

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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The Lawless Legion

The latest exploits of the American Legion in maintaining law and order and upholding the principles of 100% Americanism was the kidnaping of Ida Grouch Hazlett, National Organizer of the Socialist Party, at Mason City, Iowa, on August 23rd.

Comrade Hazlett was pulled off a platform from which she was speaking in a public park, thrown into an automobile and driven ten miles into the country where she was put out upon the public road.

This was not the unpremeditated and unauthorized act of a few irresponsible individuals with a perverted sense of their own importance and the purposes for which the American Legion was ostensibly formed. It is part of a wide-spread conspiracy among Legion members to impose their ideas upon whole communities and to enforce their rule through mob violence and terror.

In the space of six weeks, Mrs. Hazlett has been mobbed six times and forcibly abducted three times by Legion members in the state of Iowa. During all this time she has said or done nothing which can be considered as a violation of any law. She was arrested in Des Moines for speaking in a public park without a permit but she was released and the charge dismissed. With this one exception no officer, federal, state or local has found cause or justification for her arrest.

The lawlessness of the Legion is not explainable on the ground that Mrs. Hazlett is herself guilty of any crime or of seditious utterances. As a matter of fact nothing which she says in her speeches is responsible for the outrages she has suffered. Telegrams are sent from city to city in advance of her meetings by Legion members and where the lawless element is sufficiently strong or the elected officials sufficiently weak, preparations are made for her abduction or the forcible breaking up of her meeting, before she arrives in the city.

Again and again, officials of the Legion dis-

claim responsibility for such outrages and insist that the organization should not be held responsible for the acts of individuals.

While such outrages may not be ordered or authorized by the Legion heads that fact remains that they are tolerated and encouraged. Individual members and practically whole posts publicly know, and openly boasting of their part in such crimes, are not expelled or otherwise disciplined. Until such steps are taken, no amount of explaining will convince a reasonable person that the responsible officials of the Legion are opposed to the lawlessness of its members.

Meanwhile the scope of Legion activities in imposing their views upon the public, in interfering with public officials in the discharge of their duties, and in general hostility to all liberal and progressive movements is constantly increasing.

While the national Commander is threatening the President with the wrath of his members if he releases Eugene V. Debs, the state Commander in Illinois is threatening the Governor with the wrath of his members if he does not grant a stay of execution to a self confessed wife murderer.

While the officials are protesting against "class-hatred" as un-American, the organization is subsidized by Big Business and the New York posts are organizing a strike-breaking agency.

While the officials are protesting that they do not sanction or approve of the lawlessness of their members, a resolution repudiating such activities is defeated by the organization in New York.

The American Legion cannot hide its guilt or its responsibility. With the possible exception of the Ku Klux Klan it is the most lawless and potentially, the most dangerous organization in America.

The law of the land and the lawlessness of the Legion cannot both continue. In the interest of law and order the Legion should be suppressed.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA
OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

THE AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

With the organization of the American Labor Alliance there has apparently been another "Socialist" party created, to still further confuse and divide the workers.

There is, however, nothing new about this American Labor Alliance but its name. It is simply an alias of the United Communist Party, camouflaged in an attempt to secure the support of the workers under false pretenses.

The Communists have utterly failed to make good in America. Their pet theories are all exploded and their plans for the immediate overthrow of the capitalist system through "revolutionary mass action" have been abandoned. The organization of the American Labor Alliance is an admission not only of their failure but of the correctness of the Socialist party's policies and tactics.

The split in the Socialist Party in this country was a reflex of European conditions and would not have occurred had the members been thorough socialists and understood the economic basis of social movements. The most interesting phenomenon of the controversy was the fact that those members who least understood economic and social conditions in the United States and whose program was absolutely unrelated to any actual fact or condition existing in this country, were the loudest in their claims to scientific reasoning.

They arrogantly assumed to themselves all revolutionary wisdom and were the self appointed and infallible interpreters and executors of Marx and Engels. They assumed to be Neo-Marxists, Neo-Socialists and Neo-Revolutionists when in reality they were merely Neo-Nuts.

In Boston, one of them expected to "be dead on the barricades inside of six months". In New York one of them dropped a college course in law because it required two years more to complete it and by that time "the revolution will be here and my training as a lawyer would be useless".

In Chicago one of them was opposed to calling the conference to organize the American Freedom Foundation or any similar steps for the release of political prisoners, because the revolution was "imminent" and the immediate need was a national conference "to organize the revolution". Another one was opposed to the party buying a headquarters because, as he revolutionarily ex-

plained, "in less than a year you can take your pick of any building in Chicago".

And from all over the country came protests against any steps for the release of political prisoners except the scientific, revolutionary method of "revolutionary mass action".

It was these visionaries who repudiated political action, denounced all legislative reforms and opposed all attempts at securing the release of political prisoners.

It was these visionaries who organized the Communist and the Communist Labor parties and, later, the United Communist Party. The latter was an avowedly secret, illegal organization which was to take the place of the Socialist Party and organize the workers for the revolution which was just around the corner.

They denounced the Socialist Party and vilified its leaders for refusing to accept their wildeyed theories and impractical, visionary plans. And to prove their own revolutionary character they joined with the Department of Justice and the American Legion in attacking the Socialist Party and attempting to destroy it.

We may as well be perfectly frank and confess that in this attempt they made more progress than in any other. They have not destroyed capitalism, they have not brought about the revolution, they have not succeeded in uniting or organizing the working class. They have done nothing, and have made no progress towards doing anything which they denounced the Socialist Party for not doing.

Their only accomplishment up to the present time is the weakening of the Socialist Party and the radical labor movement of America. But much as they may desire to do so they can not lay claim to even this discreditable success; they must divide the dishonor with the Chambers of Commerce, the American Legion, the Department of Justice and all the other agencies of American capitalism which have been working to the same end.

In all else the Communists in America have failed. The American worker is not ready for the revolution. He is not interested in joining secret, illegal organizations. He is interested in immediate demands, in political action, in open and above board advocacy of what he considers to be to his interest.

The organization of the American Labor Alliance by the Communists is a confession of these facts. It is an admission that their theories and their methods were wrong. Developments have again justified the position and methods of the Socialist Party.

As to the newly formed organization, it will deceive no one. A number, if not the majority of the members of its Executive Committee are also members of the Executive Committee of the United Communist Party. They are one and the same thing. The Alliance is the "legal" part of the illegal Communist party.

