

SOCIALIST WORLD

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What Is The Matter With Our America?

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

Is there anything wrong with our America? Do you think that conditions in our country are as perfect as the newspapers try to make us believe that they are?

Stop and think for a few minutes. Don't you know that even while millions of men are out of work throughout the country, while many more are on short time, and while many others are striking to prevent the bosses from reducing their wages to the starvation point or smashing their unions, rich people are still living as luxuriously as ever, usually on money which they don't earn by useful work but get as income on their wealth? Usually people who get their income from wealth merely inherited the great wealth from which they get their money instead of earning it.

People who do the longest, hardest and most unpleasant work get the least wages, those who do the easiest and most pleasant work get larger salaries, and those who do not work at all but simply own great wealth get the greatest incomes of all. Is that just? Is it fair?

If you think it is not right that people who are capable of doing useful work by hand or brain should get an income without working you agree with the Socialists.

How can some people get big incomes apart from the work they do except by legalized robbery of those who do work by hand or brain? The truth is that the rich class, which includes the landlords, employers, bankers, manufacturers and profiteers get their money by legalized robbery of the working class, because instead of working for a living, they get their money by owning the means of production, distribution and exchange. People like landlords, employers, bankers, manufacturers and profiteers who all get their money by owning instead of working are called Capitalists.

The trouble with our America is that the capitalist class have far too much wealth and power, which keeps on rolling up and increasing by re-

investment, while the working class have far too little wealth and power, and what little they have they are likely to lose by sickness, unemployment or old age. The capitalist class, or the rich, who have too much wealth and power, are a small minority, but they are well organized into chambers of Commerce, Manufacturers' Associations and Bankers' Associations. Above all, they control the newspapers and the Republican and Democratic parties. The working class, who have too little wealth and power are the great majority, but they are often unorganized, or organized only into craft unions which tend to keep the workers divided and to waste their power. Above all, the workers are fooled into voting for parties controlled by their class enemies instead of for the working class party, the Socialists.

The one real, big political issue in America today is between the capitalist class, a small minority who have too much wealth and power, and the working class, the great majority, who have too little. Other issues are only put forth by politicians to fool the workers and thus prevent them from thinking about the real issue. The real issue is between the haves and the have-nots. You can't be for both the rich and the poor. You can't be faithful both to the interests of the capitalist class or the bankers and employers, and the working class. You can't represent both the landlord and the tenant, the profiteers and the consumers. Any politician who says he can represent both groups is either a liar or a fool.

Why are the capitalist class rich and the workers poor? The rich are rich because they own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange, which are things like mines, mills, factories, workshops, railroads, ships and banks. By owning these things the capitalist class own the jobs of the workers and so control the workers' only means of livelihood. When the workers don't produce big incomes for the capitalist, the

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"THE DEVIL A MONK WOULD BE"

In Chicago, and presumably in other cities, Socialist party members and former party members not now affiliated with any organization, have been approached by members of the Workers' Party with the proposition of calling Unity conferences for the purpose of voicing the sentiment of the "rank and file" for a unity of all Socialist organizations. The plea is made that the "rank and file" of all groups are anxious for unity, but that the officials of the Socialist Party, being crooks and grafters and yellow Socialists are preventing such unity. It is therefore necessary for the "rank and file" to get together and express themselves. Up to the present time they haven't gotten together in Chicago, due to the fact that the unaffiliated Socialist is not particularly interested, and if he is, he represents no one but himself,—while the Socialist Party members greet the proposition with a merry ha, ha.

The proposition is certainly "rank and wild", coming from the bunch of disruptionists and disorganizers, who composed the Communist Party, and are now masquerading as the Workers Party. This new departure of the Communists is a reflex of the changed attitude of the Communist International. Having failed in their efforts to build up a revolutionary working class organization by attacking and attempting to destroy all such organizations in existence, they have at last come to their senses and are making overtures for Unity not only to the independent Socialist Parties and the Vienna International, but even to the Second International... While these overtures are a confession of weakness and of failure, there is nothing to indicate that they have abandoned their un-Socialistic theories, or despotic and destructive tactics. It has all the appearance of an effort to save their faces and rehabilitate themselves in the good opinion of the Socialists of the world, in order to resume their destructive tactics when the time again seems opportune. . . .

"When the Devil was sick, the Devil a Monk would be; when the Devil was well, the devil a Monk was he."

So far as the situation in America is concerned, the Communists are correct in saying that any proposition of Unity with them would be opposed by the officials of the Socialist Party, and not only by the officials, but by a great majority of the membership. A few sentimentalists, whose emotions are stronger than their judgment, might be in favor of unity with the Communist Party, but not the majority of the membership. We have had too much experience with these gentry,

and know them too well, not only individually, but as a type. They are a detriment to any organization they join.

The Socialist Party could do nothing which would delay its recuperation more than to recognize and unite with the Communist Party. There are some well-meaning comrades who profess to see no difference between the programs and declarations of the Socialist Party and the Workers' Party. These comrades seem to be unaware, or ignore the fact that the Workers' Party is merely an alias for the Communist Party, and that it was organized and is controlled and dominated by the Communist Party. The Workers Party is merely the legal, above ground organization of the underground Communist Party. There is nothing in the declarations of either of those organizations to indicate that the Communists have renounced their former beliefs.

They still stand for the Communist International.

They still stand for the 21 points.

They stand for a secret underground organization.

They are opposed to Democracy, and are in favor of dictatorship by minorities.

The Socialist Party's position is the opposite on each of these points. It creates an irreconcilable difference in theory, principles and tactics. There has been a conflict between Anarchism and Socialism since the organization of the First International. This conflict will no doubt continue. Socialism can make no peace with the theories of Anarchism, or with its advocates. Despite the differences that exist between Communism, Syndicalism and Anarchism, they are all equally hostile to the principles of Socialism, and destructive of all those things for which Socialism stands. Now, when the Communists in this country have about run their course, and have shown their utter inability to reach the working class on account of the criminal idiocy of their theories and their methods, it would be the height of folly for the Socialist Party to give them a new lease of life by even considering or discussing the possibility of uniting with them. No such unity is possibly or desirable; no such unity will take place.

Those honest comrades who were misled by the lies and brain-storms of the misguided fanatics, government agents and ambitious, embryo Lenins comprising the leadership of the Communist party know where the Socialist Party stands—where it has always stood. If they realize how they were misled and deceived and are ready to renounce made to order revolutions, secret organizations, the 21 points and the rest of the insane ravings emanating from the Communist International and wish to unite with the Socialists, they know how it can be done.

All that is necessary is for them to fill out an application for membership in the Socialist Party and present it to the nearest party local. If their record is not too obnoxious they will no doubt be accepted. The doors of the party, now as always, are wide open to all honest Socialists.

Anarchists and Communists, either honest or dishonest, need not apply.

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bankers and the employers, in the form of rent, interest, dividends and profits, the capitalist class under the present system can fire them and refuse to let them work at all until starvation forces them to accept a big cut in wages. So long as the capitalist class control the workers' jobs, the workers are not truly free. The workers are poor because someone else controls their jobs, and so the only freedom that they have is to leave one boss and go hunt another.

