

# THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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## They Call It The American Plan

By William M. Feigenbaum

They call it the American Plan, because they want to make the people think that it's the right thing, the proper thing, the loyal way, the American way.

It is a method left over from the war, when, if you wanted to put over anything crooked and dirty, all you had to do was to wave a flag, and there wasn't anybody to say you nay, because to do so would be "disloyal."

They call what they are trying to put over now the American Plan—but the war is over, and we can peep behind the curtain. The war is over, and we can tell the world that what they call the "American Plan" is the plan of the bosses to establish the rat-hole as the normal standard of American industry.

And if they want to call that "American," they may. But calling it American doesn't make it American.

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The employing class, the bosses, the exploiters, have decided that the closed union shop must go and that the open shop must take its place.

The open shop is the plan under which workers bargain individually with their bosses for wages and hours and conditions.

The idea is that the boss hires you on whatever terms he can haggle out of you; at whatever wages, whatever hours. That's his idea of the American plan.

Under the closed union shop, the workers bargain through their union committees for the best wages they can get, the shortest hours, the cleanest shops, the best conditions; wages and hours and conditions to go for everybody in the trade.

The closed union shop has been established in many trades; the bosses have organized to wipe it out. They call what they want the "American Plan," and they want the people of America to back them up by refusing to buy union made goods, by co-operating with them in their boycott of everything made outside of their open shop.

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A few years ago, the clothes that you wear

were all made in open shops. Men and women—mostly women—went to the employer and haggled with him for wages, for hours, for prices. If you would work at twenty-five cents an hour, you would get the job; if another fellow came along and offered to work for twenty, he would get your job, unless you were willing to work for eighteen.

Little by little, the conditions in the garment shops in the large cities grew worse and worse, until the filthy, insanitary, unspeakable sweat shop was the order of the day.

The worker who would accept the lowest wages set the standard for the whole trade.

The worker who would work longest fixed the hours of labor for the whole trade.

Shops were dirty, smelly; breeding places of disease.

Hours were long, and work arduous.

Wages were so low that the young girl workers were in constant danger of being made the prey of those vultures who fattened on underpaid, underfed, soul-starving girls.

Life for these workers was one long misery.

After suffering for years, the workers in the garment trades broke out in revolt. They struck for higher wages, shorter hours, better work-shops.

And they won. Their hours were shortened, and they didn't have to work more than fifty-four a week. Their wages were raised, until they were able to get a little of the enjoyment of life without endangering their souls. Their shops began to be cleaned out, so that disastrous factory fires—like the Triangle massacre—became less and less possible.

They worked for the closed union shop, as the only means for establishing, and keeping better conditions. They created machinery to hear all sorts of complaints on both sides. It was the closed shop, and the closed shop alone, that prevented frequent explosive outbreaks in the shops whenever there was a quarrel, or any point of dis-

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## EDITORIAL

Members of the Socialist party are about to engage in two drives of more than ordinary importance.

One of them is to push the membership of the party organization over the 100,000 mark—where it belongs. Plans for the great sixty day drive are included in this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD. We will not go into detail about the need for this drive. If you can't see it, there's no use trying to get you interested in the drive. If you do realize the need of a membership of 100,000 or more, you will roll up your sleeves and dive into the work, head first.

The other drive is for general amnesty.

President Wilson was a real liberal. There is no question about that. But with his apostacy, he grew bitter, spiteful, hateful, like all apostates; like the Socialist apostates, Walling, Simons, Spargo. He not only swerved a bit from his old faith—he completely denied it. That is the reason of his shameful attitude toward political prisoners.

Warren G. Harding, as a man, is far inferior to Woodrow Wilson. "We did not" he declared "go to war to make the world safe for democracy". And yet President Harding is likely to be less illiberal, less spiteful, less malignant, than President Wilson. The reason for the paradox lies in this: President Wilson is a hard, cold man with a passion for domination. And whoever stood in his way was accursed. Mr. Harding is an easy going gentleman, with no positiveness, with no well grounded ideas; and he will be the plaything of events.

It is likely, therefore, that President Harding, the most reactionary president in a century, may become the agency for re-liberalizing the country. Not because he's that kind of a man, but because he will have to yield to circumstances and to divided counsels in his own party. President Wilson never bent for a single moment. President Harding will.

We are going to fight through our amnesty drive, until the stain is wiped clean, until the last political is released.

No party member can afford to keep out of the fight.

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Meanwhile, have you paid your pledge to the 100,000 membership fund? If not, do so at once!

## February Nineteen Twenty-One

A Review of the Month by the Editor.

The year is young yet, the Harding administration is not yet inaugurated, the "peace and prosperity for all" that the people voted for with a seven million majority hasn't had much of a chance to swing into action, and yet we are in the midst of what will be known for all time as "normalcy." For Mr. Harding, when he dug that ponderous old word out of his ponderous mind, exactly described what he wanted.

What he wanted was reaction, stark, naked, unashamed. And it is coming.

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The first great blow at the people is the Duplex decision. By a decisive vote, the United States Supreme Court decided that labor organizations may not use the secondary boycott.

The whole matter is based upon the Sherman anti-Trust Law, which outlaws any action "in restraint of trade." The law, of course, was designed to bust the trusts, and, equally of course, it didn't. From the time of the passage of the law, the corporations began to flourish like a jungle of green bay trees.

But at the same time, the law began to be invoked against the labor unions, just as the Fourteenth Amendment, designed to safeguard the political rights of the recently emancipated Negro slaves, was invoked against labor organizations, while leaving the Negroes without political rights, as before.

It is all right, the courts declared, for workingmen to decide not to buy certain goods. But it is in "restraint of trade" for them to ask others to back them up. This "secondary boycott" is what did the trick. It violated the Sherman anti-Trust Law.

So after the Supreme Court decided that Samuel Gompers had to spend a few months in jail for asking members of the labor movement to help the Bucks Stove and Range Co. workers in their fight against Col. J. W. Van Cleve, Mr. Gompers decided that the time had come for action. He began his "non-partisan political policy for Labor." He went to convention after convention of the old parties with his anti-injunction plank, asking the political brokers to put it in their platforms.

"Don't vote Socialist," said Gompers; "reward your friends and administer a stinging rebuke to your enemies."

It happened that the "friends" always were the Democrats, and the "enemies" always were the Republicans. "Labor's non-partisan political policy," of which so much is written in the American Federationist, developed into an auxiliary of the w. k. Democratic party, because each successive Democratic convention took a chance and put the Gompers' plank into their platforms, having nothing to lose and two million votes to gain.

Finally, it was passed. The Clayton Act declared that Labor is not a commodity, and specifically exempted organized labor from the provis-

ions of the Sherman law when those organizations were engaged in their usual and ordinary work.

This left handed and negative declaration that the Sherman anti-Trust law was not designed to curb the Labor movement was hailed by Gompers as "Labor's greatest victory in a generation." Maybe it was; but when the Supreme Court decided that it is not the usual and ordinary work of labor organizations to ask their fellow workers to join them in establishing union conditions in their shops, the "victory" seemed to get sick and die.

As a matter of fact, the decision virtually outlawed the labor movement; and it is significant that it came immediately after the election that gave a properly signed blank check to Mr. Warren Gamaliel Harding.

At just about the same time, Samuel Untermyer was forcing Mr. Eugene G. Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel, to tell a New York legislative committee that his company refused to sell structural steel for sorely needed housing facilities to concerns employing union labor. There didn't seem to be any way of judicially discovering that this was "in restraint of trade," so Grace got off with his impaired and shattered conscience, and no further damage done.

