

# SOCIALIST WORLD

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## How the Workers vote themselves into Jail.

By Seymour Stedman.

I.

**T**HERE are two kinds of injunctions—(1) prohibitory, and (2) mandatory. The first forbids the doing of some act and the second commands the doing of some act. An injunction prohibiting the calling of a strike is a Prohibitory Injunction, and an injunction commanding the officials of a union to call a strike off is a Mandatory Injunction. Violation of an injunction is a contempt of court. The judge issues the injunction, and decides without a jury whether or not there has been a violation of the injunction so issued by him.

Witnesses need not appear in court and submit to cross examination, for the judge may decide upon the sworn statements of persons who do not appear. The defendants do not have the privilege of seeing or cross examining the witnesses who appear against them. The judge acts as judge and jury, determines whether the defendant is guilty and fixes the punishment.

2.

At one time in history it was the duty of the baron or lord to take care of and protect his lands, his pigs, his cattle and his serfs. Feudal laws imposed obligations of care and protection upon the lord and upon the serf it imposed obedience and service. **THE SERF WAS PROPERTY.** The slave law imposed care and protection of the slave upon the master, and obedience and service upon the slave. **THE SLAVE WAS PROPERTY.** The serf and the slave had no standing as citizens.

With the development of free institutions and a democracy it became the duty of the state and the state only to maintain peace and order and to prevent personal conflicts, riots and war. Where there was a breach of the peace or a violation of the law the defendant had the right of a trial by jury in a criminal court where witnesses were required to appear against him and submit to cross examination. This was regarded as a fundamental right of every citizen.



Seymour Stedman

To preserve the peace is the duty of the criminal courts and police officials. Some ingenious lawyers conceived the idea that, as juries were unreliable and might decide in favor of workingmen, a method should be devised which would enable a judge to act as jury, judge and executioner. To do this courts of chancery were best adapted. To get the court of chancery to act, property rights must be involved—property rights of the master class in the worker. How could this be brought about and used against striking workmen? The method was simple as well as ingenious. The employer owns his factory, he owns his machinery, he owns the goods in the factory. Now if he can be legally considered the owner of no union men employed in his

shop and those seeking employment in his shop then he can protect them as his property by an injunction; the same as he can protect his machinery, his building and his stock of goods from damage or loss through a nuisance or hostile agencies, and an injunction becomes a proper remedy.

(Continued on next page)



**Seymour Stedman**

# THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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## SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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

### THE SOCIALIST WORLD

**T**HIS is to announce the birth of **THE SOCIALIST WORLD**, grown-up successor to **The Young Socialists' Magazine**.

The Socialist world needs **THE SOCIALIST WORLD**. There has been an insistent demand for a publication of this kind for many years. The National organization of the Socialist party, therefore, has undertaken to publish this magazine in an endeavor to fill the long-felt want.

The publication of the Bulletin is to be discontinued and the more important official business now appearing in The Bulletin will be published in a monthly supplement to The Socialist World. In case the constitutional amendment now before the membership in Referendum is adopted, The Socialist World with monthly supplement will be sent to every party member, the subscription price being paid out of the members dues.

It will be the endeavor of the Editor to furnish a review of the Socialist movement, articles interpreting current events from the standpoint of Socialism, and a discussion of the problems before the Socialist movement.

The Editor will be glad to consider for publication communications and articles from all persons interested in the Socialist movement. It will be our endeavor to get into the closest touch with our readers, in order that their interests, their ideas, and their criticism might be taken into consideration in the conduct of **THE SOCIALIST WORLD**.

• • •

The last number of the Young Socialists' Magazine was dated May 15th; it has been necessary to skip the June issue, because of the shortage of print paper, and other printing difficulties.

Arrangements have been perfected, however, for the prompt appearance of the **SOCIALIST WORLD** on the 15th of each month.

## HOW THE WORKERS VOTE THEMSELVES INTO JAIL.

(Continued from preceding page)

In running a railroad the company owns the cars, equipment and right of way. Now if it owned men or had a proprietorship in labor who was employed or wished to be employed by it, why then there was a property right in men and women who work for or wish to work for the company, and an injunction by the company is a proper remedy.

If a packinghouse company owns the corral, the yard, the ice, the icing plants, pigs, chickens, and cows; and if labor is property, then the packing company has a property interest in the men, the women and the children who were employed or wished to be employed. So, the packinghouse could file a bill to enjoin and prevent, by injunction, persons from injuring the building, icing plant, chickens, pigs and cattle because it was its property and as labor is property, it is proper for a court to grant an injunction to prevent interference with the plant, the pigs, the chickens and the men, women and children who worked in the plant, or the men, women and children who wished to work in the plant. Therefore the courts announced the doctrine that "labor is property" (Christiansen vs. The People, 114 Illinois Appellate Court Reports, page 59), and that the employer has an interest in this property and that during a strike he has the right to file a bill and ask for an injunction to prohibit to restrain and to stop persons locked out or persons on a strike from persuading, talking to or trying to induce, peacefully or otherwise, men, women and children employed to discontinue their employment and join the strike and to prohibit locked out men and women, or men and women on a strike from persuading, inducing or requesting strike breakers and scabs not to work.

To justify the courts in granting this kind of an injunction they do so upon the assumption that working people are property and that the employer has an interest in this property, that is strike breakers and scabs, and the court will protect the property interest of the employer in these strike breakers or scabs by enjoining strikers and union men from talking to them or urging them to stop work.

The injunction abuse has gone to such an extent that in some instances courts have actually enjoined and prohibited persons from discontinuing work and from stopping their employment.

Some labor leaders have carried on a campaign of "rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies" and the reformists and progressives of the United States have made their protests for over twenty-five years denouncing injunction. Some laws have been passed stating that workingmen are not property, but injunctions in labor disputes are now as thick as weeds and in frequent use always ready at hand to all employers in all the courts of the country. There are more issued now than there were twenty-five years ago. The more the old time agitators, reformists and liberals have talked the more injunctions are issued and the more drastic

they have become. A trade union is subject to a fine for contempt if a member violates an injunction, even though his act is against the explicit and expressed order of the union.

Now what is the remedy for this? What will make labor freemen and not property, with the right to organize to strike and to discontinue work collectively as they may please? Where do injunctions come from? The court?—Yes. Who are they enforced by? The sheriff or bailiff?—Yes. But what gives the court power to do this? In other words, who places the judge, who issues the injunction, on the bench and the sheriff and bailiff who execute them, in office? Who gives the court power to fine and imprison workers for contempt and to sentence them? Who gives the sheriff or bailiff the power to take these men, who have been found guilty by the court, over to the jail and put them into a cell and lock the doors?

Hold up before your eyes, if you can, a writ of injunction. It is a foot or two feet long, filled with print that recites the title of the court, the name of the company and that the company owns property, that it is in business, that there is a strike or lock-out, that the strikers or locked out men are interfering with the men who are working for or who wish to work for the company and therefore they should be enjoined and further are hereby enjoined from soliciting or urging men and women from discontinuing work, and that the strikers who disobey the order of the court and solicit, request or urge, unlawfully (that means any old way) to discontinue work, shall be punished for contempt of court.

The back of this injunction writ is usually blank. Look at the blank side for a moment and

draw a line right across the back, three inches from the top; the little space above that line represents the small percentage of the capitalists, stock brokers and manufacturers who vote, and below this line is a long space. This space represents the countless thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers who vote. The small group of capitalists at the top and the large group of workers below, all together vote the same way and elect the same judge and sheriff; these votes give the power to the judge, and power to the sheriff to issue the injunction to jail the strikers. In plain English, the workingclass votes to place upon the bench judges and to place in the sheriff's office men; to jail themselves. Workingmen have insisted on voting to enjoin themselves and to jail themselves, then protest against injunctions. The workers protest with their voice and then vote to destroy their protest. They vote for just the opposite of what they are asking for. They vote for injunctions and protest against them. They vote to be jailed and protest against it.

