

The Debs Foundation Newsletter

P.O. BOX 843, TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47808

VOL. 1 NO. 2



FALL, 1986

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Lawyer Named for Debs Award

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Washington, D.C. lawyer, has been selected for the 1986 Debs Award. His long string of court victories makes him one of the foremost labor and civil rights lawyers in America today. He was one of the first and staunchest opponents of McCarthyism. Among his many civil liberties victories was the case of playwright Arthur Miller, whose conviction for contempt of Congress was reversed by the Federal Court of Appeals. His skillful representation of playwright Lillian Hellman before HUAC is chronicled in her *Scoundrel Times*. Mr. Rauh received the Freedom of Speech Award from the Four Freedoms Foundation at Hyde Park in 1983.

As a labor lawyer, Mr. Rauh has served as General Counsel and Washington Counsel for the United Auto Workers, and has on occasion represented numerous other unions. In the area of union democracy, his 1972 victory in the Miners' Union case in the Supreme Court led to a new election which the reform group won.

Joe Rauh was part of a small group who conceived the idea of a broadly-based anti-Communist liberal organization which was to become Americans for Democratic Action. From the beginning of the ADA in 1946, he was one of its intellectual and spiritual leaders, and he has served in several official positions in the organization.

Mr. Rauh has been active in a number of historic civil rights cases, some of which have had a major impact on national politics. He is General Counsel of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and in that capacity he and Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP were the chief lobbyists for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, 1970, and 1975, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Mr. Rauh has participated actively in virtually all Democratic National Conventions since 1948 when he worked with Hubert Humphery to win the minority civil rights plank. A delegate to the 1960 Convention, he served on both the Platform Committee and on its 19-member drafting subcommittee, and he led the fight for the all-out civil rights platform that was adopted by the convention. At the 1964 Democratic National Convention, he was counsel for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and forced the unseating of the regular delegation from that state. Part of the Freedom delegation was seated, with a promise of desegregated delegations in the future.

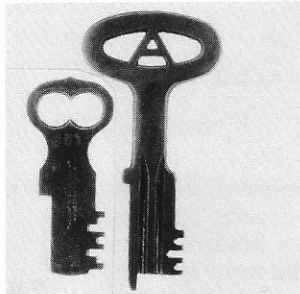
Born in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1911, Mr. Rauh continues to be active in Democratic national politics and in the general practice of law. He has been one of the all too few Washington lawyers willing to take on the unremunerative and heartbreaking job of defending persons accused under the various federal loyalty and security programs. The Foundation is pleased to honor Joe Rauh this year with its prestigious Eugene V. Debs Award.

Keys With a Tale

If keys could talk, these could tell quite a story. Recently donated to the Foundation they were the keys to the cell and the cell block when Eugene Debs served time in Woodstock Jail in 1895. They were given by Foundation member Cliff Ganchau, of Woodstock, Illinois. Pete and Curtis Culver assisted in the transfer.

Debs was sentenced to six months in prison for violating the injunction against the Pullman strike. It was a questionable legal procedure which put him there. The same judge who issued the injunction had pronounced sentence for its violation.

But such experiences can shape a person's life and his or her place in history. The jailing of Debs and six other American Railway Union leaders was a fatal blow to an industrial union which a year earlier had appeared a phenomenal



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Annual Awards Dinner Set For November 8

The 1986 Awards Dinner will be held November 8, in Hulman Civic Center, Indiana State University, Terre Haute. The Debs Award recipient is being recognized mainly for outstanding public service in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties, although his contributions to labor are equally significant. And prominent national labor leaders will be very much in evidence on the program. Owen Bieber, President of the United Automobile Workers, will be banquet speaker. Mr. Bieber is a member of the Debs Foundation, and we are delighted that he has consented to be our featured speaker.

Dallas Sells, Sr. is a known and respected labor leader who will be given the Theodore Debs Service Award. He worked with the AFL-CIO in Indianapolis and is former Region 3 Director, United Auto Workers. Dallas is being recognized for his energetic, skillful leadership when as a Foundation Director he led in fundraising efforts and in membership building. He continues as a Director, and is one of the Trustees of the Endowment Fund. The Theodore Debs Service Award was initiated last year. Tilford Dudley and Hilton Hanna were the first recipients, and Dallas Sells is only the third person to be recognized with this special service award.