There is little chance that the communists will accomplish more under their new alias than they

A Private's Opinion of the Legion

Honorable Warren G. Harding,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President: July 31, 1921.

The amazing insolence and effrontery of the language used by John J. Emery, commander of the American Legion, in his telegram to you today on the Debs pardon case certainly should be sharply rebuked.

As a volunteer who served 22 months in the war, and from July 1917, for 14 months on the firing line in France on the Cambrai front, and as national president of the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion, I denounce as absolutely false the claim of Colonel Emery that he "represents the sentiments of the great mass of ex-service men and women" in his deliberately malicious and misleading statements as to the Debs case and the effect of your granting him a pardon.

No man who knows Eugene V. Debs believes he would wilfully harm a hair of the head of any human being. I have known Debs personally for over 27 years, since the days when he and I were locomotive firemen on the railroads. He is and always has been a peaceful, big-hearted, kindly man, filled with a martyr's enthusiasm and willing, cheerful self-sacrifice for the cause of the poor, the helpless and the oppressed. Mr. President, I denounce Colonel Emery's telegram to you and his publication of it broadcast through the press of the country as a thousandfold more dangerous, incendiary and violence-inciting act than all the speeches Debs has made in his whole lifetime.

I am utterly opposed to Debs' Socialist party and his Socialist ideas. I am an individualist and a lifelong and earnest follower of the teachings of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. But the worst way in the world to attempt to convince Socialists or any other class of men of the error of their ways is to slander and prosecute them as Colonel Emery and his American Legion are doing with Debs and his followers. Worse still, they have resorted to mob violence against both men and women in hundreds of cases in all parts of the United States. This has gone on until their depraved and deliberate lawlessness has become a national scandal and disgrace to our country; where freedom of press and speech and peaceable assemblage which these American Legion officers and their dupes would destroy are the very treasures of the ark of the covenant of American liberty.

did under their own name. The conservative worker will have nothing to do with them because he thinks they are revolutionary. The intelligent radical will leave them alone because he knows them for what they are, impractical phrasemongers whose methods are destructive of the labor movement and whose results are fundamentally reactionary.

The inexcusable threats of American Legion Commander Emery, that if the President of the United States exercised his merciful constitutional power to grant a pardon to a gentle, kindly, harmless old man like Debs, "it would be interpreted as a license to disregard all law and order" is a statement of such deplorable and incendiary character that it may very easily become the incitation to even more widespread and dangerous violence than has previously followed similarly inflammatory pronouncements by these lawless, swash-buckling American Legion officers and their immediate circle of addle-pated followers.

The brazen demand of the American Legion officers that the President of the United States should surrender at their dictation and threats his great and benign pardoning power vested in him by the Constitution, and that he bind himself by giving to them "your assurance that no such action is contemplated or to be expected," is one of such unparalleled and imprudent interference with the duties of the Chief Magistrate of the nation that if tolerated would become a grave public menace. The press and the law-abiding people of the United States will administer the proper rebuke to the overweening and outrageous pretensions of the American Legion officers who seek to set up in the United States an inquisition of the fine old Spanish model of infamous memory.

It is the intention of the national executive committee of the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion to submit to congress the facts as to the numerous acts of lawlessness and violence of the American Legion as a basis for appropriate action to repeal the special act granting them a charter of incorporation September 16, 1919. And thereby put an end to the unmitigated and dangerous nuisance which the American Legion and its officers have made of themselves. Assuring you Mr. President, that the great mass of the private soldiers who served in the war have no sympathy whatever with these ex-officers who are seeking to poison American life with a bad mixture of militarism and mob rule. Especially would we condemn their attempt by threats to coerce the President against the merciful exercise of his constitutional power and duty to perform acts of clemency and pardon.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) MARVIN GATES SPERRY,
Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion.

World War Veterans for Amnesty

Leslie R. Hurt, Acting National Secretary, World War Veterans, a nation-wide organization of 450,000 members, issues following statement: "The World War Veterans re-affirms its protest against the imprisonment of political prisoners, and demands the immediate release of Eugene Debs."

SAVE THE WORKERS OF RUSSIA

The Russian people are dying of starvation and disease.

A great drought has ruined the crops over a wide area. Food stuffs have been exhausted and starvation is inevitable. Accompanying the almost universal famine is an epidemic of disease that will carry off the hunger weakened population by the million.

Thousands are already dead. Thousands more are dying daily. The only thing which can prevent the greatest loss of life from Famine and Pestilence in the history of the modern world is an abundance of food, medicines and clothing furnished with the greatest possible haste.

All the great relief organizations of the world and most of the capitalist governments, including our own, are offering their assistance in this crisis. No doubt immense sums will be appropriated and substantial progress made by these agencies towards relief of the famine stricken districts.

The workers of all countries should have some part in this work. Not through their respective governments, whose policies of economic blockade and support of every counter-revolutionary movement, refusal to recognize the Soviet government and to resume trade relations, are in part responsible for the terrible conditions which they are now offering to relieve, but through their own working-class organizations.

The workers of the world should assist their

Russian brothers directly and as fellow workers. This great calamity that has befallen the struggling workers of Russia should be the means of strengthening the solidarity and brotherhood of the international working class, through the immediate and abundant assistance rendered by the workers to the workers.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon our membership to respond to this appeal generously and to take the initiative in organizing relief work in their communities.

We recommend that our local organizations endeavor to form central bodies consisting of representatives of labor organizations and other groups willing to co-operate in this work and that they concentrate their efforts on the collection of clothing and foodstuffs of non-perishable character capable of shipment to Russia. Not a moment must be lost. We are already organizing a central agency in New York City to which the goods collected can be sent for shipment.

Workers of America unite for the aid of our starving brothers, their wives and children! The relief of stricken Russia is the duty and the privilege of the working class!

National Executive Committee Socialist Party.

Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary.

Rank and File to Decide

By G. A. HOEHN,

Decide what? Decide whether are ready to stand by and uphold the Socialist party of the United States.

A plain question and a plain answer. The National headquarters of our Socialist party must be permanently closed unless those of us who for years have been parading as Socialists do our duty now, today—not some other time, not tomorrow.