When they vote as they protest they will support politically the party and the candidates of the party of the workingclass who will not issue injunctions and who will not fine and imprison workers.

The Socialist Party repudiates property in man, woman or child.

VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

JOIN THE PARTY FOR A GREAT STRIKE  
AT THE BALLOT BOX, FOR LIBERTY AND INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

## The March of the Hungry Men.

By Reginald Wright Kauffman.

**I**N the dreams of your downy couches, through the shades of your pampered sleep,

Give ear; you can hear it coming, the tide that is steady and deep—

Give ear, for the sound is growing from desert and dungeon and den;

The tramp of the Marching Millions, the March of the Hungry Men.

As once the lean-limbed Spartans at Locri's last assent,  
As William's Norman legions through Sussex meadows went,

As Wolfe assailed the mountains or Sherman led the way  
From Fulton to Savannah—as they and more than they;  
So comes another army your wit cannot compute,  
The men-at-arms self-fashioned, the man you made the brute.

From farm and sweatshop gathered, from factory, mine,  
and mill,

With lever and shears and auger, dibble and drift and drill.  
They bear no sword nor rifle, yet their ladders are on your walls,

Though the hauberk is turned to a jumper, the gamboux to overalls.

They come from the locomotive, the cab, and the cobbler's bench;

They are armed with the pick and the jack-plane, the sledge and the axe and the wrench;

And some come empty-handed with fingers gnarled and strong;

And some come dumb with sorrow and some sway drunk with song;

But all that you thought were buried are stirring and lithe and quick,

And they carry a brassbound sceptre, the brass composing stick.

Through the depths of the Devil's darkness, with the distant stars for light,

They are coming the while you slumber, and they come with the might of Right;

On a morrow—perhaps to-morrow—you will waken and see, and then

You will hand the keys of the cities to the ranks of the Hungry Men.

# A CALL TO ACTION

**T**HE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls the attention of the voting masses to the significant signs of decay in the two major political parties of the nation. Partakers in usurpations and crimes of the past three years, the Republican and Democratic parties in their candidates, their conventions, and platforms exhibit a decay which shows that their mission is drawing to a close.

Both conventions witnessed a control by professional brokers in politics, brokers who represent the most reactionary classes of this country. The candidates are dummies of the great oligarchies of capital. They are acclaimed as satisfactory by the New York journals of financial imperialism. Of mediocre ability, trained in the practices of machine politics, thoroughly convinced of the sacredness of the profiteering and exploiting classes, fearing the increasing disgust and intelligence of the workers, fearful of all suggestions leading to social redemption and a better world, these candidates repeat the meaningless platitudes of two generations ago. They urge approval of platforms so nearly alike that intelligent men and women laugh at the pretense of difference.

The Democratic Party, once the party of the middle class, the agrarian radical, and many workers of the cities, voiced their protests against foreign conquest, militarism and overseas conquest following the Spanish-American war. Decisively defeated in the election of 1900 and consolidated capital having acquired political and economic mastery, urban and agrarian radicalism no longer served the Democratic Party.

This historic party of a former ruling class of slave owners began to bid for the support of the higher plutocracy of capital and finance that had bestowed its favors on the Republican Party. It found a willing instrument for its purposes in a clever product of American universities. With matchless rhetoric and clever phrases, Woodrow Wilson was summoned to the stage as a new type of Democratic leader.

With a compound of pious pretense and mystifying phrases, balancing vague progressive promises with covert assurances that big business had nothing to fear, the Democratic leader in 1912 secured the contract for administering the government for the higher plutocracy of the United States.

War, which is a solvent of all pretenses, brought the democracy of Wilson within the whirlpool of world imperialism, militarism, dirty diplomacy, foreign conquest and domestic reaction, leading the masses to the brink of the world struggle, the new tool of American imperialism plunged the nation into the European vortex.

Under the stress of the imperialist requirements, the Democracy launched upon a career of foreign adventures and domestic reaction that annoyed many of its Republican "opponents." A black period of bullying and brutal repression set in. No imperialist power of the old world ever served a ruling class so faithfully as did rejuvenated Wilsonian "Democracy" during the last three years.

The old traditions of city and agrarian radicalism disappeared. In their place stood the mailed fist, censorship, espionage, spies, jails, persecution, administrative exile, arbitrary seizure and arrests and a terrorism of all minority opinions. The Democracy of the Wilsonian cult stood side by side with the 20 years' record of imperialist policies and ambitions of its Republican "enemy."

During all this abysmal reaction, this treachery was glorified in terms of religious fervor and ethical idealism. The two historic parties of capitalism had become so alike in purpose that both groups in Congress awaited with bated breath the orders of their recognized imperial chief.

Only the necessities of their barren political struggle to control office, patronage, contracts, appointments and public plunder, prevent them from complete union. Where they are menaced by Socialist candidates they find no trouble whatever in uniting and supporting coalition candidates.

The higher plutocracy of capital has acquired sole proprietorship in the organizations, platforms, candidates and conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties. They represent the great banks, the consolidated capital, the profiteering exploiters and the bogus "patriotism" of the enemies of labor. The program of both is to keep the arbitrary power both have seized and to strangle the economic and political freedom of the workers.

It is a dark and menacing period that faces the masses. Unless the party machine of capitalism suffers large desertions in the November election, and large numbers of workers are sent to the Legislatures and Congress, an imperialistic Caesarism may be the fate of the Republic.

We warn the workers of the nation of this black danger just as we warned them in 1917 of what has since come to pass. Our warnings were not heeded then. Will they be heeded now?

Upon the answer to this question rests the future of the workers of this nation. The Socialist Party has come through the period of reaction and terror with its banner held proudly aloft. It appeals to the workers to join with us in the support of the candidates of the Socialist Party at the polls.

Our candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs, the biggest man in America today, symbolizes in

his imprisonment the wrongs of the outraged, exploited and betrayed masses today. No compromise! Vote with your class, for Debs and Stedman, and strike a blow at the sinister forces that would enslave us and our children, that would make us serfs and conscripts in the interests of the most dangerous imperialism that ever menaced any nation in the world's history.

JAMES ONEAL,  
WM. M. BRANDT,  
JOHN HAGEL,  
WM. H. HENRY,  
BERTHA H. MAILLY,  
EDMUND T. MELMS,  
GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,

National Executive Committee

OTTO BRANSTETTER, Executive Secretary.

## The Menace of Imperialism

By James Oneal.

**W**HAT is imperialism?

This word has come to have an ominous ring for the American workers as it had for the European workers for a generation before the bloody world war.

Imperialism is a deep rooted disease of modern industrial society. It clutches at the vitals of every modern industrial nation. The more wealth, the more machinery, the more industry concentrates, the more does Imperialism menace the peace of the world.

Industry becomes more highly organized in each country. It concentrates more and more capital into huge trusts and corporations. Old plants are closed and new and better ones are run at full capacity. As the railroads, oil business, steel industry, textile production become thoroughly organized, as other forms of business become perfected, the field for the investment of capital at home narrows.

Worse still. This perfection of organized industry drifts into the hands of a few powerful magnates. So great is their power that we call them "barons" and "kings" after the fashion of the Middle Ages. Every centralization of power, every increase in wealth production, increases the total volume of capital to invest. As this surplus capital accumulates it must be reinvested. As the investing field narrows at home the magnates seek to invest it abroad.

This takes them into the "backward countries," the countries that have little of modern factories and machine production, like Persia, Egypt, China, Mexico and South America. There are rich resources to exploit, railroads to build, and factories to be started. The great capitalists seek to transform these "backward countries" after the image of their home countries.

But these capitalist investors find the peoples of these countries have laws and governments of their own. They want to keep their resources for themselves. The capitalists want to "develop" them by investing the surplus capital the workers of the home country heap up annually. The capitalists immediately become interested in the politics, the politicians, and the laws of these "backward" countries. These investing capitalists want laws to protect their concessions. Often these concessions are bribed from native officials. Sometimes they are

stolen. Sometimes a "revolution" is financed by these investors to place their tools in power.

