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Crime As Affected By Economic Conditions

By Justice Jacob Panken

Criminologists of the old school have maintained that criminal propensities—that is, criminal instincts—are hereditary. Crime was punished. The correction of those charged with the commission of crime, instead of their punishment, is a comparatively new theory in the treatment of criminals.

Crime, like witchcraft or insanity, was deemed to be a visitation from the devil. Like those charged with the practice of witchcraft, felons

were sought to be dispossessed of the devil that had found lodgment in them.

In recent years it has been successfully proved that the tendency to commit crime is largely due to a lack of sense of social responsibility, sometimes because of deficient mental grasp, sometimes due to hereditary traits and very often and by far the

larger percentage due to environment.

Criminal acts can be eliminated to a large degree if conditions that are the cause of crime are removed.

Hereditary instincts, barring casual reversion to type or atavism, are removable when considered in the light of environment as the producing cause. It may take some generations to eradicate a trait communicated by one generation to the other, but it can be done.

That is also true as regards mental deficiency or lack of social responsibility.

Eugenics, together with proper environment, (and eugenic marriages are only possible in proper environment) raise the mental caliber and social responsibility in the individual.

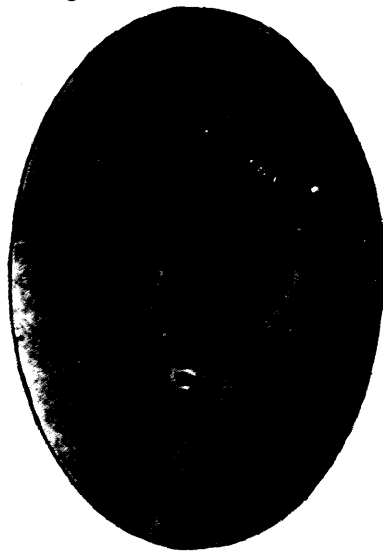
In this article I concern myself entirely with the economic influence upon the extent of crime and criminals. While environment and economic conditions are inseparable, for the latter reflects the former, yet, it is the direct and indisputable facts that are to be brought to the attention of the reader.

In the State of New York a reformatory is maintained to which boys between the ages of 16 and 30 are committed for infractions of the law. It was intended that first offenders only make up the population of the reformatory. The theory was that a reformatory with educational, vocational and other facilities would reclaim most of those who ran counter to the law at an early age. In practice many who are offenders against the law for the fourth, fifth and sixth time are also committed to this reformatory and of course have a detrimental effect upon the first offenders.

Why habitual or old offenders should be committed to the Elmira reformatory, contrary to the theory upon which it was organized, is hard to say excepting possibly that the discipline and rigor as compared with other penal institutions is much less stringent and criminals or offenders against the law who can pull wires are able to obtain for themselves an easy berth, so to speak. It will happen, of course, that a confirmed criminal will benefit from a sojourn at the Elmira reformatory because of the more humane treatment that is accorded to its inmates. The damage, however, done by confirmed criminals to the casual delinquent is incalculable.

Recently I paid a visit to the Elmira reformatory and made a rather careful survey of the institution. In the various departments and class rooms, excepting for the grayness of prison walls and bars on the windows, one would hardly think himself in prison. I have seen young boys and

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Justice Jacob Panken



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EDITORIAL

The election is over, and the people have spoken. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, it happens that Warren Gamaliel Harding comes to the Presidency with the most divine mandate an American has ever received.

It happens, however, that the staggering vote for Harding can in no sense be considered an endorsement of that stodgy nonentity. The mounting millions of his majority are a magnificent tribute to two things—the superb organizing ability of the plutocracy, and the unconquerable bone-headedness of millions of American people.

Voters did not look at the cold, hard, sneering face of Senator Harding when they voted, nor did they remember the strike-breaking exploits of his associate upon the national ticket. They remembered the misdeeds of the Wilson administration, its record of betrayal of the people's faith, and then they voted for the opponent of his party, thereby nimbly leaping out of the frying pan into the fire.

Something is needed in America, and needed badly. It is Socialist organization, and Socialist education.

Without Socialist education, countless millions will continue to Vote for Wilson Because He Kept us out of War; and Vote for Harding because Wilson Betrayed Us; and then they will vote for some Democratic betrayer in 1924 because they will have found out the nature of the gang they elected in 1920—and so on, time without end. Amen.

Unless a Socialist organization gets to work everywhere in the country. Unless (or rather, until) there is a Socialist organization in every corner of America, that will teach the workers, not only to turn the rascals out, but also, not to turn other rascals in.

At this writing, a week after election, it is increasingly manifest that there is only one thing that matters in American political and industrial life. That is, a powerful Socialist movement, a movement that will function.

If we don't get that, we may as well make up our minds that we are headed straight to disaster.

AN IMPORTANT ANNIVERSARY

On November 28th, the Socialist world will commemorate the centenary of the birth of Friedrich Engels, the comrade and co-worker of Karl Marx.

A quarter of a century after the death of Engels it is becoming increasingly evident that he was fully as great a man as Marx, and that only his innate modesty and his loyalty to his friend caused him voluntarily to submerge himself and subordinate his work to that of Marx.

In the December number of THE SOCIALIST WORLD there will be a number of articles on the life and work of Engels.

CRIME AS AFFECTED BY ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(Continued from page 1)

men with intelligently keen faces and souls that cry out from the eyes as they settled upon you. I have seen less hardened faces at the reformatory among the 700 that are at present incarcerated there than one can often see in five minutes watching upon a busy street corner.

It is remarkable that when I suggested a recreation period after supper for the inmates (and the supper hour is between five and six) the superintendent, who is apparently a very able and kindly man, concurred, but regretted his inability to carry out the suggestion because of the lack of additional help. Ten more officers would enable these sixteen year old boys, and those of mature age, to spend two hours after supper in the open instead of being locked up in their cells for the night, beginning with six o'clock.

The State of New York, although importuned to appropriate funds for such additional help, as I was told, did not do so.

Like wild beasts, young men, some mere children, are denied recreation possibilities because of a few thousand dollars per annum.

Dr. Christian, the Superintendent, has prepared a pamphlet under the title "Characteristics of the Population of the Elmira Reformatory, 1920," which bears directly on the causes of crime.

On page 10 he has this to say: During the years when labor was in demand and wages high the records show a less number of commitments to penal institutions, and conversely. When industrial conditions are at a low ebb the unemployed are frequently in conflict with the law. The least desirable of the unemployed, those first dispensed with when work becomes slack are the number from which the reformatory population is largely recruited."

Dr. Christian then calls the attention to very significant figures. He says that during the year 1908, immediately after the great financial and industrial crisis upon the country, the Elmira Reformatory received 1,500 inmates, the capacity; while during the years of 1916-1919, when jobs were plentiful and men needed the wages because of demand for help had been increased, the greatest number of inmates received did not exceed in one year 700.

The above speaks for itself. It is an argument which is indisputable, an indictment against our industrial and economic conditions that is indefensible. One institution received 800 more inmates per annum in time of industrial depression

as against years when industrial conditions were favorable. In this instances more than double the number of criminals was made by society in its inattention to the need of industrial and economic changes.

Dr. Christian further says: "It appears that the size of the reformatory population has always been and probably will continue to be greatly affected by industrial conditions. We get the lowest stratum of society, a stratum that for one reason or another cannot or will not adjust itself to social conditions; in extraordinary times like these in the last few years the adjustment is easier. The line of cleavage, therefore, naturally runs low down—all of the foregoing must be qualified by this consideration, there may be some danger in basing plans of a permanent character on a war situation."

It would appear that the world war has helped to reduce the number of ordinary criminals because of the enhanced industrial activity.

There can hardly be any reason assigned why in periods of peace time economic stringencies should be permitted to exert so baneful an influence upon our youth as to drive them to crime.

Of course, education is a determining factor in the life of man. Statistics compiled from the records kept by the Elmira Reformatory disclose a set of significant facts. The average age of the inmate is 20 years. Out of 20,000 consecutive prisoners about a dozen only attended college, not more than three out of 20,000 had actually graduated from a college. Dr. Christian remarks that the unfailing characteristics of most of our inmates are ignorance of the common subjects taught in schools.

