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# Stedman's Red Raid.

by Robert Minor

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Seymour Stedman, a leader of the Socialist Party, is conducting an appeal, in the Supreme Court of Michigan, a suit against certain men and women known as Communists. It is a civil suit for property, but the civil suit has a connection with criminal prosecution, with deportations of workers and with the red raids of Attorney-General Palmer, that demands to become known to the membership of the Socialist Party.

Stedman and the National Office of the Socialist Party have denied the part they played in this affair. They have publicly proclaimed that "no such thing occurred." In reply to this denial the proof of Stedman's actions was offered to the National Office of the Socialist Party. That office, through its Secretary, Otto Branstetter, refused to publish the proof and gave continued wide publicity to stories that seek to conceal the facts.

Therefore this statement, drawn from public facts and from the court record is laid before you.

*The Toiler Publishing Association*

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(The Author of this pamphlet must acknowledge the collaboration of George Hamilton of Detroit in its preparation. Some of the passages of Hamilton's interesting booklet, *The House of the Masses Trial*, are embodied in this pamphlet without more than this acknowledgement).

On January 2, 1920, the Department of Justice came down in a terrific sweep on the Communists and Left Wing Socialists in the United States. Workingmen and women were dragged from halls and homes and thrust into jail. Those who were citizens were held for prosecution under "Criminal Syndicalist" laws. The aliens were held for deportation. The raids were repeated again and again with a ferocity unprecedented in the history of America.

The raiders swept down upon the "House of the Masses" in Detroit, the clubhouse and educational center of the Michigan Socialist Party which had been expelled from the national organization and had taken the name of "Communist." Doors and desks were broken in with axes, property destroyed, literature confiscated. All workingmen and women found in the building were arrested. Seven hundred were imprisoned in the corridor of the post office building for many days without bedding, toilet facilities, or proper food. Some of them were beaten over the head with clubs. One of them died from his sufferings. For days the reign of terror continued in Detroit. Workmen were picked up on the streets and thrust into jail. Their wives and children were arrested and questioned when they came to bring the prisoners food.

As quickly as possible after hearing of the arrests, Seymour Stedman, lawyer, later Socialist candidate for the Vice Presidency, went to Detroit and there in the Court of Chancery filed a Bill of Complaint in which he alleged and offered to prove to the civil court that the arrested workers advocated the overthrow of the United States Government and capitalism "by the use of direct or mass action."

The first man he named in his Bill of Complaint was under arrest, or on bail after arrest, on a State Criminal Syndicalist warrant which charged that he belonged to an organization that proposed to conquer and destroy the government by direct or mass action; the criminal warrant quoting as evidence to this effect

certain language from the Manifesto adopted by the Communist Chicago Convention. In Stedman's Bill of Complaint, which he served upon this man as quickly as it could be prepared after the arrest, Stedman made the same charge that was made in the criminal warrant, and quoted as evidence the same passage from the manifesto of the Communist Chicago convention that was quoted in the criminal warrant.

The workers under arrest for deportation were held on virtually the same ground as that of the Criminal Syndicalist law — the ground that they belonged to an organization that advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Stedman applied his Bill of Complaint against these, too; he alleged and offered to prove to the civil court that they advocated the destruction of the United States Government by "direct or mass action," and that they were members of an organization with that aim.

It was the purpose of Stedman, not actually to participate in the criminal prosecution or deportation of the arrested Communists, but to take timely advantage of their arrest by making against them the same charges that they had to face in criminal hearings. As a consequence of incriminating answers or failure to answer his charges, Stedman hoped to obtain possession of the defendants' property. To take this advantage he untruthfully alleged to the court in writing:

"That...the defendants...were expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States because among other things, they advocated the use of direct or mass action, as the primary and principal means of securing a change or destroying the 'capitalist system' and the present form of government of the United States..." (From court record).

I do not mean to dispute whether the Left Wing Socialists of Michigan (later known as Communists) did advocate the overthrow of the government and the capitalist system by direct or mass action. Stedman seems to have proven that they did. But his allegation

that their advocating the overthrow of the government was the reason for their expulsion from the Socialist Party of America is false.

### **How It Came About.**

A short review of the matter is necessary. The real reason of the expulsion of the Michigan Socialist Party is neither the reason appearing on the official records of the Party's National Office, nor the reason that Stedman gave the Court in his Bill of Complaint.