The investor always stays in the background while his paid agents work for him. They intrigue, they bribe, they plot. Publicity agents send "news" back to the home country telling of "disorder" and "atrocities" in the "backward country." A process of making "public opinion" is under way at home. Relations between the two countries become strained.

If our capitalists' investments suffer they call on the home government to protect them. Armed forces are landed to preserve "order." A few natives are shot if necessary. A control, partial or complete, is then established over the country. Bayonets are employed to make investments of bankers and capitalists secure. The native government becomes non-existent or a servile tool of the investors. The native workers become wage serfs of the capitalists, freedom is blotted out, and the country becomes an annex of the Standard Oil Company, the Wall Street Banks, or groups of great trust magnates.

By this very process the two countries of Hayti and Santo Domingo have been ruled by American forces for years. For these very reasons Mexico is approaching the same fate. If there were not great ranches, oil properties, and mineral resources in that country there would be no threat of intervention in Mexico. Many hundred millions of dollars are invested in these properties. Much of the American and other foreign concessions there were obtained through intrigues and bribery from the old regime under Diaz. Mexicans want these things for themselves. There is constant threat of war with Mexico. If war follows, American workers will cross the Rio Grande to save the dollars of a few thousand American investors.

This is the explanation of Imperialism. Today the hunger for investing surplus capital leads the capitalists all over the world. It takes British Imperialism into Persia, Egypt, India, and Africa. It takes Japanese Imperialism into Korea, Shantung, and Siberia. It takes French Imperialism into Morocco and Turkey. It takes American Imperialism into Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Panama. It led German Imperialism to scheme for the route from Hamburg to Bagdad to exploit Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

It has developed the dirty trade of secret diplomacy by which agreements are made behind the people's backs and without the knowledge of parliaments. A secret "understanding" may be reached which stakes the lives of millions at home on the investing interests of capitalists. The workers, whose lives are staked, have no voice in the matter. It is theirs "to do or die," to die for the greater glory of the investing magnates.

Open treaties are also made, but these agreements are often crossed by secret understandings. "Solemn obligations" are solemn farces, and the diplomats know it. International spying upon each other naturally follows. Each diplomat knows that every other diplomat is engaged in a dirty trade. Each tries to find out the secrets of the other. Hence the international spying.

All because the workers at home heap such giant masses of surplus capital into the hands of over-rich capitalists that the latter must seek an outlet for it abroad.

Then armament rings get busy. They want to sell armor plate, machine guns, munitions, poison gas, and all the other agencies of destruction. War means enormous profits. They subsidize newspapers and stimulate foreign hatreds. They egg on the "jingoos." They sell to the "enemy" as well as to their home governments. They aid those parties and politicians that are imperialist. They cultivate a bogus and reactionary "patriotism." They thrive on national hatreds and grow rich from war.

Investing surplus capital abroad, armament rings and secret diplomacy—all go together. All modern capitalist countries have them whether they are "pro-German" or "pro-Ally." This is the world powder box that threatens humanity with another devastating war. A spark may set the world afire again. The masses of workers will have to pay the awful price as they paid it in the last war.

This ghastly thing has its roots in the present industrial system of capitalism. As long as we have great magnates of industry and finance, owning the mills, mines, factories, banks, railroads and natural resources, the workers will be dependent on this class for employment. We are hired and paid a fraction of the values we produce. The surplus flows into the hands of the corporate owners of in-

dustry. A large part of this surplus must find an outlet abroad. The moment this surplus capital is exported that moment the peace of the world is menaced, that moment the lives of millions of human beings are endangered.

Will the League of Nations avert the danger? On the contrary, this proposed league is a league of the imperialist diplomats. They represent the exporters of capital and the foreign policies that protect this capital. They are even now permitting thirty wars in Europe. They represent the system of international capitalism out of which come the sinister forces that make for Imperialism and war.

The great plants for producing and distributing wealth must become the property of society to be operated for the common welfare of all. The imperialist magnates must no longer own the industries of the nation. That ownership constitutes a constant menace to the peace of the world. For when the capitalists of a dozen first class powers are seeking control over some "backward" country they come in conflict with each other. They drag their governments and their peoples by the heels into war for their investing interests. And while wars are waged more big fortunes are accumulated which contain the germs of future wars to be waged.

An end to this terrible menace! The industries and national resources should belong to the people of the nation. No surplus capital then to private owners. We will have no private or corporate owners. Our contact with other peoples will then consist of exchanging a surplus of what we have for what we do not have. Socialism will give mastery of industry to all mankind and bring democracy into industry through common ownership and labor control.

Parties placing their faith in capitalist exploitation of industry are Imperialist parties. Their rule leads to war. The Socialist party program would put an end to Imperialism and war. It would end capitalism. It would bring labor's emancipation from ill-paid toil and assure labor against another ghastly struggle with its enormous toll of human lives.

Vote for the ticket of the Socialist party! Vote for peace, plenty, security and emancipation! Vote against Imperialism! Vote for Debs and Stedman!

#### KEEPING DOWN THE FRONT

In the days gone by it was considered the duty of every person of superior station in life properly to impress the common herd with a proper sense of their inferiority. This was done mainly by dressing and acting so far beyond their humble means that there could be no mistake about where they belonged.

But suddenly the tune has been changed. "Forbes," frankly the organ of the master class, began an editorial some time ago with the following sentence: "When, oh when, will plutocratic men and women learn the wickedness of flaunting the grossest and most foolish extravagances in the faces of the poor?"

The reference was not to the eating of porterhouse steak in public places, but to the even grosser display caused by the liberal advertising of a \$75,000 Russian sable fur coat worn by Mrs. William E. Corey.

The editorial goes on: "When crowns everywhere are

tottering when the world is strewn with suffering, starving, homeless children and women, when the working classes in almost every land are exhibiting symptoms of rebellion against the rich, Mrs. Corey and her kind would be well advised to give up searching the world for furs costing more than the average working man earns in a lifetime. Such incidents to-day have the same effect upon the populace as the waving of a red cloth has upon a bull. This is the time for NOT flaunting \$75,000 coats in the face of the masses."

Really? With what strange respect the masses are suddenly held among those who sit with the high and mighty! It used to be "We must keep up a front to demonstrate our superiority." Now it has been changed: "We must keep down our front so that we will not too loudly deny our pretensions of democracy."

The times do change.

# PROFITEERING

By Scott Nearing.

**E**VERY dog has his day. The war was the feast-day of the profiteer.

Profiteering was not confined to the war. The present economic system is so organized that the capitalist is bound to make profits every time a wheel turns. Profiteering went on before the war, as it has gone on since the war, but never, during the past 50 years has profiteering netted such handsome returns to the profiteer as it did between the years 1915 and 1918.

Before the United States entered the war, the American businessmen made huge profits selling their products to the warring nations of Europe. After we entered the war, they made even greater returns selling their products to the Government of the United States.

The price of a thing, under the capitalist system, depends on how hard it is to get and how badly it is wanted.

When the United States entered the war, the Government needed great quantities of supplies—and at once. Those who owned or who could make these supplies set a price upon them which carried a profit of fifty, a hundred, a thousand, or even several thousand percent on the investment.

The annual reports of some of the Corporations indicated that very great profits were being made during the war. The best evidence on the subject, however, is contained in a report on "Corporate Earnings and Government Revenues," which has come to be known as "Senate Document 259." There are few, if any, copies of this document available for distribution. It probably cannot be secured in the libraries. A few copies were printed, supposedly for the information of the Senate.

Senate Document 259 shows the profits made by certain industries during the year 1917—the first year that the United States was at war. The figures are given in detail—each company is listed by number. Consequently it is possible to gain a fairly accurate picture of the extent of profiteering. The report is long—it contains 388 large pages. An idea of what is on these pages is best got by taking a few of the typical industries and examining them in detail.