"Industrially," he says, "these boys may be nearly all included with the unskilled laborers, more than 60 per cent being common laborers, servants or idlers, while less than 20 per cent of the number knew a trade or possessed sufficient industrial training to enable them to earn a livelihood. They, therefore, ranged from the last employed to the unemployed."

To construe the above it would be well to say that the population of our prisons are those who are the last hired and first to be fired.

On the question of education, it is well to refer to the statistical table prepared by the Psychiatrist of the Reformatory, Dr. Harding. This table

is based upon an examination of 1,000 consecutively received prisoners at the reformatory.

Those who have attended high school 65;

Those who have attended grammar school, 252;

Those who have attended common school, 322;

Those who have attended primary school, 318;

Utterly illiterate, 43.

In discussing this phase of the statistics prepared by Dr. Harding with him he told me that the average education of inmates is not above that of fourth grade.

On the question of industrial capacity—that is, equipment with which to go into the world and earn a livelihood—statistics disclose these facts:

That out of 1,000, three-hundred and eighty-four were self-sustaining; semi-dependent, 419; totally dependent, 197.

On the question of health, the statistical table discloses that at least 75 per cent of the inmates are physically defective; those suffering with lung diseases make up 4 per cent of the population of the reformatory.

The physical condition of the inmates statistically, is as follows:

Good, 151, or 15 per cent;

Fair, 415, or 42 per cent;

Poor, 434, or 43 per cent.

The children of the poor, the underpaid, the large families are rarely able even to graduate in public schools. They are sent to the shops and mills and factories at a tender age, often on perjured certificates; and even during the period of their school attendance malnutrition, improper housing produce a subnormal physical condition and thus the power to assimilate knowledge is impaired.

Industrial and economic conditions are not only in a measure but almost entirely responsible for crime and criminals. A rational economic order with the possibilities that the inventive genius of man has provided will guarantee to the youth of the country a liberal education and economic independence.

Crime and criminals are the children of ignorance, poverty and oppression.

ANOTHER ONE CAUGHT

During the "left wing scrap," there was a "left winger" in the St. Louis local who was particularly aggressive in his assaults upon the party and its "moderate" policy. His name was Joseph Krieg; active, aggressive and able, he gave great strength to the "wingers" by his mere presence among them.

He is now exposed as another "under cover agent", with which the "communist" ranks were over filled.

The following from the minutes from Local St. Louis tells the story:

"Joseph Krieg, 1857 Menard Street, member of Machinists' Union No. 41, who had also been a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Union from that organization, was charged at a meeting of the union held August 20th with being a spy and in the employ of the Industrial Service Corporation, a company that furnishes spies to factory employers. A committee of five was elected to hear the charges on Sept. 12; the trial was held; Krieg made a confession to the committee and acknowledged the charges were true, but that he was only spying on the men working in the shop, not on the union. (Since then Krieg has stated to several of our former members, that he was not spying on the men in the shop, but on the union officials.) The committee of the Union offered him a very fair proposition, to-wit: If he would give them the definite assurances that he had

quit this work, and would give them other information which they desired, they would deal very leniently with him. This Krieg refused to do. The committee made its report to the meeting of the union held Sept. 17, 1920, and Krieg was by unanimous motion expelled from membership of Union No. 41. This same Joseph Krieg joined our Socialist Party

May 26th, 1917; he was a member of the 8th and 9th Ward Branch and was a delegate to our General Committee from January 1919 to August 1919. He voted consistently with the left-wing group and quit the party with them when the split occurred in August of last year." Next?

SOCIALISTS, PREPARE!

By William F. Kruse

The Socialist Party is a voluntary membership organization whose progress and activity depends almost entirely upon the efforts of its members. People do not belong to it because they have to, but because they want to, and nothing can prevent their leaving the organization and its work at any time they are so minded.



Wm. F. Kruse

Yet thousands of workingmen and women have sacrificed their all for this movement without any thought of recompense. Ben Hanford gave his life, Gene Debs his liberty, and whole legions of brave men and women have sacrificed careers, jobs, wealth, social and family connections, everything in order that they might be true to this political movement of the masses. They had no desire for personal betterment either in this world (as with the labor unions), or in any other (as in the churches). Their only reason for the sacrifice is that mankind might be free.

There is no freedom, in any real sense, to be found in this country today. Our readers are all fully familiar with the destruction of the civil rights won by our forefathers, of the annihilation of our constitutional liberties by those in power. Even our political government is today representative only of the ruling minority, how much more is this true of the more important phase of life—the industrial. Heretofore its was our boast that while we were wage slaves 365 days a year, on Election Day we played the part of free citizens. There is work to be done. There is freedom to be won.

The inhuman, wasteful, inefficient, unjust system of society that we live under to-day, Capitalism, under which a few men are allowed to control the lives of millions through their ownership of the tools of life, must be wiped out. There is no longer any excuse for robbing the workers of the products of their labor. No man should be permitted to own what he did not himself produce and cannot himself make use of. In an industrial society any class that owns the tools of production is the master class.

But why do 2 per cent of the people own the important social wealth of this country? They did not make the land. They did not invent the machinery, nor do they build or run it. Labor

does these things. Workers produce, capitalists for the most part only waste and gamble. Why don't the workers own the tools they make and use?

What is ownership anyway? Except for one thing ownership is but a scrap of paper. That one thing is very vital, however. Ownership is but the control of a governmental power that will guarantee the owner possession of his property if someone else tries to take it from him.

To illustrate: Once upon a time all land in this country was owned by the Indians. Why? Because their government guaranteed them the possession of it and protected them in its possession. Along came the white man, overthrew the Indians' government, and then he owned the land. Again, some years ago all land in Russia, practically, was owned by the nobility. In 1917 that system came to an end and the ownership was based upon use, the peasants owned their land. Why? Because the government of the nobility had been overthrown and that of the workers and peasants had taken its place.

Only one thing is wrong with America to-day—the ownership of important social tools. Their value is based on labor, they were produced originally by labor, they are used daily by labor, they are necessary to the life of the working people, they should be owned by labor. Ownership is a political question, a question of governmental control; if the workers would own their own tools they must first own their own government. Hence the need of a proletarian political party, distinct from and opposed to all capitalist parties, whose mission it is to take control of government from its present holders, the capitalists, and vest it in the hands of the workers.

The members of the Socialist Party realize that politics is the machinery by which government is captured and controlled, provided that this politics is carried on and backed up by organized, enlightened, class-conscious working masses, and administered by uncompromising, incorruptible, able and far-seeing representatives.

It is therefore the duty of every member of the Party to educate himself in the principles of Socialism, and the practice of organization, educational, industrial, and political activities so that he may intelligently pass upon and control the actions of elected representatives, as well as to fill such positions himself when called upon.

Most of our members, unfortunately, feel their



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duty done when they sign an application card and keep their red book stamped up. That may have been enough in the former agitational period, but not now when we enter the period of action and responsibility.

Every member should study now for both cultural foundation and administrative training. He should have a solid foundation of Socialism, and that includes at least knowledge of history, economics, and civics.

But the democracy of tomorrow is an industrial democracy and the industrial executive will far eclipse the speech-making politician in importance. Every Socialist should therefore study the technique of his own line of work and prepare himself for responsible administrative positions in it. By his resolute championship of the interests of his fellow-workers he should win their confidence in his ability and leadership, so that when industry passes, by one means or another, into the control of the workers he will be the logical spokesman for the workers associated with him. This is no time for delay. We should use every possible moment for preparation now, lest the Big Change engulf us long before we are ready for it.

This seemingly deliberate slurring over of the means by which this change is to be effected may disappoint some of our readers. The reason why it is not gone into is because it is immaterial and controversial. In some way or another this change will come, whether we will it or not, whether we help or hinder; things cannot go indefinitely as they are. It may come as the result of a parliamentary victory used to transfer ownership of industry to the workers. It may come as the result of a violent class conflict precipitated by our enemy even as the Civil War was brought on as the last defense of the slave power. It may come as the result of labor union competition with capitalist concerns on the productive field by such efforts as the Amalgamated Co-operative Clothing Factories, the brick-yards of the Brick and Clay Workers Union; and on the distributive field by the constantly extending co-operative wholesale and retail stores system. It may follow the lines of the recent "lock-in" movement of the Italian workers. Whichever method, the result will be very nearly the same, the problems will be essentially the same, and it is the duty of the Socialists to prepare for them now.