The national office of the Socialist party for months has been struggling against financial bankruptcy, has been compelled to reduce the office force to a minimum, has been compelled to do almost the impossible, i. e., keep the national party machinery in operation under insurmountable obstacles. Fortunately, we have a national secretary and a few brave women at our national headquarters who were ready and who continue to sacrifice for our movement and bear the burden of the party work in a most critical period of our country's history

Poverty is no disgrace, says an old proverb. True, but very often poverty is considered and treated as a crime. We do not hesitate one minute to let all of our Comrades and friends know, and to let all of our opponents and enemies know,

that the Socialist party of the United States today is poverty-stricken, is in the midst of financial embarrassment that threatens its very existence.

Discouraging news!, we hear many people say. Yes, we hear many Socialists say—Socialists who are ready to hurrah for the Socialist party in times of encouraging progress and success and victory; Socialists who are ready to adore and glorify brave pioneers of the Debs kind when everything is running smoothly and when everybody is applauding and anxious to get a Debs smile or a Debs handshake.

As It Was Aforetime

Ah, history is repeating itself. Two thousand years ago the Carpenter's Son of Nazareth, whom today the Christian world is heralding as the Son of God, had similiar experience. He was followed and honored by many; He was applauded and admired and honored. Then came the days of persecution. Then came the campaign of hatred directed against him by the money-changers, Pharisees and Scribes, by the High Priests and other lackeys of God Mammon. Then came Gethsemane with its Judas Iscariot. Then came the arrest and the trial before Pilate with that scriptural scene of human cowardice demonstrated by

Peter the Apostle, who, trembling with fear, swore and said, "I know not that man; I know not that Nazarene!"

Like today. Where are you, ye loud-voiced Socialists of past years, where are you in these hours of peril, of storm and stress? Shame upon many of you—shame and eternal disgrace and universal contempt for those of you who have turned traitors to the cause of Socialism and Labor. Pity, unlimited pity, on those of you who today, in the hours of danger and bitter struggles act like Peter the Apostle by saying: "I know not that Socialist Party! I know not that Terre Hautean, Eugene V. Debs!"

Unless we act now and act promptly and liberally and unless we make at this very hour some real financial sacrifice, there will not be a Socialist Party of the United States!

No exaggeration about this! We are frank to tell you that last week National Secretary Otto Branstetter was compelled to give the entire office force one week's "vacation without pay" because there were no funds further to transact the business of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Are you willing to disgrace yourselves by acting the role of Peter the Apostle? or the role of Judas Iscariot? Neither role is honorable.

Or are you ready to recognize your duty, do your duty, stand up for that which is right, and just and good and necessary, to this great Proletarian movement of Labor and Socialism?

Sheep are like sheep. Chickens act like chickens. Run off like sheep; get scared like chickens. Socialists are neither sheep nor chickens. They are men and women, supposed to act like men and women.

The Socialist Party of the United States! Are you for or against it? We feel proud of it. We love its red banner of the International Proletariat, not because we are admirers of banners and flags, but because we love the cause and the movement for which that banner stands!

The Socialist party of the United States! Have you forgotten its record of honor and bravery and loyalty to the cause of international peace and labor and Socialism? Have you forgotten its war record? Have you forgotten the heroic action of its 1917 St. Louis emergency convention? Have you forgotten its members and friends who lived up to the action and program of that memorable Planters Hotel convention? Who were persecuted, arrested, imprisoned, because they were true to the cause of international peace and the international proletarian movement? Have you forgotten the men and women, our good and brave comrades and friends who today, nearly three years after the armistice, are still incarcerated in the bastiles at Atlanta, Fort Leavenworth and elsewhere?

The Years of Persecution

The Socialist party of the United States! Have you forgotten the years of persecution our party has suffered during the war and since the ending of the war? Have you forgotten the fact that for years many, many a week we had been in almost the same financial embarrassment as our

national party office is at the present time? Have you forgotten, or have you ever been acquainted with the fact, that many a weeks we could not see our way clear to issue the following week's edition of our papers?

The Socialist party of the United States!
What a proud name! A name that will appear in golden letters on the pages of American history when the true historians of the American people will record and chronicle the events and occurrences of the dark year of the World War!

The Socialist party of the United States! It shall live. It shall continue the great struggle for proletarian emancipation. Its present poverty shall not mean its death. On the contrary: In poverty Jesus of Nazareth was born; in poverty Jesus of Nazareth lived and worked; in poverty and misery Jesus of Nazareth defended the cause of the poor and oppressed; in poverty and misery Jesus of Nazareth was persecuted by the powers that be, misrepresented and denounced by the Pharisees and Scribes of his time; in poverty and misery he was betrayed, arrested, tried and crucified—but his cause triumphed and conquered the world!

The Socialist party of the United States! The cause it represents and for which it struggles and suffers in poverty and misery resembles that represented by the Nazarene. In poverty through heroic struggle and sacrifices to success and victory!

DAYTON SOCIALISTS LEAD IN PRIMARY ELECTION

The following candidates were the winners in the Primary election, held in Dayton Aug. 9th, and will be the six names placed on the ballot for the November election.

The Winners

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Barringer (Socialist) | 7,403 |
| Farrell (Socialist) | 6,708 |
| Geisler (Socialist) | 6,612 |
| Hale (Democrat) | 5,747 |
| Stanze (Republican) | 5,541 |
| Kneisley (Republican) | 5,011 |

The Losers

The four candidates who failed to get on the final ballot were the following:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Wiggim (Democrat) | 4,756 |
| Downer (Cit. League) | 4,590 |
| Kress (Cit. League) | 4,340 |
| Swisher (Cit. League) | 4,271 |

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AMERICAN LEGION

The series of articles recently published in The Nation dealing with the Legion have been published in pamphlet form and should have a wide circulation. They can be obtained from The Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York City, at 15c a copy, special rates on lots of 100 or more.

Congressman London's Bill For The Relief of The Unemployed

A resolution authorizing the appropriation of five hundred million dollars to relieve distress resulting from wide-spread unemployment was introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative London, Socialist.

The measure was presented while the House was getting ready to vote an appropriation of five hundred million dollars to the railroads.

"The House is voting for what amounts to a subsidy of five hundred million dollars to the railroads," London declared, in a statement he issued in connection with his resolution. "This is an appropriate time to ask Congress for an appropriation of five hundred million dollars to relieve distress caused by involuntary unemployment."