If the workers demand the full value of what they produced under the present system, they would be fired by the capitalists. This will always happen so long as the capitalist class are permitted to own and control the jobs of the workers by owning and controlling the means of production and exchange. The Socialist Party wants to put that ownership and control into the hands of all the workers together. Then the rich

capitalist class would get less and have to work more and the working class would get more and have to work less. Wouldn't that be fairer than paying big incomes to those who do not work but only own, as we do today?

Socialists don't want to "divide up." We want all the people together to own the mines, mills, factories, railroads and banks etc. for the good of all the people collectively, just as all the people together own the parks, schools, roads and public libraries already. Anyone who says that the Socialists want to divide up is either mistaken or lying. If he is lying he probably is a paid liar; if he is mistaken he has probably been fooled by some paid liar.

The trouble with our America is that it isn't ours. It belongs to the landlords and capitalists, the bankers and employers. Make it ours. Join your union and the Socialist Party.

Where I Stand--And Why

By EMIL HERMAN

While a prisoner at McNeil's Island Penitentiary the censorship of the Department of Justice in vogue at that institution prevented me from keeping myself fully informed regarding the programs and activities of the various parties and groups into which the Socialist Movement of this country had divided, so the natural and logical thing for me was to remain neutral until I should have an opportunity to investigate, analyze and decide where to affiliate.

That is how it happens that I was unaffiliated with any of the organizations claiming to represent the interests and the revolutionary aspirations and ideals of the working-class in the United States when I was released from prison on December 24th last, after having served three years, four and one-half months of the ten years sentence imposed against me under the Espionage Act.

Since my return from prison I have made a careful survey of the Labor-Movement and of the different political and economic groups into which it is divided and have arrived at the following conclusions:

1. It is apparent to me that the programs of the Communist-Labor and the Communist Parties which resulted from the ill-advised left-wing split from the Socialist Party were in great part written by agents of the Department of Justice and that this was true to a still greater extent of the Program of the United Communist Party which was a fusion of the two first mentioned organizations. They swallowed hook, bait and line of the programs imposed upon them and having adopted the illegal programs were, of course, driven underground. Since then the rank and file of the United Communist Party (who, without doubt, have at all times been honest in their intentions) have joined with a few other groups in organizing the Workers Party and have adopted a program which is open, above-

board and legal and in no important respect different from that of the Socialist Party, of which they were formerly members, except that it recognizes the 3rd International while the Socialist Party has (to my mind) taken the correct and consistent position of remaining unaffiliated until such time as the program of one of the several Internationals is so modified as to make it practical for a revolutionary political organization in the United States to become a unit thereof.

2. Thus, the left-wing off-shoot from the Socialist Party, having made the illegal and ill-fated underground attempt to organize the workers revolutionary activity through the United Communist Party now recognize their mistake, return above ground in the Workers Party and find themselves advocating practically the same program which they formerly advocated through the Socialist Party and which the Socialist Party STILL advocates.

3. The platform of the Farmer-Labor Party, wherein it is vital and of importance to farmers and working people, is merely a repetition of Socialist-Party principles. The Farmer-Labor Party, composed largely of former members of the Socialist Party, would probably never have been organized had not many socialists who left the Socialist Party in disgust, because of the incompetent handling of party affairs which developed into left wing fiasco, wanted a political party through which to express themselves during the campaign of 1920. This party, like the Workers Party and several other labor groups, has signified its willingness to unite with the Socialist Party in the formation of a federated labor party for the purpose of united political action by the working class and those in sympathy with their aims.

4. The Socialist-Labor Party, while its aim is the same as that of the Socialist Party, i. e., the emancipation of labor and the establishing of the

co-operative commonwealth, will probably continue (though I hope not) in its well known attitude of refusing to join in any effort to form a federal labor party and a result will continue its separate existence as a small, critical and comparatively ineffective group.

Having taken an active (and I hope important) part in the Socialist Movement for over twenty-five years it is impossible for me to be a quitter in this time of crises and imminent change. I feel that I must affiliate with that political party which most nearly conforms to my conception of what a political party of labor ought to be

and which is making a serious effort to unite all revolutionary and progressive forces into one organization for the purpose of making common cause against the forces of reaction and oppression which are mercilessly exploiting the working people of our country. After careful consideration I have concluded that that party is the Socialist Party and have decided to join Local Seattle at their next meeting. I will again give the best service of which I am capable, and be permitted to give, to build up a powerful political party with which we will march forward to victory and the co-operative commonwealth.

Trade Unionism and Political Action

A Plain Talk to Trade Unionists.

(This article is published as a leaflet by the British Labor Party. The splendid argument is equably applicable to the United States.—Ed.)

WHY YOU BECAME A TRADE UNIONIST

You became a Trade Unionist because you are a worker. You work for wages. You have to sell your labor in order to provide a living for yourself and your family. You sell your labor for wages. Your employers give the lowest wages they can make you accept. You joined the Trade Union because it set out to get higher wages for you and your fellow-workers.

But you wanted much more than wages. You wanted a shorter working day. You wanted better conditions in the workshop and the factory, in the field and the mine. You wanted protection against accidents whilst at work. When you were out of work you did not want to starve. To get these things you joined your Trade Union. Without the Trade Union you knew you would not get any of them.

YOUR UNION IS YOUR STRENGTH.

As an individual worker you had to take the wage offered by your employer. It was your trade Union that fixed your standard wage. Your Union got the number of working hours reduced. It forced your employers to introduce protective regulations to lessen the possibility of accident whilst you were working. It made collective bargains, in the name of yourself and your fellow members, which gave you higher wages and better conditions.

TRADE UNIONISM TAUGHT THREE LESSONS.

First.—That wages and working conditions are important things for the workman.

Second.—That to advance wages and improve conditions workmen must act together.

Third.—That by combined action in the past Trade Union workmen have obtained great benefits.

TRADE UNIONISM IMPLIES POLITICS.

Trade Unions were once illegal bodies. Your

right to form Trade Unions was gained by political action. The powers exercised by your Union are legal powers. They are secured by law—and laws are made by Parliament.

The Right to Combine, the Right to Strike, the Right to Picket, the Right to Draw Strike Pay from the funds of your Union—all these Rights were wrung from Parliament. As Parliament gave these Rights, Parliament can take them away.

The best way to protect your rights as a Trade Unionist is to combine with other Trade Unionists to control Parliament. That means Labor must take part in politics. It means a Labor Party.

THE TRADE UNIONS CREATED THE LABOR PARTY

As a Trade Unionist you will agree that it would be the height of folly to leave in the hands of capitalist employers the political power which could be used to destroy your Trade Unions.

Remember the Taff Vale Decision and the Osborne Judgment. Parliament was compelled to restore the rights which were destroyed. It was Labor in Parliament that insisted upon those judgments being reversed. If the Trade Unionists had not had the Labor Party to fight their battle in parliament the legal powers of the Unions would not be what they are now.

THE TRADE UNIONS WON A POLITICAL VICTORY.

From this experience, Trade Unionists learned three lessons:

First.—That Trade Unions rest upon political sanctions.

Second.—That the capitalist employers, with the help of the Law Courts, are always trying to limit the powers of the Trade Unions.

Third.—That Labor must always be on the alert to protect itself, and must not hand over

the control of Parliament to the employers and their class, who adopt political action to protect their interests.