Nor should I be misunderstood as minimizing in the slightest degree the value and need of political activity. Each of the above suggested possible measures require the co-operation of a

strongly organized, and ably conducted political movement. The problem is one of ownership, and this is entirely a political problem. Already co-operatives are being hedged around with restrictive legislation. The same will menace the labor unions both in their own factories and on the battle line with the bosses. Even a violent settlement would require political forms to formulate the gains of the people. The field of proletarian politics offers the best training ground for the proletarian statesmanship of tomorrow.

But above and beyond all these ultimate functions of political activity, the great immediate task is to convince the American people that Socialism is the right way out. We will never realize our aims in government and industry until they become the aims of the people. What better avenue of education, of integration with the masses, is there than the fire and fury of a great political campaign? While strike meetings, too, offer a splendid chance for educational work, the minds of the workers are generally too much taken up with the details of the bread-and-butter fight to dwell long on economic theory. And the incidental election of our representatives to office in the course of our campaigns gives an additional chance to convince the people of the soundness and desirability of our aims, and the utter hopelessness of progress under capitalism. We at the same time keep a certain modicum of power out of the hands of our enemy and use it, to whatever extent possible, on behalf of our own class.

The Socialist Party will ever be just what its members make it. Its activity is the sum total of your work. Its power and effectiveness in the crisis will depend on your ability and preparation now. Study Socialism. Study industry, yours in particular, and all industry in general, production and distribution. Study government. Build up your political party. Build up your industrial unions. Build up your co-operatives, productive and distributive. Build up your schools, newspapers, theaters, and all other social agencies that must eventually replace those of the dying social order. Expect no help from your enemy or his satellites. Rely on yourselves. Win the confidence of your fellow-workers. Show them the goal and help them to prepare. Socialism is no longer a dream. The first rays of dawn will disclose it as a living reality. We are now in that darkest hour that comes before dawn, but we do not lose faith in the dawning. We must prepare for it. Control of the earth is the right of Labor. His duty, YOUR duty, is to prepare to exercise that control.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

by The Editor

A Poet's Socialism

The Meaning of Socialism, by J. Bruce Glasier, Thomas Seltzer, publisher.

The Socialist world lost a rare soul when J. Bruce Glasier passed away a few weeks ago. A poet and a dreamer, nevertheless he was a sound thinker and economist, and Glasier wrote down

his faith in Socialism in this fine book.

It is difficult to think of Glasier without at the same time thinking of two of the greatest spirits that ever soared above the earth, William Morris and J. Keir Hardie, and the author of this beautiful book caught something of the fire and the beauty of Morris and Hardie in this work. It is a

statement of Socialism as seen through the eyes of a lover of the world, and a lover of mankind. Glasier's devotion to Socialism, to which he finally gave his life, was something like the devotion of our beloved Gene Debs, and the late Ben Hanford, and the other men and women who served by their services, and even more, by their example.

Read these words, and catch the spirit of the book: "Socialism, therefore, is religion—not that part of religion that relates to our beliefs concerning God, immortality, and the mystery of the unseen universe, but that part, the all-essential, practical part of it that concerns the right state of our relation to our fellows, the right moral health of our souls.

"Yet it may be better to say with William Morris that Socialism is fellowship, and that fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death. Fellowship is heaven, and the lack of fellowship hell.

"Therefore I bid you not dwell in hell, but in heaven, or while ye must, upon earth, which is a part of heaven, and forsooth, no foul part."

It is interesting to mention the fact that Glasier was an active worker in the organization of the Independent Labour Party, serving as its chairman for a number of years.

A Far Fetched Comparison

Our Great War and the Great War of the Ancient Greeks, by Professor Gilbert Murray, New York, Thomas Seltzer.

This book is the substance of an Oxford lecture delivered by the foremost Greek scholar in the world. It is a fancied comparison between the world war and the Peloponnesian war of twenty centuries ago. The lecture is thoroughly delightful and informing—but the comparison is a bit far fetched.

The Non Partisan League

The Non-Partisan League, by Herbert E. Gaston. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

This book, by the editor of the Non-Partisan League publications, is a racy and readable account of the organization that has made political history, that is still making history, and whose final chapter is still to be written. The organization is interesting, and so is the book.

A JIMMIE OF THE YELLOWS

One Hundred Per Cent. By Upton Sinclair. Published by the Author, Pasadena, Cal.

When Upton Sinclair wrote "The Jungle" nearly fifteen years ago, people who sneered said that its success was purely accidental. "I aimed at the people's heart" said Sinclair, "and hit them in the stomach", and many persons took this chance remark of the author as an explanation and classification of one of the most significant writers of our time.

Many things have happened since 1906, and Sinclair has written about nearly all of them. As the years rolled on, his power has grown, until today his work stands out as solid, substantial, press!

worthy of being classed as the best literature. But more than that, Sinclair, always the Socialist, has ripened and deepened in his philosophy.

"One Hundred Per Cent" is a book that is written around something temporary, the madness of official America during war time. It is, fundamentally, a record of some of the things that A. Mitchell Palmer has been responsible for lately, and as such, largely political. But in a deeper sense, it is the record of a nation's psychology when it goes mad with war, and as such, it will be remembered with shame when we become sane again, shame for the things it records.

Sinclair has taken Peter Gudge (a real person, he tells us) who is the Jimmie Higgins of the yellows and tells us his story. He is a spy in the radical movement. He is an informer, a sneak, a useful citizen to those who are upholding free Americanism by the club and the bludgeon. Every incident in the book is authentic, and an appendix gives the facts, with names and references, to check up the slightly camouflaged details in the book.

Read the book, and determine, once and for all, that the task of every self respecting American is to make Americans self respecting again. But do not take up the volume unless you are prepared to sit up with it all night, because it's the kind of a book that you never lay down until you are finished with it.

THE STEEL STRIKE

Remember the steel strike? It was an outbreak of Bolshevism, wasn't it? Well, that's what all the papers said.

Well, it wasn't. But only those who can spend \$2.50 can get proof that it wasn't.

The Interchurch World Movement was a pure capitalist affair. Capitalists begged for money for it and gave more money to keep it going. Then, it died a sudden and mysterious death.

The I. W. M. investigated the steel strike! They found that the workers were altogether in the right—the bosses altogether in the wrong. They wrote the report. Then the movement was dissolved, and the report wasn't published. There's a moral there.

Harcourt, Brace and Howe, of New York, then published the report under the title of "The Steel Strike of 1919." Get it, and keep it. It is a text book of (1) Capitalist depravity, (2) Capitalist rottenness, and (3) Capitalist mendacity. If the book does not make you a rebel for life against the system that caused that rottenness and depravity and mendacity, you are a defective.

Likewise, William Z. Foster (remember him?) wrote a book (The Great Steel Strike—B. W. Huebsch) that told the story from the standpoint of the workers. Get that book, too, and check up against the Interchurch book. The bishops and ministers would naturally have sided with the employers. A bias would have been naturally expected. And yet—

There's a lesson there. Build up the party

The Interchurch Movement and Steel

By James Oneal

The report of the commission of the Interchurch World Movement on the steel strike is likely to mark an era in the relations between the church and capitalism in this country. It marks a beginning of a division in the religious world on modern wage slavery. The church faced a similar question in the days of black chatteldom. It split the church into two factions, pro-slavery and anti-slavery. With the inexorable power of a natural law the monstrous capitalist oligarchy of steel is forcing the same division today.

A striking coincidence is also found in the fact that Judge Gary of the United States Steel Corporation recently left for Europe. He was undoubtedly aware of the contents of this

report and he likely thought that Europe would be a more pleasant place of sojourn until the storm subsided. Nearly 30 years ago Andrew Carnegie, who laid the foundations of the steel oligarchy, left for Scotland, while his hired thugs waged battle with his serfs and civil war raged in Allegheny County.

Those who read this report cannot help but admire its scientific character. It is a model statement of facts, analysis of evidence, and drawing of conclusions. Considering the intense provocation many of the investigators met in their work and the backstairs sabotage of the whole investigation by the Civic Federation and powerful organs of capitalism, there was danger of invective creeping into the report. But the authors of the report have maintained their scientific perspective despite all provocations and have given us a document wherein naked facts utterly damn the steel industry, the finished product of modern capitalist robbery.

