

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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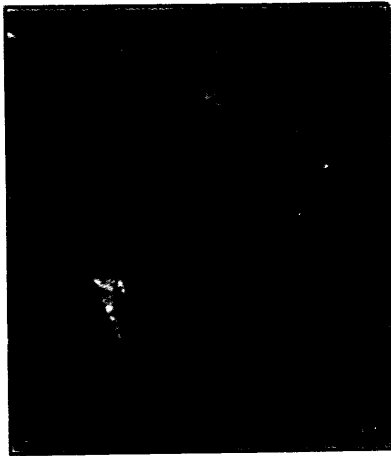
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The Two Platforms of the Capitalist Party

By James Oneal

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



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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 de-

legates 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

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Both claim to have tendencies. Both



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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Socialist World, published monthly, at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1, 1920.
State of Illinois

County of Cook } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared William M. Feigenbaum, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the "The Socialist World" and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1920, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher Socialist Party of the United States, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

Editor William M. Feigenbaum, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.
Managing Editor Wm. M. Feigenbaum, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.
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2. That the owners are:
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WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM,

Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of Sept. 1920.

[SEAL]

ANDREW LAFIN,

Notary Public.

(My commission expires Aug. 21, 1921.)

EDITORIAL

OCTOBER, NINETEEN TWENTY

As the October issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD reaches its readers, the 1920 campaign will be nearing its close.

In many ways, it has been the most remarkable political campaign in recent history, both from the standpoint of the Socialist party and of the general political situation among old party supporters.

The most outstanding feature of the campaign is the general apathy of the people. They aren't

interested—that's all.

The Democrats have been in control for nearly eight years. Their administration has been under fire, both from the more advanced sections of the country, and from the reactionary money power. The money power long ago elected the good old reliable G. O. P. to do its work, while the Democrats are feverishly attempting to prove that they are just as good as their rivals for the job.

* * * * *

Out of the dullness of the old-party campaign, one thing stands out. There is an extraordinary number of men and women who have completely lost faith in the ballot. There are millions of workers who will not vote—because they are disgusted with the way they have been ruled.

They voted for Wilson to "keep us out of war"—and they got war. They voted for Wilson the liberal, for Wilson the radical, Wilson the friend of progress. And they got everything they voted against, in fuller measure than the American people had ever been visited with anything, in all history.

And that is why the stay-at-home vote is going to be extraordinarily large. And that is why the stay-at-home vote will be a vote of lack of confidence in American "Democracy;" consciously such a vote, not mere indifference.

* * * * *

The Socialist campaign is remarkable. With an organization shot to pieces, with activities paralyzed, with disaffection in many quarters, the whole country has been covered by the Socialist message.

Those who disrupted the party a year or so ago knew what they were doing. They had something in mind, and they accomplished it. Their purpose was to sow dissensions among party members, in order to make the unified work of the party impossible.

And when Seymour Stedman came to the far Northwest, he found hundreds of Socialists surprised and delighted at his speech. They had been told that he was a "yellow;" that he was a traitor, that he was a reactionary. They had been told that Debs did not know what was being wished upon him in the nomination of Stedman and the platform that had been adopted in New York.

And when they found a fine, clean, upstanding uncompromising Socialist in Seymour Stedman, they were more than astonished, and frankly admitted that they had been lied to.

What will the Socialist vote be?

It is impossible to say. But IF the reaction had not destroyed the organization in numbers of states; IF the carefully worked out plans of the insurrectoes of last year had not sowed dissension in the organization; IF we had the membership and the press of, let us say, 1912, it is not too much to say that there might easily be from five to seven and one-half million Socialists votes in 1920.

Whatever the vote will be, it should be multiplied by two or three, to make up for those who are driven from the polls; those who have been

lied to by Palmer, by capitalist editors, by Louis Fraina and his ilk; to make up for those who can find no Socialist ticket on the ballot; to make up for those whose faith in political action has been destroyed by the actions of the last two or three years.

* * * * *

Whatever the vote, however, this much is certain; that those who either vote against the present insane and lunatic system, and those who decline to vote for it, and stay at home as a protest against it, will total many more millions that have ever been cast FOR Capitalism in any one party before. For the largest positive vote FOR a party thus far was of the nine million who voted for Woodrow Wilson because they knew that he alone was able to keep us out of war.

* * * * *

Eugene V. Debs is a straightforward and outspoken man. When he disagrees with the position of the party, he does not hesitate to say so; he disagreed eight years ago, and his disagreement was so clean and honest that not a single one of the enthusiastic party workers who differed from him was alienated by his stand.

Again, last May he told the notification committee of the party in the Atlanta prison, "I wish

that I might say that I endorse the party's platform without qualification. I wish that some way had been found to vote for affiliation with the Third International without reservations."

No one thought less of Debs for disagreeing—if they did disagree—because the purity of his character makes it impossible for any one to see anything but an honest opinion in any statement of his.

And so, when he comes out flatfooted against entering the Moscow International on the iron-clad terms laid down by Zinoviev, again no one will quarrel with him, because no one dare say that he is speaking for any one but himself, and from the depths of a profoundly honest heart.

The statement of the position of Debs on this question will come as a surprise to many—and it will help clarify the issue.

When the Moscow executive committee demands the expulsion of "traitors" like Morris Hillquit and Lazzari and Longuet and Kautsky, most people realize that maybe Joseph M. Coldwell is right. He said, "Moscow violated Rule Three of the International Code, which reads, 'Dont take yourself too dam seriously'."

Possibly Zinoviev's committee will now demand the expulsion of Debs as another "traitor."

THE TWO PLATFORMS OF THE CAPITALIST PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

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 dangerous 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 interests 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 public employment." All this in spite of the fact that postal employes 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 Postmaster 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 stupefied at this amazing perversion of facts.

Like the Republican platform, the platform adopted at San Francisco contains a threat for Mexico. Unctuous sympathy is expressed for the Mexican people, but this is followed by a demand that the Mexican Government should have "written upon its statue books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well as duties." This is a definite commitment of the Democratic 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.

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 recognize "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 liv-

ing 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 of 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.

Socialist Town As An Art Center

By Irwin St. John Tucker

Davenport, Iowa, astonished the nation by going Socialist a few months ago. But Davenport will amaze the nation still more when its present plans for a seven million dollar art institute and museum of science are perfected. Already Davenport is the home of collections of art and science which have no parallel in the world.

On the great stone-paved sweep of the levee, at the foot of which the ferry goes across to Rock Island, is the site already selected for the great Museum of Art and Science. A glass-domed arcade will go down the middle of it, and on either side will be the twin buildings devoted to Art and Science. The nucleus as the art collection is the marvelous private collection of Dr. Clarence T. Lindley, one of the pioneers and staunch members of the Socialist local in Davenport. His collection of original paintings contains some masterpieces which rank among the

world's finest. Luis Jiminez, prize-winner at the Paris salon, J. Francis Murphy, whose pictures bring fabulous prices in American markets, Charles Warren Eaton, Alfred Hutton, Maratta, the Italian who startled the Chicago art dealers some years ago, Pushman, the American artist who was the first artist to enter the late Sultan's harem, and who painted his favorite wife—rarities such as these form the backbone of Dr. Lindley's collection. Frank L. Lundahl, Bailly, Schmalhaus and many others are represented.

But besides oil paintings he has a collection of Persian rugs which has made many a rug expert's mouth water; he has cloisonne vases from China and Japan, marvelous inlaid woodwork from the Orient and India. Besides these he has a collection of trophies of "glyptic art," namely small carvings in precious stones—opals, amethysts, emeralds, turquoises, jade, coral—some of them

dating back two thousand years, and some even antedating the Christian era by a millenium.

In the Academy of Science there is a collection of American prehistoric relics of copper, stone and even gold—relics around which antiquarians have fought many a lengthy battle, and on which many a discussed point has been settled, such as the phonetic writing of the mound builders, the Mongolian origin of American aborigines, and others.

The Socialist administration of Davenport is fervently desirous of aiding and furthering in every way the artistic and scientific and literary development of Davenport. All Socialists who visit that city should make it a point to see this

interesting collection. Socialism aims to broaden and deepen all life.

American writers have commented much, with varying degrees of wonder, on the fact that Lanacharsky and Kollantay have done more for Russian art and literature than any Czar ever tried to do. But Socialism will always release the art impulse of the common man and aid it on to ever higher and higher achievements. We must have economic adjustment first. But the passion for beauty is instinct in all men, and Socialism will aid it to achieve its highest aims. Not until the present ugly, degrading, brutalizing system is ended can humanity attain its ultimate goal.

WHAT WILL YOU DO WITH IT?

By Bertha Hale White

I

What did you want it for? For seventy years you fought without ceasing, enduring all the tyranny of a vicious opposition. For the sake of that which you have won today, you met social ostracism. For the freedom of womankind you learned to endure the petty shames imposed by the ignorant and the corrupt. For that high purpose you yielded up friendships that were precious and without complaining made your countless sacrifices.

And—why did you do it? For the empty privilege of going to the polls, of having your say in the selection of our governing bodies? Just to demonstrate that you were "as good" as those already enfranchised? That the hint of inferiority through disenfranchisement should be repudiated forever?



Bertha Hale White

Surely no purpose so unworthy, so unworthwhile, could inspire decades of such sublime self-forgetfulness!

Say that it did not. Say that behind the toil and the discomfort of the long struggle there was a purpose to save, to rescue, to free the world of unnecessary hardship, of unreasonable pain.

II

How shall you now proceed?

By corrective legislation? In the West you have had the ballot many years. You have a record of excellent enactments. The candidates you supported were of progressive character, of excellent reputation. You felt that in electing them to office you were advancing the cause of humanity.

But in Colorado was waged the most tragic industrial struggle of the twentieth century. The great Colorado strike was not for higher wages, for shorter hours. It was for the application of laws put upon the statute books largely through your efforts. But though you put those laws there you could not enforce them. You had not the power. So the agents of great corporations shot and burned women and children in the holes and ditches where they had vainly sought shelter.