The Socialist Party was a thriving organization in Michigan — energetic, quick, and progressive. The Russian working class revolution had a profound effect upon its thought. Party activities intensified rapidly in the winter of 1917-18, and the organization looked about the city of Detroit to find a suitable building to meet the requirements of its modern growth.

The prohibition law had caused many beer halls in Detroit to be vacated and offered for sale. One of these was "Schiller Hall," a splendid building on Gratiot Avenue, containing a big auditorium, several smaller meeting halls, offices, big barroom, and well equipped restaurant. Under the depression of prohibition this building had been offered for sale for \$70,000. The members of the Socialist Party of Michigan in Detroit bought it. \$10,000 had to be raised for the first payment, and workmen and women busily scurried around, working hard until they obtained \$11,500 for the purchase.

The party moved its headquarters into this hall, establishing a thriving education center such as is seldom seen among Socialist organizations of America. The hall was crowded night and day with classes and meetings.

But under the law of Michigan a political party cannot, as such, own property. To overcome that technicality of the law the Detroit Socialists formed a corporation, through which to hold the clubhouse property, called "The Workers' Educational Association," and put into the charter of the corporation that none but a member of the Socialist Party of America could be a member of the Association, and that none could

be an officer of it unless he had been continuously a member of the Socialist Party of America for at least the three preceding years.

### **Questions of the Revolution.**

Questions brought out in Socialist thought by the Russian Revolution were discussed with acute attention — questions of tactics for working class conquest of power, questions as to the nature of the state, questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the building of a Socialist International. Very early the trend began clearly to show itself as toward a Left Wing orientation. Michigan and the city of Detroit became a part of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America. Their district continued for a time to be represented in the National Committee of the Party by the "Right Wing" leaders, Victor Berger, John M. Work, and Seymour Stedman, men hostile to the radical tendencies of the Michigan Party.

### **Right Wing Leadership.**

As you know, the Socialist Party of the United States had been under the control of the "Right Wing" leaders for many years. The control of these leaders was notable in May 1912, when "Article 2, Section 6," withholding party membership from anyone advocating any tactics contrary to the laws of the United States, was put into the Party Constitution. The party was in May 1912 at its highest tide of membership with about 130,000 members in good standing. The membership continued to decline, with fluctuations, until it shows now a net loss of 105,000 since 1912.† Two years ago, in May 1919, the American Socialist Party seemed to be revived by the stimulating intellectual and spiritual effect of the founding of the First Socialist Republic. The referendum vote for National Executive Committeemen arouse energetic participation throughout the party ranks. Most of the members of the National Executive Committee had shown themselves hostile to the new spirit and opposed to the tactical measures brought to prominence by the

†- The math here is very sloppy. The series of average dues-paid members of the Socialist Party of America for the years in question is as follows: 1912 — 118,045; 1913 — 95,957; 1914 — 93,579; 1915 — 79,374; 1916 — 83,284; 1917 — 80,379; 1918 — 82,344; 1919 [Q-I] — 104,822; 1919 [Q-IV] — 34,926; 1920 — 26,766.

Russian Revolution. It became apparent that the "Right Wing" leaders were in danger of being defeated in the referendum election for National Executive Committeemen in May 1919.

### **Cutting Off the Left Wing.**

While the reports of the referendum election were being received at the National Office, the National Executive Committee was called into session by the Right Wing leaders. As the returns arrived from over the country it became known to both factions in the office that the Michigan Socialist Party had voted solidly against Victor Berger, John M. Work, and Seymour Stedman. While the election returns were pouring into the office, and before they had been tabulated, Adolph Germer, then National Secretary of the Party, was called upon to make a report on the Michigan Party's Left Wing tendency that he had formerly been commissioned to investigate. Germer reported that the Michigan Socialist Party convention had passed two resolutions which might serve as a reason for expelling them. One of these was a resolution forbidding party spokesmen to advocate "reformist" laws. The other required party spokesmen "upon all occasions to avail themselves of the opportunity of explaining religion on the basis of the materialistic conception of history, as a social phenomenon."