\* \* \* \* \*

Then comes the brazen attempt of the railroads to hammer down wages, after the workers managed to get much needed increases, totaling \$600,000,000 (at a cost to the people of \$1,500,000,000 in increased rates).

We have governmental machinery to regulate wages; but that machinery is so cumbersome that it takes a threat of a general strike and pretty nearly a revolution for the workers to get a little increase in wages. The men who have the administration of that governmental machine realize that nothing comes before profits, and therefore, each increase in wages is immediately followed by an increase in rates, to make up the wage increases several times over.

Now that everybody is hammering down wages, and getting what they want, the railroads want to do it, too. They say that they are "losing money."

Why aren't the roads making money? That's easy. It's very largely tricks of bookkeeping. Instead of making their own cars, for example, they let out the contracts to outsiders (controlled by themselves) at exorbitant prices. So their "expenses" are high, and their rates must be high to pay them. Thus, as one writer put it, they pay Peter to rob Paul. That's one trick. There are many others.

If the railroads were run as a business, instead as a pawn in an intricate game of financing, there would be vast profits even at present rates and wages. Wages could be raised, rates lowered and service improved and increased. And still there would be heavy profits. But the roads are cluttered up with impediments in the shape of old debts, securities, agreements, ad infinitum, so that the better part of the revenues are absorbed as "expenses" and to reward the financiers for their hard work.

These things are so because certain elements

wanted to make easy money, and they did. The railroad fortunes are among the greatest in the country and they are growing. But railroad stocks show low dividends, or none at all. It's all a game, and the Goulds, Vanderbilts, Hills, Harrimans have the benefits while the poor, over-worked public—that's the working class—have to be saddled with the cost of it all.

All of which proves what you already know, that capitalism is a peculiarly aggravating form of robbery. And that the men and women high up in the Capitalist hierarchy usually get whatever they want these days. That's a part of "normalcy."

\* \* \* \* \*

All this, of course, ties up with the open shop fight, and the wave of unemployment, and the general reduction of wages.

The open shop fight is the most brazen thing we have seen in many decades. Impudently calling their rat-hole propaganda "the American plan," the bosses are going ahead, creating sentiment for the "equality" of the worker in the shop with his employer.

The time is propitious. Circumstances favor them in their drive to destroy the labor movement.

The giant Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, one of the most active, militant and successful of the great unions, is the especial target of the bosses. The Amalgamated has accomplished more than most unions. It has reduced hours and raised wages; it has cleaned out the sweat shop system, it has substituted week-work for piece work. But it has done far more than that. It has established classes, concerts, summer camps; it has given the workers literature, art, learning; something to live for.

And so the bosses have undertaken to destroy that union, as the most aggressive, the most representative union they can find.

If they can accomplish that, the rest will be easy.

In this savage drive of the power-drunk master class, everything goes. The beating down of wages, the spell of unemployment, the locking of shops, all take their proper place.

And the vast army of unemployed is the best ally the bosses have.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is nothing that can be done—today. If there had been a Harding majority of lesser magnitude than that actually given the Marionette, if there had been a Socialist vote of three or four million, if there had been a group of twenty to fifty Socialist Congressmen, something would be done now. The driving force of a powerful Socialist minority would be felt.

As it is, the Socialists can do nothing better than to keep the Socialist propaganda constantly before the workers. The Socialists are the only ones who can explain the meaning of the depression, of unemployment, of low wages, of the open shop drive. The Socialists can keep before the people the final program, the final objects of the movement, and their relation to the problem in hand; and also, the immediate proposals of the Socialist Party, such as public works, unemployment insurance, and so on.

Such agitation carried on steadily and spread over the entire country will not end the present unemployment, but it will bring the masses to a realization of the correctness of the Socialist position as the only way out. And nothing would be more salutary to the country today than a great growth of the Socialist party within the next few weeks and months, and a series of startling election victories in the cities this Spring.

At the same time that the drive on labor is gathering force, the enemies of the workers are engaging in another drive, even more sinister.

Militarism, and a war scare; and the war scare is the best walking delegate of militarism. This time it is Japan. Long after the end of the "last war," America is engaged in precisely the same feverish and insane armament race that Germany and France and Italy and Austria were engaged in seven years ago, and that led to such awful results.

We are building ships, after the sole "menace to the world's peace" is shattered and its fleet at the bottom of the sea. We are spending \$500,000,000 a year alone on new building, and God knows what else is being spent. The annual expenditures are already over four thousand millions. Capitalism is clamoring for taxation upon net retail sales (which is the most burdensome tax of all to the workers), and exemption of business from the burden of taxation for the program that business is clamoring for.

Let us hope that within a short time, an American Liebknecht will show the connection between the American Krupps and the feverish war preparations.

The race hatred game is booming. The Ku Klux Klan, with its organized and romantically trapped savagery, is here in full force; anti-Semitism, anti-Japanese movements, anti-Negro movements, are working overtime, all well financed, all accomplishing the much-desired end, the division of the workers into mutually hostile camps.

On top of all these sinister events, we have new revelations of the depths to which our enemies will go. The last link in the Mooney frame-up is found; and yet Tom Mooney is still in prison, and with him, the labor movement of the Coast is imprisoned.

The confession of a renegade private detective throws a vivid light upon the methods of the reaction in the hectic days of the recent "red raids" and party splits. How many of the "revolutionary" leaders of the Socialist movement who undertook to "capture" the Party were actually in the pay of private detective agencies, we do not yet know. How many of the "Communists" who are still bitterly attacking the party, and who are successful in sowing dissension and distrust in the Socialist ranks are "operatives," we do not know. But this we do know, that no considerable portion of the "revolutionary" movement is composed of men who entered the movement deliberately to get its members into trouble, and to "shake down" the big capitalists to support the detective agencies, who would "discover" "radical" activities. Then, there

would be another "shake down" at \$10 per "operative" (who would get \$3 or \$4 for himself), who would instigate more "radicalism"—and so on and so on.

These "operatives" were told to join all the radical organizations in sight.

"Spies in the I. W. W.," writes a Federated Press correspondent, "were ordered to dress in old overalls and old shoes, and not to shave. Spies in the various communist parties were allowed to dress somewhat better, but instructed to talk violently all the time. They were especially urged to preach the virtues of the 'Red Army' and to advocate the overthrow of the United States Army."

And there we have the source of the clap trap about the "bourgeois" character of the Socialist Party!

As time passes, the wisdom of the Party's position in the matter of the International becomes more and more manifest.

It was sound and proper instinct that led the Party emphatically to reject the Second International. The unforgivable sins of that organization were that it permitted the principle of coalition government, and that the principle of "Burgfrieden" or Civil Peace, was permitted.

It was likewise sound and proper instinct that led the Party to desire to join an organization that included the Russian Communists, those Socialists who are translating theory into practise.

But the wisdom of refusing to accept membership in that organization without reservations is becoming more clear with every day's news.

The great blunder of the Moscow organization was the promulgation of the 21 points, defining terms of admission, just as colleges lay down 15 points for would-be students to pass examinations upon before they can get into college.

The great Unified Party of France met in congress at Tours. Jean Longuet, worthy grandson of Karl Marx, was unwilling to accept the 21 points. "When we come to Moscow," he declared, "we come as equals, not as inferiors." Marcel Cachin, the Spargo of France, the Simons, the Walling, the Gaylord of France, who out-jingooed even the mad and insane Gustave Herve, accepts the 21 points.