In his statement London points out that Congress has passed laws enabling exporters to obtain Government aid. Out of the fund created by his resolution, the Secretary of Labor would be enabled to assist cooperative societies and labor organizations to establish factories so as to secure employment for the large number of unemployed.

That his resolution is in line with the purposes for which the Department of Labor was created London quotes from the law which created the Department to the effect that "it shall be the purpose of the Department of Labor to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for employment."

London's resolution constitutes the fourth attempt to have Congress act in the unemployment emergency. On May 27, a month after the Congress convened, London offered a resolution creating a Joint Congressional Committee which would investigate and report on the opportunities for profitable employment in Government undertakings, and the advisability of establishing a national net work of unemployment exchanges, as well as of other relevant steps to meet the problem. The number of unemployed at that time was estimated at about three millions.

In two speeches he delivered since London pointed out that the problem was becoming more acute and that immediate action must be had. Last week the Secretary of Labor estimated the number out of employment to be six millions.

The fight for unemployment relief will be taken by the Socialist Congressman to the committee room where it is expected representatives of organized labor, progressive organization and Socialists will join in the demand that some of the millions being appropriated for the railroads and other private enterprises go to help the unemployed.

London's resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of Labor be authorized and directed to immediately adopt

suitable measures to relieve distress caused by involuntary unemployment.

"Sec. 2. That the sum of \$500,000,000 be, and hereby is, authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to enable the Secretary of Labor to carry out the purposes above stated."

THE SOCIALIST SPIRIT

The indomitable, fighting spirit of the old Socialist Party is manifesting itself again in the crisis that faces the National Office.

Comrade George Cheatham of Manchester, New Hampshire, writes: "We discovered that we could not raise the necessary amount from our local members so we took the list out upon the street and tackled every man with a troubled look that we met. Sometimes we got kicked in the gutter and sometimes we got a donation." He sends \$54.00 which proves the success of his method, and continues: "We are still on the job to get more. If the other locals in our state do half as well, we will go over the top, SURE. I am on the job to see that they do their share—do not be discouraged."

Local Hartford, Connecticut, sent \$50.00 with a word of encouragement and cheer, while Comrade John McCarthy of Ansonia sends \$10.00 and promises to "stand here in Ansonia and do whatever I can to be of help whenever I can. It is wonderful that we are alive to tell the story, but I think we are on a better turn of the road and that we will find it better going soon."

The French Branch at Linton, Ind., when they received our communication "called a special meeting pretty quick" and decided to send \$2.50 from the small branch treasury and to take voluntary contributions in addition. A remittance of \$6.65 represented a personal contribution from every member present at the meeting.

Local Charleston, W. Va., sends \$17.00 with a promise of more soon and the cheering news "we are taking in new members at every meeting. The future of the straight Socialist Party looks good."

State Secretary Kennedy of Utah reports "The money for the Sustaining Fund is coming slowly but we will get our quota and more too," while Comrade Lipscomb of the State Executive Committee of Missouri doesn't want to stop at Twenty Thousand but urges that the drive be continued until every dollar of debt, including the mortgage on the National Headquarters, is paid and we have accumulated a surplus for a new and aggressive campaign. He pledges Missouri to do her full share not only as to her present quota but also towards whatever additional amounts may be necessary.

It is these letters, and many others like them, and the spirit of them which convinces us that the Socialist Party is "coming back" soon and strong.

Side Lights on Amnesty Work in Washington

By LILITH MARTIN

Lobbying on Capitol Hill in "dog days" is anything but "a pink tea party." Congressmen and Senators, irritated by the scorching heat worn with a long session which has not accomplished its work, seeing their vacations vanishing, are in no frame of mind to listen to such minor issues as the freeing of political prisoners.

Dumped from the quiet life of small towns and cities all over the United States, into a great, seething caldron of National diplomacy and intrigue, where men are liable to be made into mere cogs in a huge political machine, one refreshing fact remains; these men have not all lost their sense of "human-ness." Among them stand out a few in both the House and the Senate, who not only know in theory American ideals and principles, but are willing to work openly for their practice.

Meyer London, the lone Socialist Congressman, battles practically alone in the House. Interrupted with questions, heckled by men with mediocre minds, yet he always commands the attention of the intelligent, serious-minded men, whenever he speaks on amnesty or other subjects, vital to the welfare of the nation's people. He never lets an opportunity go by to talk, and makes one whenever he thinks the chance has been too long in coming.

Senator Joseph France, of Maryland, not only has introduced the Amnesty Resolution in the Senate, but from his vantage point in Europe, seeks ways and means to help the suffering Russian people.

Serving his first term in the United States Senate, elected on a slogan of "Debs in the White

House and Wilson in the penitentiary," Senator Tom Watson of Georgia, valiantly maintains his fight for Amnesty for Political Prisoners, and other measures that will help the common people.

Others, taking their first political steps cautiously, with less fighting spirit perhaps, but certainly interested in seeing the prisoners freed, talk of Debs the man. Some have known him on the Railroads; others in the Labor Unions; while many have listened to his kindly teachings. All are agreed, tho he may have been misguided, this lovable man should not remain in a criminal's cell.

Attorney-General Daugherty has made the statement to the press, that recommendations for Debs' pardon will possibly be made to President Harding before Labor Day. Should the recommendation be favorable, and action taken on it at once by the President, the workers and labor movement in general will have real cause to celebrate a Labor Day victory, in the freedom of this great lover of men, staunch champion of the working class.

In the meantime a whole nation of peace-loving people wait the action of these men who hold the happiness, even the lives and destinies of so many individuals in the hollows of their hands. Who can act for good or ill; who have it in their power to turn on a dazzling sunlight and gladden the hearts of wives and children by giving back their loved ones, or who can ruthlessly continue a policy of inaction, and by so doing, leave them only the blackness of despair.

Publicity is our watch-word; keep the subject alive. "Eternal vigilance is the price of victory."

Communist Political Action in England

By William M. Feigenbaum

The theories of political Communism are being tested out in Great Britain in a remarkable by-election in the Caerphilly constituency in South Wales.

Recently, Alfred Onions, Labor party M. P. who was elected in that district in 1918, died, and preparations were made to fill the place at the by-election. It was considered a safe Labor party district, and the Executive cast about for a "National Candidate," Frank Hodges and J. Ramsay MacDonald being suggested.