An educational conference will be conducted during the day Saturday which you are encouraged to attend. Discussions will focus on the present crisis in American industry, its causes and its effects, including consequences for community services. It adds up to an event you will not want to miss, so we look forward to seeing you November 8! The informal reception begins at 5:30 p.m. and dinner at 7:00. The Debs Home is just two blocks from Hulman Center and will be open to visitors until 4:30 on Saturday. Details for ordering dinner tickets appear elsewhere in this mailing.

What Do You Think?

The following quotes were printed in the *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, featuring a sampling of responses from guests at last year's Debs Awards Dinner. Question: What do you think Eugene V. Debs would say about current labor union trends?

"He would be pleased with the effect the unions have had in the upgrading of working conditions and the lives of union and non-union people alike around the world."

Barbara Kane, Terre Haute

"I think he would be appalled at the attack on unions and the lack of support given to the union movement by many people."

Robert Clouse, Terre Haute

"He would be glad to see that they are keeping up with the times."

Bob Kinerk, Anderson

"He would be depressed about labor unions losing membership. He would also be pleased that the trend is away from confrontation between workers and management."

Helen Springer, Sullivan

"I think he would be disappointed that the labor union movement is not more political than it is today."

Laurellen Porter, Terre Haute

"He would weep at the high unemployment rate and he would rejoice that many unions do not support illegal and unconstitutional war in Nicaragua."

Donald Yates, Terre Haute

Special Appreciation

During the summer Mary Elliott has served on a voluntary basis once a week so that the Debs Home could be kept open an additional day each week. She has been conscientious in providing an informed, pleasant tour of the facility. Now residing in Terre Haute, Mary is retired from the Detroit public school system.

Officially, during the summer the house has been open to the public daily except Mondays, 1:00 to 4:30 p.m. However, persons who have dropped by on a Monday and knocked have not been denied a tour of the Home if the Pedersens were in. Such dedication and willingness to serve helps the Foundation attain its educational and inspirational goals.

Regional Focus of Peace Initiatives

The following is excerpted from a June 28 newsletters from Robert White, former Ambassador and current President of the International Center for Development Policy in Washington, D.C. Mr. White is a friend of the Debs Foundation, having given the second Shubert Sebree Lecture, and also the presentation speech at our 1985 Awards Dinner. World peace depends on constructive solutions being found to the social, economic and political problems of Third World Countries, and good can come from private efforts such as those described by Mr. White.

"Just days ago, I returned from Moscow with the eight members of this Center's first delegation to the Soviet Union. Hosted by the influential Soviet Academy of Sciences, we spent a full week in discussion with top Russian experts on Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our aim was to set a series of future exchanges and debates with the Soviets on the main issues of the Center's work -- the explosive and dangerous regional conflicts now raging in Central America, Southern Africa and parts of Asia. . . .

It is clear that major power cooperation is necessary to settle these regional conflicts. Without Soviet and American accep-

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The Eugene V. Debs Foundation
Box 843
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Foundation Officers:

Murray Finley, *President*

Noel Beasley, *Executive Vice President*

Charles King, *Secretary*

Woodrow Creason, *Treasurer*

The *Debs Foundation Newsletter* will be published twice yearly for distribution to members and friends of the Foundation. The Eugene V. Debs Foundation is a non-profit, private organization which maintains the home of Eugene and Kate Debs as a museum and shrine to labor, and carries on educational and informational programs which aim to honor and promote the goals for which Debs struggled: industrial unionism, social justice, and peace. For those wishing to become members, an application form is provided elsewhere in this issue.

tance and restraint, peace-making efforts by countries at the regional level simply cannot work. Therefore, the International Center has undertaken to begin a dialogue with the Soviets on issues of regional conflict.

