

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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MOBS and CIVIL RIGHTS

By James Oneal

Mobs break up meeting. A mob kidnaped a speaker. A mob ordered a meeting to disperse. A mob tarred and feathered an organizer. A mob ordered a speaker to leave town.

Such are the headlines to be read in newspapers. They repeat the history of those mobs in the North that assaulted speakers opposed to the slave trade and to slavery. Generations of education and countless historical tragedies teach no lesson to modern mobs.

Their malicious work is defended on the score of "Americanism." What is meant by this explanation? Is it true that American traditions have nothing more to offer than violence against dissenting opinions? Is it true that criticism of public officials and of the whole structure of society is something new to the United States?

If so the mobs and their sponsors add ignorance of American history to their illegal assaults. Free discussion of all views, no matter how wide its range, has been the best aspect of American history. Mob attacks against it has been its worst. The mobbiest believes that only views supporting existing institutions should be heard. So did every despot and every despoiler of humanity in every age.

What has been most glorious in American history is recognition of the fact that human progress has just as often been served by harsh criticism as by servile acquiescence in what is. Otherwise Lincoln, Sumner, Phillips, and their kind were enemies of mankind when they subjected the whole regime of slave owing control of society to merciless criticism.

Mobbists would suppress dissenting opinions. The eminent men in American history would preserve their unrestricted right to be heard. Jefferson in his First Inaugural, Jefferson a slave owner who feared the rise of modern industry with its problems, nevertheless said:

"If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Lincoln on the eve of the great tragedy of the Civil War, knowing the passions and hatreds that were to sweep the nation, in his First Inaugural said:

"This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

No human being can reconcile these opinions with the malign actions of mobs. When we examine the opinions of other eminent men of the past the irrepressible conflict between them and the mobs become still more apparent. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the great American essayist, respected on two continents, and one of the finest fruits of the cultural progress of America, in his essay on "Compensation," wrote this brilliant passage:

"The history of persecution is a history of endeavors to cheat nature, to make water run up hill, to twist a rope of sand. It makes no difference whether the actors be many or one, a tyrant or a mob. A mob is a society of bodies voluntarily bereaving themselves of reason and traversing its work. The mob is man voluntarily descending to the nature of the beast. Its fit hour of activity is night. Its actions are insane, like its whole constitution. It persecutes a principle; it would whip a right; it would tar and feather justice, by inflicting fire and outrage upon the houses and persons of those who have these * * * The martyr cannot be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of fame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side."

Imagine these men with their all-embracing tolerance of every idea and opinion joining mobs to place a gag on the lips of a speaker or to burn a book bearing a new message to humanity! Yet it is this that is done in the name of "American-

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THE SUSTAINING FUND

California Leads — Missouri Second.
New York Pays Largest Amount

California heads the list of contributors to the Sustaining Fund with payments amounting to 220% of her quota. This exceptionally fine showing was made possible through the liberality of Comrade Chas. J. Poole of Los Angeles.

As soon as the call for the Sustaining Fund was issued he forwarded us \$1,000.00 in Liberty Bonds to be credited on California's quota in weekly installments. Comrade Poole reports himself as an ordinary workman and the further fact that he is a deafmute. His contribution represents the frugally accumulated savings of a workingman thus handicapped and should make many of us realize how little we have really sacrificed for the movement. Most of us could give much more than we have given if we had the spirit of Comrade Poole and would deny ourselves some of the things to which we are accustomed and which are unnecessary either to our health or happiness.

Despite the fact that Comrade Poole's contribution was itself more than the entire state quota of \$798.00, the California comrades started out to raise their full quota in addition to his contribution. At the time of this report they have raised \$750.87 or 94% of their quota and promise to have the rest in the near future.

Local Springfield, Mo., has initiated a motion to forbid the N. E. C. contracting any debts for any purpose whatever, and at the same time has forwarded the N. E. C. a proposal to continue the present fund not only until we have paid all the debts of the National Office but until we have accumulated sufficient working capital to make it unnecessary to go into debt.

The proposition is not without its merits and should receive the careful consideration of the membership. However it is needless to speak of doubling the quotas of states which have not yet raised the original quota assigned them. Our first task is to raise this twenty thousand dollars and put the office out of danger. Then we can, and should consider ways and means of putting it on a sounder financial basis and keeping it always out of debt.

Look at the tabulation in the next column and see how your state ranks. Is it one on the seven that has raised its quota? If not, there is work for you to do, work that you should do. Do not stop with your own contribution but see that every friend and sympathizer of your ac-

THE STANDING OF THE STATES ON September 29th.

STATE	QUOTA	PAID	Percentage
1. California	\$798.00	\$1,750.87	220%
2. Missouri	489.00	795.85	163%
3. New Hampshire	82.00	131.03	160%
4. Utah	88.00	101.60	115%
5. Dist. of Columbia	92.00	100.00	109%
6. Maryland	246.00	260.00	106%
7. Nevada	26.00	26.00	100%
8. Pennsylvania	1,916.00	1,783.28	93%
9. Arizona	46.00	41.50	90%
10. Iowa	408.00	310.00	76%
11. Rhode Island	71.00	52.50	74%
12. New York	3,213.00	1,974.00	61%
13. Delaware	31.00	18.00	58%
14. Massachusetts	1,215.00	708.70	58%
15. Connecticut	270.00	146.90	54%
16. Maine	93.00	49.00	53%
17. Kansas	270.00	140.85	52%
18. Wyoming	34.00	17.00	50%
19. Wisconsin	1,749.00	780.00	45%
20. Illinois	1,622.00	570.45	35%
21. Kentucky	235.00	81.03	34%
22. W. Virginia	142.00	48.00	34%
23. Ohio	1,169.00	354.70	30%
24. Colorado	118.00	28.00	24%
25. Indiana	577.00	104.15	18%
26. New Jersey	739.00	123.20	17%
27. Arkansas	172.00	27.00	16%
28. Michigan	520.00	59.25	11%
29. North Dakota	104.00	10.00	10%
30. Idaho	66.00	6.00	9%
31. Florida	119.00	8.00	7%
32. Georgia	221.00	15.00	7%
33. Oregon	130.00	9.48	7%
34. Tennessee	168.00	11.00	7%
35. North Carolina	171.00	10.00	6%
36. Minnesota	575.00	28.30	5%
37. Oklahoma	369.00	18.50	5%
38. Washington	154.00	8.00	5%
39. Mississippi	127.00	5.00	4%
40. Texas	377.00	14.20	4%
41. Louisiana	152.00	5.00	3%
42. Nebraska	171.00	5.00	3%
Totals	\$20,000.00	\$10,736.34	54%

IS YOUR STATE IN THIS COLUMN? NOT HEARD FROM LIST

State	Quota
Alabama	\$172.00
Montana	85.00
New Mexico	30.00
S. Carolina	157.00
S. Dakota	62.00
Vermont	52.00
Virginia	157.00

CONTRIBUTE NOW

quaintance is approached and invited to contribute to this fund.

Help put your state over the top. Let us finish this job and get ready for the big work and the big opportunity of next year.

MOBS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

(Con. from page 1)

ism," an "Americanism" that never existed outside the circles of those favoring human slavery.

The address that brought Wendell Phillips instant fame as the foremost orator in America was his famous address in Faneuil Hall in 1837 in protest against the mob that murdered Lovejoy at Alton. Facing a hostile audience which he won by sheer mastery of his logic he said:

"Welcome the despotism of the Sultan, where one knows what he may publish and what he may not, rather than the tyranny of this many-headed monster, the mob, where we know not what we may do or say, till some fellow-citizen has tried it, and paid for the lesson with his life."

Speaking on the twentieth anniversary of the attempt to mob William Lloyd Garrison in Boston, Phillips said:

"No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us always remember that he really does not believe his own opinions, who dares not give free scope to his opponent. Persecution is really want of faith in our creed."