The referendum vote on these two resolutions by the Michigan Socialist Party had not yet been tabulated; therefore they had not yet been adopted. But Stedman, Work, and Berger could not wait for the Michigan vote on the resolutions to be tabulated, because that would have been to wait until the Michigan vote was also tabulated against themselves as candidates for re-election to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee pretended that the two resolutions had already been finally ratified in Michigan, and upon the ground that the resolutions were contrary to the national party constitution, they expelled the Michigan Socialist Party from the Socialist Party of America on a motion of Seymour

Stedman. The "Federations" that were known to have voted Left Wing were also thrown out.† Then thousands more were thrown out, until it was clear that the "Right Wing" leaders had been saved their positions. The Socialist Party of America lost about 60,000 members and retained about 25,000.‡

### **Michigan Party Continues Under New Name.**

The Michigan Socialist Party, upon being expelled, stood solidly together, took the name of "Communist," and continued to thrive. With very few exceptions, the entire membership of the Party and of the Workers' Educational Association remained in the Michigan Socialist Party organization functioning under the new name of "Communist." The great clubhouse at Detroit, called the "House of the Masses," continued to be their headquarters and center of educational activity. Practically the total membership of the Michigan Party, including 5,000 in Detroit, accepted gladly the Party's revolutionary trend.

A very few members in the city of Detroit were offended by the resolutions in favor of a scientific accounting for religion and against reformist measures. Among these persons were the Reverend I. Paul Taylor, an ex-minister, Ben Blumenberg, an old-time Socialist, and Lazarus S. Davidow, a young attorney. They remained in the Michigan party for a while after its expulsion, but then left it to respond to the National Office's invitation to form a new "Socialist Party of Michigan." They formed a new "Socialist Party of Michigan." They formed a new party of ten members, with the Reverend Paul Taylor as State Organizer.

The Reverend Taylor obtained two new converts to Socialism in the persons of Mrs. Ida Ruth Stewart, a society lady prominent in the Christian Science Church, and Charles B. Gildemeister, a real estate broker and investor, who with Taylor, Blumenberg, and Davidow, became the most active members of the new local.

Of the group of ten, only the lawyer Davidow was at the time a member of the Workers' Educational

†- Technically, the seven Language Federations in question (Russian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian, and South Slavic) were suspended pending the final decision of the forthcoming Emergency National Convention rather than expelled outright. This effectively disenfranchised these members from elections for and participation in that body, however, proving little different from expulsion in its practical effect.

‡- See footnote on page 3.

Association. Another of the group had once been a member of the Workers' Educational Association and had been on the Board of Directors of that Association; but he had long ago been recalled from the Board of Directors and expelled from the Association as the result of a quarrel in which he had offended the membership by taking the part of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and by justifying Victor Berger's keeping a portrait of the Kaiser in his office. As events later proved this man was the most important recruit that the Reverend Taylor had.

As Detroit recovered from the real estate depression of prohibition, the property that the Left Wing Socialists had bought for \$70,000 quickly rose in value to \$150,000. Mr. Gildemeister, real estate broker and investor, and Mr. Davidow, attorney at law, began poignantly to regret that the property belonged to the great membership of the Workers' Educational Association of Left Wing Socialists or Communists. None of the Reverend Taylor's group had anything to do with the raising of money to buy the clubhouse, except three who had raised not more than \$350. But Davidow began to nurse a hope that the property might be obtained by bringing a lawsuit against its possessors.

### **When Palmer Raided.**

When Palmer's raiders descended upon the Workers' Education Association building and threw all of the Communists that could be found into jail, young Davidow's hope of obtaining the property revived. He, with Mr. Gildemeister and the Reverend Taylor, hurried about the city and gathered their local.

They sent for Seymour Stedman, who came to Detroit, studied the situation, and announced his position that the actual members of the Workers' Educational Association were, as members of a political party that advocated the overthrow of the government, a criminal organization committing a nuisance on the premises, and that the property should be taken away from them and given to the members of the Socialist Party as law-abiding persons.

Stedman's contention was, further, that the actual members of the Workers' Educational Association were not legally eligible to that Association because they were no longer members of the Socialist Party.

Stedman and Davidow called the Reverend Taylor's local together and declared them to be the only lawful "Workers' Educational Association." The fact that neither any members of this group nor anyone else in Michigan had a record of continuous membership for the three preceding years in the Socialist Party was overcome by a resolution of the National Executive Committee. The resolution was to the effect that the membership of Taylor's group should date back to the time of the expulsion. This, according to Stedman, made members of Taylor's group the only persons who could lawfully qualify as a Board of Directors of the Workers' Educational Association. With difficulty Taylor found among his adherents a sufficient number of persons who had joined the Socialist Party as far back as three years, so as to qualify, under Stedman's construction, as a "Board of Directors." As the Board of Directors of the Workers' Educational Association was the man who had long before been recalled from the Board and expelled from the Association for taking the part of the German Scheidemann party and excusing Berger's picture of the Kaiser, they called this man "President of the Workers' Educational Association."