As a first step, the visit to Moscow was an extraordinary success. Our delegation reached agreement to engage in a continuing dialogue with the top leadership of the U.S.S.R. Arica Institute, the Oriental and Far East Institutes, and the "Arbatov" Institute of the Academy of Sciences. In a few months, the International Center plans to host an unprecedented debate here in Washington between Soviet and American experts on Third World trouble spots -- open to the press, members of Congress, and public organizations. And throughout the coming year, the Center will exchange experts on Asia, Africa and Latin America with the regional Institutes in Moscow. Top professionals with long experience in regional policy-making will participate from both sides.

I was impressed with the expertise of many of the Soviet academicians and the wisdom of some of their criticisms of both sides' foreign policy. On Afghanistan, for example, some of the Soviets expressed strong critical views. It was a heartening surprise to learn that there exists a real sense of anxiety over the Soviet predicament there and a sense that some way to withdraw must be found.

If future sessions with the Russians are as successful as our week in Moscow, the International Center has clearly taken a major step toward constructive dialogue."

DECEASED

We recently have received news of the deaths of two long-time, staunch supporters of the Debs Foundation, Marion Gross and Joe Norrick. Marion was a Foundation Director and a regular at our meetings. At the time of his untimely death, he was Midwest Regional Director, Textile Division, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, working out of Indianapolis. His support of the Debs Foundation was especially valuable when Noel Beasley, our Executive Vice President, worked out of that office.

Joe Norrick was one of the Foundation's most dedicated supporters, always present at the Awards Dinners. Joe's life of service to both organized labor and to Democratic politics in the Gary community was memorialized last year at the city's annual awards dinner.

We want relatives and friends of these two to know that we share their sense of loss. The Foundation has been the beneficiary of their commitments to Debsian ideals.

The Eugene V. Debs Foundation Twenty Years Ago

by J. Robert Constantine

1966 was a significant year for the Debs Foundation, both in its efforts to restore the Debs home in Terre Haute and to disseminate Debs' ideals through education and research. Clearly the most memorable event of the Foundation's year was Norman Thomas' magnificent speech on "War, Racism, and Poverty", given at the Foundation's second Debs Award Dinner in October. Nearly 600 people crowded into the Prairie Room of the Terre Haute House to hear the aging Socialist Party leader denounce three of society's major unsolved problems. One will never forget Thomas' friendly and courtly response to the Terre Haute mayor's welcoming remarks, including the mayor's assertion that, if Debs were living in 1966, he (Debs) would think he was "living in paradise"!

In 1966 the Foundation decided, as part of its preservation program, to replace the wooden shingles covering the Debs home with aluminum siding at a cost of \$6282.00 (the electricity bill for the home was \$7.45 in July, 1966). In the same year the Foundation secured tax exempt status for the home in Vigo County, Indiana.

1966 also witnessed the Foundation's first important steps in the area of education and research. In May the Foundation sponsored at Indiana State University a two-day seminar on "The Pollution of the American Environment," which included among its speakers Senator Birch Bayh and Professor Kenneth Boulding. The seminar was the first of many seminars, conferences, and lectures sponsored by the Foundation in the past 20 years, including the Sebree Lectures given in recent years by Michael Harrington, Tony Benn, Robert Coles, and Robert White. At the June, 1966 meeting of the Foundation at the Terre Haute House (Dinner, \$2.50) the secretary was directed to undertake a systematic collection of reminiscences of Debs by men and women who had known him, a project which bore fruit with the publication of *Debs Remembered* in the microfilm edition of *The Papers of Eugene V. Debs* (1983).

The above may remind readers of the decent progress made by the Foundation in the past 20 years in maintaining the Debs home and in encouraging education and research. It may also remind them that a speech by Norman Thomas on war, racism and poverty would be as timely and welcome in 1986 as it was in 1966.

The Bending Cross

"Let the people take heart and hope everywhere, for the cross is bending, the midnight is passing, and joy cometh with the morning." These moving words came from Debs in the Cleveland courtroom, in 1918, prior to sentencing for his conviction for espionage. The perhaps more widely known and easily understood statement from that speech was that "... while there is a lower class, I am in it, while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." What a vivid and moving expression of human solidarity! And of the fact that there is a class bias in our criminal justice system. People get sent to jail for some types of "lower class" crimes such as stealing, while middle or "white collar" class offenses lead to administrative hearings, and fines, warnings, suspended sentences, etc.