Then the Communists got busy. Up to last April, they had co-operated with every labor party candidacy, together with the unions, the I. L. P. (equivalent to the Socialist party here) and all other Socialist and labor organizations.

When Sylvia Pankhurst and other extremists began to advocate opposition to parliamentary work, Lenin denounced the tendency as "the in-

fantile disorder of Left Wing Communism." He urged that all Communists co-operate with the Socialist and labor parties in parliamentary and legislative work. Sylvia wirelessly a challenge to debate the matter with Lenin in Moscow—but she was jailed, and couldn't go.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International ordered the Communists of England to apply for membership in the Labor Party, and destroy it from within. The Labor party, by a vote of 4,100,000 to 240,000 refused to admit them, and Sylvia Pankhurst hailed the decision as a "left wing" victory.

Shortly after the Brighton decision of the Labor Party, Onions died, and the Communists decided to contest the election with the Labor party, nominating Robert Stewart, a highly popular labor leader, who is in gaol in the center of the Caerphilly district under a three months' sentence

under the E. P. A. (the British equivalent of a criminal syndicalism law, under which about 28 people have been given sentences of three and six months).

And this nomination opens up the whole question of the independent Communist participation in politics.

It is felt on all sides that the importance of the contest is far out of proportion to the importance of retaining or losing a seat; a large Communist vote will mean a great impetus for the political Communist movement, while a small or a negligible vote for the Communists is certain to mean a defeat for what Lenin has called the "infantile disorder" of "left wingism."

The Communist strength is great here, since South Wales has always been considered a "left" stronghold, the South Wales miners having recently voted in favor of the Moscow Red Trade Union International.

An interesting statement in opposition to independent Communist participation in the election is given in today's London Herald, by a special correspondent in South Wales, who has investigated the situation, and who reports as follows:

"A great deal of discussion is taking place throughout the Caerphilly Parliamentary Division on the forthcoming by-election.

"Next Saturday, the names of Will Harris, the miners' political organizer, and Councillor Morgan Jones, of Bargoed, will be submitted as candidates.

"Will Harris is the candidate in the division. He is a thoroughly well-known man—well known especially for his sympathies with what are known as the Left-Wingers. Quite lately he visited Hungary and Central Europe as one of the deputation with Fred Jowett and others. The report which this deputation gave of what they saw acquainted the democracies of the world with what the White terrorists had done, and were capable of doing, in that country.

"Morgan Jones is better known as one of the men who took his stand against the war. He is

rather younger than Will Harris—a teacher by profession.

"Both these candidates are fluent and effective speakers. Whichever is chosen will be chosen not by a caucus, but by the direct vote of trade unionists and others belonging to the Labor Party.

"One man one vote will be the method adopted, so the one selected will be sure of the combined backing of the Trade Union and labor movement.

"Great regret is being expressed that so great a fighter and so good a man as Bob Stewart should be put forward by the Communists, at this juncture. It is very strongly felt that this is no time to divide the ranks of labor, especially in view of the fact that whoever is adopted would be bound to vote Left on any question of public importance or of special importance to the miners.

"The question of Parliament versus Dictatorship, or the Third International versus the Second, does not, in the opinion of many people, arise in this contest. As a matter of fact, South Wales miners would like to see the Communist Party inside the Labor Party.

"Speaking to people in the division who know something of politics, I find opinion is gaining ground that, if the Communists will only agree to come and work inside the labor party, as an integral part of that organization, they would be welcomed by the majority—certainly in South Wales.

"It is strongly held that should Bob Stewart go to the poll, and by so doing wreck the chance of holding the seat by Harris or Morgan Jones, not merely will the Communist movement be split and get a great set-back, but the labor movement also. Consequently, people are urging that efforts should be made in London to prevent this split.

"Everybody respects Stewart, and also A. J. Cook, just sent to prison, who is looked upon as the leader of the Communists in South Wales; but in this respect there is also the feeling that Caerphilly should be fought by organized labor, and all sections—Communists, Socialists, and trade unionists—unite to secure the return of the candidate selected by the workers."

RAND SCHOOL EXTENSION LECTURES

The four members of the permanent teaching staff of the Rand School of Social Science—David P. Berenberg, Arthur W. Calhoun, Benjamin Glassberg, and Algernon Lee—will be available for a few lecture courses outside the school, either in Greater New York or in other cities not more distant than Boston, Pittsburgh, and Washington, during the fall, winter, and spring.

Each is prepared with several courses of four, six, or eight lectures on subjects of interest to Socialists, Trade Unionists, and Co-operators. Details will be given on request.

Charges will be moderate, and if engagements are made early, so that convenient circuits can be arranged, expense can be brought to a minimum.

For full information, address Educational Director, Rand School, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

LEAFLETS

FOR THE FALL CAMPAIGN

2 Page Leaflets

Work or Fight.

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The Crying Need of the Day.

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The Free American Workingman and His Sacred Right to Work.

25 cents per 100; \$2.00 per 1000;

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ORDER FROM

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

220 S. Ashland Blvd.

Chicago

National Office Sustaining Fund

CALIFORNIA HEADS THE LIST WITH 11 PER CENT

The National Convention at Detroit adopted a resolution to raise a Sustaining Fund of Twenty Thousand Dollars to save the National Office and enable us to continue the national work. The letter which the convention sent to the membership and which was published in the last issue of the Socialist World, after stating the financial condition of the party and reviewing the opportunities for future growth and usefulness, concluded with this perfectly frank statement of the situation:

Bluntly, it means this—we raise this minimum of twenty thousand dollars within not more than thirty days or the National Office quits its activities and closes its doors. There is no middle course. This must be understood.

Now, we feel you know exactly the way we stand financially and the rest is therefore directly up to you.

Remember, it is not less than twenty thousand dollars in not more than thirty days to keep the doors of the National Office open and to enable us to take advantage of the altogether extraordinary opportunities to build a powerful Socialist Party in America.

This statement did not overestimate the seriousness of the situation. It was not a bluff. The convention delegates meant just what they said. Fortunately the membership in some states responded promptly to the appeal and sent in enough money to tide us over the crisis, temporarily.