TRADE UNIONISTS ARE ALSO CITIZENS.

Political action is necessary for the workers, not merely to protect their rights as Trade Unionists. The workers are also citizens. They are affected by all the laws passed by parliament. Temperance, Small Holdings, Taxation, Old Age pensions, concern you as much as the laws dealing with Workmen's Compensation, Coal Mines Regulation, Trade Boards, Minimum Wages, Hours, Unemployment Insurance, Employment Exchanges.

All these new laws affect you either as a worker or as a citizen. Laws are made which affect your home and your family. You have a right to say what those laws shall be.

But if Trade Unionists leave political action to Landlords and Capitalists they cannot expect legislation to be made in their interest. The workers formed Trade Unions to protect themselves as citizens and to promote the happiness and welfare of their families.

There is a further important point—

PARLIAMENT DEALS WITH INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

Every industrial question sooner or later becomes a political question. Industrial disputes are discussed in Parliament. They are often settled by direct action of the government. That is why Labor must be in Parliament and in control of the Government.

And the laws that affect you as a Trade Unionist and as a citizen have to be administered. A good law can be spoiled by bad administration. Unless the workers are directly represented in Parliament they have no way of correcting the abuses of administration or official neglect of the laws.

POLITICAL ACTION IS AS IMPORTANT AS TRADE UNION ACTION.

It is as suicidal for Labor to neglect Political Action as it would be to neglect Trade Unionism. Both are necessary. The one without the other loses half its value. Trade Unionism and Political Action are like the two blades of a pair of scissors.

Every political question is a workers' question. Politics can no longer be regarded as a game of "Ins and Outs" played by the Landlord and Capitalist Parties. It is a contest between the "Haves" and the "Have Nots."

The Labor Party is the Party of the "Have Nots." It has fought their battle so vigorously that the Liberal and Tory Parties are combining against it. These Parties, representing the property classes, have learned the lesson of political combination. That is what Coalition Government means, as these Parties understand it.

TRADE UNIONISTS MUST BE POLITICALLY UNITED.

Trade Unionists must learn the lesson of unity and combined effort. They have common inter-

ests, which are promoted by their Trade Unions. They have also wider common interests that can only be promoted by the Labor Party. When you weaken the Labor Party you undo the work of the Trade Unions.

It is foolish to fight the employers as Trade Unionists and vote for them as citizens. The employers do not vote for Labor candidates. They oppose Labor Candidates. They act politically as they act industrially—against your Trade Union and against your Political Party.

MAKE YOUR TRADE UNIONISM YOUR POLITICS.

The Labor Party has grown in numbers and strength. Its influence is increasing. Once, the parties opposed to it, despised it. Now they fear it. They try to make you believe the Labor Members in Parliament are inefficient. They tell you that you are wasting money in trying to build up the Labor Party.

Do not believe them. If the Labor Party was really inefficient the other parties would not be making such frantic efforts to stop you paying the political levy. They are alarmed by the progress of the Party. So they try to deceive you with lies and false promises. For years they have been trying to divide the workers against the Labor Party. They are still trying to divide you.

If the workers remain divided, the Labor Party cannot reach its full strength. If Trade Unionists vote for Liberal and Tory employers at Elections they will never get the reforms demanded year after year by the Trades Union Congress.

Employers have reduced your wages. You have little money to spare. You must get value for every penny. But it costs you practically nothing to have a strong Labor Party. And a strong Labor Party will soon help to get higher wages.

One farthing a week from every Trade Unionist would raise a fund to pay the expenses of a Labor Candidate in every Constituency and to maintain an efficient Electoral organization which would place those Labor Candidates in Parliament.

Employers understand what this means. Do you understand it? Do you think you can afford to neglect political action?

MONTHLY PLEDGES FOR 1922

Name	Locality	Amount Per Month
PREVIOUSLY REPORTED		\$2228.50
W. R. Snow	1.00
Harry Batter	Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Swan M. Johnson	Chicago, Ill.	10.00
Samuel P. Kramer	Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Arthur L. Macomber	Chicago, Ill. ..	.50
Gus Sonburg	Canton, Ill.	1.00
H. Plaggenburg	Covington, Ky.	1.00
Dr. M. Caspe	New York City, N. Y. ..	1.00
Victor Berger	Milwaukee, Wis.	6.00
Total		\$251.00
Pledge canceled		1.00
		\$250.00

INNOCENT POLITICAL PRISONERS

By BERTHA HALE WHITE

There are twenty-two class war prisoners in Oklahoma who plead for clemency. They are asking the gentlemen at Washington for commutation of the sentences imposed upon them by the Federal courts. Some have been serving nearly five years. Some have at least five years yet to serve unless they can convince the gentlemen at Washington that they should be set free.

Twenty-two prisoners—they are the wives and children of the men sent to Leavenworth. The



Four of Jim Danley's six children—the mother is dead.

judge who sent the men to prison condemned the helpless families also, and pronounced upon them the severest sentence which may be inflicted. Indeterminate sentences at hard labor; to take up the burdens the convicted men could no longer carry; to endless toil in the fields that the scant bread of their poverty might not be denied them altogether. Children, condemned to hunger and cold. To stunted bodies. To minds clouded by the shadows of illiteracy. Sentenced, all of them, to drudgery and destitution.

Included in the twenty-two are Mrs. Benefield and her six children. They ask the gentlemen at Washington to set them free. Free from the burden they have carried since William Benefield was sent to Leavenworth nearly five years ago. They tell these gentlemen that they need him at home. But I wish they could tell them more than that.

I wish they could tell of the home where they await William Benefield's return. It is in the midst of fields, miles away from the little town of Sasakwa down in the Seminole country. It is approached by almost impassable roads. It is set in the midst of desolation. It is itself desolation indescribable. Built of logs, so low that the

door beneath the eaves will not permit you to enter without stooping. It is typical of the tenant-farmer home in Oklahoma.

I wish they could tell what life has meant to them since William Benefield went away. It was in August, and the cotton picking had not yet begun. Someway, they managed that. It paid a little of the accumulated debt necessary for the planting, the plowing and the gathering of the crop. But it left nothing for the maintenance of life until another harvest. The Benefields were good renters. They worked hard and landlords welcomed them as tenants. The bankers and others who had money to lend were glad to make new loans with a mortgaged crop as guaranty. So, they went on, season after season.

It was not so difficult in 1920. That was the banner year for the cotton raisers—the largest crop the industry has ever known. Prices were high and Mrs. Benefield and her children raised ten bales of cotton. It was a fortune to them. They could not pay all their debts, but they paid a large part of them. With another year like that things might not be so hard. Of course the children were small—too small for the grinding labor of the cotton field. They should have been in school, but it was impossible. Unless, as they hoped, the gentlemen at Washington should send William Benefield home.

But Benefield did not come home. So the



Wife and daughter of Walter Reeder



This is the rented home of Mrs. Benefield and her children who are raising cotton on shares.

children planted the cotton again. They lived in the fields throughout the hours of daylight. They knew the chilling dews of the early morning, the blinding glare of the noonday sun. They toiled just as faithfully and as hopefully as through the preceding season.

But the boll weevil came.