Charles Sumner, a United States Senator, speaking to the subject of the "Barbarism of Slavery" in the Senate on June 4, 1860, drew an indictment of the pro-slavery mobs in the North. He said:

"Public meetings for the discussion of slavery have been interrupted; public halls dedicated to its discussion, have been destroyed or burned to the ground. In all our populous cities the great rights of speech and of the press have been assailed precisely as in the slave states:"

Sumner was himself struck down in the Senate by a slavery Senator and his seat was left vacant a number of years while he was recuperating from his injuries.

William H. Seward, later Lincoln's Secretary of State, in a lecture before the American Institute, New York, on October 20, 1853, expressed his opinion of mobs and repression. He said:

"I would have the American citizen yield always a cheerful acquiescence, and never a servile adherence, to the opinions of the majority of his countrymen and of mankind. * * * * Who will maintain that the standard at any one time by a majority in our country is infallible, and therefore final? If it be so, why have we reserved, by our Constitution, freedom of speech, of the press, and of suffrage, to reverse it?"

Benjamin F. Wade, United States Senator from Ohio, speaking to the pro-slavery mobs in the Senate on March 7, 1860, asked these questions of their Senators:

"What mean your nightly patrols, that I see your laws provide for? What means this persecution of northern men who go among you. What is the fear you have of this Helper book, that we have heard so much of? What means this robbery of the mails and censorship of the press through all the

South? If slavery is the normal condition, do you fear that the handiwork of God will be overthrown by these frivolous means?"

Volumes could be compiled of statements of this kind from the lips of the most eminent men in the public life of this country. These opinions cannot be reconciled with the view that mobs, terrorism, and repression of dissenting views have ever been glorified in American history. The spurious "Americanism" of modern mobs comes from Turkey and the old Russia of the Czars.

John Stuart Mill, in his famous essay on "Liberty," gave the world one of its most convincing philosophic arguments in behalf of toleration, of all opinions. Among other things he wrote:

"Genius can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedom. * * * * He who lets the world, or his own portion of it, choose his plan of life for him, has no need for any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation."

If genius is to have a free field for development; if mankind is to make further progress in the social and political sciences; if humanity is to march on to better things, all this cannot be realized in an atmosphere of intellectual cowardice, bigotry, mob rule and terrorism. A free outlet for every opinion is essential.

The Socialist Party stands by the best traditions in American history on this question of unrestricted expression of opinions and criticism of the whole structure of politics, industry, law and administration. If this right is crushed to earth it means the beginning of a despotic oligarchy that will ensnare the great masses in its iron grip and make of intellectual freedom a farce and a lie. We will be heard as the other men we have quoted were heard. As they won so will we win. No minority was ever successfully answered or crushed by force, whether it be the force of ignorant mobs or the usurpation of public officials.

The Socialist party brings history to the bar to confront those who distort it and who would make it a lie. The Socialist movement has a message for the producing masses of the nation and that message will be heard. Every mobbing means a dozen recruits to our cause. Every dispersed meeting means that its opponents fear reason and argument.

We appeal to the conscience of the workers, especially, as the class that has most to lose by suppression of public meetings of whatever kind. The destiny of the nation is in their hands. Their enemies would keep them from the discussion of economic and political questions. Their enemies fear discussion and for that reason the masses favor it.

Free discussion alone will lead to free labor and an emancipated humanity. The gag and censorship lead to economic and political servitude. The Socialist party is a party of the working class and represents the highest ideals of thinking men and women. Only the despoilers fear it, only the ignorant do not understand it, and those who honestly think, join it and work for it. It is your movement and your cause.

Do for it what it seeks to do for you!

THE THIN RED LINE

By BERTHA HALE WHITE

It is not tactful to speak of the sacrifices made for the cause of socialism by those we are accustomed to call leaders of the movement. If you inadvertently suggest such a thing, some indignant member is sure to dispute it saying that the particular sacrificer got more out of the movement than ever he put into it. If he is a lawyer who has handled party cases, we are rather sure to hear that the publicity he had from his work "made him", that he would have been unknown but for his association with the party.

There is a case in point: One Socialist lawyer, during all the long years of war persecution, devoted practically all his time to the defense of Socialists and radicals involved in the net of sedition charges. Many of those today walking the ways of life in liberty were saved from prison through his devotion and skill. He had measureless publicity — but not so long ago in the selection of counsel in a civil case, a radical organization concluded that this same publicity would be prejudicial to their interests and a "capitalist" lawyer was selected instead of a Socialist. Not all publicity is an asset.

Either the one making such statements is in the habit of accepting his opinions ready made, or he is, consciously or unconsciously, insincere. We all know that our connection with the party has meant a prejudiced intolerance in all the perplexing social relations; in our standing with neighbors, in dealing with tradesmen, most of all in securing employment. It has meant the sacrifice of time that we would gladly have given to the home. Not one of us but knows that the most effective deterrent to the growth of the socialist party is the half-ostracism its members, however inconspicuous, have to endure as an inevitable part of the price they must pay for their political beliefs. We know this prejudice will follow our children into the public schools. We know the wounds inflicted upon the tender minds of children of Socialist parentage, inflicted by children as innocent as they, taking their cue from the prejudiced conversation of their elders at home. We know they must endure a constant irritation and that their unformed minds inevitably will have all through their school days a bewildered sense of injustice, of friction, of cruel chafing that will mean a sore spot—or a calloused indifference.

Another favorite theory is that party officials in some inscrutable way receive extraordinary benefits from the positions they hold. It is difficult to initiate a "One Day Wage Fund"—it is doubtful if such a fund has ever been generally supported. But out of every three months, the members of the National Executive Committee must give up from four to six days to the party work, not counting the time used in committee correspondence. For this time they receive their actual expense money only—and if the financial situation is not good, they do not receive even that for an indefinite period.

Party secretaries, state and national, continu-

ously work in the interest of labor organizations. They agitate for a better wage, for shorter hours. And they accept as wages a sum below what they would receive in industry. There is no eight hour day for them—no six day week. They work eight hours and twice eight hours. They work seven days of the week. They do it as a privilege. It does not occur to them that it is not just or fair—they are glad to give and would give more if they could. And always, as a matter of course, they face implications, even direct charges, that they are parasites upon the movement.

Years and years ago, a group of men and women became associated in the public mind with the propaganda of Socialism. They were people of ability, they had the grit and the tenacity to master unfavorable conditions. They wanted higher education—and they forced an unsympathetic society to give it to them. They became lawyers and writers and teachers. They had within them qualities that assured a successful career under ordinary conditions. But they elected to embrace an unpopular cause, the cause of workingclass emancipation. They were Socialists and all their leisure hours were given up to speaking for Socialism and writing for Socialism and fighting the battles of Socialism. They were loaded down with difficulties imposed by a prejudiced and bigoted public, but they went forward nevertheless. They won a measure of success in their chosen vocations in spite of—always in spite of—their affiliation with the Socialist party. And they gave and gave and gave.

They made up the advance guard of Socialism in America. They formed the front line twenty years ago. And today that line is not greatly changed. In it you will find the same men and women in professional life, the same speakers and writers and teachers, the same soap-boxers. A few are missing. Some have died and given place to others who have matched them in pure devotion. But conspicuous in that front line are fighters who joined at the first call to the colors in America.

One frequently hears reference to "the same old crowd" or perhaps "the same old gang" in control of the party policies, a scornful but unconsciously high tribute to members whose names are inextricably interwoven with the party history. They were leaders in the beginning of the organization and they are the leaders of the depleted numbers, the "Thin Red Line", of the Army of Liberation. All that is left of it—and the leaders still lead. Not in warfare upon an acknowledged enemy. Capitalism is not wasting ammunition in this year of 1921. From ambush comes an occasional shot in the dark, it is true. The Legionnaires and the Ku Klux Klan reach out for an occasional victim. They are snipers of the Army of reaction.