Longuet was anxious to maintain unity, and he asked if he would be permitted to remain in the party if Moscow prevailed in the balloting. His Comrades know him and love him; and they wanted to have him with them, even though they might disagree with him for the moment.

But Moscow sent an emissary and then an angry message, insisting upon the "exclusion" of Longuet as a condition of affiliation. And so the great French party was split, Cachin the traitor remaining; Longuet, the giant of the party, being thrown out!

Similarly in Italy; the mighty party that had weathered so many storms, was instructed to "exclude" certain "traitors." The "traitor" in Italy was Serrati, whose "treason" consisted in agreeing with the workers that at a certain moment, the time was not yet ripe for revolution. Moscow thereupon insisted upon his "exclusion" as the condition of affiliation. The Italian party

thereupon refused; not so much because they opposed the letter or the spirit of the various points, but because they insisted upon going to Moscow as equals, not as inferiors taking orders on matters upon which they were infinitely better informed than any one else.

Then, the Communists, so-called (mostly new members, recruited since the Russian revolution), withdrew, and organized a "real" communist party.

The Livorno (Leghorn) congress is the severest setback that Moscow has thus far sustained.

Shortly after the Italian congress, the Swiss Comrades voted by referendum for the fifth or sixth time not to accept the 21 points without reservations. Upon which, the minority withdrew and organized a new "real" communist party.

And a week or two later, the tiny Grand Duchy of Luxemburg had a congress; the vote was 97 for reservations to the 21 points; 21 for unconditional acceptance. The 21 then withdrew and organized a "real" communist party.

There is one task that lies before the Socialist movement in America. We have enumerated the grave dangers that face the American worker. We are assailed on every front; the Capitalist enemy has brought everything to bear upon us, horse, foot, artillery. Our job is to fight them.

And the way to fight them is—to fight them! If we engage in discussions about the 21 points, if we discuss dictatorship and democracy; if we have our minds on what Gregory Zinoviev thinks, rather than upon what faces the American working class, we are doomed. And justly so.

\* \* \* \* \*

The vast numbers of "communists" who angrily trooped out of the Socialist party two years ago have appealed to the "masses." They have had plenty of time—and they have had their minds in Moscow; they have spoken Moscow's language, they have adopted Moscow's way of thinking even to using Russian words and methods of organization. The Communist parties have done just what Moscow would have had our party do, with the result that they have all told, less than 5,000 members in all the Communist groups in the country together.

We want to line up with our Russian Comrades. We want to back up the Russian revolution.

And the way to do it is to build up our American movement.

Here are pointed out some of the problems. They require clean thought, Socialist thought. Are we ready to meet them?

That is what every Socialist party member in America has got to ask himself today!

## They Call It The American Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

agreement between the two sides. It was the closed shop, by the creation of this machinery, that made it possible to adjust disputes and complaints on both sides by impartial boards of arbitration—and it is a significant thing that the one man who is leading the fight against the closed shop in this industry and the destruction of the unions is the same who years ago led the fight as attorney for the employers for the destruction of this machinery of arbitration.

Every little while, the bosses would become restive at these conditions, and seek to restore the old conditions. They broke their agreement again and again, forcing the workers to strike again and again, making the closed union shop stronger and stronger each time.

And after a series of strikes, they finally established the following in the garment industry:

They had the 44-hour week, with ample time for leisure and enjoyment of life—something they never had in the old open shop days.

They were paid by the week instead of by the piece, and the standard of wages was set high enough for a decent, wholesome life.

They established a high standard of sanitation, safety and cleanliness for their factories, and they compelled the bosses to live up to these standards of factory decency. When the legislature of New York repealed the factory fire safety law, the workers, through their union, enforced its provisions, anyhow.

They entered into agreements with their employers not to hire non-members of the union, compelling the employing class to establish a standard of human decency in this industry unknown before the closed shop was established.

In return, they entered into a compact with their employers to keep up a high standard of efficiency in their work, AND THEY KEPT IT UP.

That is what the unions in the garment industry did for the trade. That is what the closed shop meant; the clean shop, the decent shop, where men and women were no longer slaves—as they had been in the sweat shop days.

\* \* \* \* \*

That's what the unions did in the shops.

Then they turned their attention to the workers in the home.

Most of the workers in the garment trades were men and women who had had no opportunity of educating themselves, of getting the better, the finer things of life, because of open shop conditions.

As soon as the unions succeeded in getting the closed shop in these trades, the organization began to look after the welfare of the workers in their homes.

They established weekly papers, sending them to every member, so that they might keep abreast of what is going on in the world.

They established lecture courses, so that the workers might hear the best lecturers in subjects like literature, art, history.

They established classes to teach their members English, literature, history, eco-

nomics, music, parliamentary law, citizenship.

They established centers for clean, wholesome amusement, such as singing, dancing, swimming, the playing of clean and wholesome games; for concerts.

They established summer camps, to give their members decent and inexpensive vacations with their own fellows.

They established dental clinics, so that their members might get the best dental attention at the expense of their union.

And thus they managed to give tens of thousands of human beings clean, wholesome, decent amusement and instruction, taking them away from the temptations and the vulgarity of the streets, salvaging a limitless amount of human material that would be headed for wreckage were it not for the closed shop, letting in light and beauty and love where before were darkness and despair.

All this and more has been done by the various unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

All this, and more, is the result of the closed shop, established by the work of the valiant tailors and cloakmakers and dressmakers in their unions.

This is the work that the bosses want to destroy in their rat-hole campaign, hypocritically calling it the "American Plan"!

\* \* \* \* \*

Is it any wonder that the bosses, in their mad desire to break up the closed shop, selected the two unions of garment workers as their first victims?

Is it any wonder now why it is that the employers selected the unions that have accomplished so much by the closed union shop as the victims of their lock-out conspiracy? Why is it that the bosses challenged these two great international unions to a life-and-death struggle, hoping that they might benefit by current conditions to smash them? Why is it that the bosses have gone into the courts, endeavoring to destroy, as an illegal conspiracy, the unions that accomplished these things?

Is there any doubt any more as to the real meaning of this "Americanization" campaign?

\* \* \* \* \*

There is one great industry that is "American" today. That is steel.

A couple of years ago, the workers in the steel industry tried to establish the closed union shop; but Mr. Gary, chief exponent of rat-hole "Americanism," smashed the attempt. He got Federal judges to work with him, and the Prussian mailed fist of militarism, and state Cossacks—but he smashed it. "Americanism" had to be maintained, you understand, even if every constitu-

tional guarantee of the workers had to be destroyed in the process. It was maintained.

What was this Americanism that "Judge" Gary so cherished that he sent General Wood to murder working men who objected to it?

It was the open shop. That was its fundamental basis. That was the principal element.

Now, if you want a job, you have got to negotiate with Mr. Gary's agent yourself. You can't bargain collectively through your union; that isn't Garry's "American Plan".

So we find about five hundred thousand men in the steel mills working twelve hours a day, seven days a week. They don't do it because they want to or because they like it. They do it because under the "American" plan, the man who is willing to work longest sets the standard.

We find the men working for wages set by Mr. Gary's board of trustees—and he is interested, as president of the board, to turn over a favorable balance sheet to his trustees and to his corporation membership. The result is—miserably low wages.