The central fact that stands out like a mountain peak in this report is the interrelation of the capitalist proprietors, capitalist journalism, private detective agencies, the spies of Palmer, many servile churches, the government of Pennsylvania, city and county officials in the steel areas, other capitalist firms and banks, with tremendous influence and power radiating from the central oligarchy of steel. All combined into a web of intimate relationship constitute a well organized, consolidated coalition of capitalist power, poised on the backs of helpless masses of workingmen, enduring an acute exploitation unknown to any other country or any other age of history. Coupled with this is the fact that this power also radiated through the entire steel industry of the country. Its policies were followed by others. It set the pace. Nearly 200,000 slaves of this central capitalist power alone work under this ruthless regime. One half work a 12-hour day and 7-day week and the percentage working these hours has

increased instead of decreased since 1910.

No other country can parallel this brutal and merciless exploitation. The same journals that give space to this report also report that "profits in steel set new records." The corporation's report for the last quarter shows net earnings of \$43,155,705. In the first quarter they were 42 millions and in the second quarter 34 millions. The "ultimate control of the plants are vested in a small group of financiers whose relation to the producing force was remote." These absentee owners perform no service, yet they are poised as parasites on hundreds of thousands of workers, 72 per cent of whom have for years received earnings below the level set by the government experts as the minimum of comfort required for families of five. The exploiters of Negro slaves three generations ago at least provided for a minimum existence for their blacks.

Since the Homestead class war of 1892 the slaves of steel have little more to say of wages, hours and conditions than the ingots and plates they produced. Spies have dogged their heels in the plants, on the streets, and in their places of recreation. City, county and state officials have administered their offices a sdepartments of the steel oligarchy. The state cossacks and local police have served it. Free assemblage and free discussion are unknown. Newspapers have been bulletins to record the will of the oligarchs, to manufacture steel opinion, and to indulge in intellectual coercion of the slaves. Politics has been the politics of steel and public administration the rule of the absentee masters.

This rule of a small capitalistic coterie has been as absolute as the feudal robbers of the crags. The terrible physical drain on the vitality of the slaves in the steel hells is the most exhausting of any industry. The human ferment at the bottom of these slave pens must rise at some time. It rose last year in the strike. What happened we know. Instinctively responding in loyalty to the supreme sovereignty of steel, capitalist journalism spewed its venom on the revolting slaves. They were "disloyal." A "Bolshevik conspiracy" was found in Pittsburg and Gary. Palmer's spies apparently worked with the spies of the steel corporation. General Wood was sent to Gary to suppress meetings of the strikers. Petty city and county officials broke up meetings, suppressed all civil rights, while Gary filled servile organs with lying statements regarding the issues of the struggle and had "nothing to arbitrate."

When the Interchurch commission began its investigation, a commission mostly composed of clergymen, its members were advertised as "anarchists." We know the direct part which the Civic Federation played in this game of caring for the "spiritual" welfare of the oligarchs. A "confidential letter" campaign was inaugurated urging capitalists and bankers not to subscribe to

the Interchurch campaign. The financial affairs of the movement became precarious and the movement itself finally collapsed. The web of consolidated banking and capitalist interests strangled it. Class solidarity, the "class consciousness" of the capitalist class, was asserted.

This produced a crisis in the movement. Would the commission go ahead with its investigation and submit an unbiased report in spite of this subtle capitalistic terrorism? To the credit of these clergymen be it said that they refused to barter their Christ for the favors of the oligarchs. No trading favors in return for a share in the profits of this daily system of hell. With the courage of Beecher, Parker, Everett and other notable clergymen in the anti-slavery struggle, they withstood the bribery and coercion of this slave power.

And what of those at Washington that are ensnared in this story of foul journalism; official and private spies; concealment of official reports which the commission urges should be published; co-operation with the political tool of the steel oligarchy, and intimidation by the military forces of the nation? Do we have in them a reincarnation of Buchanan and Pierce, Hayne and McDuffie, the Washington representatives of an old slave power? What of that "democracy" that has been peddled in Europe three years by the nation's official spokesman?

The reports, for which publicity is urged, include an investigation of civil liberties in Western Pennsylvania made to the Secretary of Labor; a report of George P. West to the War Labor Board; testimony of the Senate committee's strike investigation of which only 1,000 copies have been printed, and Senate Document 259, of which only a very small number has been available.

This latter report shows the enormous profits of the great corporations for the past few years, one steel company's return showing as high as 290,999 per cent! This valuable information is withheld. Why? Is it because the sovereignty

of the steel oligarchs over cities, states, newspapers, civic organizations, politicians and parties extends to the Washington administration also? Our readers may draw their own conclusions.

We have said that this report marks a historical epoch in the development of capitalism. Note how it dovetails with the developments in other fields. The two political organizations of capitalism presents the aspect of dry rot and decay. Large numbers are undoubtedly deserting them. Conservative unions, identified with backward policies of a past era, are seething with an insurgent ferment. Now comes this schism in the institutional church and a refusal to allow consolidated capitalist patrioteering to establish its religion of steel.

In all these fields the breaking up of capitalism and the alignment of new forces directed against the dominion of the great banks, railroads, corporations and mercenary political brokers is seen. A turn in the evolution of capitalist society is being effected before our eyes. The great human forces on which the monstrous offshoot of American capitalism rests are stirring. The church could no more avoid this struggle than it could avoid it before the civil war. The forces of human liberation are gathering for the irrepressible conflict of Socialism vs. Capitalism.

In each field these forces rest their claims upon the working class and its right to security, leisure, culture, political and economic freedom. Not all the dark powers of coercive opinion and cowardly terror can stay the onward march of the forces released by the shock of the mighty world conflict, forces that are now finding a new and nobler expression in America.

Ultimately these forces will be gathered within the fold of the liberating Socialist movement, based on the claims of the working class and all humanity for release from the dominion and dictatorship of the powerful oligarchs. Speed the day of consummation!

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

By Sir Philip Gibbs

(Editor's Note: Herewith we print, with the kind permission of Harper's, owners of the copyright, a portion of Sir Philip Gibbs' greatest of war books, "Now it Can be Told." These two passages, from page 208 et seq., and 444 et seq.,

give a vivid picture of the war that not only revolutionized the world politically, but undermined the faith of many men in things that they had hitherto considered sacred . . . Readers of THE SOCIALIST WORLD are urged to secure the book, and read it from cover to cover.)

* * *

On the other side of the barbed wire the Germans were more miserable, not because their plight was worse, but because I think they lacked the English sense of humor. In some places they had the advantage of our men in better trenches, with better drains and dugouts—due to an industry with which ours could never compete.

Here and there, as in the ground to the north of Hooge, they were in a worse state, with such rivers in their trenches that they went to enormous trouble to drain the Bellewarde Lake which used to slop over in the rainy season. Those field-

(Continued on page 15)

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J. Chas. Poole, Pittsfield, Mass.	7.00			Total for Oct.	\$16,294.92
				Previously Acknowled.	\$39,528.50
				Total to Oct. 31.....	\$55,823.42



The Socialist Party and Moscow

(Statement issued by the N. E. C. in reply to an inquiry by the Executive Committee of the Finnish Socialist Federation.)

The National Executive Committee has been requested to state clearly the attitude of the Party on the question of affiliation with the Communist International. In doing so, the committee desires to call attention to the fact that the Soviet Government of Russia and the Communist International are two entirely distinct and separate organizations. The Soviet Government was in existence eighteen months before the formation of the Communist International and its continued existence does not necessarily depend upon either the success or the failure of the Communist International.

To the Soviet Government the Socialist Party of America has given its unwavering support as evidenced by resolutions of sympathy and comradeship and by persistent and reiterated demands upon our government for the withdrawal of troops, the lifting of the blockade, the resumption of trade relations and the recognition of the Soviet Government. This position has not been based upon our complete approval of every act and policy of the Soviet Government but upon the unquestionable right of the Russian workers to establish such a government and such administration and institutions as they deem necessary to secure and maintain their liberty and happiness.

The Communist International on the other hand has not to do with the internal affairs of the Russian people but with the interests of the revolutionary workers of the entire world. It is not only the right but the duty of the revolutionary workers of the various countries to insist upon the opportunity of participating in the organization of an international body with which they desire to affiliate and to demand a voice in determining the policies of the body of which they are to form a part.