That was under a Democratic administration, you say. Yes, but do you not remember the story of Lawrence, Massachusetts, where conditions among striking factory workers were so outrageous that popular outcry forced a congressional investigation? Where in order to save the children they were taken away to other cities and protected until the conflict ended? And the history of Lawrence is part of the record of a Republican administration.

By such measures as the national Child Labor Law?

How long and how bitterly was it necessary to strive for that measure before it was forced through our legislative bodies—only to be discarded later as unconstitutional? And of all the piteous children of this broad land, how many did its moderate protection cover? Fifteen per cent of those in industry.

What corrective legislation can help, can save,



Bertha Hale White

for instance, the children of the South? The children of the poor, of the ignorant, of the unfortunate?

Just now in the northland it is approaching Indian Summer and the days are cycles of magic wonder. We breathe the cool sweet air and muse with delight upon the shimmer of changing leaves. We look forward to the bracing winter days with pleasure. It is a bewitching period—for some.

But down in the South, the sun still pours a flood of sullen fury upon the lowland cotton fields. Up and down the long rows, little sallow children drag great sacks filled with the cotton's fleece. Early in the morning they enter the fields and begin the daily contest, the ever renewed struggle to add a few more pounds to the score. By noon their bodies are borne down by exhaustion and they lie in the shadow of fence or tree while they eat their lunch of pork and corn pone, or, if not too far, go wearily back to the shanty they call home. The long hours of the afternoon creep by on leaden feet. Night comes and a short oblivion with the grim toil renewed with each succeeding day.

These are not factory employes. No Child Labor Law can ever help them. And though the parents of these hapless children love them as you love your own child, they cannot release them from this bondage. The pittance these little ones earn is essential if soul and body are to be kept together. Yet upon this pitiful toil is built the structure of many a splendid fortune. It is the source of a golden stream flowing out and beyond their empty hands forever.

III

What can you do about it? Is it not part of your lofty purpose to end such conditions forever? But how will you do it? It took twenty years to enact a national Child Labor Law—that is not a law. How many generations of weary children must come and go before your help reaches them?

For election after election millions of men and women have expressed their longing for better conditions by voting for those they believed would effect them. It is unreasonable to suppose that the great majority of these voters were not entirely sincere. So, the country which had been "democratic" would become "republican." Then after the rejoicing over victory was over it would be found that the same unhappy conditions prevailed. Another election; another determination to put in the "right men"—the same sorry disillusionment campaign after campaign.

Of those men elected to office it cannot be doubted that many were zealous to serve the people. They failed because all the things upon which the people's comfort and well-being depended were removed from their influence. They

were elected upon a program in which private ownership of the nation's wealth is fundamental. It is the program of the Republican party—it is the program no less of the Democratic Party. It is a program of countless wealth for a very few—industrial slavery for the many.

IV

We don't like that word, slavery. It is repugnant to the ears of those who look upon themselves as free men. Let the millions of men who cherish the ideal of liberty test their freedom. It is true that any employer will permit any employe to stop work—and stop wages if he can. The ability to give up work depends inevitably upon the further ability to dispense with wages. Let him try to do that and he will find that the necessities of his own existence and the existence of those dependent upon him have fettered him with links of steel.

So—what are you going to do about it? How will you answer the call for help from the helpless, how discharge the obligations your new-won power has put upon you?

For, new-won though it is, power it most certainly is also. Power to sweep aside the whole sickening system. What has it brought us? Wherever you look you see the ruins of civilization, physical and moral. War ravages nationalities. Governments are stultified. Old hates and new lusts burn out the souls of the peoples. Everywhere are greedy hands, rending and grasping in gratification of evil desires. Can you not see what must be done?

V

Are we too bewildered by the world's chaos to recognize our opportunity? Let's clear our vision, clear our thoughts. Let's give up this futile attempt to make of the rags of other seasons a garment which today can be worn in dignity and pride. Its repulsive fabric cannot be covered by your beautiful patches of humane enactments and corrective measures. Let's cast the outworn and ugly thing aside. We are tired of war and pestilence. Let us have peace and clean minds and strong bodies. We are tired of a world of dispossessed children. Let us give to them all their rightful portion.

That must be the high purpose for which you have striven so long.

And you cannot accomplish it if you use your ballot to support the existing order. Countless men of lofty purpose have been elected to office and thousands of laws for the safeguarding of the people have been enacted. And they have not been safeguarded.

We must give back to the nation the nation's wealth. We must have a new foundation for a new structure... And that foundation is Socialism.



For the Politicals at Leavenworth

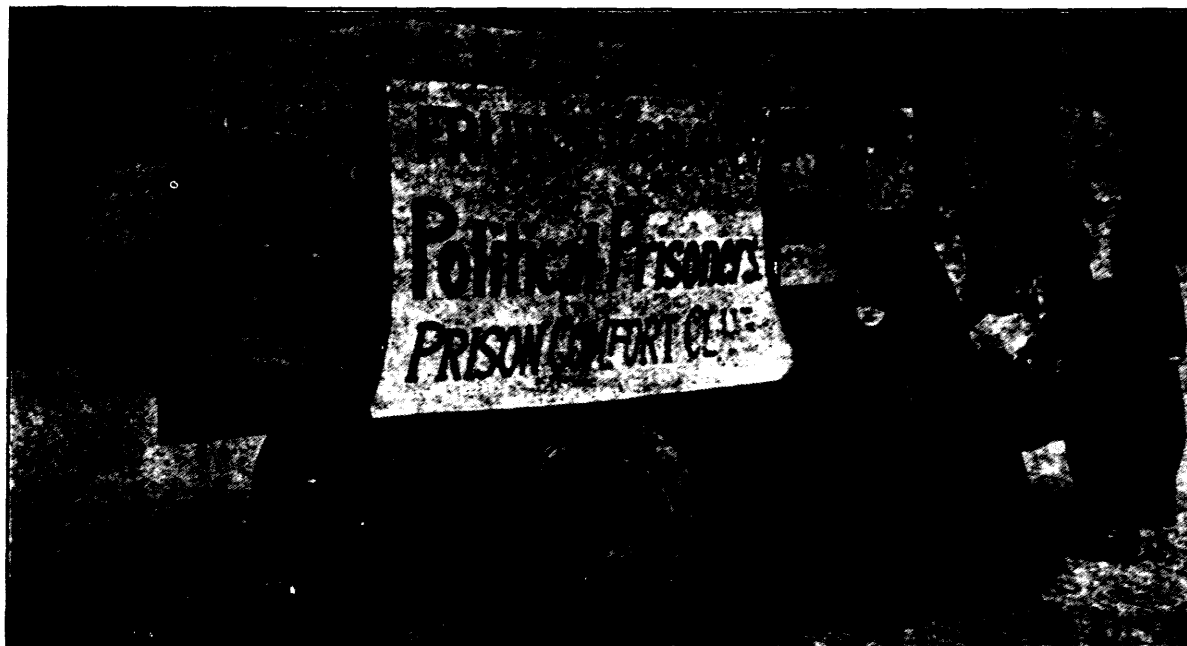
By Winnie E. Branstetter

A stupidly dull, idle town is Leavenworth. The entire populace seemingly awaiting for something to happen—even the houses seem to be desolate and hopeless as though doing a life term.

On October 2nd there was a stir of life, how-wake. Hotel clerks and newspaper reporters

rushed to windows and doors.

Then the truck swung out on the level pavement onto the grounds of the Leavenworth Federal Prison. Guards and lookouts were puzzled at the unusual spectacle. Slowly the great gate



Mrs. Walter Reeder and child; Mrs. T. A. Harris, wives of Comrades Reeder and Harris, Socialist Espionage Prisoners from Oklahoma; Winnie E. Branstetter.

ever, as a large truck bearing the sign "Fruit and Tobacco for Political Prisoners" was slowly driven through the city.

Lace curtains at windows were drawn aside. Farmers got up off benches and chairs to look inquiringly. Small boys and dogs followed in the

opened, the truck disappearing through the gate to the Commissary Department; while the representatives of the Prison Comfort Club walked through the pedestrian gateway into the great white hall.

The inside story of the visit will appear in the *New Day* shortly.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

By The Editor

A Roosevelt Legend

Theodore Roosevelt has been dead less than two years, and already there is an attempt to create a Roosevelt legend. Eight years ago, T. R. led an insurrection in the Republican party, and there were 4,000,000 voters who followed the lowing of the Bull Moose. Those four million votes are mighty attractive-looking to poli-

ticians today, and we find Democrats quoting Harding articles in the Marion "Star" denouncing Roosevelt—as "proof" that the Four Million should vote for Cox; and we find the family of Roosevelt campaigning for Harding. So there you are.

Each succeeding Roosevelt book outdoes its

(Continued on page 11)



Mrs. Walter Reeder and child; Mrs. T. A. Harris,
wives of Comrades Reeder and Harris, Socialist
Espionage Prisoners from Oklahoma;
Winnie E. Branstetter.