Under "meat-packing" there are listed 122 firms (pages 95 and 365). Of these firms 31 reported profits for the year 1917 of less than 25 percent; 45 reported profits of 25, but under 50 percent; 24 reported profits of 50, but under 100 percent, and 22 reported profits of 100 percent or over. In this important industry, one fourth of the concerns reported profits of less than 25 percent, while one third of the concerns reported profits of more than 50 percent.

The figures given in this report show the "percent of net income to capital stock." Roughly speaking, this is "profit" in the ordinarily accepted mean-

ing of the term, although the books of a company may be so kept as to hide some profit before net income is figured. All of the figures were furnished by the concerns to the Government.

Manufacturers of cotton yarns reported profits slightly lower than those in the meat packing industry, (pages 167, 168, 379). Among the 153 firms reporting, 21 reported profits of less than 25 percent; 61 reported 25, but less than 50 percent; 55 reported 50, but under 100 percent, and 16 reported profits of 100 percent or more.

Profits in the garment manufacturing industry were lower than those in yarn manufacturing. Among the 299 firms reporting (pages 171 and 380) 74 gave their profits as less than 25 percent; 121 gave their profits as 25, but under 50 percent; 65 reported profits of 50 but less than 100 percent, and 39 reported profits of 100 percent or over.

The profits of 49 steel plants and rolling mills (pages 100 and 365) were much higher than the profits in any of the industries just cited. Four of these steel makers reported profits of less than 25 percent; 13 reported profits of 25 but under 50 percent; 17 reported profits of 50 but under 100 percent, and 15 reported profits of more than 100 percent. Two thirds of these concerns made profits of fifty percent or over in the year 1917.

The bituminous coal producers in the Appalachian Field, 340 in number (pages 130 and 372) report profits far higher than those in the manufacturing industries. Among those 340 firms, 23 reported profits of less than 25 percent; 68 reported profits of 25 but less than 50 percent; 79 reported profits of 50 but under 100 percent; 135 reported profits of 100 but under 500 percent; 21 reported profits of 500 but under 1000 percent, and 14 reported more than 1000 percent profit. A profit of 1000 percent means that the concern made a profit of ten times its capital stock in the one year covered by the report.

These five industries have been selected because they represented food, clothing, steel, and fuel. They were quite like scores of other industries listed in Senate Document 259. They give some idea of the range of the profits reaped during 1917. Almost no firms made net profits of as little as ten percent. Profits of less than 25 percent are the exception. Profits of more than 100 percent were shown by 8 percent of the yarn manufacturers, 13 percent of the garment manufacturers; 18 percent of the meat packers; 31 percent of the steel plants, and 50 percent of the bituminous coal mines. These firms—reporting more than 100 percent profit—had made a profit, in one year, equal to the entire capital stock of the business.

In the old days, business men were satisfied to take a profit of 5, 10 or 20 percent, and think of it as satisfactory. The war gave them a free hand.



Trained to be profiteers by the system under which they were brought up, they could do only one thing—make hay while the sun shines!

The year of these huge profits—1917—was a war year. It was the year of conscription; the year of the Espionage Act; the year when some men went to the trenches and other men went to jail for their beliefs; a crisis year; a year of anguish, heart-break, suffering, death. The year 1917 was a terrible year for millions of the people of America and Europe. It was during that year that the capitalists—who own all of America that they believe to be worth owning—made their fifties, hundreds, and thousands of percent of profit.

A man may be suffering; a woman may be begging for bread; a child may be dying of exposure, but those who have the means of relieving this misery are permitted by the present system of society to hold onto their possessions till they can make a hundred percent on their investment. And this is called "good business."

The war years showed capitalism for what it is—a system that enables the rich to live off the poor without rendering the poor a return in service. The worker labors and suffers. The owner of property fattens on the first fruits of the earth.

Capitalism was not changed by the war, unless it was made more greedy and more powerful. When the next war begins, the capitalists will profiteer exactly as they did in this war. Profit is the essence of the capitalism system. Without profit, the system must cease to exist. The Republican and Democratic parties stand for the system.

The Socialist Party demands that the profit system be abolished. That can be done only as the workers gain possession of the sources of wealth and the machine by which they produce, and take for themselves for society the entire value of the product that they create. The workers produce all of the wealth that is produced. They should have all of the wealth that their labor creates. When industry is organized on this socialized basis, there will be no profit and no profiteers.

## Kate O'Hare Visits Debs

**I**N a visit full of dramatic incidents, Kate Richards O'Hare visited Eugene V. Debs in the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta on July 2nd, to carry to him the love of Socialists everywhere.



In a special message to his Comrades, Debs said that while he deplored the recent differences between Socialist leaders, the rank and file is solidly behind the Socialist party. "The Socialist party," he said in effect, "is the organization through which they will win their freedom."

Kate O'Hare was ushered into the prison; the two comrades met and embraced; Kate Richards O'Hare recently freed from the Federal Prison and Eugene V. Debs in prison garb with nine years of prison life before him, with both his hands still upon her shoulders, said, "How happy I am to see you free, Kate." And then smilingly he added, "Have you got used to being out yet?"

They then sat down facing each other across the table. It was a sun-baked afternoon and the rays of the sun filtered through the steel bars of the visitors' room of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and illumined the features of Debs. He smiled a smile of joy to see his old friend free once again.

"Your coming here is like a new sunlight to me. Tell me about your prison experiences," said Debs. She answered, "Gene, I am not thinking of myself, but of little Mollie Steimer who now occupies my cell at Jefferson City and of her appalling sentence of fifteen years. She is a nineteen year old little girl, smaller in stature than my Kathleen, whose sole crime is her love for the oppressed."

As Debs listened to Kate relate the dramatic tale of this little child, his glasses became tear-stained and his face showed the emotion of his heart when Kate asked him, "How long can you stand this imprisonment, Gene?" He replied, "I could stay here indefinitely; forever if necessary, as long as the cause needs me."

Then Gene told her of how a few copies of her prison letters had drifted into the Atlanta penitentiary. "You know, I think that tale of Dick playing the cornet for you outside the prison walls was one of the most dramatic tales I ever read in all literature." The moment was tense, and for a second silence reigned; and then Kate O'Hare, recall-

ing her son's prison screenade, could hardly control her mother emotions.

Then Kate opened her leather cardcase and showed Debs her family group picture which she had carried with her during the fourteen months of prison life. The sight of that picture had afforded her much consolation through the hours of dreaded prison silence and monotony.

"Gene, I shall present this to you with my autograph."

"This is very beautiful of you," said Debs, "and I shall treasure this photo all of my days," and smilingly he added, "I shall hand it down as an heirloom."

Then they discussed the things closest to their hearts, the work of freeing the hundreds of political prisoners and the Socialist movement.

Kate said, "In my lecture tour across the country, I find a greater crystallized Socialist sentiment than ever before. Great changes are imminent, and we are about to reap what we have sown, and although I find differences of opinion among the so-called leaders of the movement, I find the rank and file united."

Then Debs added what was really his message to his comrades. "This is no time for division. The

rank and file will speak as they have never spoken before. Although some of my most dear friends, who are in the different factions and parties, who I know to be absolutely sincere, will some day realize that they are mistaken in their tactics, and they will discover that the Socialist party is best adapted for emancipating the American working class."

Kate O'Hare was accompanied on this visit by Frank P. O'Hare, her husband, and attorney S. M. Castleton of Atlanta.

The visit was about to come to an end, and Debs said, "Tell the comrades that I am well and my spirit is finer than ever before."

"Any special message, 'Gene?'" asked Kate O'Hare.

"You know what is in my heart, Kate," he replied, "Yours is the voice of the voiceless, and with you out of prison we know that the message will be carried on."

The guard rose and twirled his club, and said, "Time's up."