But what is the meaning of the "bending cross?" I asked that question recently of a study group which met at the Debs Home to discuss Ray Ginger's biography of Debs. One person thought it was an inappropriate and sacrilegious reference to the Christian cross. Fact is, the image is to the so-called "Southern Cross," a constellation in the southern sky as prominent as "our" Big Dipper. Legend has it that before modern navigational devices, when sailors had nothing but the stars to steer by or tell time, they took note that the figure of the Southern Cross seems to bend toward morning. After midnight, its bending shape becomes a sign of the coming day.

So Debs, minutes before sentencing, was avowing his faith in humanity, his optimism for a future in which workers would make for themselves a better world. More from his speech in that packed courtroom has a most contemporary ring!

"... I can see them dwarfed, diseased, stunted, their little lives broken, and their hopes blasted, because in this high noon of our twentieth century civilization money is still so much more important than human life. Gold is god and rules in the affairs of men ... I never more clearly comprehended than now the great struggle between the powers of greed on the one hand and upon the other the rising hosts of freedom. I can see the dawn of a better day of humanity. The people are awakening. In due course of time they will come into their own. ..."

On Which List?

The last newsletter carried an article on "Wish Lists and Shopping Lists," detailing some of the more pressing needs for the Debs Home and the Foundation. The urgency attached to one big item on that list has become more apparent with spring rains. The porch roof is sagging badly and leaking. Another winter without repairs will be rough on it. One item on the list -- a lawn mower -- has been bought, at the price of just under \$200 dollars. Bought at Sears at sale price, it has been a considerable savings in nuisance costs to the Foundation Secretary who no longer has to bring his own mower to the house every week or so.

Items not on either a definite shopping list or a wish list have been forced on us recently. The compressor for the main air conditioner for the Home succumbed to the 100 degree heat. The cost for a new unit was \$2,000. The fan motor on the apartment AC also went out, and the replacement cost was \$210. The tub faucet had to be replaced in the apartment. Costs for parts was \$59, labor free, compliments of the Secretary.

An awful lot of history is stored in this 100 year old house. We do what we can to preserve it and to enhance its value as a shrine to labor and social reform movements.

Awards and Scholarships

The Foundation at the present time has two types of competitive awards given annually. One is the Lillian E. Hanna Scholarships, awarded to two students at Indiana State University whose college major and career goals indicate sympathy with the Debsian tradition of organized labor and social justice. Worth \$400 each, these scholarships are made possible by contributions from Hilton and Mary K. Hanna, husband and daughter respectively of the late Lillian Hanna, which donations are matched by Foundation moneys. Applications are due by April 1, addressed to the Foundation Secretary, Box 843, Terre Haute, IN 47808.

The Bryant Spann Memorial Prize is given annually for published work which expresses themes which are consistent with the Debs tradition of social criticism. After six years, this prize is establishing a national reputation for recognizing and rewarding published work which evidences social vision and commitment to social justice. Worth \$750, this prize is made possible by a donation from the family of the late Bryant Spann. Submissions are to be made by April 30 each year. Inquiries should be accompanied by a self addressed, stamped envelope, and sent to the Bryant Spann Memorial Prize Committee, Department of History, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, IN 47809.

MORE IMPORTANT THAN GUNS AND BULLETS

The article below is reproduced from the November, 1985 issue of *Popline*, which is published by the Population Institute, in Washington. History may prove that the most foolish and disastrous action of the Reagan Administration is its withholding of aid moneys from international organizations which promote family planning and reduced population growth. The Reagan Administration has cut off funding to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and last year withheld \$10 of the \$46 million Congress earmarked for the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). The official view of the Reagan Administration is that population is a neutral force, neither positive or negative. Administration spokesmen maintain that the real problem is inappropriate ideology, and that if developing nations would adopt free market systems, economic expansion would enable them to accommodate large populations. Given the figures on working age population presented below, how can our President believe that?