The Socialist Party

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

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

Wm. H. Henry, 769 East 13th St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bertha H. Mailly, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Edmund T. Melms, 579—8th Ave. Milwaukee, Wis.
James Oneal, 1127 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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

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

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

Campaign Donations for September
Amount of Previous Contributions,
\$25,276.33

A. P. Oginski, Racine Wis. (Sub. List).....\$ 12.00
I. Paul Taylor, Highland Park, Mich. (Sub. List).... 22.95
Israel N. Barsky, Conneaut, Ohio..... 5.00
Fred Lunden, Lynn, Mass. (Sub. List)..... 11.85
W. Ojala, Cleveland, Ohio. (Ohio Dist. Org. of Finn. Soc. Fed.)..... 100.00
Finnish Federation, Chicago, Ill..... 2.63
Finnish Federation, Chicago, Ill. (D. & O.) 28.57
W. W. Ottaway, Logansport, La. 5.00
E. J. Bryan, Clifton, Ariz. 5.00
Fred Schaefer, Milwaukee, Wis. (Beer Drivers Union No. 72)..... 5.00
Fred Schaefer, Milwaukee, Wis. (Malsters Union No. 89)..... 5.00
S. Levine, New Haven, Conn. (Cap Maker's No. 28)..... 5.00
Chas. T. Schenck, Philadelphia, Pa. (Collection).... 44.87
C. J. Schwartz, Ottumwa, Ia. 1.00
W. H. McFall, Joplin, Mo. (Local Joplin)..... 25.00
Brewery Workers Local Union No. 35, Hartford, Conn. 5.00
David Hultzman, Phil., Pa. (United Coat Pressers No. 141)..... 25.00
Benj. Novick, Jr., Salem, Mass. (Int. Ass'n of Machinists No. 348)..... 20.00
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Brown, Galion, Ohio..... 5.00
Oscar K. Edelman, Dayton, O. (O'Hare meeting coll.) 100.00
Austin D. Stevens, West Elizabeth, Pa. (contrib.)... 50.00
C. P. Lindgren, Sioux City (Lodge 178 I.A. of M.).... 10.00
P. W. Sullivan, Aspen, Colo. 23.50
A. P. Beck, Weimar, Tex..... 5.00

Grant Morris, Youngstown, Ohio..... 1.00
Wm. Stanyard, Youngstown, Ohio..... 1.00
L. P. Tebbe, Loveland, Col... 1.00
Wm. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo. 170.40
S. A. Evans, Alpaugh, Calif. 1.80
Louis Scharstein, Jr. Newport, Ky. (Sub. List)..... 4.25
Mrs. J. S. Freeman, Kenwood, N. Y..... 5.00
Wilber Sheron, Indianapolis, Ind. (Defense)..... 18.50
J. H. Diamond, New York City, N. Y. (House Dress, Kimono & Bathrobe Makers Union Local 41)..... 3.00
Robert Howe, Chicago, Ill. (O'Hare collections)..... 157.23
John Sjodin, Galesburg, Ill. (Stedman coll.)..... 37.50
Olin Swenson, Holcombe, Wis. 14.50
N. L. Clarke, Pinehurst, Tex. 1.00
Qost Marti, Burlison, Tex... 1.00
Peter Jantz, Detroit, Mich... 3.00
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Jos. V. Dubois, Northampton, Mass. 5.00
Roland Prentice, Wheeling, Va. 2.00
Domenick Gelstte, Nanty Glo, Pa. 10.00
Sam Kotick, Toronto, Ont., Canada (United Hat & Cap Makers Union)..... 5.00
Trenton Raincoat Makers Union Local 87, Trenton, N. J. 15.00
Freda Hogan, Okla. City, Okla. (Sub. List)..... 3.50
L. A. Thomas, Okla. City, Okla. 2.00
W.E. Hodges, Colo. Springs, Colo. 13.00
James Zvelebil, Toledo, Ohio (Toledo Cloak & Skirt-makers No. 67)..... 63.05
John Gardelman, Cincinnati, Ohio (O'Hare meeting collection)..... 50.00
O. G. Van Schoyck, Columbus, Ohio (O'Hare meeting collection)..... 128.00
Conrad Axelsohn, Jamestown, N. Y. (O'Hare meeting collection)..... 122.00
Raymond Lughlin, Jennings, La. (Sub. List)..... 10.50
Louis Powell, Philadelphia, Pa. (Pants Makers' Union Local 75)..... 5.00
A. B. Loebie, Oakmont, Pa. (Verona Lodge 1062 I. A. M.)..... 6.30
Chas. A. McCarrroll, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Painters & Decorators Local 84)..... 5.00
Emil Brodde, Milwaukee, Wis. (Bra. 20 S.P.)..... 10.00
Isobel King, San Francisco, Calif. 40.35
C. Fischer, Beaumont, Tex. 1.00
F.A. Ringgold, Ripley, Okla. 1.35
Irwin St. John Tucker. (Winston Salem coll.).... 15.00
Irwin St. John Tucker. (Atlanta, Ga. coll.)..... 31.00
Irwin St. John Tucker. (Savannah, Ga. coll.).... 20.50
Robt. Term, Minneapolis, Minn. (Lodge No. 827 I. A. of M.)..... 5.00
S. J. Mattox, Oswego, Kans. 4.50
John Weisenmeyer, Milwaukee, Wis..... 1.00
Frank Stuhlman, Vernon, N. Y. 7.00
C. A. Morrow, Valley Junction, Ia. (Sub. List)..... 2.00
Edwin F. Ludwig, Washington, D. C. (D. & O.)..... 5.00
Mary Conway, Oemler, Savannah, Ga. 5.00
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Harvey meeting coll.)... 14.50
Mrs. Walter Cook, Magdalena, N. Mex..... 2.00
Oscar Anderson, Velva, N. D. (Sub. List)..... 40.00
Wm. Ballou, Fargo, N. D. (Sub. List)..... 5.75
A. Albrechtson, Chicago, Ill. 1.00
W. A. Stroup, Williamsport, Pa. (O'Hare meeting coll.)..... 75.00
G. Moore, Los Angeles, Cal. 12.00
Robt. H. Howe, Chicago, Ill. (Cook Co. Campaign Conference)..... 200.00
Paul Vogel, Philadelphia, Pa. (Brewer's Union No. 5.)... 6.00
Mr. & Mrs. G. A. Lightner, Olustee, Okla. 1.00
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Alice S. Eddy, Fort Huachuca, Ariz. 20.00
Unknown Contributor, Salem, Mass..... 2.00
Ernest Haranis, Atlanta, Ga. 2.00
J. A. Kelleher, Chicago, Ill. (6th & 7th Ward Brs.)... 50.25
Louis Rabmowitz, Detroit, Mich. (Sub. List)..... 16.00
Florence E. Allen, Troy, N. Y. (O'Hare meeting coll.)..... 50.00
Matilda Hodges, Stillwater, Okla. 1.00
Ida A. Noetzel, Chicago, Ill. 2.00
John C. Euler, Erie, Pa. 1.00
S. L. V. Young, Hagerstown, Md. (O'Hare meeting coll.)..... 61.79
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B. Greenberg, Devils Lake, N. D. (Sub. List)..... 5.00
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Rockford, Ill. meeting coll.)..... 60.00
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Dixon, Ill. meeting coll.) 22.50
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Sterling, Ill. meeting coll.)..... 15.65
Geo. A. Reid, Laconia, N.H. 2.85
Geo. M. Webb, Albany, Ala. 4.00
Sigurd Hartmann, Chicago, Ill. 10.00
Jennie L. Wilson, Cedar Rapids, Ia. 1.00
Martin Karalunas, Seale, Level, Pa. 2.50
J. W. Shaw, Tishomingo, Okla. 3.00
Elizabeth Goldstein, New York City, N. Y.82
Italian Dress & Waist Makers' Union Local 89, I. L. G. W. U., New York City 100.00
W. J. Black, Los Angeles, Calif. 5.00
Eugene Wood (Stedman coll. in Calif.)..... 375.00
A. Doyon, Plymouth, Mass. 9.00

