

# SOCIALIST WORLD

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## LINCOLN LIVING AND DEAD

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

(The following article was written for a *Terre Haute* daily paper after the celebration, on February 12th, of Lincoln's birthday. As the article failed to appear inquiry was made of the editor to whom it was sent who answered saying that the article had not reached him and could not be found in his office. This will account for the delay in its publication. A copy of the article had been reserved to secure it against just what happened to the original).

The anniversary of Lincoln's birthday has just been celebrated all around the world. All sorts and conditions of people vied with one another in praise and homage of the dead. One would imagine Lincoln living to have been an arch-angel or a saint of God instead of a simple man, a mere human being. In the thousands of columns of fulsome eulogy poured out there was not a trace of criticism or a word of adverse comment.

It was not always so. Lincoln living and Lincoln dead, according to the public estimate, are two distinct and widely separated beings, the one maligned as a criminal and the other glorified as a divinity.

It pays to shout Lincoln's praises now. He is dead. Every cheap skate of a time-server, every grafting politician, every subsidized editor, every pliant professor, every spineless pulpiter, every exploiter of the people, and every looter of the nation may now safely join in swelling the chorus of Lincoln's deification.

But when Lincoln lived and played his part in the nation's affairs the antecedents of the very men who are now mouthing their fulsome platitudes over his dead body traduced and vilified him outrageously and finally brought him to a martyr's grave by the foul hand of assassination.

The "interests" that ruled America in Lincoln's day and their tools and mercenaries in and out of office lied about him as atrociously and beslimed him with calumny as remorselessly as do the "interests" that rule today those who stand for truth and liberty and progress and whom these predatory and corrupting powers cannot whip into their service or bribe and browbeat into silence and submission.

I am not writing to worship Lincoln as a deity but to pay my humble tribute to him as a man I do not love him because he was divine but for the reason that he was human, and that is precisely what most of us are not. He proved himself a mortal and not a divinity by the mistakes he made. He would have kept a race in slavery to save the union. Wendell Phillips would have smashed a thousand unions—and I agree with him—if necessary to free the slaves.

The political party that today represents everything Lincoln fought his whole life long is the chief claimant for the inheritance of his fame and glory, while the leaders of this party, masquerading in his bloody winding-sheet, are appealing in his name to the people he served at the cost of his precious life and they are now betraying for their own sordid ends.

Lincoln has become the chief stock-in-trade of political grafters just as Christ has long been of the weak and hypocritical exhorters in His name who daily betray him.

An apt saying of Heine comes to mind: "Christ

(Continued on page 3)

## The Socialist World

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA  
OTTO F. BRANSTETTER ..... Bus. Mgr.

### THE SECRET IS OUT

By Otto Branstetter

People not familiar with the different phases of the radical movement, and many who are, have been puzzled to know the exact difference between the Workers Party and the Socialist Party. "Just what," they inquire, 'makes the Workers Party 'red' and 'revolutionary' and the Socialist Party 'yellow' and 'reactionary!'".

They need wonder no longer. A letter from the red revolutionist, J. Louis Engdahl, to Eugene V. Debs makes the issue quite clear. The Socialist Party is "yellow" because it has the respect and confidence of the working class to some extent and has associated in several instances with A. F. of L. unions, the Farmer Labor Party and other groups to advance their mutual interests.

The Workers Party, on the other hand, is gory red and revolutionary because it is desperately determined to affiliate with the "yellow" Socialist Party, the "reactionary" A. F. of L. unions, the "bourgeois" Single Tax Party and the "nationalist" Paole Zion in the formation of a labor party in spite of the fact that those organizations won't have them.

And, according to J. Louis, the Socialist Party is responsible for their exclusion. Could anything be more treacherous or reactionary? Was there ever such a base "betrayal" of the "revolution"? Certainly not! It is the crowning infamy of the Socialist Party and marks it for all time as an enemy of the working class and a supporter of the capitalist system.

The honest worker need no longer hesitate or question. The matter is now perfectly clear. The aggregation of camouflaged communists and government agents known as the Workers Party is revolutionary because it wants to affiliate with the "yellow" Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is reactionary because it won't let them. What a shame!

\* \* \* \*

Another decided difference has been brought to light by the testimony of Ruthenberg at the Bridgeman trial. Ruthenberg quoted Lenin as saying that all talk of armed insurrection in the United States

at present is "nonsensical". That settles it.

The difference between a socialist and a communist is that the socialist knew this all the time and said so — which made him "yellow" — the communist didn't know it until Lenin told him, which makes him "red."

### ORGANIZATION NOTES

Speakers who contemplate making lecture engagements in the Central States are requested to correspond with Ben Blumenberg, 292 Adelaide Street, Detroit. From that city comes the following report:

"Local Socialists declare that the Party organization is in better shape here than for a year or more past. The Local is gradually liquidating the heavy debt incurred over two years ago and the branches report that their finances are in better condition than at any time during that period. Debs, Nearing and Sedman have been invited to lecture in Detroit in the near future. The Jewish Branch plans to have Jacob Panken or Meyer London speak on the occasion of the inauguration of the membership drive now being planned."

Emil Herman, District Secretary of the Central States District, reports the formation of another local in Minneapolis.

Connecticut is waking up. We have a report from the State Executive Committee of constructive plans recently made but well under way. One of the first steps taken was to see that all members in good standing receive *The Socialist World*. Bridgeport has just concluded a series of lectures by August Claessens and started another by George R. Kirkpatrick. Both are well attended.

Albert Weisbord, National Director of the Young Peoples Socialist League, makes the following encouraging report:

"Prospects certainly are encouraging for future growth in the League. Under date of February 1, a charter was sent to Circle #1, Jersey City, N. Y., which was organized with 11 members. On February 12 a charter was sent to Circle #1, Minneapolis, Minn., organized with 16 members. The prospects for organization of circles in Cleveland, Akron, Dayton and Columbus, Albany, Rochester and Utica are very good indeed. A circle is expected to be formed in Boston within the very near future. All these reports indicate a live and active interest in the growth of our organization, and are a stimulus for renewed and continued activity in this direction."

## LINCOLN LIVING AND DEAD

*Continued from page 1)*

rode on an ass, now the asses ride on Christ." And this applies to Lincoln the Illinois rail-splitter as it does to Christ the Judean carpenter. Both were men of sorrows. Both were put to death for serving the people, and later glorified as deities by the descendants of their murderers.

The New York Herald is today foremost in praise and glorification of the dead Lincoln. Let us see what this same paper had to say of the living Lincoln: In its issue of May 19th, 1860 appears the following editorial estimate:

"The Republican convention at Chicago has nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President of the United States—a third-rate western lawyer, poorer than poor Pierce. The conduct of the Republican party in this matter is a remarkable indication of a small intellect, growing smaller. They passed over Seward, Chase and Banks, who are statesmen and able men, and they take a fourth-rate lecturer who cannot speak good grammar and who, to raise the wind, delivers his hackneyed, illiterate compositions at \$200 apiece. Our readers will recollect that this peripatetic politician visited New York two or three months ago on his financial tour, when, in return for the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes, filled his empty pocket with dollars coined out of republican fanaticism."

There you have the God-like Lincoln as he appeared to the "interests" that then ruled the nation.

The following day the same New York Herald said:

"The rejection of Seward and the nomination of Lincoln, who represents all that is brutal and bloody in Seward's political program without possessing a tithe of his personal ability, is almost as severe a blow at the Republican party organization as was the feud at Charleston to that of the democracy. . . . The highest claims for the candidate who is put up as a fit ruler for 30,000,000 of free-men is that he can mau rail and that he is honest. What part the first of these qualities is to play in the science of government we cannot conceive; the second we know to be the quality that commends him to the demagogues and robbers that now swarm about the public offices, for it makes them more secure of their prey."