What would Eugene Debs say today? As a champion of the poor and of women's rights, we think he would have called for a halt to the shipments of guns and ammunition, and would have supported vigorously such international efforts to provide family planning assistance as those run by IPPF and UNFPA.

750 Million New Jobs Needed by Year 2000

Some 750 million new jobs must be created in the developing world within the next 20 years just to maintain today's employment levels, according to an analysis conducted by the Population Institute.

In contrast, the United States, with a current labor force of approximately 115 million, must provide about 20 million new jobs during the same period of time to satisfy the employment needs of young American workers.

The large increase in Third World job seekers is a legacy of continued high birth rates long after death rates began to decline.

In 1955 the United States and Latin America had about the same number of workers. Today, Latin America has 50 percent more workers than the U.S. but 20 years from now it will have more than twice as many.

At that time, Latin America will need 115 million new jobs just to equal its current employment level while Africa will need 172 million, and Asia 460 million.

Even if it were possible to create this staggering number of new jobs, the high levels of unemployment and underemployment in the developing world would not be reduced.

Serious unemployment problems in Third World countries can have detrimental repercussions for the U.S. and other industrialized countries.

Immigrants from the overpopulated nations of the southern hemisphere are already streaming northwards into many developed nations, seeking employment their own countries cannot provide.

An estimated four to five million immigrants, mainly from Mexico and South America, have settled in the U.S. In addition, illegal immigration into the U.S. may be as high as one million per year.

A major cause for the high rate of illegal immigration can be seen in the strong growth of the Mexican labor force, which numbered 8.6 million in 1950. By 1975 it had nearly doubled to 16.3 million, causing rising unemployment and underemployment. Today, Mexico has a labor force of 23.1 million, which is projected to reach 37.7 million by the end of the century.

The quest for cheap labor in order to remain competitive in world markets has become such a thriving business in its own right that it is sometimes referred to by U.S. industrialists as the new "Gold Rush". And as populations continue to escalate in the Third World, labor is becoming the largest available resource.

A typical example of utilizing low cost labor can be seen in Mexico where there is a huge pool of readily available employees willing to work for as little as 60 cents an hour. The situation is rapidly becoming an economic bonanza for many of America's top corporations. In Juarez, Mexico, U.S. companies pay \$1 an hour for the same work that costs \$20 an hour in Detroit.

Americans seldom realize the serious nature of the relationship between cheap overseas labor and its impact on unemployment in this country.

The U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that \$1 billion in trade is the equivalent of 25,000 jobs. With the U.S. trade deficit threatening to reach \$150 billion this year, there would be an accompanying loss of 3.75 million American jobs.

In the manufacturing sector alone, the U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics has reported a loss of 210,000 jobs in the first eight months of the year, and 1.5 million jobs since 1979.

Keys With a Tale (Continued from page 1)

success. Yet, imprisonment in the cause of organized labor made Debs a national celebrity and added to his already impeccable credentials as a labor advocate. And during his confinement the socialists made strenuous efforts to enlist Debs in their cause. He was visited in prison by such prominent socialists as Victor Berger, Keir Hardie and Thomas J. Morgan. So at Woodstock the seeds were planted which when germinated turned Debs' efforts to the political arena in his struggle for the cause of workers.

Woodstock was described as a nice, clean prison. Debs and the others were accorded an incredible degree of freedom, although they were locked in their cells at night. The appearance of these heavy, cold pieces of metal, and the thought of the personal sacrifices which some have made in noble causes, can send chills up and down your spine.

Membership Application The Eugene V. Debs Foundation

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

<input type="checkbox"/> Student Member	\$ 5.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Regular Member	\$10.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Supporting Member	\$25.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Life Member	\$250.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Other	
	Amount

Enclose remittance. Make checks payable to the Debs Foundation.

The Debs Foundation

P.O. Box 843

Terre Haute, IN 47808

Your dues and contributions are tax deductible. The Foundation owns and maintains the Debs Home and offers several educational and cultural programs. We are a voluntary organization with no paid staff.