But from within, from the various so-called radical off-shoots of the party comes the force of destruction. They are ably fighting in the cause of the enemy. They have all the effectiveness of

a surprise attack in the dark. There is a sudden clamor, a swirl of contending atoms, in the center, in the rear, to the left or to the right. And when the wreckage is cleared away, the smoke of conflict vanished, we find the victims are our own members, foully slain by their own sworn brothers. And it is joyfully announced that another company has been annihilated, another local organization disbanded, another group of members "resigned from the party."

The Thin Red Line still holds. Definitely aligned against it is a milling, contending, helter-skelter aggregation of the counter revolution. It is without form, without leadership. It is without unity except in one thing—all, all unite in a swelling chorus of jubilation over the decimated ranks of the Socialist Party. It is their one proud boast. While the forces of capitalism are gathering strength hourly. While industrial tyranny is tightening its strangle-hold upon the life of the nation. While the grim specters of Hunger and Disease stalk abroad. While sacred liberties are outraged. While the freedom for which Americans gave their lives and for which this nation received its blood baptism, is trampled in the mire, these self-appointed liberators chant their hymn of hate. They cannot boast of one definite service to the people's cause. They cannot cite one fearless charge against the enemy. The war made twenty-seven thousand new millionaires—one for every member of the Socialist Party. The war has given the country six million men without work, six million men facing starvation. And the cure-all, the solution as outlined by American communism is "Leave the Socialist Party"! Revolutionaries! Fighting for the working class! And their press is filled with diatribes against the party. They have no time to consider capitalism. They can only tell of how they have broken down the morale of those they once dared call "comrade." They can and do point to the large numbers, once good soldiers in the common cause, who have grown bewildered and discouraged. Bewildered and discouraged, yes. But not traitorous. They have surrendered their arms and gone home. They struggle no more but they have not gone over to the enemy. Of all those

who were once members of the party but are not members now, very few will be found in these fragmentary, "revolutionary" groups.

The Thin Red Line—it held during the internecine struggle over sabotage; it held when desolation swept the world, amid the chaos of world war. It held aloft the proud banner of International Brotherhood in spite of all the hellish forces directed against it. It was the front line of the battle array and behind it ranged the devoted thousands ready to fight to the death. Devoted thousands—and here and there a coward, a traitor. Insidious, ubiquitous, they whispered their treasons; the social patriots, the agents provocateur, the spies — today the leaders of the counter-revolution.

The Thin Red Line—no, Capitalism is not conducting an offensive against it; not now. It is not necessary. The Line is fighting the rabble at the rear, the guerrilla forces, its members wearing stolen uniform, or no uniform, illusive, not to be identified as friend or foe. Fratricides, they hang upon our flank, they cut down our outposts, they take prisoners of our most valiant, our most courageous.

Our prisoners to the lawful enemy of the Cause—how we honor them in their climb up Golgotha. With what reverence do we think of their deathless courage! Out of their travail will be built a monument imperishable in the centuries, deathless in the history of mankind. But the deserters, the betrayers, how can their infamy be hidden, how can the record of their crimes be expunged?

The Thin Red Line—thinner now, for even there the destroyers have their victories. One who was ready to mount the Barricades in the Revolution was inadequate to the crucial test of the war. One who stood unflinching in the open battle, listened to infamous counsels and crossed over to the enemy. But they are not now in the Line. They are the casualties of war, and we could easier face their immolation behind the grey prison walls of Atlanta or Leavenworth than the heavy consciousness of their defection.

The Thin Red Line still holds—and will hold.

WHEN WILL BUSINESS RECOVER?

By Joseph E. Cohen

It is now three years since the armistice was signed and the great war came to an end. Yet the world is in the depths of unemployment, famine, plague and widespread distress. From every land comes the story of unheard of misery.

Russia is the worst victim, because she has been subjected to seven years of bloodshed, which has drained her dry, and she is prostrated before the severe drought which burnt up her crops. But Poland is kept on this side of the brink of ruin only by a monumental amount of American relief work. Austria is only better off by a mite, and Hungary not far behind. Starvation and death in China are cutting off tens of millions of the people. Germany can never recover without very substantial assistance from her

conquerors. France, England and Italy are still in the rut. Wars among the smaller nations of Europe seem to go on endlessly. And America, the only country forced to help the rest of the world because it is the most solvent, has six million men and women out of work and there is no certain prospect of a renewal of business.

What then is coming?

* * *

Needless to say America must do most to save the rest of the world, if it can be saved from further upheaval, anarchy and ruin. Large scale relief expeditions and supplies have already found their way to all European countries, whether of gifts or credits, and a whole lot more will have to be done. The defeated Central European na-

tions must have their wounds treated. Soviet Russia will have to be given her unrestricted opportunity to work out her own future, by the opening of complete commercial relations and official recognition. All expectation that the ten billion dollar debt owed by Europe to Americans be paid should be forgotten.

Business cannot be much better in this country so long as the old world is staggering under the blows delivered upon her by the war, blows which have ripped into her very vitals. America may stay out of the affairs of other nations politically, but she cannot stay out of the world's trade. America must be very much in it. Yet she cannot be in it again, unless it resumes operation. And it cannot resume operation unless America assists the other governments with wholesale relief.

The war-swollen profiteers on this side of the water, who have so terribly feared "the dividing up" that Socialism meant to them, will have to divide up their unearned fortunes far beyond what they ever imagined if the old world is to be their market, if it is to recover again.

And unless the old world recovers America faces a dismal outlook.

* * *

The six million men and women who are out of work in this country will soon eat up their meager savings. They will tax their credit. And they will not be able to fill empty stomachs, clothe bodies and keep them sheltered from winter cold by swallowing optimistic whispering in the capitalist daily press that business is soon to resume.

They will sneer at unemployment conferences that do not dig to the root causes of the industrial breakdown, just as they now turn with disgust from the Republican administration which was to have restored affairs to "normalcy" and which is utterly incompetent to deal with the present critical situation in a way that will really help the American people.

And the people are being confirmed in their suspicion that the Republican administration will do nothing for fear of hurting the bloated profiteers, because it is their closest friend.

* * *

The financial lords and masters of this nation cannot rise above their class interests.

While they are compelled to give freely and lavishly to stricken Europe and Asia, they are gathering still greater profits at the expense of the stricken labor of America.

With a shame that is unbelievable the two old parties in Congress join hands to present a half billion of the people's money to the railroad barons and remove the taxes which make the profiteers return a fraction of the billions they seized when the nations of the world were in death grapple. To emphasize their infamy and give the complete lie to their hypocritical professions of patriotism, they deny decent payment to the troops who risked all for this nation, and without whom the enormous war fortunes could not have been gathered up and kept by the plutocrats.

The capitalist class cannot reach beyond their immediate greed.

Instead of accepting the distress of the workers in this country as an opportunity for achieving the democracy for which the war was supposed to be fought, they grasp the occasion to strive for a surer industrial autocracy.

They generously finance the misnamed open shop movement, to lengthen the hours of those still at work so that more recruits may be made for the army of unemployed, to cut wages so that there may be additional millions drafted into the ranks of those in poverty.

As always they never give with a charitable finger unless they can at the same time snatch armfuls of more wealth to themselves. They tremble at a possible convulsion such as almost reduced the old world to ashes. Yet every industrial, commercial and financial accomplishment which increases their economic and political power and which makes them crave more power is contributing toward another world catastrophe.

If the present serious industrial breakdown and acute suffering among large masses is not to help bring another world war of even more fearful proportions than the one whose ashes of destruction are yet with us, then the people must prevent it by their will.

The present administration and the Republican and Democratic parties which divide the political power between them, must be convinced that they have long enough served the selfish interests of the capitalist class.

And the capitalist class will have to be taught that the industries of this and every nation are not to be run merely to bring them untold wealth, but to accommodate the needs of the people.

For the outstanding fact is that the luxuries of the rich are paid for by the miseries of the poor, and the thirst of the ruling classes for more territory, more natural resources, more concessions, more wealth and more power is the basic cause for international conflicts and the overthrow of civilization by war.