Up to August 20, the receipts on the Sustaining fund amounted to \$6,084.42. This is a long way from the \$20,000.00 asked for but it was sufficient to pay up the back wages of the office force and to make payments on account to our largest creditors so as to keep going for the present.

We cannot stop here however, to do so simply means that in a few months we will be back in the same condition we were in two months ago. The remaining debts of the National Office, amounting to approximately \$16,000.00, besides the mortgage on the Headquarters property, must be paid off.

Every possible retrenchment in the expenses of the National Office has been made and once the present load of debt is removed we will be able to get through the present depression without incurring new debts.

The State Executive Committee of Missouri has suggested that we double the quotas of each state and pay off the mortgage on the Headquarters as well as our other liabilities. As a proof of their sincerity they have already paid in the full amount of the quota assigned them and promise to double it within the next thirty days.

It may be impossible for all the states to double their quotas at this time but it is easily possible for every state to raise their first quota. The quotas were equitably assigned, taking into con-

THE STANDING OF THE STATES ON 111 PER CENT

| State | Quota | Paid | % |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1. California ... | \$ 798.00 | \$ 885.75 | 111% |
| 2. Dist. of Col. . . | 92.00 | 100.00 | 109% |
| 3. New Hamp. . . | 82.00 | 88.25 | 108% |
| 4. Missouri | 489.00 | 500.00 | 102% |
| 5. Nevada | 26.00 | 26.00 | 100% |
| 6. Maryland . . . | 246.00 | 230.00 | 93% |
| 7. Arizona | 46.00 | 41.50 | 90% |
| 8. Iowa | 408.00 | 281.00 | 69% |
| 9. Pennsylvania . | 1,916.00 | 1,296.85 | 68% |
| 10. Utah | 88.00 | 52.60 | 60% |
| 11. Delaware | 31.00 | 18.00 | 58% |
| 12. Wyoming . . . | 34.00 | 17.00 | 50% |
| 13. Wisconsin . . . | 1,749.00 | 770.00 | 44% |
| 14. Connecticut . . | 270.00 | 117.40 | 43% |
| 15. Massachusetts | 1,215.00 | 427.24 | 35% |
| 16. Kansas | 270.00 | 85.85 | 32% |
| 17. Illinois | 1,622.00 | 417.15 | 26% |
| 18. West Virginia . | 142.00 | 29.00 | 20% |
| 19. Kentucky | 235.00 | 45.00 | 19% |
| 20. Indiana | 577.00 | 94.15 | 16% |
| 21. Ohio | 1,169.00 | 190.25 | 16% |
| 22. Rhode Island . | 71.00 | 5.00 | 7% |
| 23. Georgia | 221.00 | 15.00 | 7% |
| 24. New York | 3,213.00 | 217.50 | 7% |
| 25. Tennessee . . . | 168.00 | 10.00 | 6% |
| 26. Oregon | 130.00 | 7.48 | 6% |
| 27. New Jersey . . | 739.00 | 39.00 | 5% |
| 28. Florida | 119.00 | 6.00 | 5% |
| 29. North Dakota . | 104.00 | 5.00 | 5% |
| 30. Oklahoma | 369.00 | 16.00 | 4% |
| 31. Arkansas | 172.00 | 7.00 | 4% |
| 32. Mississippi . . . | 127.00 | 5.00 | 4% |
| 33. Nebraska | 171.00 | 5.00 | 3% |
| 34. Texas | 377.00 | 8.20 | 2% |
| 35. Michigan | 520.00 | 11.25 | 2% |
| 36. Minnesota | 575.00 | 11.00 | 2% |
| 37. Colorado | 118.00 | 2.00 | 2% |
| 38. Idaho | 66.00 | 1.00 | 2% |
| Total | \$20,000.00 | \$6,084.42 | 30% |

NOT HEARD FROM LIST IS YOUR STATE IN THIS COLUMN?

| State | Quota | State | Quota |
|-------------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| Alabama | \$172.00 | So. Carolina . . | \$107.00 |
| Louisiana | 152.00 | So. Dakota . . . | 62.00 |
| Maine | 93.00 | Vermont | 52.00 |
| Montana | 85.00 | Virginia | 157.00 |
| New Mexico . . . | 30.00 | Washington . . . | 154.00 |
| | | North Carolina . . | \$171.00 |

sideration the population and wealth of each state, the number of votes cast at the last election and the number of party members in good standing.

Under these circumstances it is no more difficult for one state to raise its quota than another. It is just as easy for little Rhode Island to raise its share as it is for the big states like Pennsylvania and California to raise theirs. On the other hand it is just as hard for the big states to go over

the top as for the little ones. Each state has been assessed in proportion to its strength.

The high cost of living and unemployment are not peculiar to any one locality or to any one state. These conditions exist in every state along with the disorganization due to the internal controversies and the persecution resulting from the war. In these respects all the states are in practically the same condition but these obstacles are not sufficient to prevent any state from raising its full quota of the Sustaining Fund.

What one state has done under these circumstances, the others can do. And this is what some of the states have done. Five of them are over the top with 100 per cent or more. Six more have passed the 50 per cent mark and another half dozen have raised between 25 and 50 per cent.

An examination of the table shown below proves that the big states and the little states find it equally difficult and equally easy to raise their quotas. The two states at the head of the list are California and the District of Columbia, having one of the largest and one of the smallest quotas. But both alike they have gone over the top and have promised additional contributions.

| State | Quota | Paid | % |
|--|------------|------------|-----|
| 1—California . . . | \$ 798.00 | \$ 885.75 | 111 |
| 2—Dist. of Col. . . | 92.00 | 100.00 | 109 |
| Clear down the list the big and little states and the eastern and western states alternate, showing practically the same percentages and demonstrating the fairness of the apportionments: | | | |
| 4—Missouri | \$ 489.00 | \$ 500.00 | 102 |
| 5—Nevada | 26.00 | 26.00 | 100 |
| 9—Pennsylvania | \$1,916.00 | \$1,296.85 | 68 |
| 10—Utah | 88.00 | 52.60 | 60 |
| 13—Wisconsin . . . | \$1,749.00 | \$ 770.00 | 44 |
| 14—Connecticut . . | 270.00 | 117.40 | 43 |
| 15—Massachusetts | \$1,215.00 | \$ 427.24 | 35 |
| 16—Kansas | 270.00 | 85.85 | 32 |

That is the record. East and west, big and little the states are running neck and neck, the only handicap on any of them is the indifference and neglect of their own membership.