We find that as soon as the workers band themselves together for the purpose of bettering their conditions, they are fired. They find spies in their midst, reporting anyone who starts any "radical" talk about organizing. They find they are in complete, utter and abject subjection—industrial, social and political.

As a result, the life of the average steel worker is a classic in misery, planlessness, aimlessness, deadness. They are perfect examples of the open-shop type of "Americanization"!

Now, dear friend, which plan do you like? The Garry system, the "American Plan" of the exploiters and skimmers and robbers?

Or those things established by the unions where there is a closed shop?

Which represents the best Americanism?

Which plan benefits the majority of the people?

\* \* \* \* \*

The drive for the "American Plan" is a menacing, sinister thing. If it succeeds, it will throw all American industry back into the Gary slave pen plan, into the rat-hole method, back into the sweat shop. The bosses are trying to do it now, because they think they can get it over in this day of unemployment and uncertainty.

They will win, unless—

Unless the whole working class UNITES and refuses to be stampeded. Unless the workers unite in their unions and in the Socialist Party to get the powers of government and of industry out of the hands of the masters, out of the hands of the skimmers, out of the hands of the hypocrites who so smugly call themselves the only "Americans."

Unite to restore the closed union shop, the only American Plan of industry.

Unite to loosen the grip of the Capitalist class upon the lives of the American people!



# Release 'GENIE DEBS

## Every Liberty Loving American Should Join in the DEBS AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

Organized and Conducted by the Socialist Party for  
**THE RELEASE of DEBS & ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS**

### THIS IS THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN:

- (1) Circulation of nation-wide Petition to Congress urging release of political prisoners. A million signatures and the endorsement of ten thousand labor unions by April 10th will make an impression on Congress.
- (2) Amnesty Headquarters will be opened in Washington on March 4th with an Amnesty Lobby to stay on the job until Debs and the others are released.
- (3) Big Demonstration in Washington on April 13th and 14th, the second anniversary of Debs' imprisonment. Delegations from Socialist, Union, Liberal, Suffrage and other groups in all parts of the country will participate. The program includes:
  - Mass Meetings
  - A Parade
  - Presentation of the Petition to Congress
  - Picketing of Congress and the White House
  - Interviews by the delegations with their respective Congressmen and Senators.
- (4) Commencing April 20th, a week after the demonstration, small delegations of one, two or three members from unions, lodges, clubs and other groups will visit Washington for the purpose of interviewing the Senators and Congressmen from their respective districts. At least one such delegation will be in Washington EVERY DAY until Amnesty is granted or Congress adjourns.

### HOW YOU CAN HELP

- (1) Sign the petition yourself and secure additional signatures.
- (2) Make a contribution to the Amnesty Fund to meet the expense of this campaign.
- (3) See that your union, lodge, club, church or local endorses the petition and sends a delegation to Washington.

### WHAT EVERY LOCAL MUST DO

- (1) Circulate the Petition. A house-to-house canvas must be made and every possible signature secured within forty days.
- (2) Hold amnesty mass meetings where possible and distribute amnesty leaflets everywhere.
- (3) Circulate contribution lists for the Amnesty Fund to defray the expenses of both the local and the general amnesty campaign.
- (4) Send a delegation to Washington on April 13th and 14th.
- (5) Wherever possible, put one or more women on your delegation who will volunteer for picket duty.

This is the plan of campaign. Its success depends upon how much you really care about Debs' release. If you care enough to support this effort, to industriously and enthusiastically work for the support of your friends and acquaintances and of the organization to which you belong, we will win.

If the million people who voted for Debs will sign the petition and get behind this campaign, amnesty will be secured.

### AND REMEMBER THIS

'Gene Debs Says—"I do not want amnesty for myself alone. I want the UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE of every political prisoner".

ON TO WASHINGTON!

LET'S GET THEM ALL OUT!



## The Convention Agenda

The final agenda for the next convention of the Socialist Party will be drawn up by the National Executive Committee at its meeting in Boston, March 5th. It will be printed in full in the March number of THE SOCIALIST WORLD.

The preliminary agenda was made up by the Agenda Committee at its meeting at National Headquarters on January 29th. The report has been widely printed in the party press, and used as a basis for discussions for the final agenda.

The following is a summary of the preliminary agenda:

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Motion No. 1**—That the Socialist Party of the United States renew its application for membership in the Communist International upon the basis of complete acceptance of the twenty-one points of affiliation.

**Motion No. 2**—That the Socialist Party of the United States renew its application for membership in the Communist International with the reservation that we accept no binding formula for the attainment or organization of the Socialist society; and retain complete autonomy in matters of membership, organization and tactics and in regard to our program and declarations regarding questions which are primarily of domestic concern.

**Motion No. 3**—That the Socialist Party of the United States co-operate with the Socialist Parties of other countries in the formation of a Socialist International upon a basis of no formulas and the internal autonomy of the national parties.

**Motion No. 4**—The Socialist Party of the United States considers that its paramount duty is to build a powerful, revolutionary, Socialist organization in this country. It is, therefore, resolved to devote all of its energy and resources to this task, believing it to be the most valuable service it can render to the cause of International Socialism. Until this task is accomplished, or until a different decision is reached by a succeeding national convention, it is resolved to remain without international affiliations.

### PARTY POLICY AND TACTICS

#### Military Appropriations

**Motion**—That no elected representative of the Socialist Party shall be permitted to vote for military or naval appropriations.

#### Relations With Other Political Parties

**Motion**—City, county and state organizations of the Socialist Party may form coalitions or working agreements with other political parties or organizations opposed to the Republican and Democratic Parties and which serve as a medium of protest or reform, when conditions and circumstances justify such procedure in order to advance the interest of the working class in any particular locality.

### PRINCIPLES AND PLATFORM

#### Political Action

**Motion No. 1**—Political action, as understood and advocated by the Socialist Party of the United States, is participation in elections for public offices and practical legislative and administrative work in line with the party platform with the object of gaining control of all powers of government in order to abolish the present capitalist system and establish a Socialist society.

**Motion No. 2**—Political action, as advocated by the Socialist Party of the United States, is any organized, concerted endeavor on the part of the working class to influence the processes of government, particularly the participation in elections for public offices and the utilization of such positions when won for the enlightenment, betterment and emancipation of the workers.

### PROPAGANDA

#### Daily Newspapers

**Motion**—That this convention elect a committee of five members for the purpose of studying the feasibility of establishing a chain of daily Socialist papers and of making a report with recommendations to the next national convention of the party.

#### Women Voters

**Resolution**—Whereas a large number of women citizens have been recently enfranchised and

Whereas, the women of the working class are generally less conscious of their political class interests and more backward in making use of the ballot to further such interests than the women of the capitalist classes,

Therefore be it Resolved, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to make special efforts to extend the propaganda among women in order that the women of the working class may be educated and organized to use their franchise in support and defense of their class interests.

In addition, a large number of changes in the Party's constitution are proposed.

Motions for the agenda will not be argumentative, but will state the case clearly and succinctly. Where there is more than one alternative, alternative motions will be made (as for example, the four motions under the head of International Relations). The convention will discuss every possibility under the various alternative motions, and then adopt its stand.

It is not the purpose of the motions for the agenda to constitute arguments and platforms; the convention will adopt motions on the various subjects presented to it, and then draw up resolutions, platforms, theses, manifestoes and proclamations in accordance with the stand adopted.

## LET'S GET THEM ALL OUT

The Amnesty Campaign is under way. The Petitions to Congress, copies of resolutions to be adopted by labor unions, and two amnesty leaflets have been forwarded to all local organizations.