In a later issue of the same paper, then as now one of the powerful organs of the "interests" and one of the leading dailies of the nation, appeared the following:

"Lincoln is the echo of Seward, without his practical acumen—the follower of Spooner with the rabid spirit of Helper, and the worshipper of John Brown without his pluck. . . . Such is the man for whom the fanatical black republicans have rejected every man with conservative tendencies, practical statesmanship, or national views."

It will be seen in this sweet-tempered and illuminating comment that the Lincoln we now idolize was about as popular then as Lenine is today, and

for the same reason, just as the early republicans were as full of "treason" and quite as "undesirable citizens" as are now the "reds" and despised, denounced and persecuted accordingly by the eminently respectable despoilers of the nation and their army of servile attendants.

The republican of the present day is a highly reputable gentleman for which "there's a reason" which need not be discussed here.

The popular idols of Lincoln's day are now in oblivion or on the way there. Lincoln who was then branded as a "nigger-lover", a "free-lover", a "freak", a "baboon who had escaped from the morasses of Illinois", a "vulgar clown", a "low-bred village politician," etc. etc. by the leading papers and personalities, just as socialists are dubbed today and with the same regard for truth, lives and will live with every passing age adding fresh lustre to his fame, and for this there is also a reason.

One more quotation from the New York Herald must suffice for the present:

"Lincoln is exactly the same type as the traitor who was hung at Charleston (John Brown)—an abolitionist of the reddest dye, liable to be led to extreme lengths by other men. Without education or refinement, he will be the plaything of his party, whirled along in the vortex of passion if he should gain control of the government. The comparison between Seward and this illiterate western boor is odious—it is as Hyperion to a satyr. Lincoln has in an aggravated and virulent degree all that rendered Seward unpopular with the conservative classes while he has none of those qualities and gifts of genius which distinguish the son of New York."

The Boston Post, May 21st, 1860, had the following:

"Lincoln has merely talent for demogic appeal that was thought to be worth in New England \$50, or \$100, a speech by those who hired him; but some who heard him were surprised that he should be considered anywhere a great man. He can only be the tool of the fanatical hosts he will lead on. This is the truth of the case, let the blowers of his party swell him as they may into tremendous dimensions."

The Philadelphia Evening Journal of May 24th, 1860 paid the "Nigger-Lover" the following flattering tribute:

"There is not in all the history of his life any exhibition of intellectual ability and attainment fitting his for the high and responsible post for which he has been nominated. His coarse language, his illiterate style, and his vulgar and vituperative personality in debate contrast very strongly with the elegance and classical oratory of the eminent senator from New York."

Hundreds of leading papers, magazines and periodicals characterized the gentle and lovable Lincoln as a monster, a black-guard and a low politician, every one of which that still survives is now

besmearing his memory with nauseating eulogy.

The Albany Argus voiced the true sentiment of the ruling and respectable "interests" in the following editorial:

"Lincoln... howling with anguish, was driven through the state of Illinois by Douglas. Last spring he made his debut in his state as an orator, and commenced by charging for his speeches at the rate of \$100. apiece and was forced to desist amid such public expression of contempt that he may be said to have been faintly hissed out of the state. He has never held public office of any credit, and is not known except as a slang-whanging stump speaker

of a class with which every party teems and of which all parties are ashamed."

The "Reds" including socialists, radicals and progressives—all who have an idea above a shellfish and the courage for it—are today the "nigger-lovers", "free-lovers", "traitors" and "demagogues" Lincoln was a few years ago, when he lived and wrought honestly and as the price of his immortal fame.

Fortunately for Abraham Lincoln there was no American Legion and no espionage law in his day!

## THE ETERNAL ENEMIES

By H. L. Mencken

Of all the false ideas that entertain the Rotary Clubs, perhaps the worst is the one to the effect that the true interests of capital and labor are identical. Nothing, indeed, could be less true. The one and only aim of capital is to exploit and enslave labor, and every device which makes labor appreciably more free is an attempt against that aim. But not all devices which, on the surface, appear to have that effect actually have it at bottom. For example, the device of paying labor large wages. This scheme almost invariably fools the workingman. He believes that high wages improve his standing and security in the world and bring him nearer to equality with his capitalistic masters. But they really do nothing of the sort. Their chief actual effect is to tie the workingman to his job—to make him even more a slave than he was before. His masters still hold the whip over him. They can take away his job whenever they please, and the higher his wages have been the further his ensuing fall will be. At bottom, indeed, high wages are not a device for benefiting labor; they are a device for increasing profits. The capitalist charges a percentage of profit on them as he charges a percentage of profit on any other expense. It is to his interest, when no very severe competition confronts him, to raise wages as much as possible, and this he usually does, as is shown by the example of that serpent of industrial wisdom, Henry Ford. But the more wages he pays, the more he makes for himself, as is also shown by the example of Mr. Ford. And, by the same token, the less trouble he has with the slaves who live out their lives under such conditions that at his mere nod he can turn them out to starve.

To the doctrine that the interest of capital and labor are identical the Rotary Club Pollyannas usually add the doctrine that capital, in its heart, has

a great love for labor, and wishes it well. The evidence therefor is usually found in the pension funds for superannuated employes established by the railroads and other large employers, and in the free hospitals, schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, brass bands, basketball pits and so on maintained by the United States Steel Corporation and its imitators. But all such devices, like that of paying high wages, really have the sole object of tightening the chains of the slaves. The pension system, in particular, is very effective in that direction. The threat to deprive strikers of their service credits has headed off more than one great strike lately, and the same threat has weakened many a strike after it has been called. During the last railroad strike, in fact, the most formidable club in the hands of the railroad managers was the hot desire of all the older strikers to get back their old ratings, and so resume the earning of their pensions. Most of them, counting on those pensions, had made no provision for their old age. The certainty that this would be the case was the chief reason for the establishment of the pension system.

The free hospitals, schools and athletic fields of the Steel Corporation and its imitators not only help to enslave the workingman, but also insult him. No genuinely free and self-respecting man, when he is ill, wants free treatment; what he asks of life is some assurance that, when illness overtakes him, he will be able to pay his way. Nor does he want to go to free concerts, or to play games on free athletic fields, or to go to free schools. Get a whole body of men used to such degrading patronage, and you will inevitable damage their pride and dignity—i. e., you will make more docile slaves of them. Whenever there is a strike or the threat of a strike, the press agents of the Steel Corporation make much of its noble gifts to its serfs. That is to say, when-

ever there is a strike or the threat of a strike, the Steel Corporation admits openly that its gifts were made in the hope of getting something for them—that it made them for the express and single purpose of bamboozling its sweating victims.

All of this, to a Rotary Club president, imagining him ever reading such a magazine as this one, would sound like Socialism, or, as he usually terms it, criminal syndicalism. I do not, in fact, protest against the system of exploiting labor. On the contrary, I am heartily in favor of slavery, and believe that every man who works for another is that other's slave, however cunningly the relation may be disguised: What I protest against is the custom

of swathing the whole transaction in cant. I am myself a member of one of the sub-orders of the capitalist class, and live in part upon the labor of railroad men. But I am not going to insult those men by arguing that their interests and mine are identical—that when they crawl along the top of a swaying train on a bitter winter night they are doing for themselves precisely what they are doing for me, who am snoring in bed. Nay, instead of that I admit to them openly that they are getting the worst of the bargain, and that I hope I may never have to chance places with them. This much I owe to them in common honesty and common decency. — From the Smart Set.