Instead of ten bales of cotton there was a little more than one. In 1921 the price of a bale of cotton had dropped to about \$60.00. This family of seven had less than seventy-five dollars as the result of a whole year's toil, and that was mortgaged. I wonder if any gentleman at Washington who does not favor the release of William Benefield can tell how a seventy-five dollar mortgaged cotton crop can provide seven persons with the means of life!

Mrs. Benefield and her six children, class war prisoners, are sending their plea to Washington. It is a plea that is endorsed by the thousands who desire amnesty for all political prisoners. It is a plea offered in the belief that the gentlemen at Washington will not be able to ignore the sorrow and tragedy of these piteous supplicants. The season ahead is the most ominous they have faced since William Benefield was sent away. Their need is desperate and they ask the gentlemen at Washington for the only thing that can save them. Will they grant it?

Meanwhile, William Benefield is working on a farm, also. It is the hog ranch at Leavenworth

Prison. For nearly three years he has been a "trustee." He has spent day and night at the ranch. In all that time there has never been a mark against him. He has worked every Sunday and every holiday and he is a good workman. Knowing the condition of his family, he asked for parole. It was denied. Men with bad prison records have been paroled, but they were thieves, bank robbers, white slavers. They are free to go into the world to be an influence for evil.—But William Benefield, class war prisoner, who asks that he may resume the responsibility of providing food for his own flesh and blood, is denied. He is kept in prison.

What will the gentlemen at Washington say to Mrs. Benefield's plea for his release?

Comrade Millard Price of Toledo, Ohio, has succeeded John G. Willert of Cleveland, resigned as State Secretary of Ohio. Comrade Price is a live wire. Watch OHIO!

Charles W. Noonan, State Secretary of New York, has resigned, and will be succeeded as State Secretary on April 1st by Herbert M. Merrill of Schenectady, N. Y.

Emil Herman of Washington is back in the harness again. There will soon be others. The tide has turned. The Socialist Party is coming back, bigger and stronger than ever.

A NEW AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

The National Office of the Socialist Party has sent out in its Press Service and to all affiliated organizations a communication from Eugene V. Debs addressed to all Labor Unions and organized workers, and a statement by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., outlining a plan to secure one million signatures to a petition for the release of all remaining political prisoners.

All the Federal prisoners who were convicted for their activities as members of the Socialist Party, have been released, but these releases do not lessen the interest of the Socialist Party in the question of a General Amnesty. So long as the members of the I. W. W. and other organizations are held in prison for their expressions of opinion, or for Labor Union activities, the Socialist Party membership is not safe. As a matter of self-interest, as well as a matter of principle, the Socialist Party urges the fullest support and co-operation of its membership in the Amnesty Campaign now being conducted by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

It is especially urged that the members of the Socialist Party adopt the following program:

1. **CIRCULATE THE AMNESTY PETITIONS**, secure as many signatures as possible and return them to the National Office of the Socialist Party, which will in turn deliver them to the Defense Committee of the I. W. W. for inclusion with their other signatures.

2. **URGE PRESIDENT HARDING TO GRANT AMNESTY**, either by telegram or letter. Be sure to include substantial facts as the basis for release. See note below. (7)

3. **WRITE THE SENATOR AND REPRESENTATIVES IN YOUR DISTRICT**, urging them to take steps for the release of all persons held in

prison solely for their opinions.

4. **WRITE SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH AT WASHINGTON, D. C.**, commending him for his efforts to effect general amnesty and pledging support in the fight.

5. **WRITE LETTERS TO EDITORS OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS** designed to arouse discussion concerning Amnesty. Letters should not exceed 250 words. Clippings of such communications reach high officials whose names may be mentioned, through press clipping bureaus. Send copies of all letters to the National Office.

6. **SEND MONEY** and urge others to send money. It is needed for dissemination of wide spread publicity, for prison relief and the support of dependent families of prisoners and to help any who may be released.

7. **URGE GENERAL AMNESTY**, not individual clemency. Urge it not as a concession, nor as an act of grace, but as a matter of justice. In all appeals or discussions emphasize these facts:

(a) All other nations have released their war prisoners.

(b) All persons actually convicted as spies in the United States have been set free.

(c) Peace with our late enemies has been officially declared.

(d) The Espionage Act has been repealed.

(e) The 98 Industrial Workers of the World still in Leavenworth are now serving sentences solely for their opinions. All charges pertaining to alleged industrial offenses were reversed by the Appeals Courts.

DEBS IS OUT—LET'S SET THE OTHERS FREE.

To All Labor Unions and Organized Workers

By EUGENE V. DEBS

Terre Haute, Ind., March 4th, 1922

Dear Brothers and Comrades:—

I am making this appeal to you in behalf of the political prisoners. These men are held simply because of their activities in the labor movement and for no other reason. Any other pretense is simply a lie. All other countries have long since released their political prisoners. The United States government, to its lasting shame, is the one exception that keeps men caged as felons for the expression of their opinions. These men, brothers of ours, committed no overt act, no crime of any kind. The court records will prove this. The infamous Espionage law under which these men were convicted has long since been repealed, and there is not the slightest excuse to longer hold them in prison.

The simple fact is that the treason for which

these men were convicted was their loyalty to the working class. Such loyalty, especially in a time of war when the workers are turned into butchers and to slaughtering one another for the profit and power and glory of their masters, is always treason in the eyes of such masters.

If these men with union principles and union hearts beating in their breasts, had been scabs or gunmen or strikebreakers, they would have been cracked up as one hundred percent American patriots, given hero medals, and assigned to posts of honor carrying high salaries and eminent respectability. But instead they refused to bow to the will of the brutal and impudent profiteers and stood up loyally for their own class and gave expression to the truth that was in their hearts, as it was not only their lawful right but their moral duty to do, and for this alone they are marked as dangerous and held and treated as criminals to

the shame of American labor movement and the infamy of the United States government, the most plutocratic government on the face of the earth.

Senator Borah of Idaho, be it said to his credit, introduced a resolution in the United States Senate on January 25th, directing the Attorney General to submit to the Senate all available information relative to the cases of persons convicted under the notorious Espionage Act. This resolution is most timely and the organized workers of the nation must bring all possible power to bear to force its passage. The plutocrats, profiteers and pirates of Wall street and their degenerate henchmen in all their servile capacities, who had the monstrous Espionage law enacted to gag the truth and strangle free speech while they were putting over their criminal war conspiracy, will bring all their power to bear to defeat the Borah resolution. Well do these knaves in high places know that if this resolution passes the Senate and the Attorney General is forced to reveal the court records of the political prisoners it will show that they are guilty of absolutely no crime whatever save only that of saying during war time, when the nation had been lashed into fury the of blind hate, what the one hundred percent Wall street profiteers and their lackeys in and out of office did not want to hear. The Constitution, of which they had been in the habit of prating on every occasion, was summarily suspended, truth was exiled and manhood and self-respect put in prison-stripes.

Think of these innocent union men, these working-class brethren of ours being suffered to remain buried alive in the steel vaults of American prison hells, and then talk about this being "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!" The very thought brings the deep blush of shame to the cheek of every decent American.

These men must be gotten out of prison to the last one of them. As long as one remains we are all in disgrace, and our country stands impeached before the civilized world.

