own. We have always admired the integrity of conscience and the uncompromising honesty of Debs. To us, he typifies one of the most venerable spokesmen of a philosophy which is wisdom and good-sense incarnate and which cannot be combatted by its enemies except it be with arbitrary violence and injustice. The fate suffered by Debs is not only proof of the character of the cause he is fighting for; it is for all of us the symbol of the merciless audacity and viciousness of those classes and powers who hope to maintain by force the unjust privileges of the past.

“We who see clearly and justly and who can fathom the intrigues by means of which the reactionary profiteers hope to eternally preserve their existence, are not yet the majority on earth. But our strength will grow with the future, because it is supported by the mighty power of righteousness and by the altruism of our aims, which has in mind only the general good, as well as by the glorious examples given to us by those who must inevitably in this era of transition be the apostles and the victims.”

FROM GEORGE LANSBURY.

George Lansbury, former labor member of the British Parliament, is at present editor of the London Daily Herald, one of the greatest and most militant of labor dailies in the world. Mr. Lansbury recently returned from Soviet Russia, confident of the ultimate success of the proletarian revolution.


“I am very glad indeed to send you a word of cheer to my comrades in America. We watch your struggle with the greatest interest; we know that you are fighting against tremendous odds; that all the forces of capitalism and vested interests are lined up against you; and that because Socialism is spreading throughout the world we are each day getting more and more to grips with this question.

“Those who have held land out of use and built up huge fortunes by so doing are eager to retain the right to expropriate the people from the soil; those who have
enriched themselves by the building up of great monopolies arising out of the great parent monopoly of land-owning are also eager to defend their right to exploit their fellow men and women. But the educated forces of the workers are also gathering together. In this country we are more solid than ever before. In spite of paper differences there is an underlying bond of union which keeps us together with our faces towards the light. We think of Eugene Debs and Larkin and Haywood and the thousands of others whom the capitalist government is flinging into prison: We think of them as our comrades, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and we are confident that out of their suffering, out of their trials there will grow a stronger and stronger movement, and that the workers of America will see that the sufferings of these are not made in vain.

* "The future fight throughout the world is not a racial one but a class one; is not for the supremacy of this country, of America, or of any other country, but of humanity. When we talk of the class struggle we mean that struggle which is going to abolish class. When we work for the triumph of the workers we are working for the triumph of all those who do useful work, either with their brains or with their hands. And it is in that spirit, comrades, that I send you a message of faith and hope and of good cheer from myself and all my colleagues on the staff of the Daily Herald."

FROM PHILIP SNOWDEN.

Philip Snowden, formerly labor member of Parliament, is Treasurer of the English Independent Labor Party and prominent for his opposition to the war.


"To the Socialists of the United States:—

"Greetings. The Independent Labour Party of Great Britain sends greetings to their Socialist comrades of America, and best wishes for the campaign upon which they are about to enter for the election of Comrade Eugene V. Debs to the American Presidency.

"We have watched with sympathy and interest the struggles of American Socialists against the political and industrial tyranny of American capitalism. The outrage which has been committed by American law upon Comrade Debs has excited the indignation, not only of British Socialists, but also of all supporters of liberty in this country. We believe that the fact that Comrade Debs will be prevented through his imprisonment from taking an active part in the campaign, will encourage the American Socialists to fight with greater energy and determination to secure his election. By methods of persecution of Socialists for the expression of opinion the
Government of America is making itself contemptible to liberty-loving people in all lands, and is making the boasted freedom of America a matter of reproach and ridicule.

“The Presidential campaign will give workers of the United States an opportunity for showing their solidarity with the workers of Europe who are now organized in their tens of millions for the overthrow of capitalism by the conquest and use of political power.

“With every good wish for the success of Comrade Debs as Presidential candidate, and for the triumph of International Socialism, I remain,

Yours fraternally, PHILIP SNOWDEN.”

FROM J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

J. Ramsay MacDonald was formerly labor member of Parliament, and for many years treasurer of the British Labor Party. He is, together with Philip Snowden, the acknowledged leader of the Independent Labor Party.

“I am glad to hear that American Socialists are nominating Eugene Debs for the Presidency, and I hope that the wage earners and large sections of the professional classes who take intelligent views of political and social problems will rally to his support. I doubt if any country in the world is more in need of salvation from evil influences within it than America at present, and no one can save America except its own masses awakened to the dangers of a ruling plutocracy. Here, we are simply amazed at what is going on in your midst. This old country, supposed to be so conservative, with all its faults, is showing a freer mind and a greater hospitality to reason than is ‘the great Republic of the West.’ I do not believe that it is the real America that has been speaking. The best of peoples fall under bad guidance and evil passions and become blind occasionally. Let the true America, the America of the common man on the pilgrimage towards liberty, the America of the Mayflower and the free conscience—let that America speak this fall and receive the homage of the whole world. If America is not to fall behind in the pursuit of Liberty, the American people should vote Socialist.”

FROM TOM MANN.

Tom Mann, for many years well-known leader of British Socialism has recently been elected secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. He has led a number of great strikes which have made labor history in England.

“Allow me to send the love of a comrade to Eugene Debs, in sincere admiration of his glorious stand for Socialism, for his example to us all in singleness of purpose and whole-souled devotion to the cause of the people; in prison and out I know he is a law unto himself in the noblest sense.”
FROM JOHN MACLEAN.

John MacLean is a member of the British Socialist Party and leader of the Labor movement in Scotland. After the establishment of the Russian Soviet Government, MacLean was appointed by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs Russian Consul-General for Scotland. MacLean's activity in behalf of Soviet Russia caused his second imprisonment. He was released upon nomination by the Labor Party for member of Parliament from one of the Glasgow districts against the Coalition-Labor candidate, George Nichols Barnes, who refused to obey the orders of the Labor Party to withdraw from the Cabinet and was expelled from the Labor Party.

June, 1920, Glasgow, Scotland.

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

The British Government in 1916 sent me to prison for three years for opposing the prosecution of the war but I had to be released owing to the pressure of the workers aroused by the first Russian Revolution.

My support of the second Russian Revolution sent me again to prison with a five-year sentence in 1918, but the close of the war together with the approach of the December General Election again aroused the workers who threatened to wreck political meetings if I were not released to fight G. V. Barnes for one of the Glasgow constituencies. The Government had again to let me out.

Ever since my release, at the vast meetings I have addressed throughout Britain I have got my audiences to demand from the Government of the United States the release of the world workers' greatest orator and champion, Eugene V. Debs, whose ten-year sentence for firm adherence to his Socialist principles is a black burning disgrace to the boasted freedom supposed to exist in America. My audiences, always without dissent, agreed to the resolution when they were told by me that their support implied the solidarity of Labor on both sides of the Atlantic.

I have written a pamphlet which is having a wide circulation, entitled, "The Coming War With America," a war which I insist will come in five or six years' time, if the capitalists are left in power in the United States and in Britain. To save the world, Labor must seize power in both countries. Let you workers of America give us a lead in this direction by forcing the release of Debs and all other Labor champions at present rotting in your gaols and by making the Grand Old Man of American Socialism, President of the mightiest and wealthiest country in the world.

All hail the coming of human solidarity on the basis of the ownership of the earth by the workers who crowd its surface!
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