## THE ENEMY WITHIN

*By Bertha Hale White*

.. The story which recently startled the average reader of the great daily papers of America, the story told by Albert Balanow, self-confessed spy and hired instigator of violence, was long since well known in the National Office of the Socialist Party. Whether it was true in all its revolting details had not been established. For the National Office to give it publicity was to invite certain ridicule and contumely from communist circles, although some of the Socialist papers gave it considerable space a year or so ago.

Since the men now on trial in Michigan as a result of the government raid on the Communist convention last August have accepted it, and base their hopes of acquittal upon proving that story to be true we may venture to speak of it and its connection with the events which shattered the organization of the Socialist Party four years ago. For more than two years we have known that our one-time translator-secretary of the Russian Federation, Alexander Stoklitsky, was a secret employe of a detective bureau and that his able co-operator in the work of destruction, Louis Fraina, was an undercover man for the Department of Justice. Fraina was located in the east but Stoklitsky was more advantageously placed, having been elected translator-secretary by the members of the newly admitted Russian Federation.

It is not, perhaps, out of place here to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to our translators in that happier time before war came to America. It is only fair to say that they never failed to respond in any emergency, great or small, at the National Office, whether it was for a hurried translation or the loan of their treasuries. Their spirit was that

of fine co-operation, the very essence of comradeship. That was true of all in those earlier years, and it is true today of the federations that have remained with the party organization.

When we entered the great war there were thirteen foreign language groups affiliated with the party. Each had its translator with separate office and equipment at the national headquarters. The translators were elected by the members of their respective federations, and the national officials accepted them without question, exercising little or no authority over them beyond requiring formal reports and occasionally acting in a judicial capacity in the inevitable controversies which arose in the ranks of the federations.

One of the first Socialist papers to publish an account of the Balanow confession printed another news item. It had no apparent connection and perhaps commanded little attention. It was a story of Socialist work in Detroit which unquestionably proved that Detroit as coming back into its old place in the movement. The connection was not apparent—but it was there. It was from Detroit that the first whisper of the storm reached the national headquarters of the party. It was a stronghold of newly admitted Russian members and it was through them that the Socialist Party of Michigan repudiated political action and declared for the just-around-the-corner revolution.

It is not intended to imply that this group of foreign members entered into a Balanow-conspiracy to destroy the Socialist Party. They were, however, living in a foreign country of whose language and beliefs and customs they had no knowledge, wholly dependent upon such few members as they

had who could speak English, their sole medium of communication with the Socialist movement throughout the United States their translator-secretary, and their safety during the frenzied period of the war rested upon his good faith and honesty. And the national officials of the party were as dependent upon the integrity of the translator as were the members of the foreign groups themselves. The barrier of language could not be scaled without his assistance.

It was in October, 1918, that the Russian Federation was granted a translator secretary with salary paid and office equipment furnished by the National Office. Then came Stoklitsky of whose history and activities we knew nothing. As always, the selection of this officer was unquestioned. He bore the Russian label and to have dared question one who was in a way the representative of the First Socialist Republic would have seemed to us all an act of unspeakable treason. No—it did not occur to us to suspect Stoklitsky.

Looking back, I wonder that we did not. It was with his advent that we began to be excluded from the offices of the federations by a subtle spirit of antagonism. It was too illusive, too intangible to be taken hold of. Not all were affected. It had its definite center in the room of the Russian Federation. It was from that quarter that we first heard those now familiar terms, "yellow" and "traitor to the working class." In the retrospect, his work was so coarse, its purpose so evident it seems amazing that it was not instantly suspected. Among the horde of critics who assailed the national officials of the party after the split of 1919, there were those who blamed them for not discovering the significance of Stoklitsky's work before it was too late to defeat his purpose.

But Stoklitsky had chosen his time well. Following the declaration of war with the German government, the Socialist Party had to fight for the defense of its indicted members and to maintain some method of reaching the outside world. It was imprisoned by the invisible barriers set up about it by the department of justice. While not officially barred from the mails, the National Office was reduced to the costly necessity of registering not only first class mail, but printed matter which had formerly been sent out unsealed. There was no open decision by the post office department which could be met and contested. Our letters simply dropped out of sight and were never heard from after mailing.

Besieged from every side, harassed by enemies that knew neither decency nor legal restraint, from the day the agents of the government descended upon the National Office and the score of workers

marched out under their orders, the position of every member of that force was precarious. There was no security from suryeillance, from espionage. Communication with distant friends and relatives was broken and at any time those in the National Office were liable to receive a summons to report at the federal building, to be questioned and harassed in an attempt to force some admission which could be distorted and made to give plausibility to the charges of treason in the approaching trial of our national officials.

As the months passed it became increasingly evident that someone was filling the despicable role of spy and informer at national headquarters—it was clearly shown in the questioning of government agents. Suspicion reared its ugly head. Sometimes we thought this member of the force was guilty—sometimes another. The assaults of the known enemy could be met with composure, but how to know and meet the enemy within was a problem that baffled and bewildered. Never, never until too late did we suspect Stoklitsky.

Again—I wonder that we did not. Enough happened to warn us of what was impending if we had not been so preoccupied with government persecution. We knew that our "reddest of the red" comrades were hoping to "capture" the national executive committee in the approaching election. But we did not think they would take up the favorite old-party pastime of stuffing the ballot boxes. Not even when we knew that thirty thousand printed ballots had disappeared from the shipping room. The first suspicion was aroused through a mistake of the printer—it is always safe to blame the printer—but even then we did not suspect the truth. The election was by districts and after the printing was done it was found that some of the names were upon the wrong ballots. It necessitated reprinting. But the notice of shipment had been mailed before the mistake was discovered, and it was supposed in the office of the Russian Federation that the state quotas of ballots had been shipped. Before ever a ballot was in the hands of the state secretaries for distribution to the English and foreign language branches, mimeographed blanks began coming in from Russian branches saying they had received their ballots but needed more—a hundred more in most instances. It was the first betrayal of the plot, but even then we put it down to over-zeal to win the election for favored candidates and not to any intend to defraud. The national officials were not looking for plots and every indication that such existed was received with incredulity until state secretaries began reporting returns from Russian branches showing that two or three ballots—or even more—had been voted for every member

Balanow's confession—and Detroit. Just four years before that confession, Michigan took the first step toward the brink of the abyss. Everything the Socialist Party stood for was repudiated and her charter subsequently revoked. And just four years before, our party officials were sentenced to twenty years imprisonment at Leavenworth. The night those sentences were imposed for alleged violation of the Espionage Law, we gathered in the National Office. The first steps in the long fight for amnesty were to be taken. A meeting of our executive committee had been held shortly before and plans for enlisting all forces for an amnesty campaign had been adopted. True, it met with opposition from the first. The subject was discussed long and bitterly. During the sessions, various translators were given the floor and nearly without exception they branded amnesty as a repudiation of our revolutionary position. To ask for amnesty was betrayal. The jails and prisons of the country held hundreds of our people; the struggle to save Eugene V. Debs, our national officials just sentenced, and many others at liberty on appeal was certain to fail, but they must be considered as "casualties of war," and their liberation must not be secured through any appeal to the capitalist class. "Mass action," was the thing! "The Revolution is here!—we'll take them out!" Despite this opposition, a motion was finally adopted to send out a call for a conference. Katterfeld, then a member of the Executive Committee, was with the opposition at first, but finally reconsidered his vote. Wagenknecht, also a member, was invited to take charge of the preliminary organization, and this he agreed to do. The call for an amnesty conference went out to a long list of organizations and individuals known to have opposed the war persecutions.