Jos. Vonderka, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00	Mich. (Amal. Ass'n of Mach. Lodge 82)	10.00	L. Metz, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
Millard Price, Paragould, Ark.	2.00	A. Praetornis, Schenectady, N. Y. (Local Schenectady coll.)	14.25	H. O. Story, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
Chas. Schenck, Philadelphia, Pa. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	403.78	Eugene Wood, (Stedman-Wood Calif. meeting coll.)	515.00	J. Pyles, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
C. J. Brandt, Brockton, Mass. (Sub. List)	10.13	P. Geliebeter, New York City, N. Y. (Workmen's Circle)	1068.90	A. Friend, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
E. S. Byers, Cleveland, O.	5.00	Hohn Doenfler, Milwaukee, Wis. (German Bra., West Side)	20.00	R. J. Robeling, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
Rudy Reschetz, Staunton, Ill. ('Gene Debs Circle, Y. P. S. L.)	100.00	Chas. Stastny, Bedford, Ind. (Local Bedford)	25.25	Wm. Zurcher, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
John G. Willert, Cleveland, Ohio (Sub. List)	6.11	Rae Volkman, E. Rutherford, N. J.	10.00	L. Kinney, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00
Anton Zoonik, Herminie, Pa. (Slovenian Nat'l Bene. Soc.)	9.70	Louis Pauls, Schofield, Wis.	10.00	B. Russell, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
D. Rosenthal, Milwaukee, Wis. (United Cloth, Hat & Cap Makers No. 16)	2.00	M. B. McEven, St. Paul, Minn.	15.00	J. G. Spurgeon, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Freeport, Ill. coll.)	15.00	D. E. Teter, Perkins, Okla. (Sub. List)	4.50	J. McManus, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
Irwin St. John Tucker, Moline, Ill. coll.)	6.50	I. Greenberg, Chelsea, Mass.	1.00	O. Dengler, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Kewanee, Ill. coll.)	17.50	H. Kobling, Albany, N. Y. (United Cloth, Hat & Cap Makers Union)	8.30	A. Danberg, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
Robt. W. Smith, Beckley, W. Va.	1.00	M. Field, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	P. St. Clair, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
M. Sandler, Philadelphia, Pa. (Cloak & Skirt Makers Unions)	15.00	F. L. Burdick, Mandon, N. D. (Sub. List)	5.00	Wm. Gassdorf, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.50
Geo. Wollner, Minneapolis, Minn. (Brewery Workers Union)	25.10	Geo. E. Campbell, Norwich, Conn.	10.30	Daniel W. Hoan, Milwaukee, Wis. (Campaign Stamps)	10.00
W. C. Rikard, Chandler, Okla. (Sub. List)	5.05	Raymond S. Hofees, Reading, Pa.	6.00	Milo C. Jones, Newark, N. J. (Sub. Lists)	26.80
Chas. T. Watkins, Norwood, Colo.	15.00	Ethelwyn Mills, Oakland, Calif.	5.00	A. Heitlinger, Chicago, Ill. (Campaign Stamps)	10.00
L. G. Wagner, Noxon, Mont. (Sub. List)	16.40	E. G. Locke, Bingham Canyon, Utah, (Sub. List)	15.00	P. B. Sharp, Orienta, Okla.	5.00
W. M. Risor, Scott City, Kans.	.50	Geo. R. Kirkpatrick (coll.)	125.34	Wm. H. Henry, Indianapolis, Ind. (collections)	80.60
Ellen Persons, Chicago, Ill. 13th Ward Branch)	25.00	M. M. Confer, Marion, Ind.	7.25	Reuben R. Wier, Jasonville, Ind. (Campaign Stamps)	7.00
Otto A. Seifer, Plymouth, Wis. (Sub. List)	15.00	W. H. McFall, Joplin, Mo.	10.00	J. R. Barrett, Dallas, Tex. (Local Dallas)	30.00
S. Weissberg, Cleveland, O. (Jewish Soc. Bra. 1)	299.10	A. D. Atkinson, So. Braintree, Mass.	16.70	W. F. Euler, Meadville, Pa. (Cpgn Comm. of Crawford Co.)	5.00
Robt. H. Howe, Chicago, Ill. (Cook Co. Campaign Conference)	600.00	Carl Moll, Des Moines, Ia. (One Hour Wage), (Loc. Des Moines)	4.63	C. Fischer, Beaumont, Tex. (Collections)	8.00
Ira D. Shewater, Colorado Springs, Colo.	1.00	John Willert, Cleveland, O. (Sub. List)	16.00	C. Fischer, Beaumont, Tex. (Campaign Stamps)	2.00
Cora M. Bixler, Lancaster, Pa. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	83.40	A. M. Osburn, Haywood, Okla. (Sub. List)	6.00	H. F. Kendall, Boston, Mass. (State Exec. Comm. of Mass.)	100.00
James F. Morse, Waterburg, Conn. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	308.00	R. M. Graf, Overlea, Md. (One Hour Wage) Sub. List	4.65	John Erb, Springfield, Ill. (Singing Society "Forward")	15.00
Geo. Vital, Beloit, Wis.	5.00	Jida Tohja, Fort Bragg, Cal.	19.50	Horace & Rose Reis, Washington, D. C.	5.00
Gust Phillips, Beloit, Wis.	1.00	Anne Withington, Boston, Mass.	2.00	E. L. Crafts, Jonesboro, Ark.	20.00
J. Johnson, Roslyn, Wash. (Finnish Local 2)	10.00	E. F. Eason, St. Paul, Minn.	10.00	J. Chas. Poole, Pittsfield, Mass. (Sub. List)	3.75
J. Wolf, Manchester, N. H. (Indep. Workman's Circle)	3.00	C. Cullman, Maplewood, Mo. (Campaign Stamps)	1.05	Wm. Walsh, W. Elizabeth, Pa. (Sub. List)	12.00
J. Wolf, Manchester, N. H. (Workmen's Circle)	5.00	W. P. Fish, Goldfield, Colo. (Campaign Stamps)	11.05	Theresa Malkiel, New York City, N. Y. (State Financ. Committee)	1700.00
J. Wolf, Manchester, N. H. (Local Manchester coll.)	17.00	J. H. Sims, Bethel, Ohio	1.30	E. C. Richards, Camas, Ida.	7.50
Ross Magill, Garnett, Kans.	1.00	H. A. Winkler, Joliet, Ill. (Sub. List)	13.70	Irwin St. John Tucker, (collections)	80.00
J. F. Larime, (Sub. List)	8.00	Thomas Secrest, Lynn, Mass. (Sub. List)	3.00	Geo. W. Wright, Freeport, Ill.	29.38
P. M. Deston, De Queen, Ark.	1.00	A. R. Finke, N. Little Rock, Ark.	.05	Eugene Wood, (Stedman-Wood meetings coll.)	631.12
E. Shields, Chicago, Ill.	2.38	Chas. Schaler, N. Little Rock, Ark.	2.00	Channing Sweet, Denver, Colo.	10.00
Hollis Pickard, Lynn, Ind.	1.50	E. R. Dailey, N. Little Rock, Ark.	2.00	G. H. Cox, Meadville, Mo. (Campaign Stamps)	.65
John Dohelman, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	P. McGarr, N. Little Rock, Ark.	2.00	Jack Krakower, (Cloakmakers' Union Loc. No. 63)	1.00
Henry Uhlhorn, Chicago, Ill.	4.00	Wm. Connell, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00	N. Jones, Dayton, O. (Local Van Buren Twn.)	5.75
Arthur Rubenstein, Detroit, Mich. (Wattles meeting coll.)	41.95	F. Crumb, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00	Wm. M. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo. (Campaign Stamps)	7.00
J. F. Redman, Glendale, Ky.	5.00	J. R. Bowen, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00	Geo. M. Knowles, Portland, Me. (Campaign Stamps)	6.00
W. H. Henderson, Traverse City, Mich. (Sub. List)	4.00	W. J. Emerson, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00		
E. J. Hartnett, Detroit,		Joe Lesnak, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00		
		W. Bollinger, N. Little Rock, Ark.	1.00		

John G. C. Sohn, W. Lafayette, Ind.	5.00	Evert Horma, Hibbing, Minn. (Camp. Stamps)....	7.00	Adolph Germer, New York City, N. Y.	5.00
Eug. Wood, (Stedman meetings coll.)	275.00	E. H. Stuart, Broadhead, Wis.	1.50	Karl Seppa, Worcester, Mass. (O'Hare meet. coll.)	112.00
W. H. McFall, Joplin, Mo. ....	.50	W. S. Richards, Albany, Ore.	8.50	M. J. Merlin, Atlanta, Ga. (Campaign Stamps)	7.00
L. J. Lundell, Julesburg, Colo.	12.00	Arthur Rubenstein, Detroit, Mich. (O'Hare meet. coll.)	200.68	Finnish Federation, Chicago, Ill.	
Wm. Robertson, Newberryport, Mass. (Sub. List)....	6.00	Bessie Yokom, Buffalo, N.Y. (O'Hare meeting coll.)....	150.00	John Brunskill, Fort Wayne, Ind. (Sub. List)	10.50
Louis Levi, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00	F. E. Blakely, Toledo, O. (O'Hare meeting coll.)....	113.30	K. Maki, Hibling, Minn. (S. S. Osasto)	13.40
S. S. Osasto, Norwood, Mass. (O'Hare coll.)	97.00	Irwin St. John Tucker, (collections)	100.00	Robt. Howe, Chicago, Ill. (Cook Co. Campaign Conference)	500.00
John Orth	2.00	Mary Winsor, Haverford, Pa. (Marion Bra. S.P.)....	5.00	Lorenz Petersen, San Antonio, Tex. (Camp. Stamps)	7.00
J. Chas. Pool, Pittsfield, Mass. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	81.00	Willmot V. Osborne, Holbrook, Mass. (Campaign Stamps)	1.00	Fred Schaefer, Milwaukee, Wis. (Brewery & Eng. Firemen's Union Local No. 25)	5.00
Lauri Moilanen, Fitchburg, Mass. (O'Hare meet. coll.)	109.00	Chas. B. Thompson, Blairsville, Pa. (Sub. List)	6.00	Royal F. King, Yelm, Wash. ....	.50
Leon O. Crockett, Camden, Me. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	106.52	Nick Weltlich, Massillon, O. (Local Massillon)	10.00	B. O. Reynolds, Lake Geneva, Wis.	10.00
A. Prastonis, Schenectady, N. Y. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	100.00	Eric Swanson, Mishawaka, Ind. (Sub. List)	5.00	Alex Richter, Holyroad, Kans.	3.00
A. Hoch, Niagara Falls, N. Y. (O'Hare meeting coll.)	75.00	Eug. Wood (Stedman meetings coll.)	485.40	Emil Seidel, Milwaukee, Wis. (Sub. Lists)	201.27
Nathan Spector, Trenton, N. J. (Campaign Stamps)	7.00	S. Goldsmith, Brooklyn, N. Y. (Sub. List)	5.00	G. E. Spector, New York C., N. Y. (Cap & Millinery Cutters Union Loc. 2.)....	6.00
Mrs. Clara T. Sawyer, Thomaston, Me. (Campaign Stamps)	1.00	Louis A. Arnold, Milwaukee, Wis. (Sub. List)	8.00	John Pasternak, Neffs, Ohio	20.00
Gustav A. Polterman, Hamburg, Wis. (Sub. List)....	5.25	M. E. Kirkpatrick, Granite City, Ill.	10.00	Elizabeth Robertson, Newberryport, Mass. (Newberryport Local)	6.00
Geo. W. Markert, Mt. Healthy, O., (Camp. Stamps)	7.00	A. Roginsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00	H. W. Reiman, Robertson, Newberryport, Mass.	1.00
C. L. Noble, Eccles, W. Va.	10.00	Arthur C. Carroll, Kokomo, Ind.	7.50	B. A. Lawrence, Salt Lake City, Utah (Sub. List)....	24.75
Lena Morrow Lewis, Seattle, Wash. (Stedman-Wood meeting coll.)	30.00	W. H. Cordelle, Reno, Nev. (Campaign Stamps)	5.00	Robert J. Krause, Alpine, Calif.	2.00
Carl P. Swanson, Attleboro, Mass. (Sub. List)	3.75	Albert W. Wilkens, McDonald, Kans. (Campaign Stamps)	14.00	Unknown Contributor	3.00
Geo. E. Harris, Westwood, Mass. (Sub. List)	4.00	E. E. Richards, Camas, Ida. (Campaign Stamps)	10.00	Finnish Federation, Chicago, Ill.	539.59
Hess Walker, Ruskin, Fla. (Ruskin Local)	7.00	M. J. Teahan, Whitman, Mass.	10.00	Finnish Federation, Chicago, Ill. (D.&O.)	3.75
R. T. Stritmatter, Hoquiam, Wash.	1.44	W. D. Altman, Butler, Pa.	3.00	John Hagel	1.50
A. N. Papsky, Madison, Ill. (Sub. List)	16.00	H. Raita, Bridgeport, Conn. (Sub. List)	20.78	F. L. Burdick	15.00
Eug. Wood (Stedman-Wood meeting coll.)	124.46	H. Fieldman, Springfield, Mass. (O'Hare meet. coll.)	100.00	R. H. Howe (Cook Co. Conference)	200.00
Alois Heitlinger, Chicago, Ill. (Campaign Stamps)	7.00	P. Nenonen, Allston, Mass.	100.00		
Price Morgan, Clifton, Wyo. ....	.50	W. M. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo.	300.00	Sept. Total	\$14,252.17
				Total to Oct.	\$39,528.50

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

(Continued from page 8)

predecessor in "proving" that Roosevelt was—exactly what he was not. Here is "Theodore Roosevelt; a brief Biography," by Edmund Lester Pearson (Macmillans) in which we learn that Roosevelt was always right, and never wrong.