In accordance with this principle, the Party adopted, by referendum closing May 30th, 1919, the following resolution:

Referendum "D," 1919.

"That the Socialist Party shall participate only in an International congress or conference called by or in which participate the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacan)."

Following the adoption of this resolution, the Communist Party of Russia called an International Conference for the purpose of forming a new Socialist International. It did not notify the Socialist Party of the United States of the Conference nor invite us to send delegates. The first unofficial reports of this conference and of the formation of the Communist International were at hand when the Emergency Convention met in Chicago in 1919. Two resolutions on Interna-

tional affiliation were presented to this convention.

The Majority resolution provided for participation in the calling of an international conference. The object of such conference was the formation of a new International to which delegates should be invited from the Communist parties of Russia and Germany and from those Socialist parties in all countries which have remained true to the principle of the class struggle. The resolution excluded from participation any party which participates in a government coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie.

The Minority resolution provided for direct and immediate affiliation with the Communist International, making reservations in the following language:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third International, not so much because it supports the 'Moscow' programs and methods, but because:

(a) 'Moscow' is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

(b) 'Moscow' is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

(c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come."

Both resolutions were submitted to a referendum of the membership and the Minority Resolution was adopted. Following the adoption of the Minority Resolution, the Executive Secretary on March 4, 1920, forwarded a formal application for affiliation to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow. When the National Convention met in New York on May 10th, 1920, no official communication had yet been received from Moscow, but the convention had before it unofficially various statements and declarations by the Executive Committee and by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Zinoviev.

The New York Convention

Two reports on international affiliation were submitted to this convention. The Majority Report, while declaring for affiliation with the Communist International, did so with the following reservations:

"In view of the above considerations, the Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates to be elected.

(a) To insist that no formula such as 'the dictatorship of the proletariat in the

form of soviets or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted as condition of affiliation with the Third International.

(b) To participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one International, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented."

The Minority resolution was identical with that adopted by referendum following the Chicago convention. Both these resolutions were submitted to a referendum of the membership which resulted in the adoption of the Majority Report. At the present time, and until it is changed by National Convention or referendum, the resolution last adopted states the official position of the Party. This declaration and all other declarations adopted by the Party in National Convention or by referendum vote, are mandatory and binding upon this committee. We have no authority and we have no desire to assume the authority to alter or abolish them. However, the committee does consider that it has, at its discretion, a certain latitude as to time and manner in the execution of adopted policies or declarations.

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee held in Pittsburgh August 21st to 24th, immediately following the adoption of the Majority resolution, the committee having in mind the uncertainty of communication, the difficulty of securing passports, the unsettled and transitional period through which the international movement is now passing, as well as the smallness of the vote cast in the referendum, exercised its discretion and adopted the following motion:

By Oneal—"In view of the extremely small vote cast in the referendum, and the slight majority by which the Majority report was adopted, that no action be taken by the Executive Committee regarding International affiliation until such time as the committee may have before it some definite proposal to be considered."

Since the Pittsburgh meeting, however, we are in receipt of unofficial reports of resolutions and declarations adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International containing conditions of affiliation for all parties or organizations seeking to affiliate with it. Among these conditions are the following:

Moscow's Terms

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall consistently and purposefully remove from all important, and even less important positions of trust (party-council, editorial staff, trade union, parliamentary factions, co-operatives and municipal council) the reformists and centrists, and shall replace them by tried Communists even at the risk of supplanting, for a while, experienced men by workers picked from the ranks.

3. In countries where, because of martial-law or other "emergency-acts" the Communists have no opportunity to carry on ac-

tion by lawful means, the pooling of lawful and unlawful action is absolutely necessary. In practically every state in Europe and America, the class-struggle has reached the stage, or rather the threshold of civil-war. In this momentous period, the Communists cannot entrust their cause to bourgeois legality. It is their duty everywhere to create, parallel with the lawful organizations, secret organs destined at the decisive moment to play the revolutionary role of the party.

4. We are in need of consistent and unabating propaganda and agitation. Within every group and within every unit a communist kernel must take root. Most of this work will be unlawful, but it would be treason against revolutionary duty and, consequently, against the Third International to shrink therefrom.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of absolute separation from the politics indulged in by the centrists and reformists, and this severance must also be effected among members of organizations. With the fulfillment of these conditions only can there be truly consistent Communist agitation.

The Communist International insistently and without brooking refusal, demands that this breach take place within the shortest possible time. The Communist International cannot tolerate as members of the Third International such inveterate reformists as Turati, Modigliani and others, lest the Third International soon become the counter-part of the Second International.

11. Parties desiring to join the Communist International must sift their parliamentary group in order to remove therefrom all uncertain elements and must place all such groups under the control of the Central Committee, and must also demand of their Communist representatives (congressional) that they place all their service at the disposal of the party for revolutionary propaganda.

12. The entire organization of periodicals and party literature shall be controlled wholly by the Central Committee regardless of the legality or illegality of such committee. The press shall not be permitted to enjoy an autonomy which, if abused, would result in tactics diametrically opposed to that which the party pursues.

13. Parties belonging to the Communist International must have a clear conception of the principles of democratic centralization. In this acute period of civil strife, the Communist Party can fulfill its mission only if its organization is centralized to the fullest extent, if ruled by iron discipline, such as controls the military, and if its central body is vested with the widest possible power and jurisdiction, if its authority is absolute and enjoys the undivided confidence of the militant comrades.

14. Communist parties operating in countries where legal methods can be em-

ployed must from time to time resort to a weeding-out process within their organization in order to rid themselves of all middle-class and bourgeois elements.

16. Parties that have to this day preserved their social-democratic programs must revise the same without delay and, at the same time, draft a new program, one most suitable to the particular conditions existing in each respective country, but in harmony with the spirit of the Communist International. In instances of this sort it should be made a rule to place all parties belonging to the Communist International under the supervision of the International Congress or the Executive Committee. In case the latter refuses the application of a party, the party in question shall have the right to appeal to the Communist International Congress.

17. Resolutions adopted by the congress of the Third International and the Executive Committee thereof are obligatory upon all parties belonging to the Communist International. In this momentous period of civil strife it is imperative that the Third International be far more unified and in its action far more centralized than the Second International ever has been. The Communist International and its Executive Committee must reckon with the divergent conditions of the movement in various countries, and, therefore, final and compulsory decisions can be brought only upon careful consideration.

Terms and Resolution Incompatible

In the opinion of the committee, the conditions of affiliation are absolutely incompatible with the position of our Party as set forth in the Majority Resolution adopted by the last National Convention and approved by referendum. The committee considers these conditions impossible of acceptance by the Socialist Party of the United States. The comrades of the Communist International have assumed the right to dictate the international affairs and policies of the affiliated parties and to force upon us declarations and methods of propaganda which are inapplicable to the conditions in this country.

In the words of Comrade Eugene V. Debs, who is meeting with the committee and advising with us in the preparation of this reply,

Debs' Advice

"The Moscow program wants to commit us to a policy of armed insurrection; the Moscow comrades have arrogated to themselves the right to dictate the tactics, the program, the very conditions of propaganda in all countries. It is ridiculous, arbitrary, autocratic, as ridiculous as if we were to dictate to them how they should carry on their propaganda."

The conditions of affiliation laid down by the Communist International are not only impossible of acceptance by our Party, but in the opinion of the committee, they are a detriment to the Soviet Government. The promulgation of these declarations at a time when opposition to the Soviet Government was lessening and strong movements existed in all Western countries for resumption of trade relations, was a colossal blunder. It tends to disrupt and disorganize the Socialist movements in other countries; it strengthens the reactionaries of all countries, gives them new arguments for reactionary measures of suppression, and impedes the growing tendency for resumption of trade relations.

In view of the conditions of affiliation set forth above, and under the authority of the provisions of the Majority Report recently adopted, which is the declaration of the Party's position, this committee is now authorized to participate in or initiate a movement for the formation of a genuine International Socialist organization. However, we feel that the conditions existing at the time of the Pittsburgh meeting have not changed to any great extent and this committee will therefore await further developments or the receipt of definite proposals from European parties before taking any action relating to international affiliation.