Likewise is it true that the utter inability of the ruling classes to operate the nation's industries for the benefit of the people, because they are concerned first of all with their private gain, results in waste, inefficiency, disorganization and anarchy, with the inevitable consequences of shutdowns and layoffs, lockouts and strikes, unemployment and distress among the workers, such as our nation experiences today.

The time has come for a change.

* * *

Up to this time the feeling has been current that the industries can be managed best if in private hands, kept in fine training by the fear of competition, with the public welfare taken care of by proper regulation and control. How farcical such control is has been clearly shown by the railroads ignoring the Labor Board decision.

The old parties frankly say that they do not intend to interfere with business. The reason is that big business controls the two old parties.

So that in the railroads, mines and other con-

siderable natural resources, and the more important industries competition is practically dead. Combines own and handful of financiers dictate. And they act just as though this country and all within it is their private property to dispose of as they please. They are the masters and autocrats.

Yet with all their strength and supremacy, they cannot conduct industry smoothly because they are wrapped up only in their own gain. So business is periodically wrenched out of their hands, factory fires go out, mines close, the railroads lag behind and the nation suffers.

The only remedy that remains is for the people to take over the nation's industries into their own hands, and run them for the common good.

Instead of letting the railroad magnates continue to pick billions of dollars out of the Federal Treasury to cover up their administrative incompetency and flood their watered stock with undeserved dividends, the railroads should be taken over by the Government and operated by the railroad men in the public interest.

So also with the mines, the oil wells, the forests, the stockyards and packing houses, the great factories and mills, and other large scale industrial agencies which must be kept going and which must serve the needs of the people if they are to live and prosper.

Then not idle stock and bondholders, but those who work will reap the fruits of labor.

Then there will always be work because each worker will have wants to meet; supply will match demand and the industries will run continuously, at hours of labor short enough to do the nation's work; there will be no overwork and underpay with their attending evils, no periods of boom followed by years of stagnation, and no contests

for foreign markets and no wars among nations. It is the only way for business to recover.

It may be we shall not see this soon.

It may be that we shall get some more of old party "normalcy," with all the ills and troubles to which the great number of the people are more or less accustomed.

It may be business will slowly pick up, after labor has been "liquidated"—reduced to unresisting servitude—and those who hold the billions of bank credits are ready to release the purse-strings.

With American corporations having bought up an extensive amount of European enterprise, exchange may be satisfactorily regulated, the fear of world war relieved and the outlook seem bright again.

It may look like business at the old stand.

But it cannot last.

The appetite of the capitalist class for wealth and control will grow by what it feeds on. It will increase its accumulations and impress the stamp of its power upon the laboring millions of America, just as it will intensify its exploitation of the numerous peoples of other lands.

Such industrial autocracy and international domination can lead only to civil war and another world cataclysm.

The time to prevent this calamity is now. The way is to socialize the industries peacefully, to make the change from capitalism to Socialism.

Not until then will business recover and go on for the service of the people.

That is the meaning of Socialism.

That is why you should support the Socialist Party.

A CALL FOR UNITED ACTION

To All Labor Unions, Farmers' Organizations and Other Economic, Political, Co-operative and Fraternal Organizations of the Producing Class.

The last National Convention of the Socialist Party adopted the following resolution:

"Co-operation With Radical and Liberal Organizations.

The reconquering and maintaining of our civil rights and liberties and the securing of substantial measures of economic relief, can only be attained through the united and concerted action of all progressive militant and class conscious workers, industrial and agricultural, in the United States.

"Be It Therefore Resolved, That the incoming National Executive Committee be instructed to make a careful survey of all radical and labor organizations in the country, with a view to ascertaining their strength, disposition and readiness to co-operate with the Socialist movement upon a platform not inconsistent with that of the party, and on a plan which will preserve the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party.

"Resolved, That the National Executive Committee report its findings with recommendations to the next annual convention of the Socialist Party."

In pursuance of the instructions of the convention, we are submitting this resolution and the

possibilities which it suggests for your consideration.

The present situation is so grave that all honest and progressive labor men must realize the necessity of some common understanding upon which we can unite to stem the tide of reaction that is sweeping over the country and threatening every right and interest of the common people.

We are in the midst of the worst industrial depression we have ever experienced.

Six million idle workers vainly seek for employment.

As the result of the low price of farm products, the excessive freight rates and the capitalist control of markets and storage facilities, the agricultural population faces a condition that is little better.

In the midst of the world chaos and the unparalleled panic in this country, the government, either from choice or inability, does nothing to relieve the acute distress of the working class, and all its acts tend to strengthen and support the forces of reactionary capitalism.

The organized employers, are waging a bitter

open-shop campaign that threatens the very existence of our labor organizations.

The state and national governments, through such acts as the Industrial Courts Act in Kansas, anti-syndicalist laws directed against the freedom of speech, press and organization, the use of the power of injunction in an ever widening scope, are supporting the employers' associations and practically destroying even the right to organize.

While assisting the anti-social forces by such direct legislative and judicial partisanship, the government tolerates the existence of private armies of gunmen in the guise of detective agencies, and the organized lawlessness of the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan in attacking labor organizers and terrorizing the public.

No organization, calculated to strengthen the working class or improve its conditions, is so conservative as to escape these assaults, or so peaceful and law abiding as to receive the protection of the government.

American Federation of Labor organizers in Alabama and Georgia, in West Virginia and Pennsylvania, receive the same treatment as I. W. W. workers in Washington and Idaho, the Non-Partisan League' speakers in Kansas and Nebraska, or the Socialist Party representatives in Iowa and Texas.

North and South, East and West, the organized forces of a brutal, unscrupulous ruling class are attacking and destroying every organization that dares speak in behalf of the toiling masses.

In this crisis the one imperative need is Unity. The forces of every progressive, liberal and radical organization of the workers must be mobilized to repel these assaults and to advance the industrial and political power of the working class.

This conference has special reference to united political action similar to that of the federated organizations of the British Labor Party. It would determine whether united political action could be obtained in behalf of a common objective while retaining the autonomy of the affiliated organizations. It is generally understood that aside from a common objective, the masses of the nation face the task of recovering the elemental rights of organization, free press, free discussion, etc., that were won generations ago and are now jeopardized by the black reaction following the World War. Thinking men and women concede that this grave situation is largely due to our failure to use our voting power independently of the political parties of the masters of finance and industry.

The political power of the producers must be organized and consolidated. Heretofore they have generally supported parties and policies hostile to their interests. Those progressive organizations which have realized the need of independent political action have dissipated their energies in needless bickering and competition.

Prejudice, partisanship, jealousy and misunderstandings must be swept aside and a united front be presented by the labor forces to the enemy that is attempting to destroy us.

It is in this spirit that the resolution was adopted by our convention. It is in this spirit that the resolution is now submitted for your consideration.

We desire to make clear that the Socialist Party asks nothing for itself that it is not willing to grant to every organization that may respond to this appeal. The invitation we are extending implies the following:

(1) Participation in the proposed conference does not bind or obligate any organization to the acts or decisions of the conference.

(2) In case an organization, federation or working agreement is reached, it is understood that the participating organizations will retain the integrity of their organizations and complete independence in all matters affecting their membership and organization affairs.

Will you please bring this communication to the attention of your Executive Board or other proper officials at the earliest possible date and if possible favor us with a reply not later than December 15th?

In submitting this matter we urge its consideration in the same spirit in which it is presented—i. e., with full recognition and respect for the different views and policies of the different organizations, but with the conviction that there is a common ground upon which all progressive industrial and agricultural workers may unite in matters which are of mutual interest. In this crisis it is our duty to subordinate every other consideration to the necessity of mobilizing and uniting our forces for our mutual interests and our common progress and advancement.

National Executive Committee Socialist Party.

Julius Gerber,

W. M. Brandt,

Jas. H. Maurer,

Lilith Martin,

James Oneal,

Wm. H. Henry,

Edmund T. Melms,

Otto Branstetter,
Executive Secretary.