There must be no discrimination among the class war prisoners, for that is what they are and nothing else. All spies and enemy agents, some of whom were convicted of the gravest charges, including the placing of fire bombs in ships and the destruction of life and property, were released years ago. Not one remains in prison. Not one of these belonged to a labor union. They were all readily forgiven as soon as the war was over.

But how different with the men who did belong to labor unions and who did not commit any crime or take any life or destroy any property, but who only stood up like men exercising their constitutional rights and telling the truth about the capitalist slaughter of the working-class "to make the world safe for democracy!" It is for their benefit that the atrocious Espionage law was enacted, and for the benefit of the Wall street profiteers who coined the blood of the slaughtered workers into billions for themselves, that they are still festering in the hell-holes capitalism charitably provides for its victims.

Let it be borne in mind that every solitary profiteer and every politician and other stool-pigeon of the profiteer, whose loot and swag are wrung from high prices and low wages, every solitary one hundred percent specimen who wants to keep the political prisoners where they are, is also in favor of the Open Shop, and do not forget that the open shop of the capitalist means the closed mouth of labor and the dead union of the working class!

To each and every Local Union and to every organized body of workers I appeal most earnestly for the adoption of the resolution herewith attached, demanding of your senators and representatives in Congress that they give their support to the Borah resolution and insist upon its immediate passage. I beg of you to take this action as I would in your behalf if you were in prison and your family without food, clothing and shoes in mid-winter because you had loyally stood up for your class.

I entreat you to take this action at once as a matter of duty to yourselves and to vindicate your own self-respect. It is a part and a very vital part of the struggle now being waged by the Wall street special interests, the trusts and combines of capital, to crush union labor and destroy the labor movement.

Have your secretary send a certified copy of the resolutions to your senators and representatives at Washington and insist upon an answer to your demand. They will soon be wanting your votes and telling you that they are your servants. Put them to the test at once and if they are not deceiving you, they will comply with your demand and the Borah resolution will pass and the conspiracy to keep innocent men in prison upon the pretense that they are criminals will be uncovered and exposed, and the capitalist black-holes will be compelled to give up their victims.



RUSSIAN RELIEF FUND
Received by the National Office.

Name	Locality	Amount
PREVIOUSLY REPORTED		\$5,769.43
Finnish Branch S. P.,	Ashby, Mass. . .	20.00
Fin. S. P. L. Borke County,	Reading, Pa. . .	50.73
Fin. S. Publishing Co.,	Fitchburg, Mass. .	100.00
Fin. S. P. L. Berke County,	Reading, Pa. . .	50.00
Arthur L. Macombe,	Chicago, Ill. . .	2.00
Frank Pittner,	Penn. Station, Pa. . .	5.00
Ital. Br. S. P.,	Old Forge, Penna. . .	100.00
Ital. Br. S. P.,	Jessup, Penna.	13.00
W. D. Allen,	Dallas, Texas.	25.00
Simon & Bessie Pepara,	Chicago, Ill.	3.00

Total \$6,110.68

The Socialist Party

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

National Executive Committee:
 W. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave.
 S. Louis Mo.

Lilith Martin Wilson, Box 685
 Reading, Pa.

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

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

Edmund T. Melms, 579 5th 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.
 198 Broadway—N. Y. City.

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Chicago, March 23, 1922.

I beg to report as follows:

National Executive Committee
 Motion No. 4.

Executive Question.

Submitted February 28th.
 Closed March 11th.

Shall the National Office extend an invitation to the Farmer-Labor Party to send a fraternal delegate to our Cleveland Convention?

Voting "YES"—Brandt, Wilson, Henry, Melms, Oneal, Maurer (6).

Not voting. Gerber (1).

MOTION CARRIED.

In accordance with the above action a communication has been sent to the National Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party, inviting their Executive Committee to send a fraternal delegate to the Cleveland Convention.

In accordance with the previous action of the Committee, similar invitations have been sent to the Socialist Parties of Canada, Mexico and Porto Rico.

ORGANIZATION

The new organization district in the Mountain States has been launched, and Comrade Kennedy District Secretary, reports very favorable responses to the first circular, and is confident that he will be able to revive the movement in those states and to secure a ticket for the fall elections in a majority of them. The comrades in Montana, where the organization has been apparently dead for six or seven years, and where we have had no candidate for recent

elections, are anxious for a state organization and to put out a full state ticket this year. A number of locals have been organized within that state during the past year, and I am calling a state convention some time in April for the purpose of forming a state organization and nominating a state ticket.

OKLAHOMA

At the Cleveland meeting of the Committee the charter of the Oklahoma State organization was revoked and the state placed under the jurisdiction of the National Office. Tentative inquiries as to the situation in the State disclosed the fact that there was no disposition on the part of a number of prominent comrades formerly influential in the Socialist Party of Oklahoma, (most of them now connected with the Oklahoma Leader) to revive the Party organization or nominate Party candidates. On the other hand, there was a nucleus of old Party members who were anxious to maintain the Party organization and who felt very bitterly against the Leader and its management, which they considered largely responsible for the disorganized condition of the State. Following the general policy of the National Office, which has always been one of reluctance to interfere in controversies within a state, I took no immediate steps to revive the movement in Oklahoma. I had hoped that the comrades in Oklahoma would be able to reconcile their differences and get together for the rebuilding of the Party in that State. This hope has been completely dissipated, however, by the position taken by the Leader regarding the Oklahoma Reconstruction League.

The conference for Progressive Political Action was held in Chicago on Feb. 20th., and the State Convention of the Oklahoma Reconstruction League was held at Shawnee, Okla., on Feb. 23rd. The Reconstruction League decided to enter the Democratic Primaries and endorsed a slate of Democratic politicians whom the League members were to support in the Primaries for the Democratic nomination. Immediately following this action, the Oklahoma Leader published an article on the front page representing that

THE NATIONAL
 CONVENTION IS
 ONLY ONE MONTH
 AWAY.

HAVE YOU YOUR

NATIONAL
 CONVENTION
 STAMP

GET IT NOW.

—
 READ HUNTER'S

LABOR
 IN
 POLITICS

WRITTEN FOR

UNIONISTS

25 CENTS.

the Socialist Party members attending the Conference in Chicago were in favor of the plan of the Reconstruction League to capture the dominant old Party in the respective States through participation in the old Party Primaries. An editorial in the issue of Wednesday, March 8th, entitled "Where the Socialists Stand" contained the following:

"The method of action outlined by the Chicago Conference has been followed in Oklahoma by the Farmer - Labor Reconstruction League, and every worker and farmer, whether he be a Socialist, Republican or Democrat, should work for this unity of the workers on the political field.

"This means that for the present they will have to lay aside their party beliefs and prejudices, and register themselves as "Democrats" so that they can participate in the unity election on August 1st. The election laws of the state make it impossible for you to support the League candidates at the August primary unless you are officially recorded as a "Democrat". Full instructions are contained in the Leader elsewhere as to the steps necessary to change registration from Socialist to Republican or to Democrat."

As the Committee may know, the Leader does not claim to be a Socialist paper. It repudiates any suggestion that it is in any sense a Socialist Party organ and advertises itself as Independent.

