



SOCIALIST WORLD

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ABOUT 'GENE DEBS

BY THEODORE DEBS

To begin with, I wish to say that the state of Gene's health will not permit him to take any active part in the work of the movement for sometime to come, and for this there is good reason.

For two years before he went to prison he was followed by detectives, hounded and threatened, and then he went to prison, where his peculiar position was an extremely difficult one and where he remained nearly three years, and while none of this experience touched his spirit, it did take toll of his body and he feels the effects of it more now than when he left prison.

The long confinement, the prison food, the unceasing demands upon him of one kind and another by the prisoners, the misery and suffering that constantly surrounded him, all these drew heavily upon him in a physical way and as a result his body is tired, starved and worn, in consequence of which his heart action has been affected, and if he is not allowed time enough to rest and recuperate, he can never hope to actively enter the field again. This has been made plain and emphatic by his attending physician. At this writing he is in bed, being particularly advised that he must keep quiet and free from excitement, while one caller and one committee after another are at his door all day and half the night, some of them very insistent that he must consent to make a speech for them at once. The comrades and other callers are here in the kindest spirit and with the best of intentions, but they simply do not understand.

Gene has been away almost continuously in the service of the working class under great difficulties during the last five years. His personal affairs and his office here are in a sadly disorganized state from sheer neglect. There are piles of accumulations, including letters without number, manuscripts, pamphlets, books, etc., etc., which alone would require a month at least to get in order.

In the meantime and since the day of his return, letters, telegrams, etc., have been pouring

in by the thousands, and with our scant means and limited facilities, it is simply impossible to handle this enormous mail, and if the comrades receive no acknowledgment such as they expect, they will know the reason why. In addition to this there have been visitors and committees each day and the long distance telephone calls have been coming at all hours of the night and from all directions. Under these circumstances you will see how impossible it is for Gene to collect himself in his weary and exhausted state, clear away the accumulations, reorganize his affairs, and prepare for further service in the movement.

There is another thing I wish to say that he would not say if he were making this statement, and that I would not say under any other circumstances. He has gone through five presidential campaigns, speaking day and night for months at a time, and as a result of sheer overwork he succumbed to nervous exhaustion three different times. On each occasion it was doubtful if he would recover his strength. But his constitution and his will pulled him through. At sixty-six he must not break down again and we shall not permit him to if we can help it. Nor would he be helping the Cause in the least by so doing. He has no organic trouble; he is simply at the point of nervous and physical exhaustion from years of overstrain, excitement, persecution and hardship, which he will overcome if he has time, and this he must have. He will not be idle, you may rest assured. He will find ways while in retirement of serving the Cause.

How long it will require for him to recuperate, we do not know. That will depend not a little on circumstances. Rest and quiet are most needed and if these are allowed a sufficient length of time, recuperation is certain to follow. If the comrades will understand that at present Gene cannot engage himself to make a speech or to respond to their many calls and demands, it will help along decidedly and I know how gladly they will agree to this when they understand the situation. As soon as he is physically re-

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

STAY AWAY FROM TERRE HAUTE

By Otto Branstetter

I met Gene Debs upon his return to Terre Haute, and although he was tired and worn from the excitement and nervous tension of the preceding days, he seemed surprisingly strong and was in the best of spirits. In conference with our Committee he felt sure that in three or four weeks he would be strong enough to consider definite plans for his future activities.

I saw him again yesterday, four weeks after his release. He was in bed because he was not strong enough to be up. "Otto," he said, "my friends are killing me. With the best intentions in the world they are making it impossible for me to get the rest and quiet that I must have if I am ever to resume my activities."

And then from Gene and later from Mrs. Debs and Theodore, his brother, I got the story of the last three weeks. A tragic story of a great man's health and perhaps his life being endangered by the unreasoning love and admiration of his followers.

There is nothing organically wrong with Debs. His body is under-nourished from three years of prison fare, and his nerves are in a bad shape as a result of his experiences. He is sixty-six years old and does not recuperate as rapidly as a younger man. But he can recuperate if he is given an opportunity. All he needs is rest and quiet.

The deluge of letters that came with his release has not abated. The flood of telegrams still continues. The telephone rings incessantly with local calls. Long distance calls come at all hours of the day and night. Every train through Terre Haute leaves a comrade or a committee that has come to see Gene Debs. Some comrades get in to see him, and some do not. Those who see him help to sap his strength and vitality. They leave him nervous and excited and unable to rest for hours after they are gone. Those who do not get in worry him none the less. He understands and appreciates the affection which has brought them there. He knows the time and expense they have been to in traveling hundreds of miles to see him and understands their disappointment. The knowledge that they are there, that they are perhaps hurt or angry at the disappointment gives him nervous, sleepless hours when he should be resting.

I heard the story of a well-meaning comrade

who would not be denied. When he was refused admission to see Debs, he announced that he would not leave town until he did see him. He staid three days, and on the third day he was admitted, in spite of the physician's protest. Presumably he went away satisfied; he had seen Debs. And all Debs needs is rest and quiet.

They told me of a committee which was refused. This committee telephoned, they sent a special delivery letter, they called in person, and when they were denied admission upon the physician's orders, they went away in anger. Gene could not sleep that night for worrying about it. And all he needs is rest and quiet.

I heard these stories and many more. I wondered just how much we really care for Debs; whether you and I and all the other friends and admirers who are breaking his health and driving him to the verge of a nervous collapse, love him enough to let him alone, to let him have the rest and quiet which his physician insists he must have if he is to be well and strong again and able to take up his work.

This is the situation—it is not exaggerated. Without being seriously ill, Debs is weaker, more nervous and exhausted now than when he was released from prison. His condition has grown worse instead of better. It is due entirely to the fact that he has not been allowed the rest that he requires. If he does not get rest and quiet, he is going to have a nervous breakdown.

There is only one thing which will prevent this catastrophe, that is for all of us to stay away from Terre Haute and let him rest. If the friends who want him to speak in New York and San Francisco, who want him to take the platform for Socialism, for Amnesty, for Russian Relief, for an Anti-war Campaign, who want him to write for this or that or the other publication, and the thousands who simply want to shake his hand and express their love for him will stay away from Terre Haute for six or eight weeks, Debs will regain his strength and be able to make plans for the future. If we will not do this, Debs will not speak anywhere for anybody, on any subject, for the simple reason that he will not be able to do so.

Do we love Gene enough to let him alone and give him a chance to recover his strength? There is but one way to prove it and that is by staying away from Terre Haute. On behalf of the Socialist Party, I promise that neither myself or any official representative of the National Office will go to Terre Haute unless and until they are sent for.

If all other groups and organizations and local committees will take the same position, and the individual friends will realize that the greatest service they can render Debs is to let him rest, they will be complying with his wishes, and showing a consideration which will be appreciated.

Stay away from Terre Haute. Give Gene Debs a chance to regain the health and strength which he lost in his service to the working class.

ABOUT GENE DEBS

(Continued from page 1)

habilitated and ready to fill speaking engagements he will announce himself without unnecessary delay. As soon as he can do so, he will arrange to see all those of the various groups who have expressed a desire to be heard, and it is only fair that he should do so as nearly all of them have been his comrades and closely associated with him in the past in the work of the movement.

Having been cut off so long from practically all sources of information and from active connection with affairs during a period of great change, he cannot at once, especially in his weakened physical condition, adjust himself to the situation.