RUSSIAN RELIEF

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party upon receipt of the news of the impending famine in Russia took steps to mobilize its resources for aid to the Russian masses. Early in August the National Executive Committee adopted a program of action which is embodied in the following motion:

"That the National Executive Secretary be instructed to issue a call to locals and branches of the Socialist Party to take the initiative in their

localities in organizing famine relief for the Russian people; that efforts be made to form a central body consisting of representatives of labor organizations and other groups willing to cooperate in this work; that they concentrate on the collection of clothing and foodstuffs, the latter to consist of non-perishable goods capable of being shipped to Russia, all such contributions to be held for shipment to New York City to a central agency to be announced at a later date."

At our session in Chicago, held August 28-30, we gave further consideration to this work. We have come to certain conclusions which we believe deserve the consideration of all organizations engaged in Russian relief.

(1) It is essential that the workers should be cautioned against any support of the Hoover organization. It is known that agents of this organization, under the guise of assisting the masses of Hungary, used its machinery for counter-revolutionary purposes. It was a potent factor in establishing the autocratic regime in that country which resulted in murderous attacks on Jews, the massacre of thousands of workmen, the almost complete destruction of the political and economic organizations of the workers, and the bloody rule of the despot, Admiral Horthy.

While we are gratified to learn that a number of organizations have undertaken to collect funds for the support of the starving Russians, we realize that if each organization should work independently, it will result in a waste of effort and energy, and our starving brothers in Russia will not get the full result of the efforts of their comrades and friends here.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party urges all organizations that are really interested in helping the starving masses of Russia to come together, co-ordinate their efforts and co-operate in sending food to Russia so that our starving brothers will get a hundred per cent of what is collected here.

(2) The organizations of the workers in this country, contributing to the relief of the Russian masses, should make this assistance distinctly their own affair. It should be an enterprise of the working class for the relief of the working class in the only nation where capital and finance do not rule.

(3) The power of the organizations should be mobilized and co-ordinated as much as possible and a central agency established in New York for the receipt of funds and through which

foodstuffs and other supplies may be shipped to Russia.

(4) By this means each organization associated in the work of Russian relief will avoid considerable duplication of effort and insure that one hundred per cent of the contributions will go for the purpose the contributors intended. This will guard against any working class support of counter-revolutionary intrigues and against any camouflage organizations that may seek to use the Russian famine as a source of funds for themselves.

This call for the stricken workers and peasantry of Russia is not only an appeal to the humanity of the American working class, but it is also a call across frontiers to the solidarity of the workers of all nations. We expect that all organizations of labor, to whom this statement is sent, will respond to this call of humanity. We urge each of them to elect a representative located if possible in New York to serve on a central committee to unify the work of all associated organizations, to serve as a central agency for the shipment of supplies to Russia, and to keep a record of all such shipments to be reported to all organizations co-operating in this work.

The committee designated by the National Executive Committee to undertake the work of organization is as follows:

Morris Hillquit, B. C. Vladeck, Samuel Beardsley, Bertha H. Mailly, Joseph Cannon, Benjamin Schlesinger, Abraham Shiplacoff, Jacob Panken, Harriot Stanton Blatch.

Each organization will carry on its own work in its own name for Russian relief, the purpose of this agency being only to insure unity of effort, prompt shipment of supplies, and a central bureau for co-ordinating the work of all.

**National Executive Committee,
Socialist Party**

OTTO BRANSTETTER,

Executive Secretary.

August 30, 1921.

RESOLUTION ON AMNESTY

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, assembled in Chicago, learns with profound regret and indignation that, after months of waiting, no definite action has been taken by President Harding on the matter of amnesty for Eugene V. Debs and the other political prisoners incarcerated in federal prisons for their political and economic views.

The United States has today the unenviable distinction of being the only country where the administration has not granted a full amnesty to all its political prisoners. Every German agent convicted of overt acts against the government during the war has been pardoned. Some were convicted of placing bombs on ships sailing for European ports. Both the light sentences they received and the clemency shown these criminals of the old ruling class of Germany are significant. Acts which, if committed by American citizens, would incur the death penalty for treason, are apparently considered of minor importance when

compared with the frank criticisms uttered by citizens in war time. This contrast in the treatment of the two types of war offenders presents an interesting commentary on the psychology of our governing classes.

The analogy is all the more astonishing when press reports indicate that the failure of the President to act is due to his desire to wait until peace is signed with Germany. We would understand the reasoning employed to justify this course were it used to justify the continued incarceration of German agents convicted of criminal acts. But considering that all these criminals have been released, it is evident that the matter of clemency does not rest at all upon the present relations between the United States and Germany. If such relations were a bar to any acts of clemency it is certain that the German criminals convicted in American courts would not be released to return to a country still nominally at war with the United States.

(Cont. on page 16)

The Socialist Party

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

National Executive Committee:

W. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave.,
St. Louis, Mo.

Lilith Martin, 220 S. Ashland Ave.

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

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

Edmund T. Melms, 579 Sth Ave.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

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

James H. Maurer, Rooms 1, 2 and
3, Commonwealth Trust Co. Building,
Harrisburg, Pa.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF APPEALS

Jacob Panken, Chairman.

156 Second Ave., N. Y. City.

S. John Block, Secretary.

188 Broadway, N. Y. City.

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Sunday Session, August 28th.

Meeting called to order at 1:30.

Present: James Oneal, Edmund
T. Melms, W. M. Brandt, James H.
Maurer, Wm. H. Henry, Lilith Mar-
tin, Julius Gerber, Otto Branstetter.

Comrade Maurer elected Chair-
man for the day.

The rules of the Committee sub-
mitted by the Executive Secretary
were adopted.

Comrade Melms elected perman-
ent Chairman of the Committee.

Comrade Branstetter was re-elect-
ed National Secretary.

International Relations

A communication was read from
Comrade J. H. Thomas, Treasurer
of the Second International, request-
ing the payment of dues for the year
1919, amounting to 10,050 Swiss
francs. The Executive Secretary is
instructed to reply that following the
collapse of the Second International
at the beginning of the World War,
the membership of our Party gener-
ally was opposed to its revival under
the old leadership and policies.
We considered the Second Interna-
tional as dead and that after its re-
vival its member parties consisted
only of those which had expressly
declared their affiliation. This the
Socialist Party of the United States
never did. On the contrary, we
approved and adopted the Zimmer-
wald program. Owing to conditions
in this country, it was impossible for
us to hold a National Convention

Are You A Socialist?

By **Otto Branstetter**
CHAPTER V

USED FOR EXPLOITATION

We are not opposed to private ownership as such. We are opposed to the private ownership of the means of production because such private ownership gives the power of exploitation. We demand collective ownership because it would stop exploitation. That is the only reason and the only purpose. We do not want collective ownership for the sake of collective ownership. We are not fetish worshipers. It is results we want. If it can be shown that the private ownership of certain means of production does not give the power of exploitation, then we do not want to collectively own them.

A sewing machine is a means of production. The private ownership of a sewing machine and its use in your own home for domestic purposes, gives you no power of exploitation over any other person. There is no reason why you should not be allowed to privately own a sewing machine. But the private ownership of a sewing machine factory gives you the power of exploitation over all the men who work in that factory and make sewing machines; it gives you the power of exploitation, through extortionate prices, over the people who have to buy and use sewing machines. The private ownership of a sewing machine gives no power of exploitation but the private ownership of a sewing machine factory gives the power of exploitation over the men who make machines and the people who use machines, over the public generally. For our mutual benefit and protection we must collectively own the sewing machine factories while we may privately own the sewing machines. We must collectively own the plow factories, while we may privately own the plows.