(Signed) EDMUND T. MELMS,
GEORGE E. ROEWER, Jr.,
JAMES ONEAL,
BERTHA H. MAILLY,
W. M. BRANDT,
W. H. HENRY,
JOHN HAGEL,

National Executive Committee Socialist Party.
OTTO BRANSTETTER,
Executive Secretary.

An International Conference at Berne

(Since the adoption of the above statement, the committee is in receipt of an invitation from the Swiss Socialist Party, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain to attend an international conference for the purpose of considering the conditions of affiliation proposed by the Communist International. The Committee is now considering this invitation.—Otto Branstetter.)

The Socialist Party of the United States will participate in an international gathering of So-

cialist representatives in Berne, Switzerland, on December 5th. This was made certain when the members of the National Executive Committee voted to send a delegate to a conference that has been called by the Swiss Socialist Party, the I. L. P. of England and the Independents of Germany.

The Independent Social Democrats of Germany (the anti-Scheidemann-Noske party) sent the following wireless to Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party:

"We invite your party to conference at Berne, December fifth. Independent Social Democrats

—Crispien, Ledebour."

At the same time, a cable was sent to Hillquit as follows: "Central committee of the Swiss Socialist party calls international conference 27th and 28th of November, 1920, at Berne for discussion of International Relations and Third International. Invites American Socialist party to participate. Secretary of the Swiss Socialist Party, Huggler."

The two parties had called the conference independently, but at the request of the Independent Labor Party of England, the two European parties united in their call, and fixed the date as December 5th. The I. L. P. likewise cabled to National Secretary Branstetter, "We strongly urge your party to agree send delegate." Finally, Hillquit received a cable from the Swiss party to the effect that the date had been fixed by agreement of all parties as December 5th.

The Socialist party of the United States voted at its Chicago convention to apply for admission to the Moscow (Communist) International, with certain reservations, reserving the right to this party to adopt its own tactics and methods. Application was made to the Moscow Executive Committee for membership, but receipt of the application has never been acknowledged.

The Moscow organization, however, at its July, 1920, Congress, promulgated articles of affiliation for all parties which practically excludes all Socialist political parties in western Europe and America. The various parties involved in the present move have all withdrawn from the Second International, and in every case, emphatically repudiate the principles of civil peace in war time, and coalition government under all circumstances.

The Socialist party adopted a resolution last

May instructing its executive committee to "participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one international."

The National Executive Committee, upon receipt of these messages, thereupon acted upon the instructions laid down by that resolution, and voted to send a delegate to Berne in a consultative capacity and without power to commit our party to any new alignment or affiliation. Such delegate will make a thorough study of the problems of the Socialist movement abroad, acquaint himself with the present situation as to the position of our party to the European Socialists.

The delegate will report to the party upon his return, act upon the basis of such a report the party will be able to act with more authority on the international matters before it than at any time within the past six years.

The National Executive Committee is voting at this writing, upon the delegate. The three international delegates and the International Secretary of the party elected at the New York convention, find it impossible, because of personal business, to attend, and the new delegate will shortly be selected.

It is believed that the principal business of the conference will be an attempt to get into communication with the Moscow Executive Committee for a thorough discussion and modification of the iron-clad affiliation terms, in order to permit the membership of the Socialist party and other bona fide working class political parties in other countries. It is expected that as a result of the conference a basis will be found for the unity of all genuine Socialist parties in a real international.

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

(Continued from page 8)

gray men had to wade through a Slough of Despond to get to their line, and at night by Hooge where the lines were close together—only a few yards apart—our men could hear their boots squelching in the mud with sucking, gurgling noises.

"They're drinking soup again!" said our humorists.

There, at Hooge, Germans and English talked to one another, out of their common misery.

"How deep is it with you?" shouted a German soldier.

His voice came from behind a pile of sand-bags which divided the enemy from ourselves in a communication trench between the main lines.

"Up to our blooming knees," said an English corporal, who was trying to keep his bombs dry under a tarpaulin.

"So? . . . You are lucky fellows. We are up to our belts in it."

It was so bad in parts of the line during November storms that whole sections of trench collapsed into a chaos of slime and ooze. It was the frost as well as the rain which caused this

ruin, making the earthworks sink under their weight of sand-bags. German and English soldiers were exposed to one another like ants upturned from their nests by a minor landslide. They ignored one another. They pretended that the other fellows were not there. They had not been properly introduced. In another place, reckless because of their discomfort, the Germans crawled upon their slimy parapets and sat on top to dry their legs, and shouted: "Don't shoot! Don't shoot!"

Our men did not shoot. They, too, sat on the parapets, drying their legs, and grinning at the gray ants yonder, until these incidents were reported back to G. H. Q.—where good fires were burning under dry roofs—and stringent orders came against "fraternization." Every German who showed himself was to be shot. Of course, any Englishman who showed himself—owing to a parapet falling in—would be shot, too. It was six of one and half a dozen of the other, as always, in this trench warfare, but the dignity of G. H. Q. would not be outraged by the thought of such indecent spectacles as British and Germans refusing to kill each other on sight. Some of the men obeyed orders, and when a German sat up and said, "Don't shoot!" plugged him through the head. Others were extremely short-

sighted. . . . Now and again Germans crawled over to our trenches and asked meekly to be taken prisoner. I met a few of these men and spoke with them.

"There is no sense in this war," said one of them. "It is misery on both sides. There is no use in it."

That thought of war's futility inspired an episode which was narrated throughout the army in that winter of '15, and led to curious conversations in dugouts and billets. Above a German front-line trench appeared a plank on which, in big letters, was scrawled these words:

"The English are fools."

"Not such bloody fools as all that!" said a sergeant, and in a few minutes the plank was smashed to splinters by rifle-fire.

Another plank appeared, with other words:

"The French are fools."

Loyalty to our allies caused the destruction of that board.

A third plank was put up:

"We're all fools. Let's all go home."

That board was also shot to pieces, but the message caused some laughter, and men repeating it said: "There's a deal of truth in those words. Why should this go on? What's it all about? Let the old men who made this war come and fight it out among themselves, at Hooge. The fighting-men have no real quarrel with one another. We all want to go home to our wives and our work."

But neither side was prepared to "go home" first. Each side was in a trap—a devil's trap from which there was no escape. Loyalty to their own side, discipline, with the death penalty behind it, spell words of old tradition, obedience to the laws of war or to the caste which ruled them, all the moral and spiritual propaganda handed out by pastors, newspapers, generals, staff-officers, old men at home, exalted women, female furies, a deep and simple love for England and Germany, pride of manhood, fear of cowardice—a thousand complexities of thought and sentiment prevented men, on both sides, from breaking the net of fate in which they were entangled, and revolting against that mutual, unceasing massacre, by a rising from the trenches with a shout of, "We're all fools! . . . Let's all go home!"

In Russia they did so, but the Germans did not go home, too. As an army and a nation they went on to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk and their doom. But many German soldiers were converted to that gospel of "We're all fools!" and would not fight again with any spirit, as we found at times, after August 8th, in the last year of war.

* * * *

These studies of mine, of what happened on both sides of the shifting lines in the Somme, must be as horrible to read as they were to write. But they are less than the actual truth, for no pen will ever in one book, or in hundreds, give the full record of the individual agony, the broken heart-springs, the soul-shock as well as the shell-shock, of that frightful struggle in which, on one

side and the other, two million men were engulfed. Modern civilization was wrecked on those fire-blasted fields, though they led to what we called "Victory." More died there than the flower of youth and German manhood. The Old Order of the world died there, because men who came alive out of that conflict were changed, and vowed not to tolerate a system of thought which had led up to such a monstrous massacre of human beings who prayed to the same God, loved the same joys of life, and had no hatred of one another except as it had been lighted and inflamed by their governors, their philosophers, and their newspapers.

The German soldier cursed the militarism which had plunged him into that horror. The British soldier cursed the German as the direct cause of all his trouble, but looked back on his side of the lines and saw an evil there which was also his enemy—the evil of a secret diplomacy which juggled with the lives of humble men so that war might be sprung upon them without their knowledge or consent, and the evil of the rulers who hated German militarism not because of its wickedness, but because of its strength in rivalry and the evil of a folly in the minds of men which had taught them to regard war as a glorious adventure, and patriotism as the right to dominate other peoples, and liberty as a catchword of politicians in search of power.