In view of the Leader's attitude it was evident that no assistance could be expected from them in re-building the Party organization in Oklahoma, but on the contrary that unless some immediate action was taken by the National Office the organization would be completely wiped out and we would lose our standing as a political party in that State. I therefore decided to call a State Convention for the purpose of re-organizing the Party and nominating a full state ticket, in accord with the

MANY CAN
NOT, ALL
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MONTHLY
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to the

ORGANIZATION
FUND

❁

Rebuild
the
Socialist
Party

FUNDS ARE
NEEDED

Constitution and the principles of the Party. Two circular letters (copies enclosed) have been sent out to the members in the state, and an additional one calling a State Convention in Oklahoma City for Sunday, April 9th., will go out within the next few days. I am receiving responses from old Party workers in all sections of the state, pledging their support and co-operation in re-building the Party organization. Local comrades have secured a hall for the State Convention, and indications are that we will have a representative and successful meeting.

The situation on the whole is a very unpleasant and extremely difficult one, as the management of the Oklahoma Leader are all old-time Socialists, including such comrades as John Hagel, Dan Hogan and Oscar Ameringer. The situation is one wherein we sit quietly and see these comrades destroy the movement entirely and wipe out every vestige of Socialist organization in that State, or we go in and fight for a Party ticket and the Party organization.

The result of the first policy is shown in the condition in the Dakotas, Montana and other states where the non-Partisan movement first developed. In those states we made no particular fight to maintain our organization. The result was that we were completely wiped out and now after five years, the Non-Partisan League is disintegrating and we are faced with the necessity of painfully building up the organization in that section again. I am satisfied that from the responses received, there are enough Socialists in Oklahoma to prevent this occurring in that State and that we will be able to maintain our organization, nominate a full ticket and make a respectable showing in the Fall Elections.

Fraternally submitted,
OTTO BRANSTETTER,
Executive Secretary.

CUT THIS OUT and SEND IT NOW.

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

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

Name _____ Street _____

City _____ State _____

Helpful Criticisms of the Proposed Platform

NOT ENOUGH PEP

The proposed Congressional platform submitted by the National Agenda committee which we printed last week has been submitted for criticism and amendment by the members of the Party. The convention will be held April 29 at Cleveland and that leaves quite a little time for every member to shy a brickbat or throw a bouquet.

Just to start things going we will take a fling at it ourselves.

First we believe the program is too long. It is a series of little essays that while they might each be read by themselves are too formidable when grouped together.

Second, we believe it is an error to emphasize Amnesty by putting it at the very front of the program. We do not mean that Amnesty is not important. It is! It must be vigorously fought for! But it is not the chief aim of the Socialist Party.

An army is always glad to rescue its soldiers who have been made prisoners by the enemy. But that is not the purpose of raising and equipping an army.

The Socialist Party should never forget that economic issues are the important, the sole reason for existence. And that economic issues are the real basis upon which it can successfully appeal to the working people for support.

Third, we believe that the platform as proposed is weak in dealing with the unemployment situation. There is not enough definiteness in any proposal regarding it. Meyer London has proposed something. But the platform only talks of insurance. We think there with Sam Gompers that insurance is inadequate and for periods of crisis wrong in principle.

Generally the platform is too "philosophical." Its terms are not vigorous or concrete enough. We believe in calling a spade a spade and giving the capitalists and their political prostitutes hail Columbia, together with live concrete remedies.

CAMERON KING in the Oakland World.

THE RIGHT TO WORK—LEADING ISSUE

By J. F. BRAUN—Indianapolis, Ind.

The National Convention of the S. P. is soon to be held. At these gatherings of the leading minds of our membership it is supposed that note is taken of the evolutionary trend of things, both within the party and in the world at large; and if need be, to bring the pronouncements of the party and its "state of mind" up to date. That is to say, make such change or addition to our declaration of principles and purposes as may seem necessary to meet the ever changing world situation and the party situation.

In conformity with this thought I want to submit to you and to the membership that the pre-

sent unemployment situation, here as elsewhere, presents an occasion which demands that the party take particular notice of this problem and of the opportunity here offered to put our solution for that problem before the public at this time when the ear of all the world is attended to and anxious to hear of a solution.

The proper and the advantageous thing for the party just now would be to emphasize and doubly emphasize a demand that society must assume the duty of guaranteeing employment to every member of the community, a demand which heretofore has occupied a very minor and subordinate position in our declarations as well as in our written and spoken propaganda. It has been looked upon as a mere ameliorative demand to be made in times of panic or economic depression, when unemployment momentarily becomes a pressing issue.

This is wrong tactics. The demand that the community assume the duty of guaranteeing every member employment should be put in first place and kept there at all times instead of being made a periodical emergency demand.

And of a truth its proper place is at the very head of our demands; it belongs in the class of inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, two of which are largely comprised in and depend upon a man's right to employment. In the complex life of present industrialized society a man's life almost, and certainly his pursuit of happiness, depends upon his having employment, depends upon his opportunity to earn the means of life and of happiness by honest labor.

And this in fact is the very aim and purpose of the whole socialist movement. The end had in view is the right to work, to employment at useful labor and the right to possess and to enjoy the full value produced by that labor.

The customary demands that have held first place in our declarations are really but means to the above end. Collective ownership and control of the machinery of production are really but a means to that end, means to the end of securing to every member of society the right to employment and the right to a full return for the value of their labor.

The "end" should have first place in our declarations and propaganda, the means to the end should be relegated to second and subordinate place. The whole world is ready and anxious to hear about the end, the security of employment, hence the party should put emphasis there.

Let the coming convention consider this.

The comrades at Barre, Vermont, have recently organized an English branch. Comrade John La Duca, former Translator Secretary of the Italian Federation, now located in Barre, reports a very large and successful meeting addressed by Comrade Adolph Germer, District Secretary.

To The Labor Parties of All Countries

The dictated imperialist peace treaties have deepened and increased the misery caused by the world-war. In the conquered nations: growing devaluation and in spite of the most intensive work, growing pauperization. In the victorious nations as well as in the neutral countries the number of unemployed going up by leaps.

The economic distress of the working class all over the world has kindled the will in the proletarian parties of all tendencies to unify as much as possible the international action of the working class. The same spirit informs the resolution of the British Labour Party passed at the Brighton Conference, June 24th, 1921, the resolution of the French Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.) carried at their last Conference in Paris, November 2nd, 1921, the resolution on the part of the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party, November 12th, 1921, the Executive Committee resolution of the Second international adopted at their meeting in Brussels, November 23rd, 1921, the resolution of the Bureau of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties carried in Frankfurt, December 18th, 1921 and the proposal which the Central Committee of the German Communists (X. P. D.) has made to the Executive Committee of the Third International December 21st, 1921.

In all quarters of the world proletariat, dismembered and split up by the war as it is, the call for international unification meets with an ever strengthening echo. The establishment of the proletarian unity is the need of the day

The workers instinctively feel that the common enemy, the international capitalist class, can be fought effectively only by coordinating all proletarian agencies. The proletarian Parties are perfectly aware that, if isolated and grouped in hostile camps, they are quite unable to fulfil their tasks. For the Governments and the capitalist class parties, however, the existence of proletarian groups opposed to one another is an incitement to intensify their reactionary policy.