If you want to know exactly which means of production would be privately and which collectively owned under Socialism, you do not have to ask some Socialist to tell you. If you have never heard a Socialist speech and never read a Socialist book, you can tell as well as we can tell you. It is only necessary to examine into the nature of the property and the use to which it is put. Think of any property that you wish, it matters not what it is or where. If the private ownership of the property you have in mind, and the use to which you put it, would simply conduce to your own personal welfare, comfort or convenience, without giving you the power of exploitation over any other person, you may privately own it. But if the private ownership of the property in question would give you the power to take from some other man the product of his labor, or give you the power to deny other men the right to work, then you can't privately own it. That property is used for exploitation and

after our entry into the war so that no action was or could be taken by a National Convention of our organization. However, our first National Convention thereafter, held in September, 1919, passed a resolution making application for admission to the Moscow International. We feel that the position of our Party was quite well known and that under no circumstances are we morally obliged for the assessments for the year 1919.

Motion by Gerber: That the Executive Secretary request a report from Comrade Hillquit on the International situation. **Adopted.**

Communication read from the British Labor Party inviting our participation in a conference looking to the formation of an all embracing International.

Motion by Henry: That the Executive Secretary be instructed to reply informing them of the resolution recently adopted at Detroit and the impossibility of our accepting their invitation under the circumstances. **Adopted.**

Motion by Gerber: That we comply with their request to furnish report of bills introduced in Congress dealing with International affairs and that the Executive Secretary be instructed to furnish such information. **Adopted.**

Russian Relief

Motion by Brandt: That a committee of two be elected to draft motions on the subject of Russian Relief. **Adopted.** Gerber and Oneal elected.

Jewish Federation

Motion by Henry: That Gerber be appointed a committee of one to consult with local comrades of the Jewish Federation and report on the situation within the Federation. **Adopted.**

Finnish Federation

A communication was read from Comrade Makela, Secretary of the Finnish Organization and Propaganda Committee.

Motion by Gerber: That the present organization and Propaganda Committee of the Finnish Federation be continued and that the National Executive Committee appropriate one hundred dollars a month for organization expense in lieu of the secretary's salary. **Adopted.**

The Executive Secretary reported that report of the recent convention held by the branches affiliated with the Finnish Organization and Propaganda Committee not having been received, it was uncertain whether

will be collectively owned by the whole people under Socialism.

It is important that you consider not only the property, but also the use to which it is put. I have said that you might privately own a sewing machine if you used it in your own home for domestic purposes because when used in that way, it is not a means of exploitation. But if you take that machine and others, place them in a shop or factory and hire girls to operate them, making clothing for the market, you are using them for exploitation. Through the ownership of those sewing machines you will succeed in exploiting those sewing girls out of the largest portion of the value of their product. We will therefore take over and collectively own the sewing machines in the great overall, garment and clothing factories, while allowing individuals to privately own the sewing machines which they use for domestic purposes.

If you are the owner of a farm and you live upon that farm and cultivate it, if you use that farm as a home and a place of employment for yourself for the purpose of producing wealth in the sweat of your face, you will not be disturbed. You will be secured in your right to the exclusive possession, use and occupancy of that farm. The only thing the Socialists want to do to you is to free you from the robbery of the privately owned railroad, machinery, elevator and commission companies and to secure for you the full social value of the products which you produce and turn over to society. But if you do not cultivate the farm yourself, if you hire wage labor, or rent it out to tenants, or hold it idle for speculation, you are using it for exploitation and will have to surrender your title to society.

Socialism comes to stop the exploitation of the workers. It matters not whether you are the exploiter of ten thousand men on a great railroad system, or the exploiter of a few overworked sewing girls or a miserable cotton tenant, Socialism comes to stop that exploitation, great and small; to secure to every worker, man and woman, wage earner and farmer just alike, freedom from robbery and exploitation by a privately owning master class. To secure this end we do not need the collective ownership of all means of production, but only of the means of production which are used for exploitation and must modify our definition accordingly.

Socialism is collective ownership, democratic management and co-operative use of the means of production which are USED FOR EXPLOITATION

OPERATION FOR USE

"Public ownership" or "government ownership" is not Socialism. That is why Socialists use the word "Collective" ownership — to our minds it conveys something essentially different from what is com-

they had elected to retain their present form or to ask for a charter as a regular Federation. The Secretary was instructed that in the latter case, an appropriation of one hundred dollars a month will be allowed them for organizing expense in lieu of the secretary's salary.

Amnesty

Report of Comrade Lilith Martin on the Amnesty work in Washington.

Motion by Henry: That the report be accepted and approved. **Adopted.**

Language Federations

The Executive Secretary reported that since July 1st no wages had been paid to the Translator-Secretaries still affiliated with the Party but that a monthly appropriation equal to the amount of dues stamps purchased had been made in lieu of wages.

Motion by Oneal: That the action of the Secretary be approved and that the method be continued with the provision that the amount refunded to any one Federation in a single month shall not be in excess of \$30.00 per week. **Adopted.**

Motion by Brandt: That the Translator-Secretaries be instructed to make their monthly reports to the Executive Secretary promptly on the first of the month and to the State Secretaries with remittances for the previous month's dues not later than the 10th. **Adopted.**

Motion by Gerber: That a committee be appointed to study the question of the Language Federations and the general subject of organization and propaganda among the foreign speaking population and make a report and recommendations to the next meeting of the Committee. **Adopted.**

It is requested that they formulate their recommendations suitably for insertion on the Agenda of the next National Convention. Comrades U. Solomon, Julius Gerber and B. C. Vladeck elected.

Communication from Comrade Saltzman, Secretary of the Jewish Federation, regarding the auditing committee appointed by this committee. Matter referred to Executive Secretary with instructions to bring it before the Committee following the Federation convention.

Amnesty

Communication read from the Civil Liberties Union reference the employment of a person to take charge of the amnesty office in Washington.

monly known as government ownership.

Government ownership, under a capitalist government, is of no particular benefit to the working class. They had government ownership of the railroads in Russia during the regime of the late Czar—but it was of no special benefit to the working people in that nation.

In order for government ownership to benefit the common people, the common people must own and dominate the government. If the government is owned and controlled by a feudal nobility, as it was in Russia, or by a capitalist class, as it is in America, then the common people will not be benefitted.

The feudal nobility, or the capitalist financiers, might just as well own the railroads as to own the government which owns the railroads. The only way that government ownership can ever benefit the working class is for the working class to own and control and dominate the government.

Even then it MIGHT not benefit them. I can conceive of a more democratic government than we now have, a government more democratic than any now existing, in which government ownership of railroads would be of no benefit to the workers. It would depend upon the object and purpose with which they chose to operate their governmentally owned industries.

Suppose we had government ownership here in America. And suppose we had a much more democratic government than we have and that you, the common people, were actually controlling and dictating the politics of that government.

And suppose you decided to operate the publicly owned railroads at a profit in order to pay interest on the purchasing bonds, or, in order to raise the operating expenses of the government as a whole and thus reduce the taxes of the propertied classes. Under those circumstances you would derive no benefit from the ownership and operation of those railroads.

What you object to in the private ownership of railroads and other industries is their operation for PROFIT. Their operation, not for the use and benefit of the public, but primarily for the purpose of making profits for their private owners.

Well, what difference does it make whether the railroads are operated for profit by a group of capitalists, or operated for profit by the government? The profit comes from the same place in either case—the only place profit can come from—out of the wealth produced by the working class. And it takes just as much sweat to produce a dollar profit for Uncle Sam as it does to produce a dollar profit for Uncle Morgan or Uncle Rockefeller.

No, you have to cut the profits altogether. You have to operate the railroads at the cost of production—for the use and benefit of the employees and the

Motion by Melms: That the Secretary be instructed to reply that it is impossible for us to give a positive reply with out more definite information as to the expense involved, but that as a general policy, the Committee feels it is necessary that whoever officially represents our Committee in Washington be a member of our organization. **Adopted.**

Prison Comfort Club

Motion by Brandt: That the Prison Comfort Club work be revived and continued. **Adopted.**

Communication read from Mrs. Eberle of Oklahoma, wife of a political prisoner.

