

tion, the Socialist congressman from the most disson in the East, because in truth and in fact says here a lawyer for the people.

But he did not do this. He did not say that. But what he said, and gave the power to say it would have had either or both of them jailed as swindlers if in the name of a supposition N. E. returned, New York, and sold down states in the Socialist party, but the Wisconsin Socialist Party has never state law recognize only the regular state organization, regardless of where a well defined national committee it or not. And too well did Elquist and himself, that organization, that organization, that I think about the powers of an N. E. C., they returning to New York from the Wisconsin and themselves disbanded by the New York bar if not for being swindlers but for being ignorant.

Elquist and Elquist withdrew their national representation and it is even said that when they returned to New York they were arrested.

Then came the decision of the law firm to destroy the decentralized policy of the Socialist party by INDIRECT ACTION and principally through control of the national committee, and the destruction of the referendum.

However, they were backed off for several years, during which time the Socialist party, unshackled and unhampered from on top, grew by leaps and bounds until the party entered territory that the old-timers feared would always be "so man's land", with the result that in the 1908 convention representatives from every state in the union responded to the roll call from every state in America.

EPISODE XII

Let us retrace our steps a little:

It was the first week of November, 1905, that I came to Little Rock, Ark., on the "soap box". After my meeting was over, I was delighted to receive from Tom Lowry, who was national committeeman of the Socialist party of Arkansas, a copy of Tom Watson's Magazine fresh from the press that contained my first installment of the "History of the Montana Copper War." The following day while a guest in his home he showed me a mass of mimeographed correspondence from the national office that contained the usual mass of motions, amending the amendment, substitutes to the whole and all sorts of freakish, foolish and futile matters, not one of which, as usual, had anything to do with the program of the Socialist movement, or even if indirectly it had, that the State organization itself would not settle.

"What shall I do with it?" despairingly asked Lowry. I was seated at his piano in his pleasant little home strumming chords. I turned to him and said: "Tom, sing the doggone thing! sing it!" Instead of singing it Lowry

Speaking of waste baskets reminds me that last fall the national office dumped 250,000 leaflets into Oklahoma and because the Northern Plains C. politicians knew nothing of Southern farming conditions, they were sure they had the state officials after they had grown in abundance that the rubbish they had received they did not dump them into the waste basket, but made sanitary paper of some of them and the balance in the sewer. Some of the leaflets were actually addressed to the wrong people. The farmers of Oklahoma to not hold cotton but to mortgage farmers of Oklahoma for low prices. Like advising a strike to go on at the present time and accept the starvation wage against which he had that work. It may be worthless leaflets but they are the only contribution from "headquarters" to the magnificent Oklahoma campaign. The return for the \$2000 was \$2000 in dose sent in that time.

"On our way! We'll be there five days later -- to be exact, on November 11, 1905 -- I am going to see the state secretary of Arkansas, the one and only socialist for the Socialist party; that 'So far as I know, all business stopped for four days.' The question was the attitude of the Socialist party of America that up to that hour and to this hour have been written. That's all."

I diagnosed Dan Dineen as follows:

Dan said: "The lawyer element in New York will never stop until they centralize the power just as it is centralized in Germany now. They have the idea that individual work is better than collective work except where a committee with alleged power over the group is concerned. But they are afraid to do against them in the light of what has happened in Russia. The S. P. C. but they will keep on indefinitely pushing more power in the hands of centralized committees." "D--n it all," said Dan, on the third day. "You

[illegible][illegible]

I replied: "So have I. But the party will in a sure go through the process I have sketched. Then there are of the movement will depend upon the backbone brains of the rank and file."

How much of my 1905 forecast has already come true? I did I know? Not because I was a prophet, but because I had been "through the mill" and knew the game of the reign centralizers.

ISODE XIII.