Gene has but one purpose when his strength is restored and that is to take the place it is his

duty to take, and where he can render the most effective service in organizing the workers industrially and politically along the lines of their class interests, and fighting side by side with them the battles for their emancipation. And when he is ready for work he will take his stand and that will be the proper time to take it. To announce prematurely what he intends doing two or three months hence, when the situation may have still further changed and be entirely different from what it is now, would simply complicate matters so far as he is concerned and certainly do no good. He will be heard from directly and in various ways as soon as the clogged up state of affairs here is relieved and his time and strength will permit.

Meanwhile I can only ask the indulgence of our comrades, and this I do with entire confidence that they will understand and make allowance accordingly.

Amnesty Help by European Comrades

To the Citizen Debs.

Dearest Comrade:

We are joyful for the great event of your liberation, so much desired by the liberals of all the world.

On our part we were deeply touched by the iniquitous sentence which you received.

Recently we addressed a message to President Harding bearing the signatures of all our Comrades in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and the members of the Central Executive Committee. We have urged the Confederation of Labor of France to line up with us in the fight for your liberation.

We were already at the work to form a committee of action for your liberation, composed of the General Confederation of Labor, the League for the Men's and Citizens' Rights, and all the individuals of the scientific and intellectual world.

Your ruling class has at last realized the scandal and the shame of your continued imprisonment.

We will always remember the great lesson drawn from the work of the American and world-wide Socialist family which has been for sometime deprived of your presence in the struggle.

The American comrades have informed us of your ill health due to the prison regime. We surely hope, dear Comrade, that the liberty which you have recently regained may enable you to continue working for the movement, and restore your strength and energy.

Bolshevism has done very much harm in Europe as well as in America, but its harmful effects are beginning to reach the culminating point, and are throwing the dissolvent, spiteful, destructive Communism back all over the world. Our Party has been one of the hardest hit, but little by little it is regaining its original strength and influence within our country.

Besides it is enjoying the good effects resulting from the unity of the Socialist Conference of

Frankfort and Vienna, which have given us back the spirit of united action.

We hope that the American Socialist Party also will decide before long to join us and bring its precious help in the fight.

With this expectation we beg you, dear Comrade Debs, to accept the expression of our most fraternal and loving sentiments.

SECRETARY GENERAL,
(Signed) Paul Faure.

The letter to President Harding was signed by all the party officials and 52 socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

* * * * *

Wien, am 28ten December, 1921

Herr Otto Branstetter,

Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Dear Genosse Branstetter:—

We have received I regret, seemingly late, your letter of October 28th. Notwithstanding we have hastened to act in compliance with your wishes. Among the Austrian comrades we had the President of the Republic, Comrade Seitz, the well-known State Attorney, Comrade Dr. Renner, and Prof. Dr. Greenberg of the Vienna University, of the Club of the Socialist Democrat, prepare the letter to President Harding.

At the same time the Bureau of our International Workers Socialist Party on the 17th of December in Frankfort, sent a telegram and a letter to President Harding. We do not know if our letters have already reached their destination, but we have with great joy read that your efforts have been crowned with success, and that Comrade Debs has been released from prison.

I ask you to give to all the American comrades and personally to Comrade Debs our heartiest wishes.

With Socialist greetings,
Frederick Adler.

FROM DEBS HIMSELF

It has been Debs' lifelong practice to acknowledge the receipt of every letter he received. He has always been sufficiently interested in his friends to want to personally acknowledge and reply to every communication received from them. The present deluge, however, has overwhelmed him. It is physically impossible for him to undertake to reply to the thousands of messages received. It would require all of his time and that of a staff of stenographers for months to dictate personal replies to his friends and well-wishers. It is under these circumstances that he has dictated a general acknowledgment with the request that it be sent out in the National Office Press Service and published in all the Socialist and Labor press. The friends and comrades everywhere will understand that this message is sent to each of them personally; that it is Debs' personal acknowledgment and reply to their communication. It is what Gene would write each and everyone of them individually if it were physically possible for him to do so. This is the message which he sends:

TO MY BELOVED FRIENDS and COMRADES.

I realize how vain it is for me to attempt to express what my heart is so full of, after the last few days of thrilling and dramatic experience, such as I have never before known.

The tireless, unceasing efforts, the unwavering loyalty, the unflinching kindness and devotion of our many, many comrades and friends can never be expressed in words. With my heart upon my lips and thrilling with deepest and tenderest emotions, I say: Thanks to all my beautiful and devoted comrades and friends!

Who would not go to prison for such loyal devotion as I have known, and which makes life run richer for me than I could ever have dreamed!

I can only answer in a complete consecration to the Cause, and in a higher resolve to serve it with every atom of my strength to the last hour of my life. I can say no more. I can only express myself in silence and tears.

Devotedly,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

* * *

As it is impossible for Gene to answer the messages of cheer and congratulation received, so it is equally impossible for him to express his appreciation to the many groups and organizations and to the thousands of individuals who have worked so unceasingly for the release of himself and other political prisoners. To all these friends and comrades he sends greetings and his heartfelt appreciation:

TO THE FRIENDS OF AMNESTY

It is with great pleasure that I avail myself of the earliest moment to express my appreciation to members of the Socialist Party and all other groups and organizations of whatever name or

title, who have worked to secure Amnesty for Political Prisoners. I have never before known such loyalty, coupled with such energy as was demonstrated in the campaign made by these many comrades and friends to secure our liberation. I wish it were possible for me to give a true transcript of my heart's feelings as I contemplate the magnificent work done by these devoted adherents to the Cause of FREE SPEECH and CIVIL RIGHTS.

This splendid work has in part been rewarded, but it has yet to be completed, and I entreat the same comrades and friends to continue their agitation and make it more and more effective in every possible way until the last of our imprisoned comrades have been liberated.

I am sure that all who have been so devotedly interested in our behalf will understand how deeply I have been touched, and how fully I appreciate every effort put forth by every friend and comrade, in their splendid Amnesty Campaigns.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

DEBS' HOME COMING SPEECH.

"Mr. Mayor and Friends—and Neighbors—and Comrades! HOME AGAIN! And what a wonderful, beautiful demonstration! What a picture to greet the eye and the heart and the soul on my return! How vain words are! How meaningless all language in the presence of such a marvelous, touching and inspiring scene! From the very depths of my heart I thank you for your kind welcome. I thank every man, woman and child who have been the cheer and support of my dear wife and family during my absence. And I thank you over and over again for your devotion. What a beautiful homecoming! I felt in leaving here that you were with me in spirit and I was sustained by your faithfulness and devotion. I thank everyone of you for the efforts you have been putting forth so long in my behalf. You have succeeded at last.

But I am not free as long as any are in prison. I have a heart for my fellowmen. I shall devote my life to the liberation of those who are imprisoned. And I shall know no rest until they are restored to their families. I was saddened because I was compelled to leave behind in Atlanta my fellowmen in prison.

In my heart there is no bitterness, only a resolution not to yield, but to remain true to my honest convictions and to my ideals. I could not do otherwise. I have no regrets.

You and I may differ from time to time, and yet may grasp each others hands in fellowship. On this touching occasion how little of the emotions struggling within me can be expressed in words! I see your glowing faces tonight. I hear your sympathetic heartbeats. I would it were possible for me to put my arms around you and express the love I bear you.

Socialist Party Committee In Conference with Debs at Terre Haute, Ind.



January 2nd and 3rd, 1922.

From left to right: Otto Branstetter, Chicago, Executive Secretary; William H. Henry, Indianapolis, member of the National Executive Committee; Eugene V. Debs, five times presidential candidate of the party; Oliver C. Wilson, Chicago, State Secretary Socialist Party of Illinois; James Oneal, New York, member of the National Executive Committee.