Motion by Henry: That the assistance be granted. **Adopted.**

Communication read from George Stein, a political prisoner at Leavenworth, Kans. The Secretary was instructed to refer it to the I. W. W. Headquarters.

Y. P. S. L.

Communication read from Comrade Weisbord, Director of the Y. P. S. L., and reply of the Executive Secretary.

Motion by Henry: That the Secretary's interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution affecting the Y. P. S. L. be accepted as that of the Committee. **Adopted.**

Motion by Brandt: That the voluntary assessment stamp to be sold for the benefit of the Y. P. S. L. be issued on November 1st. **Adopted.**

Motion by Oneal: That we postpone the question of calling a National Convention of the Y. P. S. L. until the next meeting of the Committee. **Adopted.**

By motion, the Committee adjourned to meet at 9 a. m. Monday morning.

Morning Session, Monday, Aug. 29

All members present.

Comrade Martin elected Chairman for the Day.

Communication from Comrade Caleb Lipscomb of the State Executive Committee of the State of Missouri. Action deferred, to be taken up with Finance and Organization.

Motion by Melms: That the plan for a children's delegation to Washington in behalf of Amnesty be endorsed and the Secretary be instructed to make preliminary arrangements—no definite arrangements to be made until later action by the Committee. **Adopted.**

Motion by Gerber: That Comrade Maurer be sent to Atlanta to see Comrade Debs immediately upon

public—not for the purpose of making profits to be paid to a master class either as dividends on stock or interest on government bonds. You must operate the railroads for USE and NOT for profit.

Another, and perhaps equally important reason why we must cut out the operation for profit is that such operation is responsible for all the commercial fraud, trickery and adulteration practiced upon the American people at the present time.

Shoes with paper soles, or other shoddy material, or inferior workmanship are not made for USE, they are made to SELL—at a PROFIT for the manufacturer.

Impure and adulterated drugs, which may possibly cost the life of your wife or baby, are not made to cure people. They are made to SELL at a PROFIT for the manufacturer.

And so it is in every industry. There is not a single privately owned industry in America which is operated primarily for the use and benefit of the people. Every one of them—without exception, is operated primarily for the purpose of making PROFITS for the private owners.

Production for PROFIT is directly responsible for all the shoddy goods and all the commercial trickery and deception practiced upon the people by the private owners. We have to cut out this operation for profit, we must operate our industries for the use and benefit of the people—not for the purpose of making profits for private owners.

Under Socialism we will manufacture shoes to wear—you are going to wear them and I am going to wear them, and we won't put paper soles in our own shoes. We will make shoes to WEAR—shoes for USE and not for profit.

Our publicly owned food factories will manufacture food to EAT. We and our families are going to eat it, we will not cheat ourselves, or poison ourselves with poisonous preservatives or coloring matter. We will manufacture good food, clean food, in the most up-to-date, sanitary factories we can construct, food to eat—not food for profit.

Our publicly owned drug factories will manufacture drugs to cure folks. The lives of our wives and babies may depend upon the purity of these drugs and we will take no chances with the lives of our loved ones. The best and purest drugs that our chemists can possibly produce will be the ONLY kind ever turned out of a publicly owned drug factory operated for use and not for profit.

And so with every other industry, we are going to cut out the profit system altogether, we are going to operate the collectively owned industries for the benefit of the people who own and operate them—not for the purpose of making profits for a privately owning master class.

adjournment of this meeting as a representative of the Committee. **Adopted.**

Motion by Brandt: That upon reconvening of Congress, Comrade Lith Martin return to Washington to continue the Amnesty work. **Adopted.**

Convention of the Jewish Federation

Motion by Gerber: That Comrade Branstetter attend the Convention of the Jewish Federation in his capacity as Executive Secretary and as official representative of the National Executive Committee. **Adopted.**

Organization

Motion by Brandt: That Oneal, Maurer and Branstetter be appointed to draft communications in connection with the proposed conference ordered by the National Convention. **Adopted.**

Communication read from Dr. Superior of New Jersey.

Motion by Oneal: That the communication be received and filed, and the Secretary be instructed to reply that the Committee does not deem the plan proposed practical. **Adopted.**

Communication read from Local Buffalo, asking financial assistance in their local campaign.

Motion by Gerber: That we appropriate 50,000 leaflets and refer the application for financial assistance to the State Committee of New York. **Adopted.**

The Executive Secretary is instructed to secure the services of Mayor Hoan and other comrades as speakers during their local campaign.

Motion by Maurer: That the recommendations of the Executive Secretary be concurred in and that we revoke the charters of the State Organizations of Delaware, Georgia, Minnesota, Nevada, Rhode Island, Virginia, West Virginia and Wyoming—all of these states having an average membership of less than one hundred for the past seven months. **Adopted.**

Communications read from Comrade Daniel, Secretary of Local Des Moines, regarding the lawlessness of the American Legion in regard to the Hazlett meetings.

Motion by Oneal: That the Secretary be instructed to reply that the Committee does not deem it advisable to institute court proceedings in these cases at the present time.—**Adopted.**

Socialism is the collective ownership, democratic management and co-operative use of the means of production used for exploitation; and the operation of such industries **FOR USE AND NOT FOR PROFIT.**



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to the

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NOW!



Motion by Maurer: That Oneal prepare a leaflet dealing with the American Legion. **Adopted.**

Executive Secretary reported on the work of Comrades Claessens, Hazlett, Snow, Aldrich and Friedman, now working under the direction of the National Office.

Motion by Melms: That the recommendations of the Secretary be approved and that speakers and organizers working under the direction of the National Office without guarantee of compensation, either for wages or expenses, be allowed one dollar a day, to be paid by the National Office in literature. **Adopted.**

By Motion, the Committee adjourned until 2 p. m.

Afternoon Session, Monday Aug. 29

The Executive Secretary called attention to the action of the Convention regarding the formation of lecture and organization circuits.

Motion by Melms: That the matter be laid over until the next meeting. **Adopted.**

The Executive Secretary reported that Comrade Longuet of France is to be in America sometime next Fall and that he is communicating with him regarding the possibility of holding a number of meetings under the auspices of the Party; that Neil MacLean of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain is in Canada attending the convention of the Canadian Federation of Labor and has also been invited to speak under the auspices of our organization.

The action of the Executive Secretary is approved and he is authorized to make arrangements for tours by Comrades Longuet and MacLean if their services can be secured.

Communication read from Comrade Jack Mills of England regarding a lecture tour in America this Fall. The Secretary is instructed to reply that the expense entailed by a special trip to this country for a lecture tour is too great to justify our attempting it at the present time.

A communication read from Comrade Kennedy of Mississippi, recommending an advertising campaign in farm papers with wide circulation.

The Executive Secretary submitted copies of various publications and their advertising rates.

(To be Concluded in October Issue)

PROPOSED REFERENDUMS

By Local Berks Co., Pa.

Second publication. First publication in Socialist World, Aug. 15th.

Motion

Amend Article IX, Sec. 6 (a) of the National Constitution to read as follows:

Sec. 6 (a) The dues of members of the Socialist Party shall be 25 cents per month, which shall be divided as follows: To the National organization, 7 cents; to the State organization, 8 cents; to the County or City organization, 5 cents; and to Branch organization, 5 cents. In counties or cities where there is no central organization, the county dues shall be paid to the State organization.

Seconds

Local Berks Co., Pa., 200 members; American Br., Erie, Pa., 35 members; New Castle, Pa., 18; West Philadelphia, Pa., 92; Lebanon, Pa., 11; Fayette City, Pa., 9; Williamsport, Pa., 15; Br. No. 1, Local Essex County, N. J., 100; Central Br., Local Lehigh, Allentown, Pa., 80; Coolspring Br., Local Uniontown, Pa., 15; Lester M. Manbeck, M. A. L., Lewistown, Pa., 1; Elizabeth, N. J., 40; Local Iola, Kan., 20; Morton Br., Media, Pa., 5; Local Yonkers, N. Y., 30; North Side German Br., Chicago, Ill., 40; Local Mercer, Trenton, N. J., 18; Local Massillon, Ohio, 20; Local Dayton, Ohio, 92; Max Burgholzer, M. A. L., Stevenson, Wash., 1; Local Canton, Ill., 12; Br. Orange, Local Essex County, N. J., 10; Steelton Br., Pa., 11; Local Vigo, West Terre Haute, Ind., 45. Total, 920.