Comrades Wm. H. Henry, Charles Sehl, Esther Friedman, Mary McVicker, Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Winnie E. Brantetter, Dan A. White and Andrew Lafin are starting on a series of amnesty meetings commencing February 27th. Additional speakers and organizers will be placed in the field as rapidly as they can be secured.

The circulation of the petitions should be pushed vigorously by every local and by every party member. Local organizations should not depend upon the haphazard circulation of these petitions at meetings of the local, or at public propaganda meetings. A very insignificant number of signatures will be secured in this manner. A systematic house to house canvass should be made with these petitions. Every comrade who really wants the release of political prisoners can find some time in the evenings and Sundays for a careful house to house circulation of these petitions in his own precinct. This method will result not only in a greatly increased number of signatures, but will also bring the party workers in contact with many sympathizers and some avowed Socialists with whom they are not acquainted.

Party members circulating the petitions should make careful note of particularly favorable prospects and keep the names of all such for the local organizers. The names of a large number of prospective members will be secured by this means and should be of tremendous advantage to the local in its membership campaign.

These two big efforts of the party organization—the Amnesty Campaign and the Membership Drive—can be carried on simultaneously and

the activity in each campaign be made of assistance in furthering the work of the other.

The recent ruling of the Department of Justice, which cuts Comrade Debs off from all communication with the outside world, should spur every comrade on to renewed efforts in the work we have undertaken.

On to Washington!

LET'S GET THEM ALL OUT!

## The Membership Drive

To Be Big Feature of Hundred Thousand Membership Campaign.  
March, a Red Month—April, Debs' Month.

To be marked by intensive organization and membership work.

As an additional incentive to the comrades to do their utmost towards making the campaign a success and boosting the membership a long way towards the Hundred Thousand, valuable prizes will be given to State and Local Organizations and individual members securing the largest number of new members during the months of March and April.

### PRIZES FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

#### Grand Prize

To the State Organization Securing the Largest Number of New Members (Conditional on the number being not less than 2,000)

Dodge Touring Car.

(For the use of the State Organizer in his work)

#### Second State Prize

To the State Organization securing new members representing the largest percentage of increase,

Red Silk and Gold Banner.

(36x54 inches in size, complete with Flag Staff and cover.)

The custody of this banner, for the remainder of the year to be given to the branch organization in the winning state which secures the largest number of new members. The custody to be transferred every six months thereafter to the local securing the largest number of new members in the preceding six months.

### LOCAL BRANCH PRIZES

#### First Prize

To the Local or Branch securing the largest number of new members during March and April,

Red Silk and Gold Banner

(Same as described above. Value \$100.00)

#### Second Prize

To the Local or Branch securing the second largest number of new members,

Library of Fifty Cloth Bound Books.

#### Third Prize

To the local or branch securing the third largest number of new members,

Library of Thirty Cloth Bound Books

#### Fourth Prize

To the local or branch securing the largest

percentage of increase in membership.

Library of Twenty-five Cloth Bound Books

#### Fifth Prize

To the local or branch securing the second largest percentage of increase in membership.

Library of Fifteen Cloth Bound Books

### INDIVIDUAL PRIZES

#### First Prize

To the comrade securing the largest number of new applications, conditional upon the number being not less than fifty,

Solid Gold Watch (Suitably Engraved)

#### Second Prize

To the comrade securing the second largest number of new applications, conditional upon the number being not less than forty,

Library of Twenty-five Cloth Bound Books

#### Third Prize

To the comrade securing the third largest number of new applications, conditional upon the number being not less than thirty,

Library of Twenty Cloth Bound Books

#### Fourth Prize

To the comrade securing the fourth largest number of new applications, conditional upon the number being not less than twenty,

Library of Twenty Cloth Bound Books

#### Fifth Prize

To the comrade securing the fifth largest number of new applications,

Library of Ten Cloth Bound Books

#### Twenty Second-Class Prizes

To the twenty comrades securing the twenty next largest number of new applications

One copy of Irwin St. John Tucker's  
History of Imperialism.

**Twenty-five Third-Class Prizes**

To the twenty-five comrades securing the twenty-five next largest number of new applications

Party Emblem Watch Fob.

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**MUST VALUABLE OF ALL.**

To each of the fifty comrades securing the prizes listed above

A Personal Signed Letter of Appreciation

from

Eugene V. Debs.

**RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS**

1. The contest opens March 1st and closes April 30th.
2. Locals and branches intending actively to enter this contest (which should include every branch in the party), either to secure the branch prizes or to assist their State to capture the state prizes, must file a complete membership report with their State Secretary not later than March 7th, showing the exact number of members in good standing on March 1st and the number of members in arrears for four months or less.
3. Members more than four months in arrears need not be reported and such members rejoining during the months of March and April will be considered and counted as new members for the purpose of the contest, whether they pay up back dues and are reinstated or whether they are admitted as new members.
4. Locals consisting of central bodies composed of delegates from a number of branches are not eligible for the Local or Branch prizes. For the purposes of this contest a local means a single organization without branches, such as exist in the rural districts, towns and smaller cities. A branch is a single organization in a precinct, ward or district, or of a language federation, which is a part of a central local such as exist in the larger cities. For example: Local New York or Local Cook County (Chicago) cannot enter the contest for the Local or Branch prizes, but every branch belonging to those locals can and should.
5. Paid party organizers or secretaries are not eligible for the individual prizes. The intention is that these prizes go to the comrades who personally secure the applications, not to an organizer who may turn in or report the applications secured by ten or twenty members of his branch. We want Jimmy Higgins to have these prizes.
6. In computing the number of new members secured, only those applications which are accepted by the local or branch to which they are made, and upon which at least one month's dues have been paid, are to be counted.
7. As a means of checking up the number of new members secured, it is required that the application card of each new member be completely filled out—showing date of application, the name of the party proposing the new member (which should be the comrade who secured the application and who is to receive credit in the contest for individual prizes), the date the applicant was accepted by the branch and the signature of the secretary; these cards must be forwarded to the state secretary (not to the National Office); the branch secretary may make a duplicate or a copy of the card for the branch or local records, but in either case a completely filled out card with the original signature of the applicant must be sent to the State Secretary, who will forward it to the National Office. This is a requirement of the Postal Regulations and the only condition upon which the new member's name can be placed on the mailing list of The Socialist World.
8. In sending application cards to the State Secretary, Local secretaries should be careful to separate the new applications that count in the contest and the cards filled out by old members for the purpose of getting their names on The Socialist World.
9. Each State Secretary will be furnished free with a rubber stamp, "Membership Contest," for stamping all cards sent to the National Office for new members secured during the period of the contest.

10. All applications counted in the contest must be made and accepted between March 1st and April 30th. All branch organizations should hold a special meeting on April 30th for the purpose of accepting the latest applicants in order that they be counted in the contest.

**“Gene Debs, We Are Here!”**

Eugene V. Debs made an appeal through the columns of THE SOCIALIST WORLD for the membership to pay off the debt of the party. As a result of that appeal, the Organization Fund was organized, a number of Comrades pledging themselves to a certain amount each month until the membership of the party reaches 100,000—where it belongs.