I cannot make a speech tonight, but I can again thank you from the bottom of my heart. This wondrous picture will remain forever on my memory's walls. It can never be forgotten.

With a heart overflowing with grateful thanks I now bid you beloved friends and comrades—Good-night and God-speed.

* * * * *

DEBS URGES SUPPORT OF THE AMNESTY CAMPAIGN TO FREE THE I. W. W. POLITICALS

Most heartily do I join in the appeal for moral and financial support in the campaign being waged for Amnesty for the large number of remaining political prisoners. Could I have had my way, I should not have left prison while one of them was there. There is not one in the number who is more guilty than I, nor one who does not as well deserve release. In this I refer particularly to the I. W. W. prisoners who in addition to the cruel and outrageous sentences imposed upon them are the victims of the blindest and most malicious prejudice. The very fact of their belonging to the I. W. W. condemns them, though they may be absolutely void of offense. They are kept in prison, not because of what they said or did during the war, but simply because of the organization they are members of,

to which they have as good a right to belong as to the American Federation of Labor or to any other organization.

It is a binding duty upon everyone who is for the working class in its fight against capitalist despotism and the destruction of the last vestige of our liberties to give support freely and ungrudgingly to the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. in its splendid Amnesty campaign, until the very last of the political prisoners is set free. Let each of us resolve that we shall not be at peace until this is done.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

“Let Them Come”

As to the intended march upon his home by the Legionaires, Eugene V. Debs has this to say: “Let them come! I have not the slightest objection. It will be an illuminating exhibition. Were I so inclined I could easily muster an army of a few thousand to make their reception an interesting one. But I shall do nothing of that kind. Were I to call upon my friends at all it would be to see to it that the marchers were unmolested. I do not object to being called a ‘traitor’ under certain circumstances for I certainly am a ‘traitor’



January 2nd and 3rd, 1922.

to the powers and personalities of Wall Street that are looting this nation, corrupting its government, debauching its politics, and robbing and starving the people, including the boys who went overseas at their command to 'save civilization' for which many are now facing starvation as their reward.

"Some of these latter boys have called to ask me if I needed protection against threatened assaults, volunteering their services, which I thankfully declined. I need no protection. I fear no man and no mob. All my life I have walked among men, of all kinds and in all places, unarmed and unafraid. I am inclined to think the Legionnaires will change their minds about marching to my home, but whether they do or not they will find the road clear and they may stand there and shout 'traitor' to their hearts' content. It is to be hoped that Governor McCray will not fail to take his proper place at the head of the marchers."

MOSCOW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ASKS FOR UNION BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS.

The translation department of the Italian Socialist Federation has issued the following items regarding the international labor movement, gathered from the recent issue of the *Avanti* of Milan:

The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, according to the correspondent of the *Avanti* in Vienna, published an article on the failure of reunion between the Socialists and Communists in Germany under the heading "The Bankrupt Communists" and with a subhead "Communist Plead Unity."

In this article a manifesto by the Executive Committee of the Third International and appearing in the "Rote Fahne" of Berlin, is mentioned. This manifesto invites the workers of every country to form a united front against the exploiting and war like policy of capitalism.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS REJECT THE COMMUNIST PROPOSITION FOR UNITY.

The *Avanti* published the following dispatch from Berlin dated Dec. 24th:

The proposal of the Communist Party for the reunion of all the proletarian parties in Germany has been flatly rejected by the "Vorwaerts" and the "Freiheit." The former says: "We are convinced that the Second International and the Vienna International will completely ignore this insult to the proletarian class on the part of a few clowns already bankrupt morally and politically." While the "Freiheit" says: "The proposition of the Central Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party clearly reveals the bankruptcy of the so-called Third International."

FRENCH COMMUNISTS WAR AMONG THEMSELVES.

According to a dispatch from Paris published in the *Milan Avanti* of Dec. 26th the entire press of France is ridiculing the Communists for their internal warfare.

The French Communist Party will soon hold

its convention at which splits are feared owing to the disagreements among the leaders. The Young Russian Communist (a naturalized French citizen) Souvarine, whose read name is Lifschitz, has been directing attacks from Moscow against the secretary of the French Communist Party, Frossard, also against Rappaport, whom he calls a slinking snake, when everyone in France regards Rappaport as a pure communist. Sourvarine (Lifschitz) intends to purify the party of the undesirable elements, altho it is only a year ago that the party considered its task of purification finished when it seceded from the Socialist Party.

The "Populaire," official organ of the Socialist Party of France commenting on the present condition of the Communist Party, says: "The communists should allow us to tell them that they have failed on every point for which they seceded from the Socialist Party at Tours. For example: The revolution, which they claimed was at hand and that only the betrayal of the Socialists blocked, the revolution is now postponed to the "Greek Calende" (the day that never comes), and the energetic action which they promised resolved itself into a shameful May Day demonstration, with advices of patience and prudence given by them at the moment of the rally of the masses against the state power, and the day of the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration. In the same manner the Communist Party has failed in its action in Parliament, in the administration of the Socialist cities and its propoganda. It is a retreat! It is a failure!"

RUSSIAN RELIEF FUND.

Name	Address	Amount
PREVIOUSLY REPORTER		\$2,965.38
L. C. Grezin,	Reading, Pa.	5.00
Marguerite E. Ray,	Reading, Pa.	5.00
N. E. Ferrel,	Erie, Pa.	1.50
Joseph Bold,	Penna Station, Pa.	3.00
Mrs. J. B. Wernette,	Remus, Michigan	5.00
S. P. Local New York,	collections	1,817.25
John Lusk,	Myrtle Pt., Org.	10.00
Wm. Enler,	Meadville, Pa.	1.00
James P. Ryan,	McKeesport, Pa.	10.00
Geo. Loeding,	Chicago, Ill.	5.00
S. P. Finnish Federation,	collections	53.29
S. P. No. Side Fin. Br.,	Chicago, Ill.	7.50
S. P. Fin. Br.,	Cleveland, Ohio	69.00
S. P. Local New York,	collections	537.85
Chas. Laux,	Fayette, Mich.	1.50
J. E. Barret,	Dallas, Texas	4.00
Wm. Henkel,	Wasco, Calif.	1.00
S. P. of Ohio		5.00
Florence S. Hall,	Seabright Sat., Calif.	5.00
Loc. Berke County,	S. P. of Penna	10.00
S. P. Finnish Br.,	Bridgeport, Conn.	8.00
S. P. Finn. Br.,	Fitchburg, Mass.	30.15
Giliame Remy,	Chicago, Ill.	.25
Chas. E. Jackson,	Darlington, Md.	10.00
Geo. Zimmerman,	Westboro, Wis.	10.00
Ed. Melms,	collections, Milwaukee, Wis.	14.00
S. P. Finn. Br.,	Springfield, Mass.	15.50
S. P. Finn. Br.,	Maynard, Mass.	26.00
S. P. Local Manzanita,	Calif.	2.00
Total to January 25th, 1922		\$5,638.94

SOCIALISM AGAINST RELIGION

By JAMES CONNOLLY

O, quit your fooling! That talk is all right for those who know nothing of the relations between capital and labor, or are innocent of any knowledge of the processes of modern industry, or imagine that men, in their daily struggles for bread or fortunes, are governed by the Sermon on the Mount.

But between working men that talk is absurd. We know that Socialism bears upon our daily life in the workshop, and that religion does not; we know that the man who never set foot in a church in his lifetime will, if he is rich, be more honored by Christian society than the poor man who goes to church every Sunday, and says his prayers morning and evening; we know that the capitalists of all religions pay more for the services of a good lawyer to keep them out of the clutches of the law than for the services of a good priest to keep them out of the clutches of the devil; and we never heard of a capitalist, who, in his business, respected the Sermon on the Mount as much as he did the decisions of the Supreme Court.