Into that conference came the same discordant elements. It was one of the most tragic nights of the war period. We had until ten o'clock to file bonds for appeal and a quarter million dollars must be scheduled by that hour or our five officials, Berger, Germer, Tucker, Engdahl and Kruse, would begin the journey to Leavenworth. I took the minutes of the Amnesty Conference, which was not an exacting task as there was little action and much controversy, and at the same time at the telephone helped to canvass our membership for property holders who would go to the federal building and help make up that quarter million. The amount was scheduled in time, but the Amnesty Campaign began under the most unfavorable conditions. Some of our befuddled comrades followed the Stoklitsky lead. About all that Socialists could do if they were not to be "yellow" was to adopt a resolution and go home. No one who did

not subscribe to the class struggle could have anything to do with freeing the political.

Before ever the machinery of the Amnesty Campaign could be set up it was effectively scrapped. Shortly after the first conference, Wagenknecht resigned as secretary and others withdrew. It was found impossible for the national Socialist Party to conduct the campaign because of this opposition within our own ranks, and the forces working for amnesty set up a separate organization, The Freedom Foundation, with the party as one of the supporting groups. Not until the famous "Emergency Convention" in the fall of 1919 and the definite alignment of the left in the communist parties, was the National Office free to begin the amnesty work that eventually freed many of the political prisoners. It is a sad commentary upon the sincerity of the Communists to recall that they drew no such fine distinctions when the red raids swept them into the net of A. Mitchell Palmer.

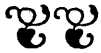
Not until a part of the Balanow confession reached the National Office, more than two years before it was revealed in the depositions of the Michigan trial now in progress, was Stoklitsky's real character suspected. We had learned of the pestilent crew of spies and thugs which infested the labor movement at the end of the war. There were occasional exposures such as that of Joseph Krieg in St. Louis, leader in the left circles of the Socialist Party, member of the Machinists' Union, delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Union, and—employee of the Industrial Service Corporation, a concern solely engaged in the business of furnishing spies to factory owners. He was unmasked by the members of his union and was one of the first of a long list of spies that has become generally known throughout the country, worthy members of the exalted order of Balanows and Brannigans and Ashursts and Stoklitskys.

The knowledge of Stoklitsky's treachery came with peculiar bitterness. While his rude and boorish manner made it impossible to associate with him without irritation, he had enjoyed the unqualified confidence of the National Office and no suspicion of him had stayed his hand while he scattered the seeds of dissension and hatred. All the tyranny and persecution of the war could not shatter the Socialist Party. Stoklitsky, agent provocateur, had more efficient methods.

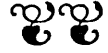
In less than a year after he came into the National Office he had accomplished the task assigned him by the enemies of the Socialist Party. In the midst of fratricidal strife the Communist and Communist Labor parties were organized and the Socialist Party cleft to its foundations. Stoklitsky,

glorious leader of the "Left," was the final authority in all the newest modes and fashions of the "revolution" and for a little while no one could aspire to recognition or distinction in those circles who failed of his approval. Then came the red raids.

Stoklitsky, arrested and indicted with countless others, slipped casually through the police net and disappeared. His mission was fulfilled for the Socialist Party was disrupted and the "red menace" had thoroughly hoaxed the American public.



## CAPITALISM EXPOSED



By M. A. Smith

### I. THE ECONOMIC INJUSTICE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is the prevailing economic system of the world that provides for using wealth in such a way as to bring to its owner an increase of wealth without any mental or physical effort on the part of its owner. Such a system naturally leads to the robbery of the masses by what is politely called "profiteering." For many years the public has been regaled with notices of the appointment of Federal, State and County "Commissions" to "probe" this matter of profiteering; and millions of dollars of the people's money are appropriated annually to carry out this "probing" process, with the result, as stated by the Dallas Morning News of Jan. 26, 1921, that such appropriations "inure to the benefit only of the probers."

The press reported in 1920 that the price of peaches within a four hours' haul of Chicago was so low it would not pay for the cost of picking, while in Chicago the price was so high that none but the rich could afford to eat peaches. In October apples were only bringing ten cents a bushel at the orchards in Michigan, while in Chicago and other cities the price was prohibitive to all but the rich. The Dallas News of Oct. 30, 1920, makes the following comment:

"Apples are selling in Michigan at ten cents a bushel, or being fed to hogs, while in Texas even the third grade apples bring 45 a dozen." An Associated Press dispatch dated Washington, Jan. 23, 1921, says: "The opinion that the American people were mulcted of a billion and a half dollars last year by the coal trust, was expressed today by Senator Calder, Republican of New York, That was about \$75 for every family in the United States!

The Dallas News of Jan. 17, 1921, says: "At two and a half to three and a half cents a pound, the ton of cabbage for which the San Benito grower gets \$10, costs the retailer in Dallas from \$50 to \$70. How much it costs the consumer the News' report does not disclose. At most, the grower gets only one-ninth of what the consumer pays. This is true in varying degrees, in the case of the growers

of all other things." Do you wonder that this is called a robbing, thieving system?

At about the same time the Associated Press reported that the Kentucky tobacco grower was getting only two cents a pound for his tobacco, while the consumer was paying fifteen cents an ounce, or \$2.50 a pound for a poor quality of smoking tobacco, or about 12,000 per cent profit. About the same time the press gave the quotations on hides as two cents a pound, while the consumer was paying from eight to twenty-four dollars a pair for shoes, or about 60,000 per cent profit on hides. A bold headline in the Dallas News of March 10, 1921, reads:

*"Hides sell at two cents a pound in Dallas."*

An editorial in the Dallas Times Herald of June 22, 1921, says: "Lon Green, a farmer of Lancaster (about fifteen miles from Dallas), butchered a beef last week and sold the meat to neighbors. Will Green, his son, shipped the hide to a Dallas hide and tannery concern. Tuesday he received a bill for twenty cents. The hide had lacked 20 cents of being valuable enough to pay the rate from Lancaster to Dallas." And right at that time the public was being told that the outrageous price of shoes was due to the "high cost of hides." But that is Capitalism, the system that is upheld by both old parties. Do you like it?

An editorial in the Dallas News of Dec. 12, 1921, under the headline, "Farmers Crushed by Freight Rates," says: "So serious an evil have these high freight rates become that there are actual instances, not a few, where farmers shipping live stock to market have found that freight and commission charges not only absorbed all they got for their stock, but actually left them in debt to the railroad for freight charges." At that very time the railroads were clamoring for increases in freight rates, and the "Commission" was graciously heeding their demands. We see, then, that Capitalism in some lines has already reached the point where it takes for nothing, all we produce, and has the gall to demand more. But that's the system you voted for when you voted the Democrat or Republican ticket.

The New York Evening Journal says the man-



ipulators of this system are "Stealing hundreds of millions annually from the people." The official volume, "Reports of the Committee of the Senate of the United States for the first and second sessions of the Forty-sixth Congress," discloses the startling fact that the United States treasury has been looted of billions of dollars by those who were supposed to be the servants of the people.

The year J. P. Morgan organized the great shipping trust in conjunction with his famous Morgan Line of ocean-going vessels, the Iowa State Register said: "The wealth acquired this year by Mr. Morgan as the result of organizing trusts and combines is \$200,000,000."