On Washington's birthday, 1909, an A. D. T. messenger came to Soledad street, San Antonio, where I was living and handed me a service message stating that Mr. D. D. Warren wanted to see me at once at the Menageriel. I met Fred in a few minutes and found that he was in San Antonio for the purpose of securing counsel for

Antonio P. de Aguiar, Mexican educational-reformer. After Warren's work was done as director of the Menger Hotel, Aguiar went briefly to Warren whom I believed to be a better person than the organization in which the national office with its international executive committee and national committee he abandoned during a few months in the congressional and presidential campaign. He said that he had been successful in political parties that our nation has known and that he would like to state the same policy to be followed in proportion as they are organized. The state office to have less and less power and district offices more and more power. He said that he was tired of all this to the end that the INDIVIDUALS could be developed, because the old Marxian truth is correct that the participation of the working class must be accomplished by the building up of a party or organization to build a political organization so that they may take hold of the reins of government in the need of the hour.

"I must catch my train in a hour and I want to say to you that I would like to see a complete sketch of your program, and also I want to hear what you have to say upon the subject so wherever you be that you are in touch with a stenographer, write as much as you want, and while of course, I will not publish all you write I will pay for your bills."

NE works under the much cited "TEXAS PROGRAM" was written by myself and published in the Farmers Journal of Abilene, Texas. Fred Warren paid for the program and I received a percentage of the profits. It was a unanimous vote in Texas. Under it we have generated \$10 million, five years, turned in thousands of dollars in the national treasury (without a cent of return), became the second power in the country and had a first class chance of becoming the first party in this country. It was the result of the frightful handling of primary politics and political provisions, during all this time the state organization was NOT DISCIPLINED, RAPID, OR SUFFICIENTLY PLANNED. I DON'T KNOW HOW TO MAKE A SINGLE charge during these five years of practical operation that as much as one crack showed his head in the party organization.

The Texas program was written in Tyler, Texas, after a three day conference with W. J. Holl who was then state secretary. When explained to him he caught the idea in a flash because all the trouble had been raised in Texas. He was a member of the executive committee, a member of the committee and a state executive committee, one having a legal power and the other minus.

Expecting the backing of Warren I journeyed to Girard, Kansas, and when I reached there on May 12, 1909, I found the Appeal office practically deserted because Fred Warren was in the Federal prisoners' dock in Fort Scott that day. I went to Fort Scott at once and during a recess of court I apologized to Warren for bothering him, and he said: "That's all right. Show your program to Delbert. He is going back to Girard tonight."

Next day we discussed the matter for four hours in the Appeal to Reason plant. At the close of my interview with the big man, he said: "Tom, I get your idea. You want to segregate all trouble into its particular cell. As it is now a slight trouble in one place breaks out over the whole system. I hope you'll get this movement through."

[illegible]

The record was that under Metzger's administration the party grew by leaps and bounds. WHY? Because under the Texas program for the first time one local county organized a party and then the next year another followed to organize a county and then the third year another for the first time in the history of the Socialist party in Texas.

HOME RULE IN THE FULLEST SENSE

Under Metzger's leadership, received ONEHALF of the state dues and otherwise could conduct its own affairs. This policy encouraged the individual initiative of each county organization before with the party headquarters. The result was that under their charter, and the only crack in the service chain was State Secretary Metten sent more than ten thousand dollars a year to national headquarters without anything coming back in any way.

Metzger was the first person to receive the wires from Chicago, except the cost of the wire, after the death of the party in the Texas program. Metzger being re-elected in 1911, and continuing under the rotation plan, the official party records, state and national, showed more harmony, more cooperation, more literature, more success, more papers, more influence, more activity, more effect in the history of the Southern Socialist movement.

In the meantime New England, New York and Massachusetts were slumping.

DE XIV.

During his term of office Meitzen fought for limiting the terms of all national officers and succeeded in putting it through, but was defeated by a counter-referendum of the reactionists.

He fought for the motion to reduce national dues to two cents, and thus give to state organization three cents per member as they could make three cents go further than the N. E. C. can make \$30 go,

He was the only state secretary to fight against the establishment of the national lyceum bureau, that ridiculous fiasco, that left the party \$12,000 in debt, but if he could have succeeded would have solidified the bureau.