These things we know. We also know that neither capitalist nor worker can practice the moral precepts of religion, and without its moral precepts a religion is simply a sham. If a religion cannot enforce its moral teaching upon its votaries it has as little relation to actual life as the pre-election promises of a politician have to legislation.

We know that Christianity teaches us to love our neighbor as ourselves, but we also know that if a capitalist attempted to run his business upon that plan his relatives would have no difficulty in getting lawyers, judges and physicians to declare him incompetent to conduct his affairs in the business world.

He would not be half as certain of reaching Heaven in the next world as he would be of getting into the "bughouse" in this.

And, as for the worker. Well, in the fall of 1908, the New York World printed an advertisement for a teamster in Brooklyn, wages to be \$12 per week. Over 700 applicants responded. Now could each of these men love their neighbors in that line of hungry competitors for that pitiful wage?

As each man stood in line in that awful parade of misery could he pray for the neighbor to get the job, and could he be expected to follow up his prayer by giving up his chance, and so making certain the prolongation of the misery of his wife and little ones?

No, my friend, Socialism is a bread and butter question. It is a question of the stomach; it is going to be settled in the factories, mines and ballot boxes of this country and is not going to be settled at the altar or in the church.

This is what our well-fed friends call a "base, material standpoint," but remember that beauty

and genius and art and poetry and all the finer efflorescences of the higher nature of man can only be realized in all their completeness upon the material basis of a healthy body, that not only an army but the whole human race marches upon its stomach, and then you will grasp the full wisdom of our position.

That the question to be settled by Socialism is the effect of private ownership of the means of production upon the well-being of the race; that we are determined to have a straight fight upon the question between those who believe that such private ownership is destructive of human well-being and those who believe it to be beneficial, that as men of all religions and of none are in the ranks of the capitalists, and men of all religions and of none are on the side of the workers the attempt to make religion an issue in the question is an intrusion, an impertinence and an absurdity.

Personally I am opposed to any system where-in the Capitalist is more powerful than God Almighty. You need not serve God unless you like and may refuse to serve him and grow fat, prosperous and universally respected. But if you refuse to serve the capitalist your doom is sealed; misery and poverty and public odium await you.

No worker is compelled to enter a church and to serve God; every worker is compelled to enter the employment of a capitalist and serve him.

As Socialists we are concerned to free mankind from the servitude forced upon them as a necessity of their life; we propose to allow the question of all kinds of service voluntarily rendered to be settled by the emancipated human race of the future.

I do not deny that Socialists often leave the church. But why do they do so? Is their defection from the church a result of our attitude towards religion; or is it the result of the attitude of the church and its ministers toward Socialism?

Let us take a case in point, one of those cases that are being paralleled every day in our midst. An Irish Catholic joins the Socialist movement. He finds that as a rule the Socialist men and women are better educated than their fellows; he finds that they are immensely cleaner in speech and thought than are the adherents of capitalism in the same class; that they are devoted husbands and loyal wives, loving and cheerful fathers and mothers, skilful and industrious workers in the shops and office, and that although poor and needy as a rule, yet that they continually bleed themselves to support their cause and give up for Socialism what many others spend in the saloon.

He finds that a drunken Socialist is as rare as a white blackbird, and that a Socialist of criminal tendencies is such a rara avis that when one is found the public press heralds it forth as a great discovery.

Democratic and republican jailbirds are so common that the public press does not regard their existence as "news" to anybody, nor yet does the public press think it necessary to say that certain criminals belong to the Protestant or Catholic religions. That is nothing unusual, and therefore not worth printing. But a criminal Socialist—that would be news indeed!

Our Irish Catholic Socialist gradually begins to notice these things. He looks around and he finds the press full of reports of crimes, murders, robberies, bank swindlers, forgeries, debauches, gambling transactions, and midnight orgies in which the most revolting indecencies are perpetrated. He investigates and he discovers that the perpetrators of these crimes were respectable capitalists, pillars of society, and red-hot enemies of Socialism, and that the dives in which the highest and the lowest meet together in a saturnalia of vice contribute a large proportion of the campaign funds of the capitalist political parties.

Some Sunday he goes to Mass as usual, and he finds that at Gospel the priest launches out into a political speech and tells the congregation that the honest, self-sacrificing, industrious, clean men and women, whom he calls "comrades," are a wicked, impious, dissolute sect, desiring to destroy the home, to distribute the earnings of the provident among the idle and lazy of the world, and reveling in all sorts of impure thoughts about women.

And as this Irish Catholic Socialist listens to this foul libel, what wonder if the hot blood of anger rushes to his face, and he begins to believe that the temple of God has itself been sold to the all desecrating grasp of the capitalist?

While he is yet wondering what to think of the matter, he hears that his immortal soul will be lost if he fails to vote for capitalism, and he reflects that if he lined up with the brothel keepers, gambling house proprietors, race track swindlers, and white slave traders to vote the capitalist ticket, this same priest would tell him he was a good Catholic and loyal son of the church.

At such a juncture the Irish Catholic Socialist often rises up, goes out of the church and wipes its dust off his feet forever. Then we are told that Socialism took him away from the church. But did it? Was it not rather the horrible spectacle of a priest of God standing up in the Holy Presence lying about and slandering honest men and women, and helping to support political parties whose campaign fund in every large city represents more bestiality than ever Sodom and Gomorrah knew?

These are the things that drive Socialists from the church, and the responsibility for every soul so lost lies upon those slanderers and not upon the Socialist movement.

(From Socialism Made Easy)

LENIN AS A REFORMIST

If to face a fact be, as it surely is, the mark of greatness, Lenin is the one great man in power in Europe. He does not pretend that Bolshevik economic policy has succeeded: on the contrary, he states that it has failed.

The arguments and admission of his speech of May 21st on the Agricultural Tax are carried much further in that made on October 17th, which amounts to a defence of gradual as against cataclysmic change, on Reformist lines. Everything that Lenin says is worth studying; the governing passages are here set out in literal translation from the *Isvestia* of October 19th.

Lenin, addressing a conference of Political Educators, begins by saying that his audience must have noted the "sharp change" represented by the new economic policy. This policy "comprises more elements of the old economic regime than that hitherto adopted." The reason, he goes on to explain, is that it is now perceived that "the assumption that it was possible to pass straight from the old regime to state control of production and distribution on a communist basis" was false.

At the beginning of 1918, a series of Executive Resolutions laid stress upon the necessity of coming to an understanding with the peasants, of keeping in mind the role of capitalism in the State in the creation of Socialism, recognizing

the importance of individual, personal responsibility, and the difference between the political and the military task." Unfortunately, however, these resolutions were forgotten.

"In 1918 we had to meet, in addition to the war, the rising of the Czecho-Slovaks and the beginning of the civil war that lasted until 1920. Partly under the influence of these events and of the desperate position in which the Republic then found itself, we committed an error—we decided to make an immediate transition to communist production and distribution.

"We thought that the peasants would hand over their grain under a requisition system; this corn would then be distributed to factories and workshops, and we should thus arrive at a communist system of production and distribution. I do not say that this plan was well conceived, but, in any event, we acted in this sense; that, unfortunately, is a fact. I say unfortunately, since experience, a very short experience, too, showed the error of this conception, which contradicted what we had said previously about the necessity of passing from Capitalism to Communism through a period of Socialist regulation and control, without which even the most

elementary degree of communism cannot be achieved.