Let us look at this statement a few moments and see what it means. If Adam, the first man, had lived till the present day, according to accepted chronology, and been engaged in useful industry on a salary that enabled him to lay up *twenty-five thousand dollars annually*, beginning at the dawn of creation when the "morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy," coming on down through the decades, centuries and millenniums to the present hour, he would not have earned quite three-fourths as much as Mr. Morgan "acquired" in one year by "organizing and financing" things. And he would have to toil on, for more than two thousand years yet to come, laying up \$25,000 a year, before he had earned as much as Mr. Morgan "acquired" in one year!

Don't you know if the devil were turned loose with power to call to his aid "seven other devils more wicked than himself" they couldn't inaugurate a more damnable, unjust system of thievery than this, which makes it possible for one man to plunder the people to the tune of \$200,000,000 a year, and which is upheld by both the old parties?

## II. DISLOYALTY AND TREASON OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism owns no allegiance to any government or form of government except in so far as that government upholds its methods of robbery and exploitation. If it fails to do this, Capitalism will seek to corrupt or destroy it. Capitalism not only systematically robs and plunders the people of all nations, but it has corrupted our own Government and destroyed our liberties!

Hon. Henry George, Jr., of New York, on the floor of Congress, June 11, 1911, said: "We have instituted a condition by which *a few own the Country*." Senator J. W. Bailey told the Senate June 2, 1913: "We have seen the legislation of this body *controlled by less than a dozen men*, who were in turn largely *controlled by one man*." Hon. C. B. Randell told Congress April 3, 1909: "The

trusts *dominate every department of this Government*. Million of producers are victims of *legalized robbery*." On July 31s he said: "Huge corporations are fast acquiring *all our natural wealth*. Such a condition means the *impoverishment and slavery of the masses*." Senate Document No. 736, 64th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 5, quotes President Woodrow Wilson as saying: "*We no longer have a Representative Government*." Hon. R. L. Owen, U. S. Senator from Oklahoma, told the Senate Jan. 12, 1911: "*Big business runs the Senate and the Government. Senatorships are bought and sold with comparative ease*." We never will have a Congress or Government that represents the people till Capitalism is overthrown.

No wonder Woodrow Wilson said: "The Government has got into the hands of bosses and their employers, the special interests. . . . Special interests have their grip on the throat of Congress. . . . We have come to be one of the *worst ruled*, one of the most *completely controlled and dominated Governments in the civilized world*; a Government by the opinion and duress of small groups of dominant men who have *already captured the Government*." —New Freedom, pp. 35, 101, and 161. Our boys certainly ought to be eager to die for such a government as that! If anybody says the Democrats and Republicans haven't given us the best government in the world, shoot him on the spot!

Right at the time the American people were being rationed, and urged to economize to the limit, and were doing without flour and meat and sugar to enable the government to "win the war," our "one-dollar-a-year" millionaire swivel chair *Paytriots* were *deliberately robbing the Government of Hundreds of Millions of Dollars in fraudulent war contracts!* Treason is a mild name for it!

## III. THE INHUMANITY OF CAPITALISM

The Capitalist system of production for profit has absolutely no regard for human happiness or human life! The Times Herald for Feb. 3, 1921, said: "Twenty thousand pounds of meat was taken from a cold storage plant Thursday morning by order of the City Health Department and sent to the city's fertilizing plant." On Jan. 24th is said: "City Chemist C. M. Adams and inspectors Moore and Maddox raided meat market on East Elm street Saturday night and Sunday morning, and confiscated 1,500 pounds of spoiled meat. The meat was ready to be used for making sausage, and was in a *high state of decay*." Do you remember the "Embalmed Beef Scandal" when thousands of our soldier boys were poisoned by the spoiled meat sold the government by the meat trust? When

Gen. Miles said he could produce five thousand affidavits to prove that ten men were killed with poisoned meat for every one killed by Spanish bullets?

But some one will ask: "What has all this to do with Capitalism?" It has everything to do with it. That's the natural fruits of the system. It feeds the people on deadly, rotten food for the profit there is in it. As long as society allows its natural resources, public utilities and large scale industries to be owned and operated for profit by private individuals and corporations, just so long will the owners be under the temptation to mulct, rob, poison and slaughter the public for the profit there is in it. Does anyone suppose these things would be possible if the public collectively owned and democratically managed its public utilities, large scale industries and natural resources? Would we sell rotten meat to ourselves in order to make a profit off ourselves? But if you just naturally love rotten meat, why go ahead and vote the Democrat and Republican tickets, and you'll get it.

Capitalism has already wrecked the world, and brought on a "Crime Wave" that threatens the destruction of civilization. It has transformed the earth into a vast charnel house of anguish, misery and blood. It inaugurates wars of conquest to satisfy its greed for profits, to establish foreign markets and to secure additional trade territory. It is now conceded everywhere that the great World War, with all its misery and death, was an economic war, deliberately brought on by conflicting capitalist groups for economic gain and trade advantage. That the slaughter of our boys on the field of France was for the benefit of the capitalist class, and so intended, was admitted by Mr. Wilson in his message to Congress in December, 1915. Speaking of the possibility of our being drawn into the great world conflagration, Mr. Wilson said: "It would depend upon the patriotic feeling of the younger men of the country whether they responded to such a call to service or not. It would depend upon the patriotic spirit of the *employers of the Country* whether they made it possible for the younger men in their employ to respond under favorable conditions or not. I, for one, do not doubt the patriotic devotion, either of our young men, or of those who give them employment—those *for whose benefit and protection they would in fact enlist.*" Our soldier boys who fought and suffered in the trenches to "Make the world safe for Democracy", will certainly be proud to learn that it was all "for the benefit and protection" of a few capitalist—the "employers of the country!" Let that statement be engraved on the tablet of your memory in *letters of fire!*

What is the "Pure Food and Drug Act" but

an acknowledgment that it is dangerous for private individuals and corporations to supply the public with food and medicine? But with this law before their eyes, the temptation to increase their profits by cheapening the manufacturing cost of these articles by adulteration, is so great, that the manufacturers continually violate the law, even at the risk of going to the penitentiary. In the adulteration of food and medicines, it is necessary to make the adulterated article appear as much like the unadulterated, genuine article, as possible. And to do this often requires the use of adulterants that are unsanitary and even poisonous. But the fact that the article thus adulterated, endangers the lives of the people, is no deterrent to the unscrupulous manufacturer who cares only for profits. It is impossible to estimate the number of people whose health has been ruined and whose lives have been destroyed by the use of adulterated foods and medicines.

Some time ago H. W. Wiley, Chief Chemist of the Department of Agriculture, stated in one of his reports that "*more than three million children had been killed*" by the use of adulterated articles, such as condensed and malted milks, infant foods, soothing syrups, and various decoctions prepared and sold for the use of infant children!

Let your mind dwell upon this startling statement for a few moments: The mother reports that baby doesn't seem to be doing well, and suggests that papa get some of that widely advertised infant's food or medicine, as the case may be, and see if it will do the baby any good. The father goes and spends his hard-earned dollar for the suggested article in hopes that it will improve the baby's health. But instead of improving, baby begins to rapidly decline. A large portion of the medicine is administered, or a larger measure of the food is given, as the case may be. But baby continues rapidly to wither and pine away. The roses fade from its little cheeks, the luster departs from its eyes and the dimple disappears from the little chin. It continues to grow worse from day to day, until finally all hopes of its recovery are abandoned. Loved ones take it by turns, keeping vigil by the crib that holds the emaciated little form. The breathing becomes irregular, the heart-beat becomes more feeble. Papa and Mamma bend over it with steaming eyes and bleeding hearts. Oh! my God! It is sinking fast! Listen! The ominous death-rattle is heard in the little throat. Look, look! The little eyes that once sparkled with light and beauty, are taking on a glassy, vacant stare. A few feeble gasps, and it is—gone!