He fought for, and on his typewriter was written the famous Texas motion that no member of the N. C. or N. E. C. shall employ himself. The motion was adopted, but through typical N. E. C. methods, such as "temporary employment by executive order" has had the teeth drawn from it so that a National Committeeman Laufsniack could be elected national secretary by the national committee after Biliquint midnight conference at which Laufsniack was present; both in the daylight and in the dark.

Aligned with Meitzen in this fight were Hickey, Bell, Hunt, Green, Noble, Webb, Clark, and other Texan Socialists who had sworn that not only the Democratic party could not be as democratic as ours but that we had to lead in a democratic form of organization, otherwise our movement was a tragedy and our ideals were a joke.

EPISODE IV

We are closing up on the last few episodes of the story of the fight up to now between two elements in the Socialist party -- those who stand for the centralized power of pope, king, kaiser, czar, khan and N. E. C. all alike in their devotion to the dear people, but all agreed that the dear people must not be trusted with any power for themselves, and those who stand for democracy through home rule.

The year 1912 opened with Ed. Green, of Rockdale state secretary of the Socialist party, entering on his second term. A few months earlier, to be exact, on October 1, 1911, his local had sent out a referendum the purpose of which was to cause all candidates for the presidency and vice presidency to be voted upon by ALL the red card membership of the Socialist party.

When he lapsed into the national convention in 1912 with the rest of the Texas delegation the record above that is spite of the fact that it had eight months to function through the party channels, it had not secured enough records to go a referendum, and that the candidate for president was not yet chosen. It was a very unusual method. It may be met in passing that the Democratic party went on record for only one term of office for presidents went over during the following year for direct nomination by the rank and file of Democratic presidential nominees. This forced the hands of the controllers and the party no longer used their press to draw out the crowd, but they had to draw out the crowd by direct referendum — as they have through cold water on every democratic proposition. One of the N. E. C., however held out to the bitter end and the Houston Post this year thanked him for being statesmanlike enough to agree with Senator Joe Bailey in his opposition to direct presidential primaries.

EPILOGUE XVI.

To an outsider it would appear that the national convention of the Socialist party that opened in Tomlinson hall at Indianapolis on May 12, 1912, would be fraught with more good for the Socialist movement than any convention ever held by a third party in America.

For sixteen years the Republicans had held the reins of power in all that the term implies. Reaction was in the middle, and the people were groaning under the lash more than a generation of servitude made possible by a party rule. They were waiting a million strong for a clear note to be struck. The real Socialists, the decentralizers, hoped against hope from the beginning, in spite of the fact that the same old lawyer made the same old "patter" speech, and things looked dark on that first Sunday.

[illegible]

But, as Frank Bohn has since so thoroughly explained in the International Socialist Review, a few inside leaders slunk out while the audience was still cheering Harriman, Haywood and Hickey, for their successful efforts in making this unity possible. These insiders said: "They won, but we lost."

[illegible]

This resolution was to provide that no member of the socialist party should advocate "sabotage", under pain of expulsion. Did the members of the national convention know it, they had no power through a written constitution to enforce any such disciplinary measures upon a member. The common law would take care of that, just as in England, and for instance where the authorities take care of all kinds of crime and it has no written constitution. And still the Union Jack is borne to the uttermost ends of the southern seas. It would be just as if the party constitution

The leaders knew the whole proposition was a joke but they banked on one big fact, and that was that they had been claiming for years that their national committee possessed political power. They knew it was a lie, and they decided to continue to lie to the bitter end. For instance, whoever heard of the Republican convention that fought for two weeks over the nomination of Grant, resolved that no northern Republican should discharge firearms and no Southern Republican should steal chickens.