What the big states of California, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin have done, the states of New York, New Jersey and Ohio can do. What the little states of New Hampshire, Nevada and Utah have done the states of Maine, Vermont and Idaho can also do.

It is up to the membership today, as it was when the convention issued their appeal. The remainder of the Sustaining Fund must be raised. The time has been extended to October 1, which will allow sufficient time for every state to raise its quota. It is up to you, the individual members reading this article to see that your state is not at the bottom of the list.

California, New Hampshire and Missouri have promised to double their quotas. Maryland, the District of Columbia and other states close to the head of the column have agreed not to stop

with the attainment of their quotas but to raise as much more as possible.

Where does YOUR state stand? If it is far down the list, do you intend to let it stay there or will you help boost it towards the top? If you want to push it up, commence now by sending your contribution to the National Office. Take it up at your next local meeting and see that an active effort is made in your community. Every local has been forwarded contribution lists for the Sustaining Fund. Call on your local secretary for one of these lists and circulate it in your shop or neighborhood. If you have not a list send to the National Office and we will furnish you as many as desired.

It is easy to raise money for the party if you go after it in the right spirit. It is surprising how many non-members and ex-members are eager to contribute if you will but ask them. Comrade Brandt of Local St. Louis, which has exceeded its quota, writes that 43 per cent of the amount raised came from non-members. Comrade Richman of Washington, D. C. reports that in checking up some contribution lists he found that out of 29 contributors, 13 of them were not party members. Other states and locals which are near the head of the column make the same reports, the quotas can be raised if the membership will make an active canvass of all the sympathizers in their communities.

Read the article in this issue by Comrade Hoehn, Editor of St. Louis Labor, entitled the Rank and File Will Decide. If you decide that the Socialist Party should and must be saved for the work before us, do not wait for someone else to start the work in your city. Get a contribution list and start out hunting people who agree with you. There are many of them, who will gladly contribute to the National Office Sustaining Fund, to save the Socialist Party.

Get Them Now

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY

220 S. Ashland Blvd.

Chicago

The Socialist Party

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

National Executive Committee:
 Wm. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau
 Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Liljch Martin, 220 S. Ashland Ave.,
 Chicago, Ill.

Wm. H. Henry, 769 East 13th
 St., Indianapolis, Ind.

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

Edmund T. Melms, 579—8th Ave.
 Milwaukee, Wis.

James Oneal, 1127 Putnam Ave.,
 Brooklyn, N. Y.

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

National Committee on Appeals:
 Jacob Panken, 156 Second Ave.,
 N. Y. C., Chairman.

S. John Block, 198 Broadway, N.
 Y. C., Secretary.

PROPOSED REFERENDUM

August 4, 1921.

Local Berks County, with 200 members in good standing, at a regular membership meeting of the Local held on the above date, moves to amend Article IX of the National Constitution, Section 6 (a) 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.

COMMENT

We believe that 50 cents dues is a serious hindrance to the building up of our organization throuout the country. It deters new members from joining and often results in the loss of old members, especially when they find themselves behind in dues and unable to pay arrears. Thus, once they are no longer members of the Party, their interest lags and their activity is lost to the organization, and under such circumstances it is very difficult to enlist their financial support for Party work of any sort. A reduction of dues at this time will, we believe, enable us to build our membership to former strength, and thereby increase the

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

By *OTTO BRANSTETTER*

COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP

When we say that socialism is collective ownership we mean the opposite of every kind of separate, private or divided ownership.

You cannot step into the public highway and pick up a single grain of sand or dust and say that it belongs to you. It does not. You have no private or divided ownership in the public road. What you own is an equal, but an undivided interest, with every other citizen.

You own an interest which is indivisible, which is not and cannot be divided, and which you cannot mortgage, sell, give away or be cheated out of.

It is fortunate for you that this is so. If the public road was divided up and each citizen was given the private ownership of an equal portion, you would soon lose all your rights on that public highway.

Sooner or later the successful and eminently respectable business men who have bribed your city councils and state legislatures, who have stolen all the natural resources of the nation and who skin you out of three-fifths of the value of all you produce, would also skin you out of your ownership of your portion of the public highway.

You and your children would be barred from its use and have to pay tribute to a private owner for the use of that property which is now free of access and of use to every citizen on the same terms and the same conditions.

But it is not divided up. There is no private ownership in the public streets and roads. And because there is not, because you cannot privately own a part or the whole of that property, you and your children, generation after generation, are secured in the free use of the public streets and highways.

That is what we propose for the means of production. Not to divide them up and give each citizen the private ownership of an equal share. but to give every citizen an equal, but an undivided interest in their ownership. The same kind of an undivided interest which he now has in the public streets and parks and in the public schools and post office.

An interest which he cannot mortgage, sell, give away or be cheated out of, thereby securing him and his descendants in the free acces to, and use of, the means of production.

That is what we mean when we say, Socialism is *Collective Ownership*.

net revenue to National, State, Local and Branch organizations. We feel that the National and State organizations should receive the larger share of the dues, because Locals and Branches are in direct contact with the membership and are therefore in position to raise additional funds when needed to carry on Party activities.

Fraternally yours,
LOCAL BERKS COUNTY, S. P.
 Walter S. Schearer,
 Recording Secretary.

Seconds

American Branch, Erie, Pa., 35 members; New Castle, Pa., 18 members; W. Philadelphia, Pa., 92 members; Lebanon, Pa., 11 members.

NOTICE

In seconding motions for referendum, locals and branches should give the number of members in good standing. Without this information the seconds are worthless and can not be counted.

National Executive Committee
Motion No. 1.
 By Gerber.

"That no referendum be submitted on any action of the last National Convention until the expiration of the sixty day period after the adjournment of the Convention so that all referendums may be sent out on one ballot and voted on at one time."

Comment.

The Constitution provides that Locals and Branches may initiate a referendum on any amendment to the Constitution adopted by the Convention, within sixty days after the Convention adjourns. The Convention has made several important changes in the Constitution, and there may be a demand for a referendum on some of them. To submit one or two resolutions to a vote of the membership now, and sixty days after the adjournment of the Convention again submit another referendum on some of the amendments to the Constitution will double the expense on the National, State and Locals, and will be a waste of time and energy of the Branches and Comrades.