With affectionate but sad farewell they parted, and as Kate O'Hare and the other comrades and visitors left, the tall, bent figure of Eugene V. Debs was lost in the file of the prisoners going to their mess.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By William M. Feigenbaum.

**T**HE issue of the Presidential campaign is the League of Nations, take it from Woodrow Wilson. The President says that the election will be in effect a referendum on that question.

The issue will be the League of Nations, take it from Hiram Johnson and Philander Chase Knox and the rest of the Republican leaders. Hiram was so anxious to make it the issue that the bosses of his party wrote the League issue into the platform, told him that he had won enough, and then ditched him as a candidate.

And you? What do you think about the League issue? When you are told that a shoddy suit of clothes costs \$45 to \$60, do you reply, "Ah, yes! America must keep her word and ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations, or else the heart of the world will crack."

When you are told that sugar is 30 cents a pound, that shoes are \$10 to \$15 a pair, that a woman's suit, once worth \$20 is now selling for \$35, that potatoes, rice, onions, bread, meat, rents, everything is going up 50 percent, 100 percent, 300 percent—do you comfort yourself with the sweetly solemn thought that the people of this great nation will rise up in their might and ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations? Or that the people of the United States will rise up in their majesty and smite that iniquitous document, and utterly destroy it?

Really—with the prices of everything rising as they are, with the worry that everyone is feeling to-

day, over the very barest needs of life, how much does anyone you meet on the street, in the corner grocery, in your shop or office or factory, care about President Wilson's League, or Senator Lodge's Reservations to it, or Hiram Johnson's complete condemnation of it?

In 1912, the Democrats, now apologizing for eight years of tenure of the national offices, challenged the Republicans for control of the Government. The Republicans had been in complete control for sixteen years. They had had everything their own way. And one of the principal indictments they leveled against their opponents was the high cost of living.

In that year, Woodrow Wilson indicted Republicans as follows:—

"We begin to perceive some things about the movement of prices that concern us very deeply, and fix our attention upon the tariff schedules with a more definite determination than ever to get to the bottom of the matter. We have been looking into it, at trials held under the Sherman Act and in investigations in the committee rooms of Congress, where men who wanted to know the real facts have been busy with inquiry; and we begin to see very clearly what at least some of the methods are by which prices are fixed. We know that they are not fixed by the competitions of the market, or by the ancient law of supply and demand which is to be found stated in all the primers of economics, but

by private arrangements with regard to what the supply should be and agreements among the producers themselves. Those who buy are not even represented by counsel. The high cost of living is arranged by private understanding."

What is the cause of the High Cost of Living?

The Democrats knew; they had the answer pat. It was as easy as rolling off a log. It was the tariff. The Republicans had built a tariff wall around these glorious United States; they had revised it upward; they had continued to shove it up—and prices were high. What could be easier?

So they put this in their platform:—"The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican Party in its platform attempts to escape the responsibility of present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject, and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff, laws enacted and maintained by the Republican Party, and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties of the necessities of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up."

They amplify this in their Campaign Book of 1912, published by their National Committee. It seems that everything the matter with America is traceable to the high tariff. The Democrats very properly pillory the Republicans for having won the 1908 election with a promise to revise the tariff, and then revised it upward, instead of down, as the people were led to expect. The campaign book goes on to say:—

"An unanswerable story of the cause of the High Cost of Living is the part played by protection in rewarding labor . . . . The cost of labor today is a small and constantly decreasing percent of the value of protected products. . . . When the worker in steel and iron products is benefited one dollar's worth, the manufacturer is protected six dollar's worth. . . ."

"The protection to which Mr. Taft and his following stand committed, and that Mr. Roosevelt and his record have never assailed, is for privilege and to enrich an almost infinitesimal proportion of the constituent units of the government.

"When the New England strikers were forced to make protest against their wage schedules, it was a holy crusade, based upon the sacred right to live.

"The rewards that have come to the big industries have accrued to the manufacturer, but never touched his source of wealth, the laborer."

In a letter to Congressman James E. Watson, now Senator Watson, the same who was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions at the recent Republican funeral, President Roosevelt wrote (Aug. 18, 1906) "We stand unequivocally for a protective tariff, and we feel that the phenomenal industrial prosperity which we are now enjoying is not likely to be jeopardized."

And the Democratic Campaign Book comments as follows:—"During these years of 'phenomenal industrial prosperity,' the highly protected woolen company was paying such wages that the Lawrence strike for a chance to live was inevitable, and the United States Steel corporation—a high tariff concern—was working its employees at 12-hour shifts and a 7-day week at unhuman and inhuman wages."

A little further on in the same campaign book, the Democratic National Committee quotes from the hearing before a Congressional Committee that had been forced by Congressman Victor L. Berger upon the Democratic Congress against its will, in order to show that wages in this highly protected industry were miserably and shamefully low.

The Democrats won that election, they elected a President and both Houses of Congress; President Wilson controlled his first congress with an iron hand, and the Underwood tariff was substituted for the Payne-Aldrich tariff. President Wilson gloried in the fact that he carried out every platform pledge made by his party, and one of the items that he forced his congress to put over was this much heralded revised tariff.

And beginning in 1913, the year that the Underwood tariff was enacted the phenomenal rise of the cost of living begins.

At the same time the Republican Party was fighting desperately for its life after sixteen years of uninterrupted rule. The administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, backed by Republican majorities in both Houses of Congress and by a friendly Supreme Court, made it possible for the Republican Party to do exactly what it chose. There was no one to stop it. In the Republican Campaign Text Book of 1912, issued by the Republican National Committee, there is a considerable section devoted to the advance in the cost of living. It will be understood that these books are published by the various parties to give their speakers and writers facts and arguments to protect their side.

For thirty one closely printed pages of small type, the Republican Party endeavors to prove that the rising cost of living has nothing to do with the tariff; it shows the rapidly increasing gold supply of the country and of the world, and alleges that (quite properly) as a contributing cause to the cost of living, and then it launches into a careful study of the cost of living in practically every country of the world, and shows that in free trade countries and where there is low tariff, or a tariff for revenue only, prices are rising steadily, as well as in America.

Then, in order to show good faith, the platform calls for "a prompt, scientific investigation" to see if they can find out what the cause of high prices is, and they promised action on the basis of such investigation!

The platform plank promises:—

"When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist, in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased."

In the same year likewise, Theodore Roosevelt who had been President for eight years, and who spoke that year for a very large part of the liberal non-Socialist public; launched his Progressive Party, and in the platform which he dictated, we find the following:—"The high cost of living is due partly to worldwide and local causes, partly natural and partly artificial causes. . . ."

"To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and based on this information effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses."

And there you are!

The Republicans admitted in 1912 that the cost of living was going up, and they said that if they got four more years (after sixteen solid years of power) they would "investigate." The Progressives said that they would "investigate." In the years 1912 to 1918, there was a large Republican minority, and a Progressive rump in Congress. Since 1918, there has been a Republican majority.

And what has been done toward that "investigation," the only thing the G. O. P. could think of in 1912?

It is forgotten. They never even proposed it in Congress.

And the Democrats kept their word. They lowered the tariff. They had a chance to make good. Their theory of the cause of the H. C. L. was put to a perfect test.

And the result? The cost of living has been lowered since 1913, hasn't it?

It was in 1912 that Woodrow Wilson was elected, together with a Democratic House and Senate. President Wilson long prided himself upon his absolute loyalty to the letter of his platform—as suffrage workers soon found out.

In accordance with the promise of the platform, Congress met in special session in April, 1913, to keep the promises made during the campaign. In an unprecedented session, lasting into the regular session, and then into the 1914 Congressional campaign without even a recess to permit Congressmen to collect their mileage graft, the President drove with an iron hand, and made the members perform. Federal Reserve, tolls repeal, tariff—everything was done relentlessly according to the platform.

The tariff was revised downward. The party crowed with delight. The one thing that caused high prices (see the platform plank of 1912) was removed.

And since then, prices have been moving.