The "leaders" banked on the fact that by well planned convention team work they could surprise and agitate and divide the lately united delegates by presenting what was an essentially foolish and artificial issue for it to be artificial division that the Bureauquers derive its power while the party is correspondingly sapped of its strength. But what care they? So long as the membership hands them up the parasitic national prerequisites an makes legal, literary and other "careers" possible. The artificiality of this division over sabotage was all the more apparent when it is known that of the 291 delegates only ONE carried as I. W. W. card and he voted for the sabotage resolution.

After the Mayaguez resolution had passed the fifth day, Gustav Meyer, approached me in the tiled corridors of the hall. I looked at the first man who had ever written such invaluable books as "The History of Great America's Fortunes" and the "History of the Supreme Court." The little mental giant grasped me by the shoulder and queried me, "Tom, what do you think of it?" I replied, "Looks to me like the middle class has won out over the proletarian." As I said this I laid my hand on his shoulder and found him quivering like an X-ray violin. He said, "No, Tom, you are wrong. It's not that." "What?" "The resolution." The one word, "cultural" was a revelation. I knew that did not belong to the middle class, but I did not know where to place them. However the word "cultural" expressed the situation that I went around to the House and

When I first went around to the Hugas as a reporter, the morning after the assassination of JFK and told it. It was a revelation to me because I came from Texas and did expect to find that there was something wrong would come out of the east after the chaotic experience of the Kennedy assassination. I was not sure that it had become a secret. What Meyer said was that he carried to U. Solomon, who carried it along the New York line to John Derby, who controlled the wires in New York. The result was that they proceeded to suppress every mention of it. It was a very deliberate effort. It was not that it was a CLEP by preferring charges against him in the same old General Committee of New York because some of the people who were in the committee at that time they said was "profane language" and would be in debate with the committee. The committee was the American and Canadian Committee on Human Rights. Some Meyer was in Toronto, Canada, writing the history of the American Legionism at the time of his "trial", some people were in the committee. The book was published. The great historian was too busy doing some work to bother about the matter, so the New York committee proceeded to suppress or expel him for the beautiful thing that they did, after three years before Brown was arrested for less.

Debs was unanimously nominated for president in 1912 because he was the biggest man before the people at the time, and although he is 60 years of age he will be the biggest man in 1916, unless the bureaucracy can break him. He did not attend the convention, and he will not attend the convention in 1916, and while I personally know that the inside centralizers are gunning for him, I will venture the prophecy that he will again be the nominee.

Gene Debs received about 900,000 votes, where he ought to have received five million had the party not been split on cult lines at Indianapolis and elsewhere.

ERISPOD XVI

METHOD XVII

I do not know if you hang much to that proposition—that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, but I do know that the rotten N. E. C. system never sleeps, and as I was camping on its trail I wandered to Oklahoma City during Christmas holidays. I reached there on the 27th and the next day the convention opened in the district court chambers of that town.

There were few immaterial questions before the convention, but the big question was: "Shall we have centralization or shall we not?" The national office was determined Oklahoma should have it and through the Lyceum Bureaus they arranged for two lecturers, Miss Caroline Lewis and Otto F. Brannetter, who traveled not far apart and wound up at the state convention in Oklahoma City, both of them bitterly hostile to the Texas Program. They were supposed to be purely propaganda speakers for the national Lyceum bureau, but the results showed that the national office had carefully arranged the dates to let them go to Texas from Oklahoma City in time for the state convention and leave there from there, remaining until the convention ended. This was a piece of political maneuvering on the part of the national office, for the \$17,000 deficit that the state office had

The convention, which was splendidly attended from almost every county in the state, opened at 10 a. m., Friday, December 28, and Fred Holt, district secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, was chairman the first day.

[illegible]

On Friday night the Oklahoma state secretary's coterie

you have repulsed from the portals of our movement by your petty insolence, your sect-like tactics, your secret courses, your kitchen cabinets, and your midnight conspiracies.

Continue call the roll until the magnificent Meyer the historian, appears before you to denounce you. And then splendid Haywood whom you and your clan first baited and then drove out of the party by methods that would make a Tammany white slaver ashamed of himself. And then while the roll call is sounding, let the powerful Branson step forward to recite as he did in last month's Pearson the first. Always of you beautiful day.