The wish for unifying the international actions of the working class has grown beyond all expectations, especially during the last week. There are proposals for organizing a general international conference of the class-conscious proletariat; other proposals suggest calling a conference which should be limited to the countries most directly affected by the dictated peace of Versailles and this to be hastened as much as possible for the sake of discussing the most imminent question that of the reparations.

The Bureau meeting of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties sitting in Berlin January 14th to 15th resolved to advocate the realization of both these proposals: on the one hand to agree with the invitation of the French Socialist Party to a conference of the Parties of England, France, Italy, Belgium and Germany; on the other hand, to enter into negotiations with

the Executive Committees in London and Moscow and thus, by mutual agreement of all the international central organizations to call a general conference.

The place, the time, the terms of admission, the agenda of this conference should be fixed by agreement between the three Executives. The representation of the international Working Union of Socialist Parties is directed to submit the proposal to the other Executives, that the general Conference should be sufficiently prepared but that it should take place already in the course of Spring, 1922. The success of this first attempt at a general conference should be advanced by limiting the agenda to the most imminent question. In our opinion the main items of the agenda should be:

(1) The economic situation of Europe and the actions of the working class.

(2) The defensive struggle of the working class against reaction.

As terms of admission were proposed: All proletarian parties which adhere to the tenet of class struggle, which have for their aim the doing away with capitalism and which recognize the necessity of a concerted international action of the working class in order to reach this goal.

We venture to undertake this attempt of mutual understanding for the sake of establishing an international front of the working class in view of the painful experiences of all Labor Parties during the last years. These experiences have led to the consciousness that the most ardent wish of the whole proletariat must be complied with, the wish of concentrating the forces of the working class in concerted action for doing away with the capitalist order of society.

Informing you of our resolutions and proposals we beg you to let us know at your earliest convenience whether your party may agree to them on principle and greet you in the spirit of international solidarity

THE BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES.

Berlin, 15th of January, 1922.

Under the provisions of the Resolution adopted at the Detroit Convention, it is impossible to take action on the above invitation at the present time.

A meeting of the Executive Committees of the International Working Union, the Second International, the Communist International and the Italian Socialist party, is being held at Vienna the later part of March. No doubt full reports of this conference and its results will be available for the information of the delegates at the National Convention.

Unity—With The Democrat Party

The Oklahoma Leader was launched with \$200,000 of Socialist money, contributed for the purpose of establishing a Socialist daily. Instead of publishing a Socialist paper the management is publishing a so-called "independent" paper. Independent of Socialist management or control, independent of Socialist principles or policy, and independent of truth and fairness.

It is however, not independent of the Reconstruction League, which apparently controls it, body, soul and breeches. The Reconstruction League is an Oklahoma imitation of the Non-Partisan League and is under the control of a bunch of old line democratic politicians. At its recent state convention the League decided to enter the democratic primaries and nominate a slate of its choosing. Instead of nominating a ticket from its membership which on the whole, is composed of farmers and union labor men honestly and sincerely devoted to the advancement of their mutual interests, the convention nominated a ticket composed of democratic politicians who were vouched for by the League leaders and the Leader staff as "friends of farmer-labor" and in favor of the League program.

The candidate endorsed for governor is the present mayor of Oklahoma city, elected on the democratic ticket. In his speech accepting the League endorsement he said—

"It is with pardonable pride I refer to the fact that at the last national election, when men's minds were inflamed and when demagogues were abroad in our land, Oklahoma City and county rolled up the biggest democratic majority in history and gave to the democratic standard bearers their unstinted support towards the perpetuation of the policies of that matchless democrat, who has had more influence for good in moulding the thought and shaping the destiny of this war-weary world than any other mortal since the death of the lowly Nazarene. That matchless democrat an antagonistic press described as, 'The pillar of a people's hope the centre of the world's desire; in whom the victorious found a champion of justice, in whom the oppressed saw their hope of liberty, freedom, even life itself. Needless for me to mention the name of that matchless man—Woodrow Wilson.'"

The Oklahoma Leader is supporting this "friend of labor." It urges all socialists to change their registration from socialist to democrat so that they can vote in the democratic primaries for him. It publishes detailed instructions to socialists telling them just how they can make this change of registration.

Not content with this it is trying to deceive the Oklahoma socialists into thinking that the national organization of the Socialist Party endorses their position and their policy. Although they had received the Nat. Office Press Service containing a report of the Conference for Progressive Political Action held in Chicago and the position taken by the socialist delegates, they published a misleading article and an editorial in their issue of

March 8th representing us as being in favor of entering the democratic primaries as proposed by the Reconstruction League.

The National Office immediately sent out a circular letter to the Oklahoma membership urging them to stay out of the democratic primaries and to vote a straight Socialist ticket in the fall elections.

A splendid response has been received from all parts of the state and a convention has been called at Oklahoma City on April 9th to reorganize the party and nominate a state ticket.

The Leader published a full page in the issue of March 27th in an effort to stop the socialist stampede away from the League in which it says—

"Therefore the party as such participated in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and the party delegates voted for the adoption of the program and other resolutions that came before the conference."

The Leader, blocked in its efforts to deliver the Socialist vote, resorts to falsehood and misrepresentation in a deliberate attempt to trick and deceive the Oklahoma socialists into supporting it and its democratic candidates. This is one of the first fruits and an example of what comes from meddling in the dirty politics of the corrupt old parties.

Many comrades had felt and hoped that however mistaken the Leader might be in this policy, it was at least honest and sincere in advocating it. The issue of March 27th destroys the hope and forfeits all title which it might have to the sympathy and respect of any socialist.

For the information of the Oklahoma comrades and the membership generally we are republishing the statement of the Socialist Party members attending the Chicago Conference.

This statement has been in the hands of the Oklahoma Leader since immediately after the conference.

The Socialist Party stands where it has always stood. We have opposed the crazy, impossible tactics of the extreme left and we will oppose the equally crazy and impossible tactics of the extreme right. The Socialist Party is still a Socialist Party.

STATEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY GROUP.

Attending the Conference for Progressive Political Action—Chicago, Feb. 20-21, 1922.

In fairness to the Conference and to ourselves, and in order to avert any possible misunderstanding about our attitude on the declaration and plan of action adopted by this conference, we desire to make the following statement.

The Socialist Party at its last national convention, held in Detroit June 25, 1921, adopted the following resolution:

"Be it 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."

This is the only credential and authority which we have from our party to participate in the deliberations and work of this conference. We accepted the invitation to attend the conference as individuals and in the hope that it would result in the creation of an organization such as outlined in the above resolution. We found that the majority of the conferees were not ready to organize for independent working class political action.

We appreciate the difficulties under which each group in the conference has labored and the consistent efforts which all have made to reach a common basis of agreement. We believe that the mere fact that we have been able to meet is of itself evidence of progress and a forecast of the unity and solidarity of rural and industrial workers which all seek to realize, and we think particularly that the decision of this conference to continue its work, to increase its numbers and to meet again for further consideration of the vital problems before us in the light of the experience to be gathered in the meantime is of great promise for the future of the producing classes in the United States.