"In theory, our literature, from 1918 on, had laid stress on the fact that capitalist society passes into communist society through a long period of Socialist control and regulation; but in the fever of civil war, we had, so to speak, forgotten this. During this period, as the result of this error, we underwent a severe economic defeat, after which we began a strategic retreat; although we were not absolutely beaten, we could only retire to reconstruct the whole in a more solid fashion. As to our defeat on the economic front, there can be no doubt; and it is a very heavy defeat; we therefore quite frankly face the question of the new economic policy. . . ."

"An experience which did not last very long has brought us to the conviction of the error of such a plan as we tried which contradicted all that we had written before about the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, and convinced us that you cannot arrive at the lowest degree of Communism without passing through a period of Socialistic control."

After dealing with the depression, and almost panic caused to certain "comrades," Lenin goes on:—

"The attempt to introduce Communism cost us in the spring of 1921, a defeat on the economic front far more serious than any we had previously sustained at the hands of Kolchak, Denikin or Pilsudski. At this period, our economic policy, as conceived by the authorities, did not in the least correspond with what was going on amongst the masses, and was not even able to restore production. Any such restoration was prevented by requisition in the villages, and in the towns, by the immediate introduction of communist methods. It is this policy which provoked the profound crisis, economic and political, which broke out in the spring of 1921.

"Here from the standpoint of our general policy, is a defeat, a serious defeat, and a retreat; nor can we say, as of the Red Army, that it was a retreat in perfect order to new positions prepared in advance. No doubt, these positions had been prepared, and one can verify the fact by a comparison of the party decisions in the spring of 1921 with those of April, 1918. But the retreat took place to these positions, and it is still going on at the moment in many provincial areas in considerable and even extraordinary disorder."

To combat this disorder is the task of the Education Committees.

"The new economic policy, represented by the substitution of a tax in kind for requisitioning, marks the transition to the re-establishment of Capitalism to a certain degree. To what degree we do not know. Concessions to foreign capitalists—of which very few have been actually carried through in proportion to our offers—like the guarantees to private

capitalists—are nothing more or less than the direct re-establishment of Capitalism, and that is radically bound up with our new economic policy. The suppression of requisitions means, for the peasant, free trading with the surplus produce left them, after taxation, which takes but a small portion of it. The peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and of our whole national economy, and that is why it is impossible that Capitalism should not develop on the basis of this free trading. . . . From the strategic point of view, the essential question is to know who will get the best of this new situation. With whom will the peasants go, with the proletariat, which is trying to create Socialist society, or with the capitalists, who say to them, 'Turn back, that is the sure path.' . . . There is now an economic war, inside Soviet Russia.

"The essence of the present war is the question whether the capitalist to whom we have opened the door, several doors, including many doors of which we are not aware, and which are opening near us and also against us, will come out on top, or on the other hand, the proletarian power. Where can this power find an economic fulcrum? Partly in the improvement of the general condition of life. In this connection, we must remember the peasants. It is indubitable and obvious that in spite of the terrible scourge of the famine, an improvement in the general condition of life has taken place, directly due to the change in our economic policy. On the other hand if Capitalism brings advantages, industrial production will develop, and with it the proletariat. The capitalists will profit from our policy and will create that industrial proletariat which, owing to the war and economic ruin, has disappeared as a class among us....

"The question then is, who will get in first? If the capitalists are the first to get organized, they will drive out the Communists—there is no need to mince words about that. One must face the issue. Who will get in first? Will the proletarian power show itself capable, by the support of the peasants, of holding the capitalist gentlemen in leash, so as to direct Capitalism with State reins and create a Capitalism subject to the State and disposed to serve it?"

Words, phases, are no good in this connection, he emphasises.

"Compared to the problem that faces us to-day, the military one was simple. Then we could rely on the assault, the élan, the enthusiasm the physical energy of the great mass of peasants and workers who saw the capitalist marching upon them. Now they no longer see him face to face. . . . Because they are profoundly uncultivated and ignorant, they cannot have the least idea of the fact that the enemy is in our midst, that the revolution is now staring into the abyss into which all preceding revolutions have rushed, and before

which they have recoiled. And it is hard to say how long it will take the Extraordinary Committees to devise extraordinary measures for liquidating this ignorance. . .

"Our only support can be in the minds of the workers and peasants. It is there that reside the greatest difficulties of our struggle. We cannot count on any immediate transition to communism. We must build upon the personal interest of the peasant. People say, 'The personal interest of the peasant—that means the restoration of private property.'

No; private property in goods for consumption and indispensable instruments we have never suppressed so far as the peasants are concerned. . . . The real difficulty is in reviving personal interest. Every specialist must be so interested that the development of production concerns him. Have we done that? No, we have failed. We thought that production and distribution would go on according to communist rules in a country where the proletariat is declassed. We must change our method, otherwise we shall not get the proletariat to understand the transition. Our frontal attack has failed; we have been defeated: We must sit down and begin sapping and mining. The entire national economy must be based upon personal interest. Discussion must go on in common, but responsibility must be personal. Under the new economy this distinction must be absolutely clear... We have not realised soon enough what can be left to discussions at meetings and what must be left to the Government... and most of our congresses have ended in nothing but words.

Have meetings, if you like, but direct without the smallest hesitation, direct more firmly than the capitalist ever did. Otherwise you will never beat him. Direction must be more severe, more rigid than before. In the Red Army, after months of meetings, discipline was as severe as under the old regime. Penalties were adopted, including that of death, unknown even to the old Government. The bourgeois squealed, "The Bolsheviks are taking to shooting." We should say, "Yes, and in all conscience."

"In a country that is reduced to the utmost poverty there must perish either those who cannot pull themselves up or all the workers in a peasants' Republic... When Communism arrives, teaching can be gentler. But now I say that teaching cannot be otherwise than rough under the fear of ruin."

In a passage printed in the first edition of the *Isvestia* but excised by the censorship from subsequent editions, Lenin went on to say:—

"If we work badly now, we shall all go to the devil. They will hang the lot of us, and will do splendidly! They ought to hang us if we fail."

If the Republic is to be saved, the situation, as it is, must be understood and men must set their minds to the struggle. From this point of view,

Lenin says, the Communist Party needs purging. "At least half of our members do not know how to struggle, apart from those who actually hinder. I hope that we shall expell from one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand Communists who have fastened themselves to the Party, and not only do not help the fight with apathy and venality, but hinder it." He sums up by setting out the three great enemies as (1) Communist brag, (2) ignorance; (3) venality.

"Communist brag means that a person, being a member of the Communist Party and not having been yet put out of it, imagines that he can solve all problems by Communistic decree."

Such is the gist of one of the most remarkable speeches ever delivered as an attack upon Communism. Lenin has turned Menshevik and Reformist.

(From the *Socialist Review*—London—Jan., 1922)

NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION TO BE HELD IN CLEVELAND.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has selected Cleveland, Ohio, as the meeting place of the annual National Convention, which is to convene on April 22nd. As it is not a Presidential year the Convention will consist of a small number of delegates. The reduced number of delegates, except in presidential years, is made necessary by the fact that the Socialist Party pays all expenses of the delegates to its National Conventions.

SOCIALISTS OF ITALY REJOICE AT DEBS' RELEASE.

The "Avanti," official organ of the Socialist Party of Italy, in its issue of December 24th in connection with the publication of a dispatch announcing the liberation of Eugene V. Debs by President Harding, says: "After 3 years of iniquitous detention the veteran of American Socialism regains his liberty." The pardon repeatedly promised by Harding had always been obstructed by reactionary groups to whom the free apolite and the wonderful propagandist was a danger and a menace. But the power of public opinion, not only of that America but also in the America of every country, where the workers well know and love the name of Debs, has prevailed and the prison gates have finally been unlocked to let the glorious old man out. May his return to the good work of sowing the ideas of Socialism register the start of a new era for transatlantic socialism whose destiny is closely connected with that of world Socialism.