Call the roll on your latest outrage of which this is similar letters that have been sent into this state, notably to Mrs. Mary A. Kales, now of California, are typical. The sole purpose of trying to create discussion and confusion in a state movement that by your own bulletins has proven to have made the greatest gain in membership and vote, of any state in the Union, barring Oklahoma.

And the last of the roll call will be your official publication of a statement in the "party-owned" American Socialist of April 17, 1916, in which a man who is not a member of the Socialist party, and who represented a gathering of only 29 men (20 of them from Dallas) some of them members of the Socialist party. This statement we shall prove by affidavit and otherwise to be bristling with lies at the national committee meeting next month.

We will wind up at that same committee meeting by preparing charges against the national executive secretary of gross violations of the national constitution in this unfair.

We shall also present the names of the officially an-

EPISODE XVIII

legally recognized state political chairman and 31 state executive committeemen from the 31 senatorial districts of Texas, and thus we will by the political record of Texas

place the stamp of liar upon Lawrence and his accomplices when they caused to be published in the "party-owned" press of April 17, the premeditated, flat-footed falsehood that "there is now in Texas no state committee or state executive committee and therefore there are no other claimants to be recognized as state executive committees of the state."— except the 29 non-Socialists of Dallas.

* * *

It is now coming to what we in Texas call a SHOW DOWN. Since May 13, 1966, when the word went out from Kansas that Debs had endorsed the principles of the Texas

Program a steady, continuous attack from the national office has been made upon the comrades and state organizations who stood upon the principle that "decentralization and democracy are synonymous terms". We of Texas knew that this was a dangerous line from behind which

that while we were always under fire from outside, we were facing the common foe in the front, that the time would come when there would be a parting of the ways, unless the principles enunciated by Seymour Steadman and the original founders of the Socialist party were accepted in toto.

EPISODE XIX

national committee meeting will occur next month in Chicago. If they want a nation-wide split they can have it. I am not looking for it, because Oklahoma will stand with Texas, Florida will come right behind. Washington has abolished its state committee and adopted county autonomy, retaining its state executive committee. South Dakota, Kansas, and the rural portions of Missouri, are stirring and in fact, from every portion of the nation we are receiving

I realize to the full that this is a war to the death between bureaucracy and democracy and so far as I am concerned, and I believe I speak for the entire membership of

TEXAS and Oklahoma. My hat's in the ring.
On with the Social Revolution,
T. A. HICKEY,
State Secretary, Socialist Party of Texas

Guaranteed free from Johnson grass
20c per lb. or \$5.00 per bushel prepaid.
G. B. Nabors,
Rule, Tex., Route No. 2, Bx. 56.

Will pay five dollars for locating John Lucas, farm hand or stationary engineer, height 5 feet 8; chunky built, age about 50; speaks German and English. Unless found will divide his estate, soon.

Otto W. Rosenberg, Hallettsville, Tex

KING OF THE WEST—My seed will produce more cotton per acre, make better sample; will bring higher price. Extra high linting. Also have "Half and Half" which has all the

qualities that is desired. \$3 per bushel each.
W. N. Haynie,
Stp Rt. 1, Lawa, Texas

SOCIALIST TEACHERS AGENCY.
Desires correspondence with trustees who want Socialist teachers.

W. O. Brennan, Druso, Tex.

EARLY KING COTTON SEED
4 cents per pound prepaid.
T. R. Farmer,
Dardemona, Tex.

WANTED—Information as to my fifteen-year-old son, Charlie Perkins who left home last September. Has light hair, gray eyes, fingers of right hand crippled. Comrades help me find

him. Address: G. L. Perkins,
449 Huntington, Texas

some red cloth, 24c; full leather, 50c; mail free. "The Foundation of Freedom". The key to "Progress & Poverty". 10c or bound in cloth, 25c; postpaid. Send stamps or money order. John Bagot, Ltd., Middleton, Lancs.

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