We propose to submit the action of this conference to the next convention of our party with recommendations to endorse the same to the extent to which it is consistent with the fundamental principles of our organization. We are frank to state that we do not believe in and do not intend to urge Socialist participation in efforts to capture old party primaries or in support of candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.

We believe on the other hand that our party will be ready to co-operate to the fullest extent with the other groups represented in this conference in all cases in which groups unite for the independent nomination and election of officials pledged to the expressed purpose of this conference, i. e., "to the interest of the producing class and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government," and we sincerely hope that the subsequent conferences will prepare the ground for ever closer union and cooperation between all the constituent elements.

It is on this understanding and with this hope that we are ready to continue working with the conference pending definite instructions from our next convention.

OTTO BRANSTEITER,
MORRIS HILLQUIT,
DAN HOAN
JAMES ONEAL
BERTHA HALE WHITE

PETITIONS FOR RELEASE OF OKLAHOMA POLITICAL PRISONERS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT.

March 22, 1922

WASHINGTON—Accompanied by Congressman Joseph C. Pringey, of Oklahoma, Bertha Hale White today gave the true story of the draft rebellion to President Harding, together with statements and letters obtained from citizens and officials completely refuting the charge that a loss of life had resulted from the uprising on August 3, 1917. Once and for all, those charges are disproved, and in view of the requests for pardon, representing as they do the sentiment of the citizens where the uprising occurred, it is hoped that the men now in Leavenworth Prison will be freed as a result of the reopening of the case which is to follow.

Special petitions for the release of Walter Reeder and Frank Bryant, convicted at Enid, Oklahoma, and sentenced to six years in Leavenworth Prison, were also presented. These petitions were signed by practically the entire population of the communities where these men lived. County officials, professional men, bankers, councilmen, leading citizens who had known the men for more than twenty years before they were sent to prison, joined in the effort for their release. They wrote letters to the President testifying to the good character of the prisoners and also respecting the nature of the evidence against them, which, it was asserted, was the direct result of a condition of general terrorism which existed in Oklahoma during the war. A large number of such letters was presented to President Harding to day in support of the petitions for pardons.

Mrs. White's story could not have been more thoroughly substantiated than it was by congressman Pringey, who is from the district in which the uprising occurred. He gave his unqualified endorsement of the statement made to the President. He is one of the fifty congressmen who sent a petition to the White House yesterday urging the release of all war prisoners against whom no overt acts were charged. That means every man in prison under the Espionage Act with the exception of the three men involved in the uprising in Oklahoma for whom clemency was asked today.

After giving a summary of the results of a month spent in investigating the Oklahoma cases, Mrs. White received an assurance that the data would be referred to the Board of Pardons with instructions to give the statements careful consideration. As Mrs. White had previously given Mr. Finch, the Pardon Attorney, the results of her investigation, there is reason to hope that the review of the cases will send the Oklahoma prisoners back home to their destitute families.

Local Philadelphia has taken in 250 new members since the first of the year. Other locals can do as well, if they make a careful, systematic canvass of former members, registered voters, subscribers to Socialist papers, or such other lists as may be available.

Can Farmers And Industrial Workers Unite?

By W. W. PASSAGE.

The attempts of American Socialists in their recent state and national conventions to incorporate in their demands the needs of the farmer and to harmonize Socialism with the idea of both collective and individual proprietorship is a movement of great promise and importance.

Socialism cannot win without the assistance of the farmer vote. The wage worker and the exploited farmer must get together. Is there a working basis for the political and economic unity of the two exploited elements of our population?

The Socialist national platforms of late years have clearly placed farming mainly among the individual occupations, and with good reason. Of course, it is understood that if government-owned and operated farms are found necessary to the employment of the workers and for the regulation of prices of agricultural products, or are demonstrated to be more efficient, then certainly 'here should be, and will be, no hesitation on the part of a Socialist regime to establish and operate farms sufficient for that purpose. But aside from this purpose, farming under Socialism, with modifications, and with vastly better conditions than at present, may remain an individual enterprise, provided it proves itself economic. fit to survive.

The one great big fact that farmers have overlooked is that a market composed of consumers financially able to purchase farm products is as necessary to their prosperity as is the possession of land and agricultural equipment. It is true that many of them have awakened to the necessity of collectively-owned grain elevators, government-owned railroads and other public utilities, but still cling to the antiquated notion that they must oppose Socialism and organized labor because they fear Socialism would mean confiscation of all farms, and because organized labor tends to increase the price of wage labor and incidently, increases the cost of farm help. Such farmers fail to recognize the fact that, as compared to commerce, mining and manufacture, they employ a very small proportion of wage labor; that even though labor organization would increase the compensation of wage labor generally, the farmer is always the gainer from the fact that the vast number of wage workers employed in the great industries constitutes his best market—namely, the home market. Suppose wages were doubled. The difference between the increased price the farmer would pay for his comparatively small amount of hired help would be much more than offset by the increased price received for his product sold to the masses of well-paid industrial workers.

Here, then, is the common ground for a political and economic unity of the working farmers and the industrial workers, or at least a "working basis" for such a combination.

It goes without saying that prosperous industrial workers are not prosperous because privately owned industry exploits them of a large part of the value of their products; granted that

this surplus goes into the hands of capitalist exploiters who do not produce it and are physically unable to consume it, and are, therefore, of comparatively insignificant value to the farmer as purchasing consumers; granted that the employment of industrial workers is limited by the fact that natural resources and industrial equipment under private ownership are not developed to their full capacity so as to absorb the idle workers; granted that this defect in the profit system not only paralyzes the purchasing power of the unemployed industrial workers, but also confines the earnings and purchasing power of the employed workers to the bare existence for which they must exchange their labor power; granted all this, as we must if we honestly face the facts, and here we have a vicious circle, but one which, most unfortunately, neither the exploited industrial workers nor the equally exploited farmers have been able to see.

The problem, therefore, is to convince both these two groups that the paramount essential is to rejuvenate and reconstruct the home market on an enduring basis of unhampered access to all the means of employmen, leaving the purchasing power on the part of the industrial workers without artificial limitation.

GOVERNMENT AS EMPLOYER.

Let us suppose that the government assumes the business of conducting the great industries and public utilities; of developing the undeveloped natural resources of all kinds for the purpose of employing everybody who desires such employment, and of furnishing everybody with the products and services of these government enterprises at labor cost. The income, and consequently the purchasing and consuming power of the industrial workers, is doubled.

Suppose, for example that we were to place the oil industry in the hands of a federal department, paying the head of it \$10,000 a year instead of paying Mr. Rockefeller \$40,000,000 per year as we are doing at the present time. There would be a saving of \$39,990,000 part of which would go to the workers in increased compensation and part would remain in the pockets of the oil consumers, both classes thus being provided with more funds to purchase farm products.

What could be done with the oil industry, could be done, with approximately the same results, with all the industries should the government assume their conduct.

Combine, then, this resurrection of the home market with the accompanying fact that the farmer would get the service of all public utilities—transportation, storage, intercommunication, pasteurization, distribution, banking, etc.—also at labor cost—and presto! farming becomes what opulent nature evidently intended it to be, namely, the most fruitful of all occupations furnishing a certain economic basis for abundance, individual liberty, human fellowship, and social welfare. (N. Y. Call)