MAKE MONTHLY PLEDGES TO THE ORGANIZATION FUND.

The Socialist Party

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

National Executive Committee:
 W. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave.
 S. Louis Mo.
 Lilith Martin Wilson, Box 685
 Reading, Pa.

Wm. H. Henry, 709 East 13th St.,
 Indianapolis, Ind.

Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th St.,
 New York City.

Edmund T. Melms, 579 8th Ave.,
 Milwaukee, Wis.

James Oneal, 916 Madison St.,
 Brooklyn, N. Y.

James H. Maurer, Rooms 1, 2 and
 3, Commonwealth Trust Co. Build-
 ing, Harrisburg, Pa.

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Dear Comrades:—

I beg to report as follows:

**National Executive Committee
 Motion No. 1.**

Executive Question

Submitted January 18th.

Closed January 24th.

"Shall the National Convention
 of 1922 be held in

Philadelphia,
 Pittsburgh, or
 Cleveland?"

Vote

For Pittsburgh.....Wilson (1)

For Philadelphia.....Brandt (1)

For Cleveland.....Henry, Melms,
 Maurer, Gerber, Oneal (5)

Cleveland is therefore selected as
 the place of holding the next National
 Convention, opening date for
 which is set for April 22nd.

Agenda Sub-Committee

The January number of the Socialist World was held up pending the expected statement from Comrade Debs. The whole contents would necessarily be built around such a statement, if it had been received. The inability of Comrade Debs to make a statement at this time makes it necessary for me to prepare other material and get out the January number immediately. It is impossible for me to get the magazine out before and go to New York for the Agenda Committee Meeting if I go on Thursday as I had intended. I am therefore postponing the date of the Committee

To Remain
 in
 Good Standing

Buy a

**NATIONAL
 CONVENTION
 STAMP**

—
 MAKE A
 MONTHLY
 PLEDGE

to the

**ORGANIZATION
 FUND**

Rebuild
 the
 Socialist
 Party

Meeting until Thursday, February 2nd, and am notifying the Sub-committee members in New York to that effect.

Fraternally submitted,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,
 Executive Secretary

AMNESTY

Comrade Bertha Hale White of the National Office is in Oklahoma gathering information necessary for a campaign for the release of the espionage act prisoners from that state.

CONVENTION STAMPS.

National Convention stamps are now in the hands of state secretaries for sale to the local organizations. They sell for 50 cents and every member must have one of these stamps in his membership book to be in good standing. Dual convention stamps for husband and wife are furnished for the same price as the regular.

The membership of the Socialist Party is comprised in the main of working men and women. They can not afford to pay their own expenses in attending national conventions. The special convention assessment is levied for the purpose of paying the expenses of the convention delegates.

The money for these expenses should be on hand when the convention meets and every member is urged to purchase his convention stamp as soon as possible and not later than April 1st.

ORGANIZATION NOTES.

Comrade W. G. Daniel, Des Moines, is the new District Secretary of the Central Organization District comprising Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota. He has reorganized several locals and is planning intensive organization work during the coming year. His slogan "Say it with Literature" indicates that he will make extensive use of the printed word.

Comrade Adolph Germer, former National Executive Secretary, has been appointed District Secretary of a new Organization District comprising Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont and Rhode Island. A number of locals have been reorganized and Comrade Germer reports prospects of a live and aggressive movement again in the near future.

National Office Sustaining Fund

STANDING OF THE STATES ON DEC. 31st.

State	Quota	Paid	Percent
1 California ..\$	798.00	\$ 1,802.87	226%
2 New Hampsh.	82.00	162.58	198%
3 Missouri ...	480.00	849.85	177%
4 Utah	88.00	124.60	142%
5 Dist. of Col.	92.00	103.50	116%
6 Wyoming ..	34.00	36.40	107%
7 Maryland ..	246.00	260.00	160%
8 Nevada	26.00	26.88	103%
9 Connecticut .	270.00	276.10	102%
10 Penna.	1,916.00	1,925.63	101%
11 Arizona	46.00	42.75	93%
12 Iowa	408.00	365.15	89%
13 Rhode Island	71.00	56.50	80%
14 Massachus.	1,215.00	950.30	78%
15 New York...	3,213.00	2,304.34	72%
16 Delaware ...	31.00	20.00	65%
17 Arkansas ...	172.00	108.81	64%
18 Kansas	270.00	169.35	62%
19 Maine	93.00	56.00	60%
20 Colorado ...	118.00	67.50	57%
21 Wisconsin ..	1,749.00	982.00	56%
22 Illinois	1,622.00	866.61	53%
23 Ohio	1,169.00	574.20	49%
24 Kentucky ..	235.00	100.03	43%
25 W. Virginia..	142.00	55.50	39%
26 No. Dakota..	104.00	32.00	31%
27 Indiana	577.00	153.15	27%
28 Michigan ...	520.00	113.25	22%
29 New Jersey..	739.00	160.85	22%
30 Vermont ...	52.00	10.00	19%
31 Tennessee ...	168.00	22.00	13%
32 Nebraska ...	171.00	19.00	11%
33 Georgia	221.00	22.00	10%
34 Idaho	68.00	6.00	9%
35 Oregon	130.00	10.48	8%
36 Washington .	154.00	12.50	8%
37 Florida ...	119.00	8.00	7%
38 No. Carolina	171.00	10.00	6%
39 Mississippi ..	127.00	7.00	6%
40 Minnesota ..	575.00	31.55	6%
41 Oklahoma ..	369.00	18.50	5%
42 Texas	377.00	19.20	5%
43 Louisiana ..	152.00	5.00	3%
44 So. Dakota..	62.00	2.00	3%
45 New Mexico.	30.00	1.00	3%
46 Montana ...	85.00	2.15	3%
	\$20,000.00	\$12,952.63	65%
Not Heard From	Quota		
-Alabama	\$172.00		
So. Carolina....	107.00		

MONTHLY PLEDGES FOR 1922

Name	Locality	Per Month
PREVIOUSLY REPORTED..... \$120.50		
Albert Halpern, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5.00
Herman Rivkin, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5.00
Dr. Chas. Russianoff, B'klyn, N. Y.		5.00
Jack Wiener, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5.00
Dr. J. Rothman, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5.00
Dr. J. Scswartz, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5.00
Dr. Alex Seldin, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5.00

Dr. Simon Frucht, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
J. Rutes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
Nathan Kravitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00
Dr. S. Silverman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00
Sam Friedman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
Joseph Stein, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Louis Rubalsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Joseph Atkin, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Cleo Baum, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Ida C. Pilatowsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
L. Tromer, Brooklyn, N. Y.50
A. H. Sulman, Brooklyn, N. Y.50
Mary McVicker,	1.00
W. R. Golferth, Roseville, Calif.	1.00
W. S. Lydick, Heber, Calif.	1.00
John Steiner, San Francisco, Calif.	1.00
Mrs. J. W. Richman, Washing., D. C.	1.00
J. W. Richman, Washington, D. C.	1.00
Soc. Party of Dist. of Columbia	1.00
Soc. Party, Local Washington, D. C.	1.00
Benedict Manasek, Savannah, Ga.	1.00
Fred Ehling, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Dr. R. B. Green, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
J. E. Broshar, Lebanon, Ind.	1.00
Adolph Germer, Boston, Mass.	1.00
Geo. E. Harris, Westwood, Mass.	1.00
E. R. Anderson, Galt, Missouri	1.00
Geo. D. Sauter, St. Louis, Missouri	1.00
Harry E. Schreiber, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00
Louis A. Goldberg, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
R. I. Loyd, Wind River, Wyoming	1.00
Total	200.50

(Continued from page 16)

The provisions of the Dyer bill ought to be made more stringent so that mob action will be discouraged by the imposition of severe penalties on those participating in them.