One of the first replies to the appeal was from a Socialist bank president in a large Pennsylvania city, who sent in his pledge for \$10 a month, and wrote:

“Because I happen to be a banker some of our Comrades say that I am in the employ of the Capitalist class. At the present time, we are all serving the Capitalists, because we haven't sense enough to work for each other. I am trying to do my bit; it is up to US to get 100,000 members. Let's get the members! Then we can do something worth while. We have piddled along and fought each other long enough. Let's fight the natural enemies of mankind and society. Come on; let's go!”

At about the same time, the following letter was sent to Comrade Debs in prison by two little girls:

Princeton, Ind., January 20th, 1921.

Mr. Eugene V. Debs,  
Dearest Comrade:—

We are two little girls, ages 8 and 12. We have been wanting to write to you for a long time but Father said wait till after the Holiday rush. We have heard you speak in our town. My Mother, my Grandmother and Great Grandmother all voted for you this time. My Great Grandmother is 86 years old. She rode in a car 28 miles to vote for you.

We were saving our pennies for Christmas and we had sixty-one in our bank. And we heard they were taking a collection for the political and industrial prisoners. So we told Father we would rather give it to this fund than save it for Christmas. We got four more pennies which made 65, one for each year of your life and sent them.

Hoping you are with us again soon we remain  
Your little comrades  
Susanna and Lillian Whitman.

With that spirit, we can't be licked!

Who's next? Fill out the following blank, and send it in to this office AT ONCE:—

**THIS IS MY ANSWER TO  
COMRADE DEBS**

I promise to pay to the National Organization Fund of the Socialist Party, the sum of \$.....  
each month until we have

**ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEMBERS**

## Y. P. S. L. NOTES

The former Manhattan League has amalgamated with Bronx County and Kings County, forming a Central Committee and calling itself the Greater New York League. Our progress in reorganization has been phenomenal. We have at present seven circles in New York County (Manhattan), three in Bronx County and two in Kings County (Brooklyn), making twelve circles in all.

Three more "Independent" circles in Brooklyn are debating the issue of whether to affiliate with the party or not, and a split is certain, with the result that we will have at least two of the three with us before long.

Elections have been held and the following were elected:

M. Novick, Organizer,  
H. Bordman, Financial Secretary,  
Y. Mandell, Treasurer.

The above named were elected by referendum vote of the entire membership.

## New Circles Organized

Gardner, Mass.—Miss Elsie Huttunen, Organizer, 87

Washington Street, Gardner, Mass.

Fitchburg, Mass.—Henry Puranen, Organizer, Box 468,  
Fitchburg, Mass.

Maynard, Mass.—Miss Alice Hekkala, Organizer, 10  
Douglas Avenue, Maynard, Mass.

Chester, Mass.—Ossian Sander, Organizer, Box 118,  
Chester, Mass.

St. Louis Circle No. 1 has decided to put its members on the mailing list of The Socialist World. The reports sent in to the National Office by Comrade Elsie Spitz, Secretary, show that the organization is wide awake and preparing to make a record for constructive work during 1921.

## OUR MOVEMENT IS SECULAR

Editor Socialist World:

Dear Comrade: In the January 15 issue is a scathing denunciation of William M. Brown's book, "Communism and Christianity," and its misrepresentation of Socialism and its relation to

religion. I think you are right in your condemnation. But some time ago an article by John M. Work, taking the position that Socialism and religion are closely identified, met with no rebuke, notwithstanding the fact that every Socialist organ of any note, prior to the late war, has flatly denied that any relationship existed between them, and the further fact that our national platform contained the same denial in 1912.

Is an effort being made to merge the Socialist party into a religious organization? If so, permit me to suggest the idea that Mr. Brown's effort is as legitimate as Mr. Work's. And, furthermore, let me say, both these men in writing as they do are doing the cause an irreparable injury.

The Socialist movement is secular, and the party as an organization is neither for, nor against, religion. Whenever it gets to be, it will become disrupted. It ought to, because its usefulness will have come to an end.

CHARLES F. RANDALL

Capron, Okla.

Editor's note. Our correspondent's point is interesting, but his exception is not well taken. The review of Dr. Brown's book was written by the Editor and intended to state the party's position in the matter of religion, a position that was challenged by the author of "Communism and Christianity." John M. Work's article was a signed contribution, for which he alone is responsible. When he says, "Socialism will give religion the biggest boost it has had since the days of early Christianity," he is speaking for himself alone. Comrade Work is herewith challenged by our Oklahoma comrade to defend his statement.

## WHY AMNESTY?

By Joseph E. Cohen

Many men and women are still in prison in this country for having expressed their opposition to war. They are in prison because they voiced their opinions during the war. They did before and can again offer the same sentiments with all the strength of language at their command in time of peace, and they will not be sent to jail for doing so. Their offense was "a war time" offense.

In other words, the wrong which they did, if it may be called a wrong, was to exercise their constitutional right of free speech. The constitutional right of free speech does not say or imply that it is to be of no effect in war time, as against peace time. The constitutional right of free speech is equally valid at all times. And by that token, every act, such as the Espionage Act, is utterly and absolutely unconstitutional.

As a matter of common justice, it might be advisable to see if the framers and enactors of the Espionage Act have not brought odium upon our democratic institutions, if they have not to that extent overthrown our constitutional form of government.

Certainly, the Espionage Act is against the very spirit and fibre of true American principles. And the whole framework of procedure which has been set up with it is thoroughly anti-American.

This is especially so with regard to the idea of permitting the Chief Executive to exercise his "clemency" in pardoning such as he may deem "repentant." The idea of Executive clemency is a farce in practice and a menace to democracy in precedent.

It means that one man—temporarily in power—is to represent the conscience of the nation for the time, as though the nation's conscience changed every four years. It is the idea of a supreme authority vested in one man such as is utterly monarchistic, and which should have no place in our institutions.

The very notion of pardoning political prisoners is based upon the false assumption that the king can do no wrong, that whoever differs from him must of necessity be lawless, and that the king may be lenient with those who have offended him. It is but a new coat upon that old

scorecrow "lese majesty." It is thoroughly repugnant to every American tradition.

We could have a case—and this does not require an unreasonable stretch of the imagination—where a kaiser, king, emperor, prime minister or president brings his people into the shambles of war. He can, through a course wise or foolish, permit himself to become so involved in figuring to save "the national honor" after a certain fashion, that he cannot extricate himself without war. And this even independent of whatever pressure is brought upon him by commercial interests to make war outright. So war comes.

Instead of the way being left open to those who seek by peaceful measures to serve the nation, the man guilty of having let loose war, starvation, pestilence and destitution, throws the mantle of so-called imperative necessity about his conduct, and prohibits criticism and discussion.

This is nothing but the essence of monarchism in its most abominable form. A democrat would shudder to avail himself of such power; only a tyrant would use it against a political opponent.

If we have not reached this pass in the rise to autocratic power of the industrial oligarchs of America, are we far removed from coming to it?

What have we before us in the case of Eugene V. Debs and the other political prisoners? We have those who were bitterly opposed to Prussianism, whether in Germany or here. We have those who, in time of most serious jeopardy for American rights, were upstanding Americans. These men and women are in jail to safeguard American democracy. Without men and women such as they, democracy might be snuffed out in America.

If political tyranny is to be at large in this country, then outspoken advocates of democracy must expect to be in jail. There can be no compromise about that.

And particularly must free men and women expect to be under the ban if they are concerned in preserving political democracy in order that force alone shall not become the means of settling social disputes, and if the methods of civilized beings are to be used for the solution of grave industrial problems. Those who find in the mailed fist the first aid of plutocratic power must needs send the advocates of democracy to prison.