Roosevelt was an interesting man, and his life was a story-book. Any well written biography of a man of his mode of life would be fascinating. But the apologia that in effect, all these books are is rather amusing.

We know that Roosevelt was a wild, impulsive person, and to the day of his death he was wrong about two-thirds of the time. These multiplying biographies all solemnly assert that he was careful in his thought (which he was not); deliberate in his actions (which he was not); loyal to his friends (which he was not); and many other things that he was not.

Socialists cannot forget his "undesirable citi-

zens" blast, nor yet his article in the Outlook in which he characterized Socialism as a glorified free lunch counter, with free love thrown in.

Now, we are going to find our children reading Roosevelt's writings as a part of their school work.

Macmillans have put out a handy volume entitled "Roosevelt's Writings," in regular school text-book form. And it is a fascinating book. In his autobiography, in his backwoods writings, in his yarn-spinning, in his "Winning of the West" writings, Roosevelt is thoroughly charming. But when he undertakes the duties of national teacher or Public Scold—he is impossible. His lectures on right living, and ideals, and duties of the citizens, and history are the ultimate of torture to read. He is sogginess and dullness personified; and altogether unsound in his theories.

One point is noteworthy. In his youth, the boy Teddy suffered from asthma. Frequently it was necessary to take him to Maine so that he could

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TO THE FARMERS

By John M. Work

When I was a little kid, thrashing was the great event of the year. In the capacity of a water boy, I was initiated into its mysteries soon after I was big enough to walk.

The man who stood on the power and cracked his whip at the circle of horses was an immortal to me. I dreamed of the day when I might occupy his throne above the greasy wheels and look down upon the world myself.

* * * *

But that day never came.

The steam thrasher came instead, and the horse power disappeared like magic.

In the time involved, it was but a short development from the primitive flail to the steam thrasher.

There was an old flail lying around the barn when I was a boy. My father had used it in thrashing wheat. He went through the entire evolution from the flail to the steam thrasher. He was a "forty-niner." That is, he started from the backwoods of Pennsylvania to go to California in the gold craze of 1849. On the way he stopped and thrashed wheat with a flail for a Mormon elder near Salt Lake City. By the time he had dug enough gold to come back and buy an Iowa farm, the horse power thrasher had made its appearance. It was in the fullness of its glory when I came upon the scene.

There were rumors that some day there might be a thrasher run by steam. Most of the farmers scouted the idea. They said, "It can't be did!"

But I had scarcely reached my teens when the whistle of the steamer began to rouse us out of bed at daybreak or earlier.

* * * *

Lord how it made us hustle!

My job was hauling in bundles. It was all right in the field, but I never knew what was meant by the strenuous life until I tried to keep the famished feeder satisfied with sheaves. When I took the lines off the standard and drove my rack out from alongside, and tried to drink the well dry, the mingled dirt and sweat would have defied anyone to tell whether I was an Indian, a Negro, a heathen Chinese, or just plain white.

Later, the improvements came. No feeder. No band-cutters. No emptying of half bushels. No double line of men shoving the straw back.

What a contrast with the old slow-poke horse power machine, fed from one side, with its funny little faded bluish measuring box, its stationary stacker, its tumbling rod, and my royal hero on his revolving throne above the grinding greasy wheels, menacing the circle of horses with his whip!

* * * *

It is all in the long ago, my brothers and sisters, but we still have with us a slow-poke industrial system which is very much like the horse power thrasher.

Or, perhaps I am too generous toward it. Per-

haps it would be more nearly correct to say that it is like the flail.

Anyhow, the system is away behind the times. Let's take a look at it and see.

The great industries owned by a comparatively few capitalists. Their private ownership of the industries enables them to get for themselves most of the value of the labor of the great masses of the people. It follows that the masses of the people, being exploited out of most of their earnings, are unable to buy all of the things they want and ought to have. Among other things, they are unable to buy the farm products in sufficient quantities. The result is that the farmer receives lower prices for his produce because of lack of demand for them.

* * * *

The remedy is the collective ownership and control of the great industries. This will deprive the few capitalists of the power to hog things for themselves. It will give the masses of the people their full earnings. As a result they will be able to buy the farm products in greater quantities. And that means higher prices for the farmer.

Socialism stands for the collective ownership and control of the great industries.

Socialism will also make it impossible for the middlemen to absorb the value of farm products. This will increase the prices paid to the farmer, and at the same time it will reduce the prices paid by the city consumers.

* * * *

Another great trouble with the present system is that it results in high prices for almost everything that the farmer has to buy. The capitalists want big profits on their privately owned industries. Their ownership of the industries enables them to boost up prices. The waste of effort, due to the primitiveness of the system, also helps to increase prices. The result is that, instead of factory products being sold for their actual value, they are sold at prices away above the actual value. And the farmer has to pay these prices or go without.

Again, the remedy is the collective ownership and control of the great industries. This will not only compel the capitalists to get their feet out of the trough, but it will enable us to run the industries in a scientific manner and cut out the waste of effort. All this will greatly reduce the prices of things which the farmer has to buy.

And remember that Socialism stands for the collective ownership and control of the great industries.

* * * *

So you see that Socialism will be a great boon to the farmer even if we say not a word about the land itself.

But Socialism will also solve the land problem.

Now don't get scared and climb a tree. Socialism is not a cross bull waiting to pitch you over

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INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW

The following seems to be an authentic copy of the conditions of affiliation with the Moscow International, drawn up by Gregory Zinoviev, and adopted by the Second Congress, held by that organization in July of this year. Instructed by the membership vote in two recent referendums, the National Secretary of our party applied for membership, setting down certain reservations as to methods and tactics, demanding the right to work out our own policies, and insisting that no formula, such as "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Form of Soviets" be made a condition of affiliation.

The United States was "represented" at the second congress by a youthful adventurer who was a member of the Socialist party for one year, (1918), and who voted for Wilson in 1916, because he knew that Wilson alone could keep America out of war; presumably,

The First Congress of the Third International did not lay down precise conditions for the affiliation of Parties to the Communist International, as, when it was formed, in most of the countries there were only Communist tendencies or Communist groups.

The Second Congress met under very different circumstances. In most of the countries there are already Communist Parties and organizations. Increasing numbers of Parties and Groups, which until recently belonged to the Second International, and which would now like to affiliate to the Third, are applying for affiliation, although they have not become really communistic. The Second International is irrevocably crushed. The intermediary Parties and the "centre" groups, seeing their hopeless situation, are forced more strongly every day towards the Communist International, hoping, at the same time, to retain an "autonomy," which will allow them to continue their opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International is to a certain extent the fashion.

The wish of a certain leading "centrist" groups to affiliate to the Communist International shows indirectly that the Third International has gained the sympathies of the majority of the class-conscious workers throughout the world, and that it constitutes a force which grows from day to day.

Under certain conditions the invasion of the Communist International by undecided and semi-Communist groups, who have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International, might be a menace to it. Moreover, certain important Parties (Italian and Swedish), in which the majority hold Communist views, still retain amongst them numerous reformist and social-pacifist elements, who are only waiting an opportunity to raise their heads and to sabotage actively the proletarian revolution, thus helping the bourgeoisie of the Second International. No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The union of the Hungarian Communists with the reformists cost them very dearly. This is why the Second Congress of the International thinks it right to fix quite definitely the conditions for the admission of the new Parties, and at the same time to point out to the Parties already affiliated what their obligations are.

The Second Congress of the Communist International has decided upon the following conditions of admission:

The Conditions

1. The daily propaganda must be definitely Communist. All the Party organs must be edited by positive Communists, having given proofs of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. It is not sufficient to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat as of a recognized and understood formula; it must be propagated in such a way that the need for it is made clear to every workman, soldier and peasant from the facts of their daily life, which must be systematically noticed in our Press, at public meetings, in the Trade Unions, in the Co-operatives, everywhere where the adherents to the Communist International have access, they must attack, systematically and implacably, not only the bourgeoisie, but also its accomplices, the reformists of all shades.

there was no one else present to give information on American conditions.

The various documents that have been made public claiming to be authentic copies of the conditions of affiliation vary somewhat in detail, but in substance they agree.

The terms laid down for Italy seem to have split the party there; after a glorious career of service to the international movement, Moscow demanded the instant expulsion of a number of the most devoted and trusted Comrades of that country, a demand that cannot but disrupt the party, no matter what the special congress will decide upon.

In America, it is certain that there is very little sentiment for affiliation without reservations on any such terms as are here laid down.

2. Every organization wishing to affiliate to the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove all reformists and "centrists" from all posts, however little responsibility they involve, in the working-class movement (Party organizations, editorships, Trade Unions, Parliamentary sections, Co-operatives, municipalities), and replace them, especially at first, by experienced Communists, and by workers risen from the ranks, even at the risk of replacing tried and experienced workers for inexperienced editors, etc.

3. In all countries, where, in consequence of a state of siege or emergency laws, the Communists are unable legally to develop all their activities, it is absolutely necessary that legal action should be accompanied by illegal action. In nearly all the European and American countries, the class-struggle is entering upon the period of civil war. Under these circumstances the Communists cannot depend upon bourgeois legality. It is their duty everywhere to create, side by side with the legal organization, a secret organization, capable of fulfilling at the decisive moment its duty towards the revolution.

4. Propaganda and systematic and increasing agitation among the troops must be carried on. A Communist nucleus must be formed in every unit. The greater portion of this work will be illegal: but to refuse to do it would be a betrayal of revolutionary duty, and consequently incompatible with affiliation to the Communist International.