Now multiply this scene by three million, and you have *three million murdered children*; three million darkened hearthstones; three million homes in

gloom and mourning; three million front doors with crepe on them; three million weeping fathers and broken hearted mothers; three million little coffins brought into these darkened homes; three million hearses backed up to the front gates; three million funeral processions which, allowing only two hundred yards for each funeral train, makes a stupendous cortege of mourning reaching *fourteen times around the World!* requiring *eight years* traveling day and night at the rate of five miles an hour to pass a given point, reaching to a vast cemetery containing *sixteen square miles, filled* with three million open graves, waiting to hide the crimes of Capitalism! The thunder produced by clods and rocks falling on three million caskets is drowned by a cry of anguish that rends the very heavens. What is it? Three million "Rachels weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not!"

And now remember that you have just been witnessing the natural, logical operation of the *damnable, murderous economic system of Capitalism*, which is upheld by both the old parties! Don't you know the man who would knowingly uphold a system that logically produces such fruit as this, or a party that stands for it, has no more principle or religion than the devil? And do you wonder that millions of good men and women all over the world are daily working and praying for the damnation of that system?

And what remedy do we have to offer? *The collective ownership and management of the means of life!* Do you suppose it possible, if the whole people owned and operated the factories that produce our foods and medicines, that we would deliberately poison and "kill" our own children in order to make a profit off ourselves? With these facts before you, will you still uphold that system, or a political party that stands for it, and then have the monumental gall to lift your hypocritical voice in the great congregation and *insult God by claiming to be a Christian?* We are driven to the necessity of socializing the means of life, or all civilization is lost! That's all there is to it.

But we are often told that the remedy for our economic and political ills, is to elect "good men" to office from among the supporters of Capitalism. That by so doing we will "reward our friends and punish our enemies." We have been trying that plan for generations, and matters are getting worse. It is not a question of good or bad men in office. We must change the system! Bad men in office could do but little harm under a co-operative system, where the people could recall unfaithful officials, initiate legislation they wanted, and veto vicious legislation through the referendum. The "good man," whether Democrat or Republican, who up-

holds the present thieving murderous capitalist system, is our economic and political enemy, whether he knows it or not. Private ownership of the essential means of life on which the whole people depend, would logically and inevitably enrich the few and pauperize, rob and slaughter the masses, *if every official in the nation were an Archangel!*

If you are in favor of a peaceable, intelligent, rational change from Capitalism to a Co-operative system of production and distribution, cast your ballot for the party of the working class. If you are a useful worker, either of hand or brain, then vote for the party of your class. Mark the man who opposes you, and you will find that he either has a graft somewhere, or he is a pitiful flunky of some man who has.

### THE WORKERS' INSECURITY OF LIVELIHOOD

The workers may in times of prosperity, get what the capitalist class say they regard as very high wages, although these wages even at their highest are only a tiny proportion of what the members of the capitalist class themselves spend. But the worker is never sure of his job under capitalism, never sure of his livelihood. When hard times come, as they inevitably do at periodic intervals under capitalism, he is very likely to be out of a job for months at a stretch, and to see the meagre savings of several years of hard toil swept away by a few months of enforced idleness owing to a slump in business. The strongest sort of trade union is powerless to protect the worker when the boss decides that it would be more profitable to him to shut down the plant for a time or work only a few days each week. When the worker answers advertisements calling for hundreds of men for a given piece of work, he is all too likely to find that the job is over in a few months and he is again penniless, or perhaps that the employer has, as is a common practice, advertised for more men than he really needs and all the places are already filled.

It is plain, therefore, that even if a worker is unusually fortunate in getting big wages per day when times are good, his income is in fact worth much less per day when stretched out over the year because of being out of a job at intervals. But even apart from unemployment there are other things which make the workers' livelihood insecure. When a workman becomes 45, or at the outside, if he holds his vigor extremely well, 50 years of age, he finds it increasingly difficult to get a new job every time he loses one. And at that age he is very apt to lose his job. He is always the first to be laid off and the last to be taken on. The Hell of Anxiety that old age is for every workman is upon him. Unlike the business or professional man, who at

50 or 60 is at the peak of his earning power, the workers from age of 50 on is increasingly tortured by the fact that his existence is in danger of becoming a liability to his family instead of an asset. To lay by enough to bring his income up to a decent figure in his old age, a man would need a very large income indeed in his prime.

Then there is always present the chance of death and so leaving his wife and children penniless. In some industries the worker runs a greater chance of losing his life from an industrial accident, than the capitalist does of losing his money invested in the industry; yet the capitalist class demand and get large profits for investing their money in the stock of a corporation, while the dependents of the workers who risks and loses his life in industry gets nothing but a very inadequate payment under the compensation laws, and not even that in some states and industries and unless their breadwinner suffered the fatal accident while at work. If the worker attempts to insure against the contingency of death, he finds that the cost of life insurance for the workers is higher in private or even mutual life insurance companies than it is for wealthier people. There is the practical certainty of sickness for a week or two each year on the average; and when a workman is ill all his income stops, yet his expenses go on and in fact he is usually put to added expense. Then there is the chance of an accident which will lay him up for a time, and perhaps impair his earning power permanently.

All these dangers mean that any given sum of property income is worth far more than the same amount of wages and salaries. This is because property income continues to come in through all the disasters and misfortunes enumerated. It does not stop because of the injury, old age, sickness, idleness or early death of the members of the capitalist class who receive it, while service income stops in every one of these cases. Consequently, any statements made about large wages per day are always totally misleading, because few workmen ever get a chance to work anything like full time for a year, and every few years when business is bad they are likely to be out of a job or on half time for months at an end. A good idea of the amount of enforced idleness to which the worker is subject may be gained from the fact that the five day week demanded by the bituminous coal miners in 1919 was 20% more on the average than the employers had ever given them a chance to work in former years.

Of course the poverty of a family whose breadwinner has been incapacitated for any reason is a spreading sore. It harms many others besides themselves. The wife and children must work, and their competition results in forcing down the wages of others. The daughter may possibly be forced

into prostitution to gain a livelihood, or the family may be forced into crime or begging. The family may totally lose its self respect. From families in such a situation the ranks of the inmates of houses of prostitution, of petty criminals, etc., are recruited. And the example and contamination of such a family in the neighborhood or perhaps in the same tenement with others is likely to spread.

The Socialist remedy for this is old age pensions and compulsory social insurance for accident, unemployment, sickness, and early death. Insurance of all these sorts already exists in many countries and has been found satisfactory, and social insurance for accidents, in the form of workman's compensation, already exists in about three fourths of the states of this country. No attempt will be made here to discuss the details of social insurance. Suffice it to say that it is a scheme by which the worker who is incapacitated for any reason or out of work, is given a weekly payment amounting to a definite proportion of his normal earnings, say 75% or 80%. Under some schemes the sum from which the payments are made is contributed by the government, while under others it is contributed by the employers so that the payments are made one of the costs of doing business. Under the bogus schemes advocated by many of the liberals, part or all of the money to pay for social insurance is compulsorily deducted from the workers' wages.

The best plan would seem to be to put the cost on the employers. It is true that they would add the cost to the price of the product, but so long as the capitalist class are left in control of industry that is inevitable. The advantage of putting the cost of sickness and unemployment for instance, on the employers is that they at once seek to remedy the situation in order to reduce the cost, and as they control the government they would probably call in the help of the government to reduce sickness and unemployment. If the capitalist class had to pay out 75% or 80% of the workers' wages even when they were not working because of sickness or unemployment, they would make the most strenuous efforts to reduce these evils to a minimum. Instead of unemployment being a big advantage to the capitalist class in enabling them to reduce wages, it could in this way be made somewhat of a burden to them, and thus it would soon be greatly reduced. If each industry could be required to maintain a fund out of which payments would be made to all the workers in it when they were injured, sick, or unemployed, and the workers through their unions got the right to an equal participation in the management of this fund, it would constitute a real advance in power and position for the working class, even if the capitalist class were still left in control of land and capital.