"I would like to strike at mob rule. I would like to eliminate the national disgrace, lynching," London declared. "I would like to see this bill amended so that it be more effective. I don't want the Negro made the football of politics, as it has been suggested this bill was intended to do. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, designed by its framers for the protection of the helpless, the submerged and unfortunate colored man, has by crooked lawyers been employed to serve for the protection of corporate interests. It has never been used to protect human life."

That mob action is not restricted to racial conflicts, but is extended to class conflicts, was illustrated by London when he referred to the action of a mob several days ago in Louisiana, where a lawyer appeared to defend members of the I. W. W. The lawyer was kidnapped and maltreated by the mob.

The extension of full political, industrial, civic and educational rights was urged by London as the Socialist solution of the Negro problem. If we are abler, we will rule, London added, and if the Negro is abler, we ought not to rule. "I never fear the rule of a weaker race," he said.

London's talk was followed very closely and generous applause greeted his remarks.

The Organization Fund

Developments since the close of the World War have proven true every charge and criticism by the Socialist Party, and fully justified our position.

The Communist hysteria has run its course, and the most rabid of the revolutionist now admit the necessity for political action, immediate demands and the support of the existing Labor organizations.

The Socialist Party's position, both as to the World War and the Party's policies and tactics has been completely vindicated.

The Open Shop fight and Unemployment have disillusioned millions of workers and made them more susceptible to our propaganda than ever before.

The time for action has arrived.

This must be a year of Party building, of renewed consecration to the Cause of Socialism by our Party members.

Congressional Elections will be held throughout the nation this year, and the Socialist Party must take advantage of the splendid opportunity for education and organization that is offered.

Candidates must be nominated and tickets filed in every Congressional District.

Defunct Locals must be re-organized and the existing locals must be strengthened. Millions of workers formerly apathetic or hostile, but now sympathetic and receptive, must be reached with our propaganda and enlisted in the great fight for emancipation.

The field is ready, the harvest is ripe. Organizers are desperately needed and this need and the opportunity will increase a hundredfold with the coming of warm weather. We must be prepared to fill this need, to take advantage of our opportunity.

The National Executive Committee has called for monthly pledges to an Organization and Sustaining Fund to meet this situation. We must have pledges amounting to \$1,500.00 a month. Not every member can make a monthly contribution in addition to the regular dues, but many of them can.

This is a call to those of our comrades who are so fortunately situated that they can make additional contributions without undue hardship.

Fill out the blank below and send it with your first remittance to the National Office.

The Socialist Party is coming of age. It will be twenty-one years old on the 29th of July. It must be prepared to enter life in earnest, to play the part of a full-grown organization and become a factor in the life of this nation. The Organization and Sustaining Fund will make this possible. We are waiting for your reply. Will you join now in a great Party building effort for the advancement of our Cause?

CUT THIS OUT and SEND IT NOW.

The Socialist Party, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

The undersigned herewith pledges the sum of \$..... each month during the year 1922 for the National Organization & Sustaining Fund to reconstruct the Socialist Party.

Name Street

City State

McCRA Y OF INDIANA

The American Legion recently held a meeting at Indianapolis, Indiana, their National headquarters. The Governor of the State, Warren T. McCray attended this meeting at which the commander of the department of Indiana declared in a very excited manner that when the Legion of the state held its forthcoming convention at Terre Haute, the members would march to the residence of Eugene V. Debs and there shout "Traitor" and otherwise teach him a lesson for his "treasqn." Governor McCray endorsed and encouraged this program of threat and violence. Let this fact be placed on record for future reference. We shall have occasion to use it hereafter.

In connection with the foregoing interesting "law and order" program, the following communications are self-explanatory:

"Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 16, 1922.

Hon. Warren T. McCray, Governor,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Sir:—

"My attention has been called to the report of a meeting of the American Legion in a recent issue of an Indianapolis paper of state-wide circulation at which you are reported as having made the following statement:

'I am sorry, extremely sorry that the one arch-traitor of our country should live in the state of Indiana. I believe he will be taught a lesson by the American Legion.

"You will oblige me by advising if you are correctly quoted in this statement, and if so, it would seem to follow that you must also denounce the President of the United States in the same terms for releasing an arch traitor from prison and inviting him to the White House.

But this is aside from the present purpose. A Committee representing the miners and other workmen of this city and vicinity have just called on to me to ask you if you as Governor of the State, sworn to uphold its laws and preserve order, endorse and intend to back up the program of threat and violence against the 'arch traitor' in question, incited by your remarks, and announced in the same report of the same meeting."

Very respectfully,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

To this letter the Governor replies as follows:

Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 17, 1922.

Mr. Eugene V. Debs,
Terre Haute, Ind.,

My dear Sir:—

"In reply to your favor of January 16th, I wish to say that in my brief remarks at a recent meeting of the George Dewey Post, American Legion, I did not speak from notes. What I had to say at that time was entirely extemporaneous

and, therefore, I am not sure of the language quoted in the paper which you repeat, but in the main it was what I said.

As my authority for the statement I refer to the fact that you were tried and convicted in the Federal court and served three years of the sentence imposed."

Very truly yours,

Warren T. McCray,
Governor of Indiana.

It will be observed that the Governor's answer is somewhat evasive, but that he does not deny having approved and encouraged the march of the Legionnaires on the home of Eugene V. Debs.

On the day following the publication of the Legion's program a citizen of Indiana sent the following letter to the Governor and also to each of the Indianapolis papers, in not one of which it was given space:

Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 12, 1922

Governor Warren T. McCray,
State House, Indianapolis,

Sir:—

"In the Star of this city of this date you are quoted as saying to the American Legion concerning Eugene V. Debs: 'I am sorry, extremely sorry that the one arch-traitor of our country should live in the State of Indiana. I believe that he will be taught a lesson by the American Legion, however.'

A little while ago the American Civil Liberties Union presented to the American Legion officials a list of 50 cases of flagrant, open, undenied acts of violence, by Legionnaires. This list was only a sample of hundreds of cases all over the United States varying all the way from threats to murder. In view of this lawless record and in view of recent threat of violence, your speech is a direct incitement to mob violence and inspiration to crime. Not only so; it is also an advance declaration of executive sympathy for the acts of the mob in teaching Debs a lesson."

"After your incitement speech a Legion official declared that at their next meeting in Terre Haute they would march by the 'traitor's home.' Will you march with that mob to the Debs home shouting 'traitor'? Will you?"

"Now Debs has many friends in Terre Haute, and in the mines thereabouts, and all over the State, and in all the States. Shall Debs' friends also gather at Terre Haute for that occasion? Doubless many will."

"Should the Legionnaires carry out their threat of violence we expect to see you stand up like a 'patriot', cheer them on, and shoulder the responsibility for the criminal act. Will you do it? And if there are reprisals, will you expose your head? Or do you expect to cast a firebrand into a mob-magazine, sniffle about 'law and order', and escape the consequences? It is you

and such as you that are the 'traitors' to constitutional government, wreckers of law processes, and the builders of class hatred upon the ruins of liberty."