Agrarian Agitation

5. A vigorous and systematic agitation in the country districts is necessary. The working-class cannot win unless it is supported at least by a portion of the agricultural workers (farm laborers and the poorest peasants), and if it has not neutralized by its policy, at least some of the backward country districts. The Communist action in the country assumes at the present time a capital importance. To refuse to accomplish it, or to confide it to doubtful semi-reformists, is to give up the proletarian revolution.

6. Every Party wishing to belong to the Communist International must denounce the hypocritical and false social-pacifism as much as the proved social-patriotism; the workers must be shown systematically, that without the revolutionary overthrow of capital, no International arbitration tribunal, no debate on the reduction of armaments, no "democratic" re-organization of the League of Nations can preserve humanity from imperialist wars.

7. The Parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must recognize that it is necessary to have a complete and definite rupture with the reformists and with the "centrist" policy, and to advocate this rupture among the members of the organizations. Future Communist action is only possible at this price.

Whom to Expel

The Communist International insists upon this rupture, absolutely and without discussion, and it must be carried as quickly as possible. The Third International

cannot admit that proved reformists, such as Turati, Modigliani and others in Italy, MacDonald in England, Longuet in France, Hillquit in America, Kautsky, Crispin and Hilferding in Germany, have the right to consider themselves members of the Communist International. Such a condition of things would make the Third International too much like the Second.

8. In countries where the bourgeoisie possesses colonies and oppressed nationalities, the Parties should have a specially clear-cut and definite policy. Every Party belonging to the Communist International is in duty bound to unmask relentlessly the prowess of "its" imperialists in the colonies; to support, not in words but in deeds, every movement for emancipation in the colonies; to demand the expulsion from the colonies of the imperialists of the Motherland to foster in the heart of the workers of the country real fraternal sentiments towards the working-class population of the colonies and of the oppressed nationalities, and to carry on among the troops of the Motherland a continuous agitation against all oppression of the colonies.

9. Every Party wishing to belong to the Communist International must carry on persistent and systematic propaganda inside the Trades Unions, the Co-operatives, and other working-class organizations. Communist nuclei must be formed, whose constant and persistent work will win the Unions to Communism. It is their duty to expose at every opportunity the treason of the social-patriots and the hesitation of the "centrists." These Communist nuclei must be completely subordinated to the general control of the Party.

10. Every Party belonging to the Communist International is bound to fight energetically and tenaciously the yellow "International" of the Trades Unions, founded at Amsterdam. On the other hand it must support with all its strength the International Union of Red Trades Unionists adhering to the Communist International. [NOTE—Mr. Gompers has just violently denounced this Amsterdam International of Unions because of its "Bolshevik" character.]

11. The Parties desiring to belong to the Communist International are bound to revise the composition of their Parliamentary sections, to separate the doubtful elements from them and to subordinate them, not in words but in fact, to the Central Committee of the Party, and to demand from every Communist Parliamentary candidate the subordination of all the activities to the real interests of revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The whole of the periodical or other Press and all the editions should be entirely subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party, whether the latter is legal or illegal. It is inadmissible that the public organs should misuse their autonomy in order to advocate a policy not in conformity with that of the Party.

13. The Parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the principle of democ-

atic centralization. During the actual period of acute civil war, the Communist Party will not be able to fulfill its role unless it is organized in the most centralized way, with an iron discipline similar to military discipline, and if its central organism is furnished with wide powers, exercising an undisputed authority, enjoying the unanimous confidence of the militants.

14. The Communist Parties in the countries where Communists function legally, must sift their organizations periodically, in order to separate the interested and petty-bourgeois elements.

15. The Parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must support without reserve all the Soviet Republics in their fight against the counter-revolution. They must unceasingly advocate the refusal of the workers to transport munitions and arms destined for the enemies of the Soviet republics, and to pursue, either legally or illegally, propaganda amongst the troops sent against the Soviet republics.

To Revise Programs

16. The Parties who still retain the old social-democratic programs, must revise them without delay and elaborate a new Communist program, adapted to the special conditions of their country, and conceived in the spirit of the Communist International. It is necessary that the programme of the Parties affiliated to the Communist International should be confirmed by the International Congress, or by the Executive Committee. In the case of the refusal to sanction a Party by the latter, the Party has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

Moscow to Govern

17. All the decisions of the Communist International Congress, as well as those of the Executive Committee, are binding upon all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International. Acting during the period of acute civil war, the Communist International must be much more centralized than was the Second International and its Executive Committee must take into account the conditions of such varied struggles in the different countries, and must also adopt general and binding resolutions in matters where they are possible.

18. In conformity with all that precedes, all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International must alter their names. Every Party desiring to adhere to the Communist International must be called:—"Communist Party of....." (Section of the Third Communist International). This question of names is not a mere formality; it also has a considerable political importance. The Communist International has declared a merciless war on the whole of the old bourgeois world and on all the old yellow social-democratic Parties. It is necessary that the difference between the Communist Parties and the old "social-democratic" Parties or official "Socialists," who have sold the flag of the working class, should be placed more clearly before all the workers.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS AND MOSCOW

By S. Grumbach

In "Le Peuple" of Brussels

There are very grave disputes among the Parties which have declared in favor of joining the Third International of Moscow. In no country have these disputes assumed such considerable proportions as in Germany. No less than three Parties are demanding to be admitted at Moscow: the Independent Social-Democratic Party, which is by far the strongest; the Communist Party, known as the "Spartakbund," founded by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Radek; and the new Workers' Communist Party. These three Parties are fighting each

other with a rancor which often appears like a disease. The "Rote Fahne" ("Red Flag") of Berlin, the chief organ of the "Spartakusbund," speaks so badly of "Freiheit," the Independent Central Organ, as "Freiheit" of "Vowarts"; and the "Kommunistischer Arbeiterzeitung," the Berlin organ of the Workers' Communist Party, insults the "Rote Fahne" with as much ardor as the "Rote Fahne" does "Freiheit."

The Independents and Moscow

As regards admission to the Third International, the "Spartakusbund," which finds itself under the special protection of Karl Radek, alone is certain of finding itself outside the bolted doors

of which the President of the Executive Committee, Zinoviev, spoke in a message sent to the organizations judged worthy of being received on the eve of the Moscow Congress. So far as the Independent Party is concerned, last February the Executive Committee at Moscow, in its lengthy reply to the letter received from the Executive Committee of the German Independents last autumn, requested a radical "purification" of the Right Section from the Independents. This document, dated February 5, 1920, did not reach the hands of the Executive Committee of the German Independent Party until April 9, and was not published in the Independent Press until July. Nevertheless, Lenin had formerly demanded that this document be brought immediately to the knowledge of all the German workers, and that it be discussed at all their meetings. The Executive Committee at Moscow even considered it of so much importance that, through its Bureau at Christiania, it telegraphed long extracts from it to the Congress of the French Socialist Party held at Strasbourg at the end of February; no doubt because it called for the expulsion not only of the Right leaders of the Independent Party, but also the "Longuetists," equally accused of "wishing to let the International Socialist movement fall back again into the marasmus of the bourgeois reaction." The Executive Committee of the Independent Party, it is understood, did not comply with the request from Moscow, but is keeping the reply in its drawers until after the elections, which has won for it the severe remonstrances of Radek in the "Rote Fahne."

"Purification"

At the beginning of July, on the eve of the Moscow Congress, the President of the Third International, Zinoviev, made known once more by a message of the Independents the "purification" imposed upon them. This time he did not remain content with some anonymous designation, but he gave the names of Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding, and—what was the greatest surprise to the uninitiated—Crispien, the present president of the Independent Party, and known as the chief of the Left of that Party. The Executive Committee of the Independent Party nevertheless sent a delegation of four members to Moscow—(Wilhelm Dittmann, Crispien, Daunig, and Stocker), at least two of whom are found on the list of the "not admitted."

At the same time it published the reply sent to Zinovieff in answer to his message of February, but not made public until July. The reply of the Independent Party is also lengthy, but much more polite than the violent polemic of the President of the Third International. It is above all a counsel's speech, containing, however, no promise of an absolute solution, so that the situation still remains uncertain.

The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" on Dictatorship

A great part of the Independent Social-Democratic Press, particularly the prominent journals like "Freiheit" of Berlin and the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" have latterly taken up a definite position against the dictatorial manner by which

the Moscow Executive Committee is seeking to establish its International. On July 20 the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" published an article entitled "The Maximum of Personal Dictatorship," in the course of which it reproached Lenin with "having lost contact with the great development of world-policy," and deplored that the Communist and Independent Press had paid so little attention to a speech delivered by Lenin against the powers of the Workers' Councils at the Congress of River Transport Workers last spring.

Another journal which always supports the theses of the extreme Left of the Independent Party, the "Sozialistische Republik" of Cologne, prefaces a message from Zinoviev directed against the policy of the Independent Party with these lines: "Let our comrades read what follows, and then let them ask themselves if a Party which still retains a shadow of self-respect can accept such a thing." Thus it is necessary to clear the ground of many obstacles if the admission of the Independent Party into the Third International is to be definitely realized without provoking a fresh split among the Independents.

Moscow and the Communist Left

The Executive Committee at Moscow has not shown itself less severe towards the Workers' Communist Party, which declared against all participation in elections, and accused the leaders of the Spartakusbund of the most abominable treachery. To bring the adherents of the Workers' Communist Party, which also possesses a number of daily journals, to reason as it is understood at Moscow, there was published in German a pamphlet by Lenin on "The Infant Maladies of the Communists of the Left." In addition, Karl Radek has issued, also in German, a very interesting pamphlet, "Against National Bolshevism," directed against two of the best-known members of the Workers' Communist Party—Dr. Lauffenberg and Karl Wolffheim, both of Hamburg, where they are preaching a holy war against the Entente.