By 10th Ward Branch, Local St. Louis

The 10th Ward Branch, Local St. Louis, with 24 members in good standing, at a regular membership meeting of the branch, moves to amend Article 4, Section 10, and Article 9, Section 6 (a) of the National Constitution to read as follows:

Art. 4, Sec. 10. The National membership dues as provided in this constitution shall be \$1.00

per year, 60 cents of which is for one year's subscription to the monthly publication of the National Office, to be known as the Socialist World, and shall be so applied by the Executive Secretary.

Art. 9, Sec. 6 (a). The dues of the members to be paid to the Socialist Party shall be not less than one dollar per quarter, and shall be divided as follows: To the National organization, 25 cents; to the State organization, 25 cents; to the County or City organization, 25 cents; to the Branch organization, 25 cents; in counties or cities where there is no central organization, the County dues shall be paid to the State organization. Members paying dues for less than three months—one quarter—shall be charged 35 cents per stamp. At least one dollar, 1 quarter's dues, must accompany each application for membership.

Comment

There is quite a widespread desire for the reduction of dues. Local Berks Co., Pa., has introduced a resolution to reduce them to 25 cents. That reduction is too much. Furthermore, they fix the maximum amount. Ours is the minimum.

One outstanding fact confronts us. Supplies of all kinds used by all divisions of our party cost double what they did five years ago, with very little change in sight. The greater reduction, the more we must beg.

Quarterly Dues. Under normal conditions, four-fifths of our members pay for two or more months at a time; hence, no great radical change, except for the better. Less work for the branches and small locals. Dues stamps 24 to a book instead of 20 would not allow any confusion.

None should be allowed to join the party unless their initial payment is at least one dollar. Thousands in the past have paid 25 cents and quit.

By Local Springfield, Mo.

Local Springfield, Socialist Party of Missouri, with fifty-five members in good standing, at a regular meeting moves to amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party as follows:

By striking out Sec. 10,

Art. 4 in its entirety and by striking out Sub-Sec. A, Sec. 6, Art. 9 and by inserting in its place the following, itself to be known as Sub-section A, Sec. 6, Art. 9:

"Membership dues of the Socialist Party shall be as follows:—One dollar upon application for membership, sixty cents of which shall apply in payment of a one year subscription of the National Publication, fifteen cents shall go to the National Office as revenue for the use of the National Executive Committee and twenty-five cents to the Local Treasury for a regular monthly membership dues stamp; twenty-five cents per month thereafter (five cents of which shall go to the National Office, ten cents to the State Office and ten cents to the Local Treasury), until this section shall have been changed or amended by a majority vote of the entire membership. Local organizations to determine the part of their income that shall go to branch organizations."

Comment:

You will note that this amendment provides a definite sum to be collected for a subscription to the "Socialist World." The advantage of this plan is that it puts the "Socialist World" on its merits and provides for a fund to pay for the publication. The plan will accumulate a sum of money in advance which will not all be needed at once for the publication of the paper. Let us illustrate: Say the sum of \$1,000 is accumulated in advance. This money can be invested in U. S. securities or other marketable paper to an extent that seems advisable and will yield income until it is needed to pay for the

(Cont. on page 16)

RESOLUTION ON AMNESTY

(Con. from page 9)

Considering that practically all the labor organizations of the United States have joined with us in the demand for amnesty for political prisoners, we emphatically urge that the millions associated with us in this cause renew their protests against this latest bar erected against a matter of simple and elementary justice.

We decline to accept the latest reason given for failure to act. It is not in accord with the known facts. It is known that one militarist organization, the American Legion, born under mysterious financial auspices; that has indulged in kidnaping of Socialist speakers; that has fostered a mob spirit and has inspired and led mobs; that has usurped the civil and police functions of many communities; that is nursed by chambers of commerce and has attempted to terrorize those not in accord with its ignorant and reactionary views, has insolently attempted to thwart the efforts of millions to restore this country to its old status as a nation where all are free to speak and to write.

This budding militarist—junker clique does not represent the present or the future. It represents the era of abysmal hatreds which it hopes to keep alive. If it gained ascendancy in the councils of the nation it would suppress every civil right with the bayonet as the strutting militarist caste did in the old Germany. It represents darkness, not light; ignorance, not intelligence; stupidity, not tolerance; militarist bureaucracy, not enlightened humanity.

We again call upon the organized masses, and all others sympathetic with us, to renew a relentless campaign for all political prisoners who are shamelessly caged in the federal prisons. Resolutions of protest and popular demonstrations should continue until these modern martyrs of the human mind unshackled again walk the streets free to speak, write and think as they will.

(Cont. from page 15)

publication of the paper. In the past, subscriptions have been placed on the books and the paper sent for months with only five cents paid. It has been a source of continuous loss. Our plan makes it a source of gain from the beginning.

In addition to the above, our plan provides for an income of fifteen cents for each new member to the National Office, which will go a long way toward defraying current expenses. Further, this plan puts the monthly dues back to twenty-five cents, which will undoubtedly help to increase the membership.

By Local Springfield, Mo.

Local Springfield, Mo., with 55 members in good standing, at a regular meeting moves to

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LAUNCHES ANOTHER DAILY IN GENOA, ITALY

Despite the difficulties which the Socialist Party must face at present, chiefly the unemployment prevalent throughout Italy, the National Executive Committee has decided to begin the publication of the *Avanti* in Genoa, a large seaport and industrial city, to meet the demands of the local workers, who had long desired a Socialist daily in that city.

Therefore, the *Avanti* is now published in three editions, in Rome, Milan and Genoa.

The Socialist Party has also bought the humorous magazine "Osino" (Donkey) which now becomes a PARTY OWNED magazine.

Membership reduced from 58,000 to 19,000.

What was predicted by the Socialists last January, after the secession of the Communists from the Socialists in order to form a party of their own, has come true. The Communists who claimed to control 58,000 members of the old party and the revolutionary masses of the kingdom, are now reduced to 19,000, in spite of the fact that they have been recognized as the Italian section by the Communist International, while the Socialist Party has been repudiated and branded as a traitor party.

The Communistic influence is also on the wane in the labor unions. In the city of Schio, which was considered one of their strongholds, the Communists recently called the textile workers out on strike without first consulting the Union leaders, who are Socialists. The Communists claimed they represented the will of the Textile Workers. A referendum vote was ordered to decide the issue and the result was 181 for the strike and 1,300 against it and for the Socialist policy.

Many similar incidents showing the tide turning against the Communists are happening in Italy, yet the Communists cry "We represent the Italian revolutionary proletariat."

amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party as follows:

By adding to Sec. 8, Art. 4, to be known as Sub-section (c), the following paragraph:

"The Committee shall incur no debts for any purpose whatever, but shall accumulate funds by the regular processes before any expenditures are made."

Notice

There are now three constitutional amendments proposed for referendum providing for a reduction of the dues. The motion by Local Berks County, Pa., published in the last issue, has already received quite a number of seconds. In case it receives the required number of seconds and is submitted to

referendum it would be very confusing to submit one or both of the motions by St. Louis and Springfield a month later, while the Berks County motion was still pending.

If more than one of these motions are to be submitted, they should be submitted at the same time as alternative propositions. Locals and branches are therefore requested to consider these three propositions, and if they desire to second any of them to do so promptly in order that they may all be submitted on one ballot, if they are to be submitted at all.

Under the provisions of Sec. 1, Art. IX, of the National Party Constitution, seconds representing a membership of 2124 must be received in order to initiate these referendums.

(To be Concluded in October Issue)