As quickly as possible they prepared to go into court, to declare themselves to be the "Workers' Educational Association," accuse the Communists of criminal revolutionary activities, and demand the property. Stedman took full charge of the case with Davidow as his assistant. Within a week after the arrests, and while most of the defendants were still in jail, Stedman had completed all the necessary formalities.

On Friday, January 2 [1920], the manager of the House of the Masses had been arrested on a warrant charging that he violated the State Criminal Syndicalist Law by belonging to an organization that subscribed to a doctrine which the criminal warrant quoted as follows:

"Communism does not propose to 'capture' the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat."

January 2 and 4, 1920, most of the defendants had been arrested under the Immigration Act which reads in part as follows:

"...Aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the

assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or of all forms of law,...shall be excluded from admission into the United States.

Sec. II. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in Section I of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of 1917."

On Friday, January 9, he was released from jail on bond, and the next morning he was served with Stedman's Bill of Complaint, in which Stedman used the following language in regard to him and his associates:

"...that they are known and style themselves as 'Communists' and 'members of the Communist Party.' That the Communist Party has committed itself to the program as set forth in its manifesto and program on page 9, in the following language:

'Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat."

Eight and ten days later, on January 12 (*sic.*), 1920, when most of them were in prison, Stedman filed his Bill of Complaint which reads in part as follows:

"[Section] V. That on or about to wit, the 27th day of May, A.D. 1919, the defendants and their associates and agents, who are now in possession and control of the property of the plaintiff, were expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States because among other things, they advocated the use of direct or mass action, as the primary and principal means of securing a change or destroying the 'capitalist system' and the present form of the government of the United States; that the said defendants and their associates and agents still advocate the use of said direct or mass action, and that they are known and style themselves as 'Communists' and 'members of the Communist Party.' That the Communist Party has committed itself to the program as set forth in its manifesto and program, on page 9, in the following language: 'Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the

proletariat.

"[Section] VI. That the Socialist Party is a political party, and that its principal program commits its members to the use of the ballot and political action as the primary means and method of changing or modifying our present political and industrial conditions.

"[Section] IX. ...that the use of the hall on the premises of the said plaintiff for advocating direct or mass action for overthrowing the present form of government constitutes a continuous nuisance and irreparable injury to the plaintiff herein." (\*)

### The Denial.

Stedman did not at first deny the truth of his actions in this case. Nor did he see any need of denying it. Of thoroughly law-abiding point of view, he saw no wrong in utilizing the arrests as an opportunity to obtain the property. This he explained to the writer in conversation in the lobby of the Ten Eyck Hotel during the latter part of the winter of 1920. Asked whether he had instituted suit to wrest the property from the Communists in Detroit while they were under arrest, he replied with emphasis: "Yes, I did. I had to do it. It was the only way I could save the property from being lost. If we don't get it, it will be taken from them anyhow, and will be a total loss." (Stedman recently published a false version of this conversation in a letter issued through the National Office press service.)

It is clear that Stedman thought himself perfectly within the right. He considered the Communists guilty of planning to overthrow the government, and so told the court and offered to prove it. That there remained in the Socialist Party any considerable number that would think his action wrong seems not at first to have occurred to him.

Only when the story of his action in Detroit began to seep into the Socialist Party ranks in other parts of the country did Stedman and his associates in the National Executive Committee realize the need of a denial of the facts. Then the ghost of Stedman's Detroit actions began to follow him.

Recently a suggestion of the truth was brought out in a widely reported debate in New York. Stedman then excitedly and injudiciously denied that "anything

\* - The quotations from Stedman above are taken from the records of the Chancery Court in the City of Detroit, Bill of Complaint filed by Stedman and Lazarus S. Davidow, attorney, under the calendar number 74,788. If, in Stedman's opinion, we have misquoted or made unfair quotations, he is invited to reply by himself publishing his Bill of Complaint in the case. —R.M.

of the kind” had occurred. He even branded as a “lie” a verbatim quotation from his own written Bill of Complaint in the Detroit court records, published in the *Liberator* magazine. The matter once opened, the National Office of the Socialist Party through Otto Branstetter came to Stedman's defense with a statement full of invective, branding the general charge as a lie and spreading Stedman's and Davidow's denials broadcast in such of the Socialist press as would print them. Davidow declared the story to be a “deliberate lie.” Branstetter, as the official voice of the party, declared it to be “a plain, unvarnished lie.”