## THIRTEEN MORE POLITICAL PRISONERS

The National Office recently sent out an appeal in behalf of the 13 Socialists in Cincinnati who were arrested in June, 1917, charged with treason, and after a delay of almost six years, have been sentenced to various terms in prison. In a letter from one of the defendants, Lotta Burke, we have the following brief summary of the case:

"The court granted us a stay of execution for thirty days, which makes it imperative for our attorney to file his request for a hearing in the Supreme Court April 2nd. Of course we are not expecting much but there is a chance because of the dissenting opinion of Judge Dennison in the Appellate Court.

"We were arrested in June of 1917 because of the distribution of a leaflet and charged with treason. In November of 1917 the grand jury indicted us on a charge of conspiracy. In May, 1918 the district judge quashed the indictment. In February, 1919 the same judge reinstated it. We went to trial in June-July, 1919 and were found guilty. The trial judge died in September of 1919 before he sentenced us, and we were sentenced by his successor in February of 1920, without him hearing the case. In August of 1920, the prosecuting attorney quit the job and it took his successor two years and three months to file his brief. This he did November 15, 1922. The hearing was on December 7, 1922, and the Appellate Court decision was on February 15, 1923.

"The sentences are fifteen months for Thomas H. Hammerschmitt, Lotta Burke and Joseph Geier in Federal prison; one year for Alexander J. Feldhaus, Wm. Gruber, Frank Reis, Fred Schneider,

Charles Thieman, Walter Gregory, in Federal prison; six months in jail for Arthur Tiedtke, Philip Rothenbusch and John Hann, with fine of \$150.00 and costs and three months in jail for Alfred Welker with \$150.00 and costs. Walter Gregory died last June.

Comrade Geier has five children, the oldest about fifteen, the youngest less than two years. The twelve children of the other comrades in the group are all younger than the eldest Geier child. So, you see Comrade, we have good need of the thousand dollars, should the Supreme Court turn us down.

"The comrades have all been persecuted to some extent, being driven from one job to another — especially is this true of Comrade Hammerschmitt... it is hard to create interest any longer. So Comrade — don't desert us, send us whatever you may be able to raise and join with us in hoping for freedom."

Among the first to respond to the letter sent out by the National Office asking for contributions to help the Cincinnati Comrades was the Socialist Local at White Valley, Penna. The party members took up a collection among the miners at that place amounting to \$60.00. Contributions are coming in, but they are not coming fast enough. If the Supreme Court denied the plea, the money will be urgently needed for the care and protection of the children left helpless. Every dollar received will be promptly forwarded and a final report given the Cincinnati defense committee with the names of all contributors and the amounts given.

## Jobless Marchers Fail to Gain Object

London, England, Feb. 1. — The most heart-breaking experience in the whole miserable history of England's present period of unemployment has been the lot of the men who marched from the provinces to London with the object of interviewing Prime Minister Bonar Law. Fired by the oratory of their leaders and inspired with the belief that their case could be altered by a direct appeal to the government, these hapless victims of circumstance poured into London from nearly every point of the compass. They were not an ill-appearing outfit when they first made their appearance in Trafalgar square two months ago. They seemed healthy; they carried themselves with a military bearing,

many of them being veterans of the world war, and there was a general air of courage and determination in their demeanor.

It is impossible to describe the pitiful change that has occurred during the weeks they have been quartered in the poorhouses and county workhouses of the metropolitan area. Their weekly meetings have been held directly under the windows of The Chicago Daily News office and have offered an interesting and occasionally an exciting scene to the members of the staff, who have looked out upon the surging crowds about the plinth of Nelson's monu-

(Continued on page 16)

## The Socialist Party

**Executive Secretary,**  
**OTTO BRANSTETTER,**  
2418 West Madison Street  
Chicago

**National Executive Committee:**  
Edmund T. Molms, 579 8th Avenue,  
Milwaukee, Wis.  
Wm. H. Henry, 709 East 13th St.,  
Indianapolis, Ind.  
James H. Maurer, Rooms 1, 2 and 3,  
Commonwealth Trust Co. Building, Har-  
risburg, Pa.  
Morris Hillquit, 19 W. 44th St., New  
York City.  
B. Charney Vlodeck, 175 E. Broadway,  
New York City.  
George E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton  
Sq., Boston, Mass.  
Victor L. Berger, 528 Chestnut St.,  
Milwaukee, Wis.

## Official Business

### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dear Comrades:

I am glad to report that arrangements have finally been concluded with Comrade Debs whereby he is to make a series of meetings under the direction of the National Office. The towns so far agreed upon for meetings are:

Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark, New York City, New Haven, Boston, Buffalo and Detroit.

These are perhaps all the dates he will be able to fill before the first of June, and he perhaps will not be able to undertake meetings at all during the hot weather. It is possible, however, that a few additional dates may be secured before June 1st, in which case they will be offered to Providence, Fitchburg, Rochester, Milwaukee and St. Louis. This will fairly well cover all the larger cities east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Ohio which he does not want to touch at the present time.

The terms upon which these meetings are being given to the locals vary somewhat with the local circumstances, but in every case it is provided that the State Organizations, as well as the National and Local shall receive a portion of the proceeds.

I have arranged to put comrade Esther Friedman in Buffalo immediately, to rebuild the organization and make arrangements for a meeting. Buffalo has been waiting and needing an organizer for a long time, but there were no funds with which to finance the work. The Debs meeting will not only provide the necessary funds to finance the re-organization of Buffalo, but the prospect of the Debs meeting will undoubtedly do much to assist in the reorganization. I have also

## DEBS Meetings

May 1  
Chicago

May 4  
Buffalo

May 6  
Indianapolis

May 10  
Providence

May 11  
Boston

May 13  
Newark

May 15  
Baltimore

May 17  
Detroit

May 22  
New York

May 25  
New Haven

May 26  
Philadelphia

May 30  
Pittsburgh

arranged with Comrade George Goebel to act as general field and advance man in connection with these dates. The dates are being definitely assigned as fast as suitable halls can be secured, and advertising will be gotten out immediately. The Committee will be kept informed of the progress of the work.

Fraternally submitted,

Otto Branstetter  
Executive Secretary  
March 12, 1923

To the National Executive Committee  
Dear Comrades:

I herewith submit National Executive Committee.

### Motion No. 9

#### Executive Question

"Shall the National Convention in New York City be postponed from April 28th to May 26th?"

#### Comment by Executive Secretary

The fact that the National Convention was to be held in New York City was largely instrumental in my securing Comrade Debs' consent to speak there on May 1st. It was our idea that a May 1st meeting would close the Convention with a great wave of enthusiasm and launch the organization campaign which the Convention will no doubt decide upon. Unfortunately, New York was unable to secure Madison Square Garden for May 1st and we found it necessary to postpone the New York meeting until May 27th. There is no particular reason for holding the Convention early this year, but there are substantial arguments for holding it at a later date, when we can have the Debs meeting in conjunction therewith. I can see no disadvantage in postponing the Convention, and many advantages in doing so.

Vote closes April 22nd. Ballots enclosed.