And those who stand out against the man on horseback must expect to be ridden down by him.

In calling for a general amnesty, what the shocked thousands of American men and women hope for is that the great hurt which our institutions have suffered during the war and after may now be healed. More than that it is meant that the constitution may be restored to full strength, and that there may be a new birth of liberty for the nation.

The demand for amnesty comes from those among us who still wish that this nation may not be permitted to descend the steep path to monarchism in government or industry that spells the disaster which has come to Europe.

The demand for amnesty comes from those who do not despair for democracy in this country, who know only too well that the long lane of despotism in the old world has come to a very abrupt turning, and that militarism and war do not defeat humanity, but only drive it along a bloody and cruel road to its salvation.

Can those who have the power of good and evil in this nation be made to understand? Can they look beyond their cramping horizon to a fair and free destiny for America?

If they can, they will heed the cry of the toilers of the land, set the political prisoners at liberty and do what they can to wipe off the record that story of the attack upon our democracy.

## Fares, Dividends, Wages and other things

By Victor H. Lawn

While New York City is still reeling from the blow of Governor Miller's plan to put the fate of the city's transit in the hands of a commission kindly disposed towards the corporations, railroad trunk line presidents announce 200,000 of their employes are out of work and wages must be cut. Thirty-six lines, an official statement says, have failed to earn operating revenue and 28 taxes and fixed charges in January. So what was at first a local question has suddenly become a national issue of first importance.

The New York problem is still invested with that political color which characterized the same stage of the national fight which resulted in the passing by Congress of the Esch-Cummins bill. It is doubtful if the metropolitan fight will ever be divorced from its political entanglements. But analyzed carefully and without partisanship, the self-styled plight of the railroads is fundamentally identical with the receiverships existing or threatened in the New York municipal district.

Congress last year was besieged and besought to pass the Esch-Cummins bill guaranteeing railroads a certain return on their investment, advancing loans into the hundreds of millions and generally bolstering up the FINANCIAL condition of the various trunk lines. At that time no question of service was raised as a measure of compensation from the railroads and the only protection the employes got was by virtue of the anti-strike clause being eliminated.

There was, however, much condemnation of the Government control exercised during the war. The roads, so the officials stated, lost millions because of the Railroad Administration; the lines were in a terrible condition, they said, and equipment was on the verge of breakdown. Aside from the fact this was not the truth the railroads carefully refrained from telling how they had permitted their properties to rot during the period just prior to Government operation in order to discredit the Federal control. As yet they have

not answered the charges of union men that fires were permitted to burn out in locomotives, rendering these great engines virtually scrap iron.

Later, after the roads had been returned, they gave the lie to themselves by calling in the Government to run the lines under the same unified control as before in order to break the shopmen's strike and to clear up the congestion which had held the entire nation in its grip.

Socialists never held any brief for the form of Government operation exercised during the war. Aside from the active sabotaging on the part of the railroad executives designed to discredit the unified operation, the United States saddled a great burden upon itself by guaranteeing dividends and interest to all the roads, and this despite the fact many roads were losing propositions or in the hands of receivers. Government ownership and operation was never given a trial.

In New York City receiverships have been forced for the simple purpose of abolishing transfers, discontinuing routes and getting increased fares. This is such general knowledge the companies themselves have admitted it and the case has been stated even in Congress.

Both the national systems and the local trolley lines, "L" roads and subways have "lost" money because of their dishonest organization and even more dishonest management.

Modern transit systems are exceedingly simple in their complexity. A corporation is formed to operate a certain line, it gets a franchise, floats a bond issue, declares an outlandish size stock issue and then proceeds to operate with the idea of "earning" enough to pay the interest on the bonds, set aside a certain amount to pay off indebtedness, to return let us say six per cent on its capital stock (usually ten times the actual value represented) and also to set aside a little surplus to cover depreciation, replacement and then some. After a few years business is so good the capital stock is doubled and the same system has to furnish sufficient money to pay the six per cent on the increased capital.

Then the directors and bankers get the brilliant idea that a holding company should be formed to take over this line and another organized and operated in the same manner. But before the holding company takes possession another stock issue is declared, the dividend rate is raised to eight or ten per cent. and everything is fine. Now this holding company has to guarantee the two original lines ten per cent. return on absolutely unwarranted capitalizations each, and then, on top of that, must guarantee the owners of its own stock issue let us say six per cent. on its own outlandish capitalization.

This goes on a while and then the same process is repeated, so that after a few years we have some such system as the Brooklyn Rapid Transit, where the B. R. T. is attempting to pay a five or six per cent. return to its own stockholders on a grossly exaggerated capital stock—but not until it has paid, in the form of rentals and annuities, vicious amounts to the underlying companies which it has absorbed in the course of years and to which it has guaranteed twice as big returns as the lines, themselves, could ever possibly have

earned.

Thus are great systems built, on "water" and deceit, and the people are expected to foot the bill without protest.

It is because of this fundamental economic error that the Socialist Party is interested in the howl of the railroad executives and in Governor Miller's transparent attempt to turn over control of the municipal lines to a hand-picked commission of three.

The Socialist Party wants the railroads and the city lines operated for SERVICE and not for PROFIT.

The Socialist Party says perfect service, perfect equipment can be provided at four, three or two cents per ride, and that universal transfers can feature the city owned, city operated, non-profit-making lines.

The Socialist Party wants no capital stock, wants no dividends, sees no necessity for wild-eyed bond issues. The city will be owners, the taxpayers will be "stockholders" and they will see the system is operated in their interests—maximum of service at minimum of cost—just as the stockholders of today see to it the system is operated in their interests now—minimum of service at maximum of profits.

The same applies to the national railway systems which the Federal government should operate, to electricity, gas, mines, telegraph and other utilities. Abolish profit from social enterprises. That is the Socialist attitude on transit, railroad and allied questions. When that is done the workers will be a long step on the road to liberation.

Socialism is fundamentally the abolition of the profit system, and the elimination of profits from public utilities is a good place to start.

## AFTER FIFTY YEARS

by Frederick Engels

(Conclusion)

In France

Slow propaganda work and parliamentary activity are recognized there, too, as the next task of the party. The results are not lacking. Not only has a whole string of municipal councils been captured; even in the Chamber of Deputies there are fifty Socialists, and these have already overthrown three Cabinets and one President of the Republic.

In Belgium last year the working men forced the granting of the electoral franchise and won in a fourth of the voting districts. In Switzerland, in Italy, in Denmark, yes, even in Bulgaria and Roumania, the Socialists are represented in Parliament. In Austria all parties are agreed that our entry into the imperial council can no longer be prevented. We are bound to get in, that is certain; the only question now is, by what door?

And Russia

And even in Russia, whenever the celebrated Zemskiy Sbor shall be assembled, that national convention which young Nicholas is trying in vain to prevent, we can count on it with certainty that we shall be represented there too.

It goes without saying that our foreign comrades do not relinquish their right of revolution. The right of revolution is after all the only actual "historical right," the only right upon which all modern States without exception rest, including even Mecklenburg, whose revolution of the nobility was ended in 1755 by the inheritance agreement—that glorious charter of feudalism which is still in force to-day.

The right of revolution is so irrefutably recognized in the public consciousness that General von Bogslavsky out of this popular right alone derives the right of forcible usurpation which he justifies on behalf of the Emperor.