For example, here is ham, beloved of mankind. In 1914, there was an increase in price of 1 per cent (in spite of the lowered tariff) in the price of that celebrated meat. Then came the war, and the price began to go up, 16, 29, 68 and 96 per cent from 1913, in spite of the lowered tariff.

There is flour, chief ingredient of the staff of life. The lowered tariff caused neither higher or

lower price in 1914, but the prices have gone up, 33 per cent, 73 per cent, 100 per cent, 106 per cent, and 142 per cent since the beginning of the war, in spite of the lowered tariff, the thing that the Democrats said would accomplish the end.

Potatoes went up 27 per cent from 1913 to 1914, and then its increase has been 60 per cent, 247 per cent and 353 per cent, bringing us down to 1920.

These are staples, selected at random, the figures taken from the monthly Labor Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, issue of May, 1920.

There are 22 articles showing increases from 35 percent in seven years (tea) to sugar (246 percent) and potatoes (353 percent). The 22 articles were combined and "weighted"—that is, each one multiplied by a figure that gives it its proper proportion, so that canned salmon or crisco should not outweigh rib roast or chuck steak. The weighted average, then, shows that the 22 articles increased 2 percent from 1913 to 1914, and 1 percent to 1915, 10 percent, 36 percent, 58 percent, 80 percent and 106 percent to 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920.

Looking at it from another angle, we find the following: From January, 1913, to March, 1920, farm products have gone up 139 percent; food has gone up 146 percent, while cloth and clothing have gone up 256 percent. Fuel and lighting have increased 92 percent, and metals and metal products have gone up the same percentage. Lumber and building materials have gone up 224 percent; and house furnishings have gone up 229 percent.

Altogether, adding all items that make up the life of man, (leaving out amusements) we find that since January, 1913, when the Democrats began to make motions in the air to cure the high cost of living, the cost of the barest necessities of life has gone up ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THREE PERCENT.

Let that sink in. In 1912, it was a grave problem. In seven years, the Democrats have had complete control, and in that period, the cost of living has doubled, and then added half as much again.

War was declared in April, 1917; up to that time, we were swamped with "prosperity." War conditions began to be manifest only since that date. And up to April, 1917, after the Democrats had been tinkering for four years, the cost of living was up 72 percent.

Here are 14 cities, selected because they are typical of conditions everywhere in America, showing the increase in the cost of living from December, 1914, to December, 1919.

City	Increase Per Cent in—				
	Food	Cloth'g	Hous'g	Fuel, Light	Every-thing
Portland, Me. . . . .	92%	148%	11%	70%	92%
Boston . . . . .	81	192	12	63	92
New York . . . . .	91	220	23	51	104
Philadelphia . . . . .	87	190	17	51	96
Baltimore . . . . .	92	177	26	48	96
Norfolk, Va. . . . .	91	159	63	90	100

Savannah, Ga. ....	81	196	22	52	99
Jacksonville, Fla. .	81	217	22	79	103
Mobile, Ala. ....	98	124	30	76	95
Houston, Tex. ....	97	192	13	60	102
Chicago .....	93	224	14	40	101
Detroit .....	99	182	60	58	108
Cleveland, O. ....	93	171	40	63	95
Buffalo .....	95	191	29	56	103

There are variations from item to item, and from city to city, of course. But the great, thundering fact stands out that in five years, taking all things together, food doubles in cost; clothing costs from three to three and one half times as much as five years ago, and that it costs twice as much to live as it did five years ago.

And there is the indictment of Capitalism, and of the parties of capitalism. Nothing could better demonstrate their futility, the purity of their efforts to accomplish anything, their sterility.

And now, after seven and a half years of rule, the Democrats find themselves in the position of the Republicans eight years ago when they were compelled to find some apology for the people. In their platform adopted at San Francisco, the Democrats apparently forgetting that eight years before, it was their fiction that the high cost of living was due solely to the high tariff, this year proceeds to blame the Republicans for it.

"The high cost of living," the platform declares, "and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to war itself. . . . To private extravagance . . . and in large degree to conscienceless profiteering."

The manner of it is easy. The high cost of living being due to war conditions, requires only the ending of war conditions to restore the cost of necessities of life to their proper level. Now, it is manifest to everyone that the United States is in a state of war from which the recalcitrant Republican majority in the Senate refuses to rescue us. As soon as Senator Lodge is prevailed upon to vote for the peace treaty, the state of war will cease, prices will become normal, and everything will be serenely happy. It is all so simple that it is simple minded.

That is practically all that the Democratic Party has to say for its nearly eight years of stewardship with respect to the most pressing problem that the American people are facing.

And the Republicans? It is very easy for them. They blame the Democratic administration, of course, precisely as the Democrats blamed the Republican administration eight years before. They pledge their party to a "courageous and intelligent deflation of their expanded credit, and a revision of war imposed taxation."

And there you are.

The old parties can do nothing except make motions in the air. They can ask—they can argue—they can pass futile laws.

But with the legal RIGHT to own the things without which we cannot live, profiteers can continue to charge whatever prices they want to—or refuse to give us what we must have. And the law protects them.

The Socialists deny the "right" of private individuals to do this. That is why the Socialists alone of all people will be able to deal with the question, because no one but the Socialists have the vision, have the philosophy, have the program—and the people back of that program—to put the only effective stop to gouging the people.

Socialists, in power, will insist upon **PRODUCTION OF THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE FOR USE AND NOT FOR PROFIT**; Socialists out of power will drive home that lesson, until the people will see that there is but one way out of the mess today, that is, through the Socialist Party.

The old parties feed us League of Nations, to keep us quarreling over things that don't matter.

There is no party for the workers but the Socialist Party.

NOTE:—At the time of the writing of this article there was available the May, 1920, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, and the figures in the article are largely based upon the statistics given in that Bulletin.

After the article was set in type but just before going to press, the June, 1920 Bulletin came to the Editor's desk bringing the figures down to April, 1920, showing a still further increase in the cost of living.

It is impossible in a short footnote to give the full details of the additional increase in the cost of living from March to April. It is noteworthy, however, that the cost of living is still steadily rising, and the figure of 153 percent increase from January, 1913, to March, 1920, will have to be increased by 12 percent. The latest figures I have thus show that the total cost of living has gone up 165 percent in a period of seven years and four months. This figure is a weighted average taking into consideration the whole range of human needs, and is as representative a figure as it is possible to get.

## Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

**A**MONG the rights guaranteed to us in the Declaration of Independence are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In the same Declaration we read that "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men" and that these governments may be altered or even abolished when they become destructive of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and such new governments instituted as shall seem to the people "most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

These are fundamental American principles.

The Socialists are in hearty accord with the declaration that the true object of government is to insure life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all of the people and they ask you to judge accordingly the kind of administration of government the old political parties have given us.

Do the great masses of the people of our country today enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? What do we understand by these terms?

The right of the people to live is more than the right to just exist. By the right to life Socialists understand the right to have the means of sustaining life on a modern, civilized level.

Liberty means more than a condition outside of jail. Socialists understand by it actual political and economic independence, the equal freedom of all in so far as that is compatible with the existence of organized society.

By the right to the pursuit of happiness Socialists mean the concrete right of every man, woman and child to air, sunshine, to amusement, to education, to the enjoyment of the achievements of art and science—in a word, to the blessings of modern civilization. Socialists understand by this right the opportunity to enjoy life as fully as do the privileged few.

These rights are not enjoyed by the great masses of the people. Yet in every advanced country today it is possible with the present state of industrial development to assure the physical, mental and moral well being of all. It is easily possible in the United States today to properly feed, clothe, house and educate each and every person. This is not being done, however.

The country is great and powerful. The land is abundant and fertile. There is almost inexhaustible wealth of metals, minerals and forests. There are ports, waterways, railroads—achievements of art and science too numerous to mention. We have an alert, active and capable population ready, eager and willing to lend a hand in the production of the necessities of life. Our productivity since the days of our forefathers has increased tremendously—in some instances one hundred fold. Why then should there be slums in our cities, underfeeding of children and appalling child mortality? Why should there be general want and fierce struggles for existence?