Not much more need be added here in the way of comment. It is sufficient for the present to place the "Law and Order" hypocrites in high places on record. A few days ago the KNICKERBOCKER of Albany, N. Y. the organ par excellence of the profiteering criminals and corruptionists, published a vicious personal attack on

Debs. One of its readers conceived it to be his patriotic duty upon reading this malicious and inciting tirade to "kill Eugene V. Debs" and he at once declared that he was leaving for Terre Haute for that purpose, and wrote a letter to the New York Call to that effect. To date he has not appeared, but it is not the fault of the Knickerbocker and the cowardly profiteering organs of that ilk that some lunatic does not commit such a crime. And these are the gentry who are everlastingly preaching "law and order" to the working class.

FOR AMNESTY

By BERTHA HALE WHITE

Another political prisoner is free; another who has not been included in the list of 145 men imprisoned under the Espionage Act. He is Leonard Woods Boehner, of Malvern, Iowa.

On the second day of my stay in Leavenworth, I received a message from Mrs. Boehner, who was waiting for the release of her husband the day following, January 19th. She had learned of my work in behalf of the political prisoners, and desired to see me. I found her in a glow of serene happiness. The long waiting was over and her husband would join her and her little daughter the next day for the return to their home.

Mr. Boehner is not a member of any organization that had opposed the war. He had believed in the theory that the Constitution guaranteed the right of free speech. He had an idea that the great portion of our population of German origin had not changed over night. He reminded the people of his town that we had considered these thrifty, industrious people as one of the greatest assets of the nation. He refused to believe they had become depraved and treasonable upon the first hint of war with Germany.

Mr. Boehner was convicted under the Espionage Act of having obstructed the draft. He was sentenced to three years at Leavenworth, but before Mr. Wilson went out of office, he commuted the sentence to a year and a day.

Despite the unreasonable hysteria which sent Mr. Boehner to prison, he had the support of his home people, including the local Red Cross, the Women's Civic Improvement Club and the American Legion Post of that town.

The latter organization investigated the charges which resulted in Mr. Boehner's conviction, and passed a resolution endorsing him and proclaiming their belief in his good citizenship. Whereupon, Mr. McNider, Commander of the Legion, called the commander of the Malvern Post to Des Moines. Mr. McNider more or less gently suggested that the Malvern Post should rescind their action, and informed the Malvern commander that the charter of the Post could be taken away on the ground that they had inter-

ested themselves in a man whom the Government considered disloyal.

Upon learning of this veiled threat, the Malvern legionnaires met again to consider what action should be taken. They again passed a resolution endorsing Mr. Boehner which was signed by every man present.

A third resolution was passed by the Malvern Post in July, when efforts were being made to secure a pardon for Mr. Boehner. This resolution stated that the members of the Post had carefully investigated the case of Mr. Boehner and in their judgment he was innocent of the charges against him and that every day he was confined in Leavenworth was a blot upon the good name of our country.

Mrs. Boehner told me her husband had learned of my visit to the prison the day before and desired to talk with me. That afternoon while I was interviewing the Oklahoma tenant-farmer prisoners, he came into the room and spoke to me, having received permission to see me.

Mr. Boehner is not a Socialist. He has been identified with the major political parties in their campaigns in his own state. But he seems to feel that the liberties for which this nation was founded are in danger. It is his intention to devote the rest of his life to their defense. He is ready to give his time and his resources to that end.

I was deeply impressed by his attitude. And yet, I realized that he was not facing his new mission, with his restored liberty, with greater courage than those he was leaving behind him in the shadows and sorrows of prison life. There are perhaps a hundred men left there in prison who are there because they, like Boehner, are charged with having opposed the war. They are making no complaints. They spoke of the recent commutation of sentences without bitterness. If they had hoped for consideration, they bore their disappointment in silence. The only time this composure failed them was when the fate of their families was mentioned. Until that was spoken of, all were eagerly offering me the information I sought in connection with their in-

dictment and conviction. But when I asked about their children, a hush fell upon the group. One of the men has six children and it is known that since the death of the mother they have been homeless and destitute. He sat with averted face, but I noticed his hands were trembling—work-scarred hands. I said I intended to see those children very soon and he said something I did not catch, but when he looked up I saw his eyes were brimming with tears.

En route to Oklahoma City I stopped in a town where the family of another prisoner is living. Across the Oklahoma plains a bitter, sleet-laden wind was sweeping. I found this wife with three little children living in a little, two-room house. One room could not be used because of a defective flue. All the routine of living was in one small room—eating, sleeping. Although I was dressed for Chicago winter weather, I shivered with cold as I sat and listened to an account of the unbelievable hardships of these four hu-

man beings. I was chilled with something more deadly than the January weather—a realization of the incredible injustice the world can inflict upon the weak and helpless. The woman was without shoes, her feet quite bare. The children were wrapped in cotton blankets, and the one hope of warming the house was one burner on the gas cook-stove. I asked her if there was anything I could do. She looked at me with weary patience and said.

"Have them send my husband back home."

Even in her suffering and want, the pride and dignity of a self-respecting woman set a seal upon her lips. She was no mendicant pleading for alms. She only asked that what was her own should be restored to her.

Comrades desiring to help relieve these cases of destitution can do so by sending contributions to the Prison Comfort Club, 220 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

Meyer London Speaks for Negro

Declaring that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, intended to protect the Negro in his rights, have been serviceable only to the corporations, Representative Meyer London, Socialist, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on Jan. 18th, denounced the treatment accorded millions of Negroes and presented the Socialist party's demand for full civic, political, industrial and educational rights for the American Negro.

In his speech which came during the discussion on the Dyer so-called anti-lynching bill, the Socialist Representative declared that the American people owe a feeling of love to millions of Negroes who have martyrdom imposed upon them by the whites.

"I look upon the colored man as my weaker and younger brother," Representative London declared. "I owe him the duty of defending him. He is in a minority. He did not come to the United States of his own free will; he was brought to the United States by force. We are paying for the sins of the past; we are paying for the sins, not only of the slave owner of the South, but of the slave importer of the North. We owe to the Negro our love because of the martyrdom to which we have subjected him."

Representative London declared that he would not only outlaw those responsible for lynchings but that he would deny to the state itself the right to take human life.

"Every manifestation of passion, hatred or violence which results in the destruction of human life is abhorred by every civilized man," London declared. "As a Socialist, believing that the only salvation of the human race is love, enlightened by intelligence, I repudiate every form of mob action. Since the war, particularly, since human life has become cheap, mob violence has spread

throughout the country and has become a national curse."

London declared that the white workers who joined in the chorus of race hatred against their fellow workers of another race were playing into the hands of the plutocrats, who were using the racial issue to perpetuate their own class domination.

"The laws and institutions that are aimed at the Negro hit the white worker, sooner or later, with just as much force as the Negro," London declared. "The interests of the white workers and the colored workers are identical, and when they permit themselves to be swayed by the passions which it is to the interests of the ruling class to constantly fan, the white workers enter the same trap that has been laid for their Negro brothers."

Referring to the arguments of those who oppose anti-lynching laws, London declared that the exponents of that theory did not hesitate to pass a conscription act which enabled the Federal government to reach its hand into the homes of the people of the several states for the purpose of sending them to destruction in another land, but that when it is proposed to abolish lynchings the states-rights' doctrine is invoked.

He added that the police power of the Federal government permitted the passage of an act that would effectuate the purposes for which the national government was organized. The United States, he said, was a nation, and not a confederacy of states. Industrial evolution, inventions, the economic course of society has obliterated state boundary lines, while the passage of recent amendments to the Constitution go further towards confirming the national right of interference than does this bill, he said.

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