"National Bolsheviks"

In the autumn of 1919, Lauffenberg and Wolffheim had begun their "nationalist Bolshevik" propaganda by issuing a "First Communist Address" to the German working class, which began by clearly declaring that the Versailles Treaty made an enslaved people of the Germans, and that the German workers could escape from this slavery only by forcibly tearing the Treaty in pieces. "The German Revolution of 1918," said the "First Address," was only "the expression of the indignation of a people due to the loss of the war and the attitude of politicians who had pushed the defeat of Germany to extremes." In order to be able to "carry on at once the war against the Entente," the "First Communist Address," signed by Lauffenberg and Wolffheim, recommended, "on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a general sacred union," urging the passive acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, if they understood that it was a question of dictatorship for national defense. This is the fundamental idea of the

address. "It must be added that very few of the sections of the Workers' Communist Party have adopted such principles. Karl Radek has been against them from the first. But Lauffenberg and Wolffheim still belong to the Workers' Communist Party which is demanding admission

to the Third International, and a split is yet possible.

These few details will indicate to what extent the schismatic microbe is ravaging the German working-class movement, to the utmost joy of the anti-republican and militarist reaction of Germany.

DEBS TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By William M. Feigenbaum

Atlanta, Ga., October 7th.—"I am not going to die on your hands. There's too much to live for and work for now. I am going to find it hard to stay in these walls for the next four weeks. I want to get out and go on an organizing tour. I am anxious—Oh! so anxious—to make the fight for Socialism. And I appeal with all my heart to every man and woman who has a Socialist tongue in his head to get out and fight."

With these words by Eugene Victor Debs, the most remarkable political conference in American history came to a close.

The National Campaign Committee of the Socialist party had come to Atlanta to meet with the Presidential candidate; the Comrades who had banded themselves to work for liberty and industrial freedom were compelled to meet within granite walls, behind steel bars, with armed men pacing up and down in front of the windows.

Amnesty for Debs

The significance of the scene was manifest to everyone. And as part of the order of business, committeeman George E. Roewer, Jr., of Boston, reported upon his interview with Attorney-General Palmer on September 14th, when the demand for general amnesty was made. It seemed to be the general opinion that a single word of regret, of repentance, from Debs, would cause the iron doors to swing wide open.

And Debs said, "It is not we who are seeking pardon. It is the administration. We are confined, but they are our prisoners. They are coming to us for a pardon. They are waiting for us to relent. **WELL, WE CAN OUTWAIT THEM!**"

And that seemed to be the interest that Debs has in a possible release, if the release must come as the result of "clemency," rather than as the recognition of the right of anyone, under all circumstances, to exercise the right of free speech.

The committee meeting took up various campaign matters, and planned out a fiercely aggressive campaign for the remainder of the month of October.

It was a historic event; and even the guards and "trusties" seemed to realize it. A white-clad "lifer," who has charge of the Warden's office, walked on his tip-toes, as if fearing to disturb the deliberations of the committee. Eugene V. Debs, long, lean, tanned, clad in blue denim,

with canvas "sneakers" on his feet, sat with his Comrades, his hand cupped to his ear so that he might miss nothing of what was said, and from time to time, taking an interested leading part in the committee's deliberations.

It was strange to watch the scene. And the most eagerly alert one there was Eugene V. Debs. Nothing was too minute a point for him to discuss. It was his party, his Comrades, his Cause—and every detail of the work of that committee was of breathless interest to him.

"We are going to make the Socialist party the biggest thing politically in the United States," said Debs; "In the days when I was new in the Socialist movement, I used to be interested in a big vote, but later, I felt that that didn't matter much. This year, however, is different. This year, a big vote for our ticket will make us what we should be. We should use every legitimate means to get the biggest possible vote for Socialism, and then go out and organize. If I am out next winter, I am going on an organizing tour, to build up the locals. That is what is needed, more than anything else."

At another time, Debs laughed, "Did you notice that both Cox's and Harding's trains were ditched? Everything gets rotten at the approach of the old parties—even the rails spread. That ditching is significant of the time when the working people will ditch both old parties for all time."

"Just imagine," he said, "the party that stands for freedom, compelled to issue its appeal to the American people from behind prison walls! Has there ever been anything like it in American history before? Will there ever be anything like it in American history again? We must impress it upon the people that this scene is symbolic of what has befallen this country."

The Federated Press Ouster

The standard bearer was particularly indignant at the ejection of Paul Hanna and Laurence Todd, representatives of the Federated Press, from the office of Secretary of State, Colby. Hanna had criticised the methods of the State Department in giving out whatever it suited them to call news, in a letter addressed to an underling of the department, and at his request. As a result of writing that letter, Hanna and Todd are forever barred from the public conferences, at which the "news" is given out.

Debs said with respect to that, "Can you imagine anything more outrageous? The administration thus throttles all attempts to get the news on highly important matters before the working people. All news must be filtered through the capitalist press before it gets out—only then can the people read it. And when Paul Hanna, representing the only working class news-gathering agency in America, exposes the crookedness of the State Department's methods, he is ejected, kicked out. Labor has no place in Washington now. Colby's boot is stronger than Hanna's right. How I'd like to be on the platform just once, with Colby as my text!"

Appeal to Women Voters

Debs has written an appeal for the party to the newly enfranchised voters to vote for the party that has always stood for woman suffrage. "When Cox and Harding were in knickerbockers, we were fighting to get the suffrage for women. Forty-one years ago. I got Susan B. Anthony a hearing in Terre Haute, when the 'respectable' women sought to drive 'that creature' out of the city. I haven't made a speech in forty years in which I have failed to make the demand for political rights for women.

"We fought for it when it was unpopular, when it meant outrageous persecution. We were for it with every breath that we have ever drawn. Are the old parties, who were hostile or indifferent, when we were fighting for it, going to scoop off the cream? Now that you have the ballot, I would ask of the women, what are you going to do with it? Are you going to use it to strike down the people who have been fighting for all these years to give it to you? Are you going to keep the people enslaved who fought to give you the vote?"

"The first suffrage convention was held seventy-two years ago; from that day to this, either the Republican or the Democratic party has been in power. There wasn't a day that they couldn't have granted suffrage if they had wanted to. But they didn't."

The committeemen were so impressed with Debs' eloquent demand for a special leaflet appealing to women voters that he was promptly ordered to write down his demand, and the party will make it into an article and leaflet.

(The Debs leaflet on suffrage has already appeared, and is being widely distributed.)

With Debs and the Committee in all the meetings was Joseph M. Coldwell, old time New England Socialist, now a "political," and Debs' constant companion. Formerly a Communist, Coldwell says that "there is not a single point on which Gene and I disagree."

And Debs said, "Joe and I have many meetings here. I back Joe into a corner, and make speeches to him, and he backs me into a corner and makes speeches to me. And those meetings have eloquent orators and highly appreciative audiences. And as a result of those meetings I can inform you Comrades that we are going to sweep this penitentiary. The other parties won't have a look-in."

The Moscow International

The matter of the Party's relations to the Moscow International came up in three of the sessions with the candidate.

The committee had voted in view of the closeness of the vote on affiliation with reservations, the matter be dropped of forming any affiliations with European parties agreeing with our own. A section of the party, however, reported a demand for instant affiliation without reservations, and on the terms laid down by Moscow.

"Did you read," said Debs, "the terms of affiliation made up by the second congress of the International, and issued to the parties of the world by Gregory Zinoviev?"

They were the terms drawn up in reply to the applications for affiliation by the Socialist parties of the United States, of Italy, and of other countries. They required the instant change of the party's name and policy; the inauguration of "illegal" work, preparation for armed insurrection, and expulsion of certain "traitors." The American "traitor" whose expulsion was required as a condition of affiliation is Morris Hillquit.

"How can you," said Debs, "commit the party unreservedly to something that doesn't exist? The Moscow International is in a state of gestation. It hasn't taken form. If you were to commit the party in America to the International program laid down by Lenin, you would kill the party."

"The angry wrangling over the Moscow program is disrupting parties everywhere. What we need before everything else is a party to affiliate somewhere. We must not enter a policy that means disruption.

"The Moscow program would commit us to a policy of armed insurrection. The Moscow comrades have arrogated to themselves the right to dictate the very terms, the tactics, the conditions of our work here. It is outrageous, autocratic, ridiculous. The Moscow International is in an experimental stage, and yet it ventures to assert that it has found the method of settling all problems of all nations.

"Our job is now to make our campaign a success. The rest will take care of itself."

The Party's Answer

As a result of the discussion, the committee drew up a resolution, which was concurred in in every detail by Comrade Debs. The resolution recited the policy of the party from the outbreak of the war; the resolution, virtually cutting loose from the Second International in 1919; the Majority and Minority programs of 1919; the reservations appended to the application of the party for affiliation in 1920 with the Moscow International, and the majority resolution, adopted at the New York convention, 1920, calling for specific reservations to affiliation, reserving the right of the party to determine its own tactics, and declining to be bound by special formulas, such as the "dictatorship of the proletariat through the form of soviets;" the fact that the majority resolution declares that the party will await further

tions imposed by Moscow. Therefore, the resolution declares that the party will await further developments, before taking further action in the international situation.

In agreeing to the resolution, Debs said, "Moscow wants us to change our name to 'Communist Party.' They require adherence to a Communist program. I am not a Communist; I am a Socialist. My party is not a Communist party; it is a

Socialist party. We cannot go in."

The Final Message.

Debs' final message to the members of the committee was a warm and affectionate embrace, and a demand that they keep up the fight. "I do not see these prison walls," he said, "they do not exist for me. I am with the comrades, and I am marching with them to victory."

RADICALISM IN AMERICA

By Morris Hillquit

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The United States is due for a strong radical wave. The whole civilized world is in a state of social and political ferment, and America is bound to be drawn into the general revolutionary current. The tendency towards a powerful movement of radicalism is clear and unmistakable. The symptoms of its rapid approach are multiplying. The industrial and financial derangements of the country are daily assuming more threatening proportions. The high cost of living keeps on mounting fast while wages move up at a dishearteningly slow pace and unemployment reaches serious dimensions. The ruling classes have proved themselves ludicrously inadequate to cope with the critical situation. Blind to the glaring signs of the new time, anxious to maintain their privileges uncurtailed, and reckless of ultimate consequences, they have embarked upon a policy of impossible promises and quack remedies coupled with high-handed methods of industrial repression and political violence. American workers are sore and humiliated, American liberals are outraged, American radicals are exasperated.