After the Somme battles there were many other battles as bloody and terrible, but they only confirmed greater numbers of men in the faith that the old world had been wrong in its "make-up" and wrong in its religion of life. Lip service to Christian ethics was not good enough as an argument for this. Either the heart of the world must be changed by a real obedience to the gospel of Christ or Christianity must be abandoned for a new creed which would give better results between men and nations. There could be no reconciling of bayonet-drill and high explosives with the words "Love one another." Or if bayonet-drill and high explosive force were to be the rule of life in preparation for another struggle such as this, then at least let men put hypocrisy away and return to the primitive law of the survival of the fittest in a jungle world subservient to the king of beasts.

The devotion of the military chaplains to the wounded, their valor, their decorations for gallantry under fire, their human comradeship and spiritual sincerity, would not bridge the gulf in the minds of many soldiers between a gospel of love and this argument by bayonet and bomb, gas-shell and high velocity, blunderbuss, club, and trench-shovel. Some time or other, when German militarism acknowledged defeat by the break of its machine, or by the revolt of its people—not until then—there must be a new order of things, which would prevent such another massacre in the fair fields of life, and that could come only by a faith in the hearts of many peoples breaking down old barriers of hatred and reaching out to one another in a fellowship of common sense based on common interests, and inspired

by an ideal higher than this beastlike rivalry of nations. So thinking men thought and talked. So said the soldier-poets who wrote from the trenches. So said many onlookers. The simple soldier did not talk like that unless he were a Frenchman. Our men only began to talk like that after the war—as many of them are now

talking—and the revolt of the spirit, vague but passionate, against the evil that had produced this devil's trap of war, and the German challenge, was subconscious as they sat in their dug-outs and crowded in their ditches in the battles of the Somme.

Why Are We Not Stronger?

By Eugene V. Debs

The labor movement in the United States, in proportion to the working class, is the weakest and most backward in the world. Most workers belong to something in the way of a labor union or a labor party, but there is utter lack of coherency and clarity and unity of aim and purpose when it comes to organization, economic and political, as a whole.



Eugene V. Debs

There has been a Socialist party in the United States for forty-two years, during which time cargoes of literature have been distributed, thousands of speeches made and untold sacrifices and privations in the service of the cause, and we ought to have a powerful, united and aggressive party to show for it, but as we have not, there must be something wrong that will have to be set right before we can succeed in the future

where we have failed in the past.

One reason, and in my opinion a very real one, why we have not better succeeded in organizing the workers, is to be found in our intolerant attitude and ill-tempered spirit toward those of our own class and our own ultimate aim, who differ from us.

Socialists, communists, anarchists, syndicalists and I. W. W., spend more time and energy fighting each other than they do in fighting capitalism. Each faction assumes that it is entirely right and that all others are entirely wrong, a very human way of seeing things, but far better calculated to prevent than to promote the effective organization of the workers.

There are of course and of necessity differences between these various groups of organized workers, and these differences are wholesome and results in clearer understanding and a corresponding unity and solidarity, provided they are met in the right spirit and are made the means of pro-

moting intelligent discussion and acquiring more truth and greater knowledge, thereby building and adding up new strength to the organization.

But if such differences are allowed to provoke ill temper and ugliness of spirit, the result is disastrous if not fatal to efforts to unite the workers in a class-conscious body for a common purpose, and that is what has happened among us and kept the labor movement in a backward state in America.

Why can we not differ without denouncing each other?

Why can we not give those with whom we differ credit for being as honest as ourselves?

Why can we not reason with those with whom we disagree in a decent spirit instead of treating them with ridicule and contempt?

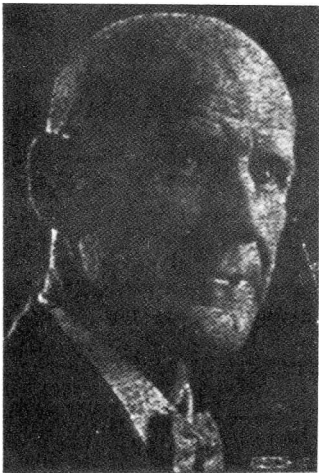
Personally I have equal respect for all who stand four square for the working class and for the overthrow of the capitalist system, whether they be Socialists, communists, anarchists or I. W. W.'s. I don't find it necessary to hate and denounce them because their method differs from mine. They may be right. I don't think they are, but I have been mistaken a good many times in the past and am just as apt to be so now as anyone else.

We can certainly find a large measure of common ground for all these groups if we have the right spirit and seek to convince and win over by argument instead of offending and driving away by abuse.

I read this in a communist paper recently: "The first thing we must do is to smash the Socialist party." The writer of that sentiment will find ready allies in Wall Street, the Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association, and I am inclined to think they would pay a round price for the job. More than likely this comrade who now calls himself a communist, once belonged to the Socialist Party, and now he wants to smash it. His former comrades are either crooks or fools, and he must now devote his time to smashing their party.

The Socialist party is not going to be smashed, either by the capitalists or by their allies in the labor movement. It has cost too dearly to build up, and the same indomitable spirit that built it in the face of all kinds of opposition in the past is going to sustain it against all attacks in the future.

We know that the Socialist party is not all that it should be, but instead of deserting it we are



Eugene V. Debs

going to do our best to make it a clean, virile, uncompromising revolutionary party of the workers in their world-wide struggle for industrial freedom.

I have been reading of another communist comrade who sneers with scorn at the persons from whom and the places where he got his first lessons in Socialism. They seem to appear utterly contemptible in his eyes since he has scaled the peaks of science and now sees it all with a clear eye and an understanding heart. I confess I can not understand that feeling. I have not only a deep sense of gratitude but a sort of reverence for those who gave me the least help or encouragement in finding my way into the Socialist movement, and there shall never be in my heart or upon my lips a sneer for one of them, however far the movement may have left them behind.

There are some comrades who seem to think that loud talk and a raw way of putting things, with a hateful intolerance of all others, is the only real revolutionary method. They have no patience with those of milder manners and quieter ways and dub them "soft heads."

I have known those who could talk blood-raw about the revolution and denounce others of less noisy methods as lacking in "guts," to turn out cowards when the test came.

And I know comrades who are quiet and reserved in manner and speech whom I know to have the highest courage and to be ready to lay down their lives for the cause.

I hope we may have a more decent, tolerant, and truly revolutionary spirit in our attitude toward those with whom we differ in the movement, and that we may devote our whole time and en-

ergy in organizing the workers into one industrial union and one political party for the gigantic struggle which confronts them and which they must win, or remain in slavery.

The most effective way to answer those who sneer at political action is with silence when argument fails. Let them alone and stick to your work of education and organization!

* * * *

I need not say that I am heart and soul with our Russian comrades and the Soviet republic. Lenine and Trotzky are colossal historic figures and their marvelous achievements have struck terror to the ruling class and inspired the workers of all the world.

In May last when our convention met I regretted that the delegates did not see their way clear to apply for admission to the Third International without any reservation. Since seeing the conditions laid down by G. Zinoviev, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow International to the German Independent Socialists and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, I have changed my mind. No American party of the workers can subscribe to those conditions and live.

* * * * *

I am thinking of Mollie Steimer. A child still in her teens, the victim of such a savage sentence, seems unbelievable! Brave little girl, we shall not rest while you are there!

And I am thinking of Tom Mooney and Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow and all the rest of the comrades shut away from the world, and I send them all love and greetings.

Another day is dawning!

JOHN SPARGO AND HIS GREAT FAILURE

By Alexander Trachtenberg

Some years ago the writer invited John Spargo to address a group of students in his rooms on the college campus. The present Bolshevik-baiter was then a leading (sic!) Socialist and prominent platform speaker. In the course of his lecture Spargo grew reminiscent and told us of a Socialist soap-boxer he knew in England who, having tired of speaking to common folk on street corners, aspired to become a lecturer. He asked Spargo to write a lecture for him which he would memorize and deliver to select audiences in halls. Meeting the would-be lecturer a few years afterwards, Spargo was astounded when the lecturer presented him with a printed program of a series of twenty lectures, under diversified and attractive titles. When asked how he was able to get so many persons to write the different lectures, Spargo was told that it was the self-same lecture which he had prepared, except that it bore different titles, which served to attract audiences.