Fraternally submitted,

Executive Secretary  
Otto Branstetter  
March 12, 1923

To the National Executive Committee  
Dear Comrades:

I herewith submit National Executive Committee.

### Motion No. 10

#### Executive Question

"Shall the loan of \$1,000, by the Trustees of the Building Fund to the National Office for the purpose of promoting the Debs meetings, be approved, and shall they be authorized to make an additional loan of \$1,000, if it becomes necessary?"

#### Comment by Executive Secretary

The agreement of Comrade Debs to fill a line of dates under the direction of the National Office has naturally entailed considerable immediate expense, which

the National Office is unable to meet from its regular income. A number of cities will require an organizer immediately to assist them in preparing for the meetings, and in a number of instances the National Office will have to make a deposit amounting to several hundred dollars in each case, for the hall. They will also have to have extensive advertising, and money for other purposes in connection with these dates. The money was needed immediately, and at my request Comrade Berger agreed to a loan of \$1,000. from the Building Fund, and it is this loan which the motion asks you to approve. I think it possible that I will be able to get through until the meetings commence, without an additional loan; but if we need it we will need it very badly. I am asking your adoption of the motion authorizing the loan of an additional thousand dollars if it becomes necessary, for that reason.

Vote closes March 22nd. Ballot enclosed.

Faternally submitted.

Otto Branstetter  
Executive Secretary

March 17, 1923

To the National Executive Committee  
Dear Comrades:

I herewith submit report on Motion No. 10.

"Shall the loan of \$1,000 by the Trustees of the Building Fund to the National Office for the purpose of promoting the Debs meetings, be approved, and shall they be authorized to make an additional loan of \$1,000 if it becomes necessary."

Voting Yes: Henry, Vladeck, Roewer, Melms, Maurer, Hillquit (6).

Not Heard From: Berger (1).  
Motion Adopted.

Report on Motion No. 9.

"Shall the National Convention in New York City be postponed from April 28th to May 26th?"

Voting Yes: Henry, Roewer, Melms, Maurer (4).

Voting No: Hillquit, Vladeck (2).

Not Heard From: Berger (1).  
Motion Adopted.

Comment by Executive Secretary

Local New York, now informs me that the 27th is unsatisfactory for the Debs meeting on account of interfering with the Call anniversary bazaar.

I have taken the matter up with Comrade Debs and he agreed to change of dates conditional upon my assurance that the question of the convention would again be submitted to the committee and an effort be made to convene the convention on Saturday before his meeting on Tuesday. As it now stands, the New

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York meeting is for Tuesday night, May 22nd, and we want the convention to convene on May 19th.

If the convention is not held on May 19th it may as well be held on the original date of April 28th as there is now no object in holding it on the 26th. I believe the effect on delegates and visitors of closing the convention with a huge demonstration in Madison Square Garden sufficiently warrants the changing of the convention date. No delegates have yet been elected nor arrangements made which will be interfered with by convening the convention on the 19th.

I am herewith submitting National Executive Committee.

Motion No. 11

"Shall the action of the committee on Motion No. 9 postponing the date of the National Convention from April 28th to May 26th be reconsidered?"

Motion No. 12

"Shall the date of the National Convention be changed from April 28th to May 19?"

Vote by wire. Vote closes March 22nd.

Faternally submitted,

Executive Secretary  
Otto Branstetter  
March 24, 1923

National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

I submit for a vote of your Committee, National Executive Committee Motion No. 13

Executive Question

Shall the National Office issue credentials to Comrades Mrs. Berger and Mrs. Hillquit, as Delegates to the International Socialist Women's Congress to be held in Hamburg immediately preceding the World Congress to representing the Socialist Party of America?

Ballot enclosed. Vote by mail. Vote closes Apr. 5, 1923.

National Executive Committee Motion No. 14

Executive Question

Shall the books and records of the Information Department of the National Office be donated to the Labor Research Department of the Rand School?

Ballots enclosed. Vote by mail. Vote closes Apr. 5, 1923.

Comment by Executive Secretary

The records of the Information Department have been in storage for the last four years and are valueless to the National Office at the present time. They will be of no value to us until we are able to re-assemble and catalog them and re-establish the department with a competent person in charge, I am in receipt of a communication from Comrade Lee of the Rand School, making a formal

request for the donation of this material, and under the circumstances it might be as well to make the donation and place these records where they will be of some value and service.

I beg to report as follows:  
*National Executive Committee Motion No. 10*

Submitted March 17th. Vote by wire closed, March 22nd.

"Shall the action of the N. E. C. on motion No. 9, postponing the date of the National Convention from April 28th to May 26th, be re-considered?"

*Voting Yes:* Hillquit, Henry, Berger, Vladeck and Melms.

*Not heard from:* Maurer, Roewer (2). Motion adopted.

**National  
Convention  
and  
Conference  
New York City  
Commencing  
Saturday  
May 19**

*National Executive Committee Motion No. 11*

Submitted March 17th. Vote by wire closed March 22nd.

"Shall the date of National Convention be changed from April 28 to May 19th?"

*Voting Yes:* Berger, Hillquit, Henry, Vladeck and Melms.

*Not heard from:* Maurer and Roewer. (2). Motion adopted.

In accordance with the above action of the Committee, the National Convention and Conference will convene in New York City at 10 a. m. on Saturday, May 19, 1923.

Fraternally submitted,  
*Otto Branstetter*  
Executive Secretary

## JOBLESS MARCHERS

(Continued from page 13)

ment with everincreasing pity for the jobless army.

### MANY SENT TO HOSPITAL

Steadily the number of participants in the meetings dwindled and the newspapers report a rapid increase in the number assigned to hospitals. The government pleaded with them to return to their homes, as nothing could be accomplished by remaining in the already congested quarters of the capital city. Upon the advice of leaders, mostly well fed, salaried union officials or political office-holders, the men refused to go back. As each day found the funds contributed to the marchers dwindling to the vanishing point, the men were thrown upon the mercies of the charitable institutions until their courage and strength were exhausted.

They are going back home now, depressed in spirit and sick in body. They have been deserted by the leaders who urged them into the adventure. Their appeals for accounting of funds contributed to the cause have been met with harsh words and abuse. They are enabled to return through the charitable instinct of a resident of Edinburgh, Alexander Edward, who is paying their railroad fare and giving each departing unit a little money to buy refreshments on the way. One of the marchers explained the feelings of the men upon their departure.

### REFUSE COMMUNIST RIBBONS

"The whole thing," he said, "is a swindle. We have been deceived. On the march to London we were given red ribbons to wear, but when we found that they were to represent us as being communists we would not wear them. For this we were given

some harsh language by the leaders and when we asked where the funds had gone, we received nothing but abuse."

Such is the melancholy ending of the great march of England's unemployed. The only result has been to place hundreds of men in a worse situation in London than they were in their own homes.

(Chicago Daily News)

\* \* \*

Thus ends another abortive attempt by the communists to "make" a revolution. The great influx of unemployed into London did not, as the communists had hoped, result either in a "revolution" or in any serious rioting or disturbance. Instead of making the unemployed more militant and revolutionary it has made them more cowed and discouraged. The asinine leadership of the communist party in all countries of western Europe and America has resulted only in weakening the workers and strengthening the forces of reaction.

\* \* \*

William A. Cunnea, socialist candidate for mayor of Chicago, received over 40,000 votes in the election of April 3. This is the largest vote ever cast by the socialists for mayor and marks the beginning of a great organization campaign by the party in that city.

\* \* \*

In the recent election the socialists in Milwaukee elected three out of seven members of the school board. There were four holdovers of whom one was a socialist. Our representation is increased from one to four in a board of eleven members.