A large body of popular discontent and unrest is abroad, larger than at any previous time in the history of the republic. It is directed against both old parties as the political instruments of the ruling classes, and manifests itself in a deep indifference towards the feigned fight of the uninspiring Republican and Democratic candidates. It is directed against the official leadership of organized labor in the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods, which has shown itself timid, reactionary, and inept at a time when labor's most crying need is for resolute and aggressive action. It expresses itself in frequent overthrows of old-line leaders, in numerous secessions, and in the irrepressible "outlaw" strikes.

The sentiment of revolt is as yet largely negative, unformulated and unorganized, but it will find voice and form eventually.

What are the present political indications of its probable concrete development?

Since our entry into the world war and the resultant political and economic upheavals the radical forces in American politics have been en-

riched by two new groups: the American Labor party, which has somewhat suddenly turned into a "Farmer Labor" party, and the "Left Wing" socialists, who have gradually evolved into a "Communist" movement. Let us consider their respective contributions to the organized radical movement in America.

The Farmer Labor Party.

The first sporadic attempts to form political labor parties in several industrial centers of the country were met by the socialists of America in a spirit of rather benevolent neutrality. The socialists pursue no personal or party interests in politics. Their aim is to abolish capitalism with all the evils that the term implies and to socialize the industries of the country. Whether this program is to be carried out by the Socialist party as at present constituted or by any other organization or by a combination of organized political, industrial, and spiritual forces, is a matter of comparative indifference to them.

The cardinal point upon which there is general agreement in the socialist ranks is that no socialist revolution can be successfully accomplished in the United States without the active support and participation of the large masses of the American workers acting as a class in conscious and organized opposition to the ruling classes. The bulk of the American workers have not yet reached the point of political class-consciousness. The task of the radical movement is to educate them to it. This process of education may follow one or both of two conceivable lines of development. A socialist movement may begin with a small group of fully schooled and trained socialists and increase its strength by a steady stream of individual converts, or it may take its starting-point in a large body of workers organized for the protection of their class interests but without a definite program of ultimate social and political aims, and even without a clear conception of the class character of their own movement. Socialist progress in such a case may be made through the process of growing class-consciousness and revolutionary clarity of the movement as a whole. Needless to say that both methods of socialist growth, the quantitative as well as the qualitative, may coexist and supplement each other. The first method is that of the Socialist party. The second might conceivably

have been adopted by the Labor party.

It was undoubtedly the expectation of some of the founders of the party, notably the former Socialist party members among them, that it would follow that course. "The Socialist program is fundamentally sound," they argued, "but the body of American workers are not ripe for it and are deeply prejudiced against the term Socialism. They can, however, be approached through the medium of a labor party, and once arrayed against all old parties in independent working-class political struggle, they cannot fail in the long run to draw the ultimate consequences of the fight."

The Labor party would have justified such expectations and given promise of becoming an active factor in the struggle for the emancipation of labor if it had succeeded in enlisting the support of the bulk of the organized workers in the United States, or failing that, if it had at least established itself as a radical minority within the organized labor movement, determined to wrest the leadership from the hands of the reactionaries. Its whole existence and hope of success lay in the fact that it was frankly a class party—a political organization of labor. Unfortunately the leaders of the new movement seemed to realize this cardinal point only during the formative stages of their party. When they entered upon their first national political campaign, they succumbed completely and pitifully to the besetting vice of "practical" American politics, the sacrifice of principle to the desire of momentary political success, the selling of the soul for votes.

The fusion of the Labor party with the nebulous aggregation of middle-class liberals known as the "Committee of 48" was an irretrievable surrender of the vital working-class character of the new party, and the coupling of its political destinies with the purely imaginary forces of the farming community made confusion worse confounded. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the party has produced a platform which is little more than a heterogeneous assortment of meaningless liberal and radical phrases utterly devoid of the cohesive cement of the modern working-class philosophy, nor that it has named for its principal standard bearer a man whose name and record stand for nothing in the labor movement or in the radical political movement of the country. The Farmer Labor party has killed the Labor party and committed suicide with one blow. It will hardly survive the presidential election for any length of time, and will eventually dissolve into the separate incongruous elements which go into its make-up or patch-up.

The "Communist" vs. the Socialist Movement.

The birth of the Labor party was to some extent a manifestation of impatience with the "dogmatic," "uncompromising," and "unpatriotic" policy of the American socialists; the formation of the "communist" movement on the other hand was the expression of equal impatience with their "wavering," "opportunistic," and "nationalistic" tactics.

The presence of an extreme group in any rad-

ical movement is quite desirable. By their constant insistence upon purity of principle and method, even when such insistence is pedantic, they serve to check any existing tendencies towards the opposite extremes of laxity and opportunism. The Socialist party of the United States, as the Socialist parties in all other countries, has always had and probably always will have such groups. But the specific "Left Wing" movement which sprang up in this country about two years ago was entirely different in origin and character. It was not a legitimate reaction against undue conservatism in the Socialist party. The party had all through the war and after the war taken the most advanced international socialist position.

Rather was it a peculiar echo of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, a quixotic attempt to duplicate it in the United States, to copy its methods, repeat its phrases, and imitate its leaders and heroes. It was as unpractical as it was romantic, and only the extraordinary glamour and fascination of the great Russian revolution can account for the spread of the movement, short-lived as it was. While the "Left-Wing" propaganda was limited to negative criticism of Socialist party methods, and had the abundant arsenal of epithet and invective of the chairman of the Moscow International to draw upon for weapons against the socialist "leaders," all went well, but when the apostles of the new movement were confronted with the task of concrete organization and positive work, they foundered upon the rock of their confused theories and impossible creed. The short history of their existence as "communists" has been marked by endless internecine strife and successive splits, each faction accusing the other of bourgeois conservatism and treachery to the revolution. To-day the much-heralded movement is reduced to a few thousand Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Letts engaged in a comic-opera game of underground conspiracy to overthrow the bourgeois government of the United States, and a handful of American intellectuals with a generous sprinkling of Department of Justice agents. To the jaded tastes of some literary dilettanti and faddists such a blood-and-thunder pastime may provide a pleasant stimulus, but as a serious social movement aiming to lead the great masses of the American people in the paths of proletarian revolution, it is a ludicrous fiasco.

Thus neither the Farmer Labor party nor the Communist party, the new parties to the "right" and to the "left" of American socialism, have made any essential contribution to American radicalism. The Socialist party still holds the leadership in radical politics in the United States. Its ranks have been weakened of late by the "labor" and "communist" secessions and by government persecution. But the very failure of the rival organizations will in the long run prove a source of new socialist strength as will also the official attacks. The serious-minded working-class radicals still have only one present hope and one logical rallying point—the Socialist party.

the fence. It is not going to take away your little farm—if you have one. If you have a farm which you are farming yourself, Socialism not only will not bother you, but it will give you all the great benefits mentioned above. The collective ownership of the grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and railroads, will in itself be a vast benefit to you; and the collective ownership of other great industries will make the benefit still vaster. You will likewise participate in the manifold blessings of the genuine fraternalism and industrial liberty brought about by Socialism. You can stay there on your little farm as long as you like. If you prefer not to engage in collective farming, you don't have to.

But maybe you haven't any farm. The United States census shows that in 1880, 25.5 per cent of the farmers of the United States were renters. It also shows that, in 1890, 28.4 per cent of the farmers were renters. It also shows that, in 1900, 35.3 per cent of them were renters. And it also shows that, in 1910, 38 per cent of them were renters.

Just look at these figures climbing up the ladder, will you? These figures were gathered by non-Socialists, and you can depend on it that they would not make it look worse than it is.

These figures show that just about two-fifths of the farmers of the United States are renters, and that the percentage of renters is constantly increasing.

* * * *

Now, what does Socialism propose to do about this?

Why, we propose to make such land collective property, and give the farmers, who are now bled to death by landlords, a chance to farm it co-operatively, and thus get the full value of their product, instead of dividing up with the landlords.

Oh, no, we are not going to rob anyone of his land in order to do this. Yes, I know that a good deal of it is owned by retired farmers who worked

hard for it.

As for the great tracts of land which have been bought for speculation by men who traffic on the people's needs, I won't promise that they will be paid a red cent for it. You can pay them if you want to. You will have a vote on it.

But, as for those who paid for their land by the sweat of their brow, and moved to town to spend their old age, no one knows their toils and hardships any better than I do. Of course we shall compensate them, either by paying them outright, or by giving them old age pensions.

And as for the men and women who have the privilege of farming co-operatively—Say! Life on the farm has often been extolled, but that will lay all past experiences in the shade. They will at least have a chance to farm efficiently. They will be able to shorten their hours of labor. No more of that working-from-dawn-to-dusk stuff. They will have time for recreation and reading and friendship and all the higher things of life. They will have all the advantages and conveniences and comforts of the city, without its disadvantages. Farm life will be a joy then, both for the grown-ups and the kids.

* * * *

And you guys who stay on your little private farms, you may not believe it now, but I can tell you what you'll do all right. You'll clamor for a chance to sell your farm to the public, so that you can get into the joys of the collective farming, too. If you hang back, your wife and kids will nag at you until you do. Your wife will see what a comparatively easy and happy time the women of the collective farm are having, and she will want to get in. Ditto with the kids. They'll see that you come around, even if you don't like to give in.

So, come on and help us to put this old horse power system out of business and develop a better one.

The way to do this is by voting the Socialist ticket.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

(Continued from page 11)

breathe. Once he was taken to Egypt for his health. Further, Roosevelt, in his writings, is delivering homilies on family life. Race suicide is taboo. Now, it would be interesting to get Roosevelt's opinions on the subject of weak, asthmatic children in populous poor families. What would his answer be? Let them die? Or what?

That is the weakness of professional moralizing, and for the matter of that, the lesson of it. That's all there is to it.

For a fine picture of the most brilliantly shallow man in recent history, the best that Capitalism could produce (thus showing the weakness of Capitalism) read this book of Roosevelt's writings. It's worth your while. You get a picture of the utter futility of trying to get anything done while this system lasts.