The present volume, the fourth attractive title within the last two years, is but another example

in the series on Russia published by the author of the "authoritative" material used in the mud-slinging campaign against the Soviet Government. If one desired to have an "impartial" and "authoritative" account of the Russian Revolution, and then proceeded to collect and publish all news dispatches and editorials which have appeared in the New York Times, in one volume, Spargo's book could very properly be used as an appendix to this volume.

Social-Democrats who forgot that they were Socialists, Socialists-Revolutionists, who are neither Socialists nor Revolutionists, factional organs bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviks and the Russian Information Bureau, with the motly emigrees who support the anti-Soviet propaganda in this country, were the authorities upon which the author drew for his information. A. J. Sack, "Ambassador" Bakhmetiev's spokesman, and his paper, "Struggling Russia," seem to have been the particular sources upon which Mr. Spargo depended for his "impartial" study. Utterly unknown persons in the Russian Socialist movement are brought forward as celebrated leaders, and quoted at length, while sympathetic

"The Greatest Failure in History" by John Spargo, Harper and Brothers, 477pp. \$2.75

observers are dismissed as "naive" or "ill-informed."

Such writers on Russian affairs as Goode, Ransome, and Lansbury, are sneeringly referred to as "casual visitors" to Russia, and the reader is warned against considering those writings seriously. Residing in Vermont makes one a greater authority on Russian affairs, particularly when one is able to get the "data" from Mr. Sack's Information Bureau. Anti-Bolsheviks who visited Russia are quoted copiously, and those who personally suffered from the present regime are used as witnesses to substantiate the author's deductions. Thus, Kerensky is depended upon for a great deal of evidence against the Bolsheviks. It is regrettable that Czar Nicholas is not alive to aid Mr. Spargo in his attempt to present his impartial portrayal of the new regime in Russia.

The author refuses to recognize the Russian Bolsheviks as Socialists. Had he really understood Socialism before, he either would never have been in the Socialist movement or he would not now be keeping company with Czarist counter-revolutionists and American capitalists (Wilson's Industrial Conference, from which the A. F. of L. delegates bolted, while he remained to solve the labor problem with representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association.) Spargo does not recognize Socialists of other countries or America as well. The reason for this is that the Socialist movement now being re-born out of the trying past six years, is such that the Spargos could not enter it any more and become leaders in it.

What Spargo thinks of the Bolsheviks can best be observed from his following deduction: There was much that was infamous in the regime

of the last of the Romanovs, Nicholas II, but by comparison with that of his successor, 'Nicholas III' (Lenin) it was a regime of benignity, benevolence and freedom" (p. 310.)

The idea of the Bolsheviks having control of the government is beyond his understanding. The fact that their party happens to be the party in power and therefore responsible for the government, does not enter his mind. Has the Republican Party had any chance of controlling the American government during the past eight years? Does any political group other than the Tory-Liberal-Coalition have any say in the government of England today? At least the members of the Russian Communist Party are the first to go to fight, and do compulsory labor. How many leading Democrats occupied the first trenches during the recent war?

Spargo cannot forgive the Allied governments for having bungled in trying to overthrow the Soviets. Had he been on their staff the trick would have been accomplished long ago. His present advice to the Allies is not to lift the blockade lest the existing institutions of Europe be endangered.

While Spargo et tutti quanti keep on writing text for the imperialist and reactionary powers, the golden achievements of the Russian Socialists are serving as a source of inspiration to the disinherited of all lands. And as the Russian revolutionists will be remembered by the world's workers for their glorious sacrifices in the struggle against Czarism and international capitalism, the Spargos will be remembered for the services they rendered to the reactionary forces in their attempt to destroy the first Socialist republic in the world.

SLOVENLY WRITING

By John M. Work

The best weapons our enemies have are the slovenly writings of Socialists.

Lack of care in making their statements accurate—lack of tact in approaching delicate subjects—lack of wisdom in hooking their personal prejudices onto the movement—these are some of the sins whereby Socialist writers have handed the sword to the enemy, with which to beat us over the head.

It may seem that I have a lot of nerve to make such an assertion—since I am probably the most prolific writer of Socialist propagandist matter in America.

I make no claim to immunity. I am like Abraham Lincoln in that my critics are my best friends. In writing this article, I should accomplish nothing more than to get my own faults pointed out. I shall consider it well worth while.

With that understanding, I feel at liberty to express my opinions of other writers.

My opinion of them in general is very high. I would point out their good features. But just to present I am concerned with trying to do the

cause a good turn by pointing out their slovenly features.

Even Marx and Engels are among the sinners. Also Lafargue. Robert Blatchford, when he wrote "God and My Neighbor" nullified the good he had done in writing "Merrie England."

But I must quit mentioning names. This is not a personal attack upon any writer or writers.

I have before me an anti-Socialist pamphlet in which about two dozen Socialists are quoted in an effort to show that Socialism is anti-religious. About half of them are Americans. If some of them are irreligious, they spoke for themselves only—and they should not have tried to attach their irreligion to the movement. Others merely used language that is capable of misconstruction—which is bad enough.

If there is any comrade who thinks that religion is going to go out of existence after Socialism arrives, he has another guess coming. Socialism will give religion the biggest boost it has had since the days of early Christianity. Anti-religious views are negative and sterile. Religion—

like Socialism—is positive. Its errors will get brushed off as time goes on. We need not bother our heads about them. Our cue is to be kind to the religious people, and—regardless of what they say about us—show them that Socialism is the best friend religion has—because it will emancipate all human beings and all religious institutions from the blight of capitalism.

Comrades who drag their anti-religious views into their Socialist writings thereby do the cause a great injury. Our enemies quote them against the cause. This creates an additional and unnecessary hurdle for us to clear.

Again, slovenly writing does not take the trouble to distinguish between the property which we propose to make collective and the property which we intend to leave in private hands. The fact is that we only want to socialize such property as is necessary for social purposes and to prevent exploitation. We shall greatly increase other kinds of private property for the masses of the people. But our enemies are not slow to make use of sloppy writing in order to convince the public that we want to abolish private property altogether.

Even our platforms used to be sadly at fault in this regard. They have improved a great deal.

But they could be still further improved. The 1920 Declaration of Principles contains an ambiguous expression which could be used against us. It says we propose to socialize all institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare "including dwelling houses." Undoubtedly it means that socialized dwellings will be provided, not that citizens will be prohibited from owning their own homes, nor that the humble homes now owned by citizens will be taken from them. But it is open to the interpretation that nobody is to be allowed to own a home. It could easily have been worded so as to say what it means.

Fortunately, the 1920 Declaration of Principles makes itself reasonably clear on the ticklish question of the farmers.

But individual writers have not been so fortunate.

There comes to my mind a half-page advertisement which was inserted in a daily paper in a small city located in a farming region. The ad is signed by about fifty corporations and business

houses. One of its objects is to convince the surrounding farmers that they should vote against the Socialist candidates, on the ground that Socialism would take their farms away from them. It says that some Socialists claim that this is not true, but that So-and-So—naming a prominent comrade—says, "The Socialist program requires the public ownership of the principal instruments and agencies of production and distribution of wealth: the land, mines, railroads, steamboats, telegraph and telephone lines, mills, factories and modern machinery. It is the unailing test of Socialist adherence and admits no limitation, extension or variation."

What can the local comrades do when an influential Socialist is thus quoted—with the word "land" played up with capital letters in the ad?

Perhaps you will say that they can distribute our Declaration of Principles—which says that the Socialist party does not contemplate interference with the private possession of land actually used and cultivated by occupants.

Yes, they can do that—but, when they do, there is the expression, "including dwelling houses," staring them in the face. On account of it, the Declaration of Principles is practically worthless for general distribution.

You see how necessary it is that writers should keep their wits about them.

Since I am writing this article, not for the purpose of grouching, but in order to try to do a bit of constructive work for the cause, I will close it with some advice to writers.

After writing, read your manuscript carefully, so as to detect inaccuracies and ambiguities. If there are any, correct them. If you have written something which is eloquent, but which will not hold water, strike it out. Never hesitate to sacrifice your "fine writing." That is the kind of writing which is the most likely to contain misleading statements and rotten logic. When you write about land, homes, or private property, be sure to make the necessary qualifications. If you cannot contend that Socialism is the sincere friend of religion, and that Socialism will elevate religion to a higher plane, do not write on that subject at all. Accuracy, clearness and prudence will deprive our enemies of clubs to beat us with.

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