It is because the country's vast natural resources and marvelous machinery of production and distribution do not belong to all of the people, but to a few incredibly powerful capitalist groups. They say to the people about the means of life of the nation: "This is ours. The sources of life are not meant for the people to use but for us to turn into franchises, to capitalize into stocks and bonds, to coin into fabulous private fortunes."

The wealth of the nation, produced by many generations, and which should be the heritage of all, is owned by a powerful minority; comparatively speaking, a handful of the people, who hold it against the rest of the people of the country.

This owning class is the ruling class of the nation.

Notwithstanding the great majority of the people, the workers stand ready to apply their labor power to provide the nation with the means of life, they cannot do this without first having access to the land and the implements of labor. Those who own the land and the implements of labor—the capitalist class—stand between the workers and the op-

portunity to work and they say: "Hold on. This is ours, the land and the fulness thereof; the land and all above it and below it is ours, and if you want to eat, to live, to work, you must first secure our permission. This we will not give you unless you first agree to pay us tribute, to turn over to us as our personal private profit a substantial portion of the product of your toil."

The great masses of the people submit to this small class of industrial autocrats. When it does not pay these autocrats to continue the industries of the country they are not responsible to anybody to do so. They shut their factories, their mills, their mines, throwing millions out of employment and causing the direst poverty, because it suits their business ends. We call this condition a crisis. Against this industrial autoocracy the people are powerless, but only so long as the few privately own those things without which the many cannot live.

It is this fundamental condition—the ownership by the few of the means of life of the many—that is responsible for the existence of our social ills, and which breeds millionaires and multimillionaires on the one hand and poverty and the desperate struggle for existence on the other.

It is this fundamental condition—the ownership by the few of the means of life of the many—which divides society into hostile economic and social classes whose conflicting interests find expression in strikes, lockouts, blacklists, injunctions and all the social disturbances of modern industrial warfare.

For these grave evils the old political parties—the Republicans and Democrats—have no remedy. In fact, these parties are practically owned and controlled by the great capitalist groups of the nation whose bidding they do. To protect their interests and maintain their supremacy the capitalists owners of the nation's wealth are in politics and the dominant political parties are their subservient tools.

For the workers to look to these parties to solve the problems for which their masters are responsible is worse than futile.

The remedy the Socialists propose is that the people shall own and control the basis of their existence. The Socialists demand the socialization of the natural resources and the great industries of the nation. They say it is utterly wrong that the great social functions of clothing, feeding and sheltering the people should be carried on by the capitalists—the profiteers—primarily in their own selfish, private interests. The life sustaining agencies of the nation should be taken out of the hands of private capitalists whose primary interest in them is profit making, regardless of the consequences for the great masses, and turned over to the people, to society, to be organized on the basis of collective ownership and democratic control for the service of all instead of for the profits of the few.

This is the objective of the Socialist party. There is no other way out.

So long as the few own the means of life of the many the conditions against which the great masses of the people cry out will obtain. It is the system which is at fault and which must be radically altered because it is destructive of life, liberty and happiness for the masses of the people.

Wherever the few have owned the means of life of the many they have ruled the many, economically and politically. Ownership of land and tools of production and distribution, in short, of nature and the instrumentalities for its exploitation, has always been the basis of the economic and political supremacy of the ruling classes. Those who did not own were consequently dependent and subjugated.

Life, liberty and happiness will never be enjoyed by all of the people until they own and control by and for themselves the sources of wealth, land, the mills, mines, factories, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all the other socially necessary implements of labor.

To convert these into social property, to turn them over to all of the people, is the objective of the Socialist movement.

The Socialist party is organized to accomplish this task and it calls upon the people of the United States to join its ranks and co-operate in the achievement of this great purpose.

## A Letter That Wasn't Sent

(This is a letter that might have been sent to President Wilson—but that wasn't because the writer thereof, while not necessarily parsimonious, nevertheless shrank from the utter waste of a 2-cent stamp, sensing what reception the letter would get.)  
Dear Mr. President:

**I**N your recent interview with Mr. Louis Seibold of the New York World, you were quoted as having said:—"I defy the Republicans to prove that the power given the government during the war has ever been used unjustly against the people; that a single citizen has been unwarrantably punished for any act of aggression or disloyalty against the nation; that any man has been punished for expressing his opinion. I have read charges to the contrary, but in each instance I have had the matter thoroughly looked into, and I am in a position to contest the accuracy of any statement that the rights of a single citizen have been unjustly invaded."

I presume that you have been correctly quoted. It is to be assumed that an interview such as the one you gave Mr. Seibold, and that was carried over the wires to the entire press of the country, is practically a formal statement from you on the issues of the day, and it is hardly to be expected that Mr. Seibold would have given it out to the press without careful scrutiny by you, and possible revision. It is for these reasons that in discussing the issues of the day, this interview is quite properly taken as an authorized statement by the President.

I likewise assume that although you are quoted as "defying" Republicans, to prove something or other, one need not qualify as a member of that party to call some of your statements into question.

The first case that comes to the mind of one of whom it is generally believed that he is being punished for the expression of his opinions, is that of Mr. Eugene V. Debs. Mr. Debs, a labor organizer, orator and writer of international reputation, is in prison today because of a speech that he made in Canton, Ohio, June 18th, 1918. In that speech, Mr. Debs denounced with all his vigor, the

then in power in Germany, and called for its overthrow. He did say, however, that as a Socialist, he was opposed to waging war against the German people, and therefore stood with Socialists everywhere in hoping that the German people would overthrow their own rulers. Indeed, his address is reminiscent of your own address calling for war with the Imperial German Government, in which you say, "We have no quarrel with the German people."

In your investigations, did you have the indictment against Debs read, and then the speech that he made? Dr. Debs said that he was against war as an institution, and that he would continue to oppose war, "even if I stood alone." He is in prison. Is it because of an expression of opinion, or not?

The case of Kate Richards O'Hare likewise comes to the mind. Mrs. O'Hare was sent to prison for five years as a result of an address delivered three years ago. It is universally admitted that her conviction was the result of a "frame-up," and that she was the innocent bystander in a political feud in which she had no interest. Even if everything alleged against her was true—and there is not a shred of evidence to indicate that fact—all she would have been guilty of would seem to be unbelievable coarseness of language. And people are not sent to prison for five years under a war time Espionage Act for coarseness in language. Finally, when the facts in her case came to be known, the Administration gave her, not a pardon and an apology—as was due her—but a grudging commutation of sentence, releasing her without even a restoration of her citizenship.

If you have had this case investigated, and you find that Mrs. O'Hare has NOT been punished for the holding of unpopular opinions, it would certainly appear that the people are kept in the dark as to the proof of the fact that she has been justly punished.

There is likewise the case of four Socialists in Syracuse, New York, who were sentenced to eighteen months in prison under the Espionage Act. The Socialist Party had arranged a number of mass meetings, calling for the release of what have come

to be known as political prisoners. Throwaway cards had been printed, advertising the meeting in Syracuse. On these cards were pictures of the mistreatment of so-called conscientious objectors in prison. The men distributing the cards were arrested for violating the Espionage Act, thirteen months after "the war thus came to an end." In their defense, it was alleged that the mistreatment of the "C. O's" could be easily proven. It was alleged that there were affidavits in existence from people who had been mistreated in prison in the way indicated on the cards, and who were eager to go on the stand to testify to that effect.

But it was ruled that the United States was still at war (December, 1919!) and that those cards, although they might tell the truth, tended to insubordination and mutiny in the ranks of the army. The men were thereupon sentenced to prison for eighteen months each.

If that case has been investigated, the people have not as yet heard the results of the investigation.