### The Record and the “Stenographic Record.”

Stedman and Davidow very carefully base their denials upon the “stenographic record.” They carefully avoid using the term “court record,” but loudly defy anyone to “produce any stenographic record of any statement of that kind.” (Davidow's words).

The reason for this is amusing. It is because their charges of violation of criminal law by the defendants were *not spoken by word of mouth* by them in court, but filed in the form of a *written* document. If not spoken verbally, the words would not appear in the stenographic portion of the record. Yet the first paper in the *court record* of the case is Stedman's Bill of Complaint, carefully written out in his office, with the deliberately stated charges. Not only do the full words appear in the court record, but the case was tried upon the foundation of them. Even at that, Stedman's criminal charges against the defendants do appear in the “stenographic record.” This is because the judge referred to the charges in the Bill of Complaint in giving his opinion. In a curiously adroit effort now to conceal the existence of the document carrying the criminal charges, Stedman in his denial misquotes the stenographic record in a broad rendition of the judge's words so as to leave out the reference to his Bill of Complaint.

### Using It Now.

At the moment when Stedman, in careful, double-meaning phrases, is denying the existence of the document quoted here — he is using the same Bill of Complaint in appeal in the Supreme Court of the

State of Michigan in the same attack upon the red raid victims of Detroit.

### The Shadow Behind the Denial.

During the early course of the Detroit trial, the bestiality of the attack upon the Communists softened the determination of some of the members of the Reverend Taylor's group. Seeing that the plan to obtain the property was to take advantage of the imminent danger of the arrested Communists, struggling against imprisonment and deportation, some of the members of the ex-minister's group began to complain that it was going too far.

Mrs. Ida Ruth Stewart insisted, in the presence of the writer, that “Now is just the time to get the property away from them;” but others became ashamed of Stedman's making use of the red raids by paralleling the criminal charges. Stedman was sent for to placate the dissenters. In order to quiet them he promised that he would not stress the “criminal” points, but would try the case purely on the “property issues.”

This promise, whether kept or broken, is of little consequence, for the criminal charges were not to be withdrawn, but merely “not to be stressed.” However, there appears to be behind Stedman's denials a faint shadow of reliance upon the pretense (not yet published) that after making the criminal charges against the defendants, he did not “stress” them. So let us look at the stenographic record.

Of one witness who denied that he was a member of the Communist Party, Stedman asked:

“Is it not a fact that you left that party after your indictment in Chicago, or arrest in Chicago?”

Another of the defendants under the criminal charge of being a member of the Communist Party had denied being a member. Stedman asked him on the witness stand:

Q. You went to the convention at Chicago as a delegate for the Communist Party in Michigan?

A. I Went to the convention at Chicago for the Socialist Party of Michigan.

Q. Was there a Communist Party of Michigan at any time?

A. No.

Q. Were you ever Secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan?

A. I was Secretary appointed temporarily by the State

Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan.

Q. Did you ever use any stationery of the Communist Party of Michigan and write letters on it?

A. We had stationery in the office that was printed prior to the Communist Party convention in 1919, which was used. I do not know whether I ever wrote letters on it or not.

Q. I am referring to prior to the convention.

A. Prior to the convention the stationery was printed.

Q. You had stationery "Communist Party of Michigan?"

A. Yes.

Q. You wrote letters on it?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Quite sure of that?

A. No.

Q. You did not write a letter to I. Paul Taylor, signing yourself as secretary.

A. Not prior to the convention.

The Reverend Paul Taylor took the stand for Stedman and swore that he had received a letter from the above witness and that "in that letter he [the accused man] stated that he had been elected Secretary of the Communist Party of the state of Michigan."

Of a witness of the Left Wing faction on the stand Stedman asked:

Q. Were you at the convention in August and September in Chicago?

A. I was not at the convention of the Socialist Party?

Q. Were you at the convention?

A. I was at the convention of the Communist Party.

Q. True. That is what we want to get at. You attended the convention of the Communist Party.

Then a fusillade of questions about the witness' affiliation with a Communist Party, it being understood that if the witness could be proven to be such a member it would cost him ten years of his life in prison.