#### The Social Democracy

But whatever may happen in other countries, the German Social Democracy occupies a particular position, and hence has at least for the present a particular task. The two million voters which is sent to the ballot box, together with the young men and women who, as non-voters, stand behind them, constitute the largest and compactest mass, the decisive corps of the international proletarian army.

This mass furnishes already over a quarter of the votes; and it grows unceasingly, as shown by the elections for the Reichstag, for the separate state legislatures; for the municipal councils, and for the industrial courts. Its growth goes on as spontaneously, steadily, and uninterrupted, and at the same time as quietly as a process of nature.

All the efforts of the government against it have shown themselves to be futile. We can today count on two and a quarter millions voters. If that keeps up, we shall by the end of the century win the greater part of the middle strata of society, both small tradesmen and peasants, and shall become the determining power in the land before which all other powers must bow down, whether they want to or not. To keep this growth going uninterrupted, until of itself it overtops the prevailing system of government is our chief task.

And there is only one means by which this steady increase of the militant Socialist forces in Germany could be momentarily checked and even set back for a time, viz., a conflict with the army on a large scale, a blood-letting like that of 1871 at Paris. In the long run even this would be overcome. Take a party which runs up to millions and all the magazine guns in Europe and America together would not be sufficient to shoot it out of existence. But the normal development would be checked, and the end of the conflict would be delayed, prolonged, and accompanied with heavier sacrifices.

The irony of history turns everything upside down. We, the "revolutionists," the "revolvers," prosper far better by lawful measures than by unlawful measures and violence. The law and order parties, as they call themselves, go to ruin under the legal conditions which they themselves have established. They cry out in despair with Odilon Barrot; la legalite nous tue, "lawfulness is killing us"; while we, under this lawfulness, are getting firm muscles and rosy cheeks and are the picture of eternal life. And if we do not so com-

pletely lose our wits as to let ourselves be drawn into a street fight just to please them, then there remains nothing else for them to do finally except to break down this lawfulness themselves, which has proved so disadvantageous to them.

For the present they are making new laws against revolts. Again everything is turning upside down. These anti-revolt fanatics of to-day, are they not themselves the revolters of yesterday? For example, did we conjure up this civil war of 1866? Did we drive the King of Hanover, the electoral Prince of Hesse, the Duke of Nassau from their legitimate and hereditary lands, and then annex these countries? And now these smashers of the German confederation and of three grace-of-God crowns complain about revolt! Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes? Who could permit Bismarck's worshippers to complain about revolting?

Meanwhile let them pass their anti-revolt laws, and make them still more stringent; let them turn the whole criminal code caoutchou; they will accomplish nothing except to furnish new proof of their impotence. In order to get at the Social Democracy effectively they will have to make entirely different measures.

The Social Democratic revolt, which just now can only be checked by a counter revolt of the law and order party which cannot exist without breaking the laws. Herr Roessler, the Prussian bureaucrat, and Herr von Bogslavsky, the Prussian general, have pointed out to them the only way by which perhaps they can get even with the workingmen who will not let themselves be enticed into a street fight, breach of the constitution, dictatorship, a return to absolutism, regis voluntas suprema lex! Courage, therefore, gentlemen, no lip-puckering will answer here; you have got to meet your own conditions!

But do not forget that the German empire, as well as all the small states composing it, and in general all modern states, are the product of a treaty; a treaty first of the princes among themselves, second of the princes with the people, and the other side is then no longer bound either. If one side breaks the treaty, the whole treaty falls

#### A Lesson from History

It is now 1600 years ago, almost to a year, that likewise a dangerous revolutionary party was carrying on its work in the Roman Empire. It undermined religion and all the foundations of the state. It denied absolutely that the will of the people was the supreme law; it was fatherlandless, international; it spread out over all parts of the Empire, from Gaul to Asia, and even beyond the limits of the Empire. It had for a long time worked underground and in secret, but for some time past it considered itself strong enough to come out into the light. This revolutionary party, which was known by the name of Christians, also had a large representation in the army. Whole legions were Christians.

When they were ordered to attend the sacrifice ceremonies of the established heathen religion to perform the honors of the occasion, the revolutionary soldiers carried their impudence so

(Concluded on next page)

## National Executive Committee Protests

The Socialist Party of the United States, through its National Executive Committee has issued the following statement:—

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in the name of decency and humanity, raises its voice in protest against the vindictive persecution of Eugene V. Debs as outlined in the latest policy of the Department of Justice.

The visiting and writing privileges, which are allowed the most vicious criminal prisoners, have been revoked in the case of Debs and he is prohibited even from sending his weekly letters to his wife.

The occasion for this brutal order, issued directly from Washington, is the blistering criticism of President Wilson contained in Debs' statement of February first. For this criticism the expiring administration seeks to break the spirit of Debs by isolating him from all contact with friends and relatives. He is being punished because he dared to criticize his imperial jailer at Washington.

By this cowardly act the administration makes its last days more infamous than the three years for which it has been repudiated by a tremendous popular vote.

Unable to stand the free criticism of citizens in war, it seeks to torture its caged victims in peace. Like guilty cravens those who will shortly surrender their power and slink out of Washington seek to break the spirit of a man who in nobility and intellect towers mountains high above them.

We warn the masses that this vindictive hate is directed towards them for whom Debs speaks and for whom he has sacrificed his liberty. Debs refuses to crouch before his jailers or to surrender

one item of his convictions to please the betrayers of the best historical traditions of the nation. Debs refuses to sink to the level of Woodrow Wilson and his bureaucrats.

In the name of Humanity we protest against this venting of a personal spite in the closing hours of a repudiated administration. We earnestly appeal to the organizations of the workers and to all other sympathetic organizations and citizens to join us in a tremendous protest against this exhibition of hatred and revenge.

We urge them to hold mass meetings of protest, to wire their congressmen and senators, to adopt vigorous resolutions and secure publicity for them.

Mobilize all the agencies of popular opinion against this display of vengeance. Organize for amnesty for all such victims of this dying administration. Demand an end to the insolent usurpation and black reaction that has characterized the administration of Woodrow Wilson and his official advisors; an end to persecution; an end to official vengeance; an end to the intolerance of the bigots and sycophants of Wilsonism; an end to reaction!

Unite in a nation-wide demand for the immediate release of the prisoners of conscience and honest believers.

National Executive Committee  
Socialist Party.

(Concluded from page 15)

far that by way of protest they struck into their helmets peculiar emblems—crosses. Even the customary floggings by the officers, with the cat-o-nine tails of the barracks, were fruitless. The Emperor Diocletian was no longer able to lock on while order, obedience and discipline in his army were being subverted. He took hold energetically while there was yet time.

He issued an anti-Socialist, or rather an anti-Christian, law. Assemblies of the revolted were forbidden, their meeting halls closed or even torn down, the Christian emblems, crosses, etc., were forbidden the same as red handkerchiefs in Saxony. Christians were declared incapable of holding state offices, and could not even become lance corporals in the army. As they did not yet have at that time judges so carefully trained to observe a "respect for the person" as contemplated by Herr von Koeller's anti-revolt bill, the Christians were forbidden to resort to the courts at all. This exception law also proved ineffective.

The Christians tore it down from the walls with contempt; aye, it is said that while the Emperor was in Nicomedia they set fire to the palace over his head. He revenged himself by the great persecution of the Christians which took place in the year of 303 of our era. It was the last of its kind; and it was so effective that seventeen years later the majority of the army consisted of Christians and the next succeeding monarch of the whole Roman Empire, Constantine, called by the priests the Great, proclaimed Christianity as the state religion.

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