There is likewise the case of Clinton H. Pierce and three other Socialists of Albany, New York. These men distributed "The Price We Pay" in the course of their activity as members of their political party. They felt that there might be some objection to the leaflet, and they waited until the Federal courts had passed upon its legality. When Federal Judge Rose at Baltimore declared that there was nothing in violation of the law in the leaflet, the four Albany men undertook to distribute it—and not till then.

They were sentenced to prison under the Espionage Act for that "offense" only a few days ago, eighteen months after "the war thus came to an end."

The citizens of America would be happy to hear your successful contesting of the accuracy of the statement that "the rights of" these citizens "have been unjustly invaded."

The coal miners went on strike in October, 1919, eleven months after the dismantling of the war machine began; eleven months after the men began to come home from France. Mr. McAdoo showed, by figures made public at that time, that the demands of coal miners at that time for better wages, without an increase in the price of coal, was an eminently just demand; that not to grant that increase would be hideously unjust. And yet, a Federal judge, acting on the flimsy theory that the war was still on, issued an injunction, hoping to halt the strike, while no action was taken against the coal barons, making up to 3000 percent profit per year, who made the strike necessary by their swinish avarice.

There is likewise the activity of the Department of Justice, under Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, is the course of which many well authenticated instances of illegal arrest, brutal slugging and illegal deportation. The charges of a *littee of eminent lawyers, headed by*

riah Chaffee of the Harvard Law School and Professor Felix Frankfurter, formerly a member of your administration, certainly must have been thoroughly investigated. If they have, do you "contest the accuracy" of the statements? And if so, where has the refutation of the charges been printed?

There are likewise, the charges made by Mr. William Hard in an article in the Metropolitan Magazine for April, entitled "The Toy Tyrants," in which serious statements are made against Mr. Palmer and other officials, as to the conduct of the Department of Justice towards citizens.

There is further, the Post Office Department, that under the hollow pretense that the war is still going on, continues to exclude from the mails scores, if not hundreds, of political newspapers, and the Postmaster General asserts that no one can restore their rights excepting himself.

Here are recited a sufficient number of instances, generally believed in by the people, where there IS injustice; where citizens are actually punished for their political opinions, and where the war time powers of the government are used against the best interests of the people. If these charges are true, steps should be taken immediately to remedy them.

If they are not true, your thorough examination and its results should be published without delay.

Faternally yours,

A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

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## National Executive Committee Plans For Campaign



Plans for a thorough-going canvass of the country for the Socialist Party and for a wide extension of Socialist Party activities were perfected at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at Detroit, Michigan, July 10, 11, 12 and 13.

An attempt will be made to organize an American Socialist Labor Mission to Russia; delegations to visit the lease of Eugene V. Debs and all other political prisoners; the Detroit Socialist movement was given a healthy boost, and various other important things took place in addition to the routine business of the Committee's meeting.

Various committee members reported almost insuperable obstacles to Socialist organization and reorganization work. George E. Roewer of Boston, one of the committee members, reported on the work of reorganizing the party in Maine. He told of several instances with which he was personally familiar, where agents of the Department of Justice called local Socialists on the carpet and warned them not to reorganize the Socialist Party. The gist of the threat was this: that the Socialist Party had been practically destroyed; that the Communist Parties had been stamped out by the Government, and that the Department of Justice, fully aware of the attempt to place the Socialist Party on its feet, warned these individuals that they had better not try it.

Roewer likewise reported that many workers were being fired from their jobs because of Socialist activity, and that in several instances, ministers were removed from their pulpits because of their known Socialist sympathies. In spite of this opposition, however, the work of reorganizing the Party under the direction of Ernest M. W. Smith, a former minister, is progressing satisfactorily. He has reorganized locals in Bangor, Waterville, Lubbeck, Anson, Madison, Lewiston, Portland, Auburn, Brewer and Bath. Roewer said that Dr. Walz of Bangor, and C. H. Selliger, two ministers who had been expelled from their pulpits, were anxious to aid in the reorganization work of the party. Roewer made his report on Saturday morning. The Associated Press carried an account of it in the Sunday newspapers, and on Sunday morning the offices of the Department of Justice in Portland denied Roewer's allegations. When confronted with the denial of the Portland officials, however, Roewer reiterated his statement, and said that he had the names of the Socialists that had been intimidated and that for obvious reasons he

could not make them public.

This report was typical of the entire work of the committee—almost insuperable obstacles overcome by a dogged determination to win out for Socialism.

The National Executive Committee selected Wm. H. Henry, late organizer of the party in Bronx Borough, N. Y., and formerly State Secretary of the Party in Indiana, to make the transcontinental tour mapped out for Seymour Stedman, a week in advance of the Vice-Presidential entourage. Henry will speak in all the localities to be visited by Stedman in addition to perfecting all arrangements for the great meetings. Eugene Wood, one of the best known Socialist writers and speakers of the country, will accompany Stedman, taking care of the management of the meetings, and delivering short talks in every place.

The Executive Secretary reported to the committee that in spite of the precarious condition of the finances of the Party and the White Terror that makes it difficult, even impossible, to hold meetings in many places, that party activity is growing everywhere; that there is hardly a section of the country that has not at least the nucleus of an organization, and that a large number of speakers are either out now, or will shortly be out under National Party auspices. It was reported that Scott Nearing, Jacob Panken, Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, Victor Berger, Edmund T. Melms, Morris Hillquit, James Oneal, Oscar Ameringer, both Kate and Frank O'Hare, and many others will cover from two or three meetings to extended tours.

It was voted to raise a Campaign Fund of \$100,000.00, and it was decided that every party member owes the organization at least \$5.00 towards this fund. An attempt will be made to get a fund much larger than the minimum set in order that the leaflets to be turned out and the speakers to be toured, may exceed even the present comprehensive plans.

The Secretary was instructed to communicate with radical labor organizations and arrange for an American Socialist and Labor Mission to visit Soviet Russia and to report back actual conditions in that country to the American working class. The committee selected James Oneal, Algernon Lee, Jos. E. Cohen and Alexander Trachtenberg as the Socialist members on such mission.

It was voted that a nation-wide drive should be made for the release of Eugene V. Debs on September 13th.

the second anniversary of the day of his conviction. On that day there will be tremendous meetings all over the country addressed by the best speakers, the meetings all to be under the direction of the National Office of the party.

Secretary Branstetter reported that he had written to Joseph P. Tumulty, Secretary to President Wilson, on June 18th reminding him of his promise to the committee of the Socialist Convention on May 15th, that he would call the matter of amnesty for Debs and all other political prisoners to the attention of the President immediately. There had been no reply to the letter except an acknowledgment and a statement that the letter would be called to the attention of the President. The National Executive Committee thereupon selected a committee consisting of George E. Roewer, Chairman; Morris Hillquit and James Oneal to call upon the President and to make the demand that he give some answer on the question of amnesty for political prisoners. At the same time it was decided that a delegation from labor organizations be selected to go with the Socialist Party committee. This delegation will be arranged for at once.

Five million leaflets have already been prepared for distribution it was reported, and many millions more will be distributed as soon as possible. A campaign pamphlet by Irwin St. John Tucker is already on the press, and another will shortly go to press. The 1920 Campaign Book, entitled "A Political Guide for the Workers" has been prepared by a committee of the National Office, and it will shortly go to press. It will be a splendid assembling of facts, statistics and arguments for the Socialist Party position. The committee voted that this volume, which will be sold for 50c, will be given free as a premium to anyone who sends in a campaign subscription list of \$10.00 or more.

Two resolutions were adopted, one a call to action, and the other on the Polish-Russian War showing the indomitable spirit of our party.

The committee meeting was the occasion for a great and enthusiastic mass meeting in Arena Gardens, one of Detroit's largest halls, at which a collection of more than \$1200.00 was taken to aid in the 1920 Debs Campaign. At the same time, the committeemen addressed eight large street meetings.

It is the opinion of everyone that this meeting of the National Executive Committee moved the Socialist Party work forward tremendously.