"You were a delegate?" ... "Did you present your credentials at the Communist convention?" ... "Did you hold any office at any time in the Communist Party?" ... "Did you act as advisor to the Communist Party when it was organized?" ... "Was the manager of the House of the Masses a delegate to the Communist convention?" ... "Was he present and helped form the Communist Party?" ...

It being the scheme of Attorney General Palmer to send away to Europe on deportation ships those of the arrested workers who were not citizens, Stedman strove hard to prove that they were not citizens. The stenographic record shows that he asked such a witness:

Q. Are you a citizen of the United States?

A. I have first papers.

Q. Are you a citizen?

A. No.

As Attorney General Palmer, to furnish a screen for his raids, had filled the newspapers with stories of "Russian Reds" about to overthrow the government, Stedman, who knew that cases are really won or lost in newspaper headlines, did all he could to prove the imprisoned workmen to be "Russian Reds." He brought out evidence that the Communist convention had been held at the headquarters of the Russian Federation. Turning his attention to Detroit: "Did not the Russian branches grow from five hundred to three thousand in five months' time?" ... "Wasn't there quite a difference in the increase of the foreign speaking branches and the English speaking, proportionally?" ... "The largest increase was among the Russian branches, was it not?" ... "You have various nationalities who are members?" ... "How many Russians? ...

Testifying in behalf of Stedman, Mrs. Blumenberg said, "...the larger delegation came from Detroit, Michigan, and the larger proportion of the delegates were the Russian Reds... You might say the English-speaking members present were in very small proportion."

Some of the workers attacked the Communist simultaneously by the Department of Justice and by Stedman, gave answers on the witness stand which would indicate that they were not thorough Communists. Their being Communists might further be questioned because they had always presented from the actual Communist program, although they were Left Wing Socialists. When the judge asked Stedman against whom he filed his Bill of Complaint, he replied, "Those who are Communists and Left Wingers."

Stedman lost his suit on the technicality that, in his haste to strike while the Communists were in prison, he made the error of going into the wrong court. The case is now being appealed by him in the Supreme Court at Lansing, Mich., where he is now using the Bill of Complaint carrying the same charges that he denies to you that he ever made.

• • • • •

Necessary though it has been to mention frequently the name of Seymour Stedman in telling this narrative, the matter is not to be dismissed with personal blame upon him. Stedman felt that he truly represented the spirit of the Socialist Party in all that he did. The question arises as to whether he correctly represented the policies and official beliefs of his party.

He did. His acts in Detroit are in definite accord with the character of the Socialist Party as its character has evolved since 1912. The Socialist Party of America has definitely set aside the Marxian conception of the state as a class instrument, and has accepted the German Social Democratic belief that the state is an instrument of all persons alike. It is the definite discarding of the class struggle.

The Socialist Party officially does not believe that there is a "capitalist state." Its position was expressed in Assemblyman Louis Waldman's testimony before the New York State Assembly. He testified there under Stedman's and Morris Hillquit's guidance that he regarded the New York State Government as "not quite capitalistic," but as "the people's government."

This, then, is the official position of the Socialist Party, or of what remains of it under the Right Wing leaders. There being no "capitalist state," there are no "capitalist courts," but only the "people's" courts, ca-

pable justly to judge and condemn lawbreaking workingmen. The Party being pledged to uphold "the people's" law, of which the Criminal Syndicalist and deportation laws are a part, they see no reason why its representative should not take advantage of those laws over "red" workingmen who adhere to a revolution in which the Party does not believe.

The word "revolution" is in the Socialist Party reduced to a matter of passing laws through the existing Congress, to be administered through the existing courts. The Party is committed to the orthodox standard of legality and to the lawful walk of politics. In that walk of politics, unfortunately, such lies as Stedman told you in denying his part in this case are merely the necessary routine, as were the "formal" lies that Noske told to evade the blame when his agents murdered the law-violating revolutionists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Stedman, Berger, Hillquit, Germer, Oneal, Branstetter, and their colleagues are logically administering that kind of a party — a counterpart as nearly as possible of the present ruling Social Democratic Party of Germany. The case of the "House of the Masses" in Detroit is but a forecast of the role it is destined to plan.

*Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.*

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