Then again at this time during the hot weather meetings are poorly attended, and we ought to have our referendums at a time when most of the membership is active and meet-

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT

Political democracy does not exist in even the most progressive of our states. Woman suffrage and the initiative and referendum do not constitute political democracy.

In order to have political democracy we must have universal suffrage. This means that every citizen should have the right to vote without discrimination on account of sex, race, nationality or religion. It means the abolition of all property, educational and poll-tax restrictions on the right of suffrage and fundamental changes in the residence qualifications. It means the right of every adult citizen of sound mind, without restrictions or qualifications of any kind, to a voice and a vote in the election of officers and the making of laws under which he is to live.

When we have universal adult suffrage and have taken away the veto power of the president and governors, curbed the power of the courts, made all the appointive officers either elective or appointive on a merit basis under rigid civil service rules and, in addition thereto, have the initiative and referendum and the power to recall all officials, and election laws which absolutely guarantee the honest casting and the honest counting of the ballots, then, and not until then, will we have political democracy.

But when we have all of these things we will not have socialism. Socialism means more than political democracy. It means more than the right to vote on general laws protecting personal and property rights and the election of agents or representatives in the political government.

It means the right to participate in the election or selection of the foreman on your job, the superintendent of your factory and the general manager of the industry in which you labor. It means a voice in determining your hours and conditions of labor, the sanitary conditions of the factory, the installation of safety appliances, the adoption of new methods and new systems of production. It means a voice in determining all those details of your daily work which so vitally affect you as a working man.

It is industrial democracy. It means carrying the principle of democracy from the political to the industrial field and giving the working class the democratic management and control of the mills and mines and factories in which they labor.

That is what we mean when we say Socialism is collective ownership and *Democratic Management*.

CO-OPERATIVE USE

A society may have democratic government and the collective ownership of its natural resources and means of production without having socialism.

When America was discovered the Indians were in complete possession of the country. Amongst the Indians there was no such thing as private title and

ings well attended, so that the vote will represent the membership and not only a handful.

Comment by Executive Secretary.

The ballot on the matter of International affiliation is already in the hands of the printer but I have ordered the printing held up pending action of your committee. However, notice has already been sent to the State Secretaries and an item announcing the submission of the referendum will appear in the Socialist World for June-July, which is now in the hands of the binder and which had gone to press when Comrade Gerber's letter was received.

The arguments for holding up the referendum are good and should prevail except for the precedent already established of sending out referendum submitted by the convention, or by request of the required number of delegates, immediately upon adjournment of the Convention.

Under the circumstances I believe that the delaying of this referendum will subject the committee to severe criticism and still further delay the settlement of the question of affiliation with the Communist International. It appears to me that the sooner the referendum is held and the position of the convention sustained, the better it will be.

Voting Yes: Oneal Gerber,
Brandt.

Voting No: Melms, Maurer,
Martin, Henry.

Motion Lost.

Comment by Oneal: I am voting in favor of the Gerber motion to postpone the referendum until the 60 day period has expired. One of the most forceful arguments in favor of this is that the votes cast in the next few months would be so small, owing to the hot weather, that the referendum would be ridiculous. At the same time I am trying to get another matter before the membership so that it can go to the membership at the same time and thus save the expense Gerbers refers to, and expense is a vital consideration with the party when the national office is unable to pay the salaries of its office help.

Comment by Melms: Since the June-July Socialist World carries the information that the ballots will be shipped the latter part of July to all State Secretaries, and since the State Secretaries are likewise noti-

deed to land. The land, hunting grounds, fishing streams, and all the natural resources were the collective property of the respective tribes. They had collective ownership.

The tribal chieftains were generally elective and there were no hereditary ruling families. Any member of the tribe, including the women in some tribes, had the right to participate in the tribal councils. For a people in their stage of development, lying in small camps and villages where it was practically possible for them all to attend and participate in the public meetings, this was a practical and fairly effective form of democratic government.

The Indians had collective ownership and democratic government, but they did not have socialism. Something very essential to a socialist society was lacking there. What they did not have was co-operative production.

Socialism was impossible a thousand or a hundred years ago. The theories of modern, scientific socialism spring from, and the future socialist society will grow out of, the modern capitalist system of production with its division of labor and the co-operative use of labor saving machinery in the modern factory system.

A general system of co-operative production was impossible as long as production was carried on under the old hand system. A dozen shoe makers working together in one room, but each of them working separately and producing an entire pair of shoes by himself, would derive no benefit from such co-operation. There would be no increased productivity, no reward or benefit to compensate for the loss of the individual freedom which they had when working each one at his own bench in his own shop. Under the hand system there is no incentive to co-operate, it is naturally an individualistic, competitive system. It is for this reason, lack of increased productivity and resulting benefits, that small communistic and socialistic colonies have always failed and disintegrated except when held together by religious fanaticism.

But when you bring men together in a modern shoe factory there is real co-operation. One man does the cutting, another the stitching, and so on. From seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five persons worked upon the pair of shoes you are wearing, each of them performing just one operation and becoming highly expert in that respect. On account of this division of labor, the use of labor saving machinery and large scale production, their productivity is wonderfully increased. Every man, woman and child in a modern shoe factory will produce on an average from five to ten times as many shoes in a week as could be produced by the best workers under the old hand system. In various industries the modern worker produces five, ten, twenty or a hundred times as much as

fied to this effect, therefore, under these circumstances the delaying of the referendum B 1921 is impossible, as it would heap severe criticism on the members of the N. E. C. I am, therefore, compelled to vote NO.

Comment by Brandt: I am voting "yes" on this motion, and in explanation of my vote, have the following to say — I fully realize that to vote "yes" on this proposition will subject one to more or less criticism from some of the comrades. I also know that if the committee supports Comrade Gerber's motion, precedent will be set aside; but there is a reason.

I received in yesterday's mail your communication informing the members of the committee that the last penny in the National Office was spent in circularization work in reference to the Sustaining Fund. In addition, you are behind in wages to the office help from four to eight weeks. The National Office has been closed and must wait on donations to open again.

Now comes the question: shall this referendum be sent out immediately or shall we wait the constitutional sixty days. Comrade Gerber points out clearly in his comment, the possibility of one or more referendums on constitutional amendments. If such should be the case, it would be the wasting of hundreds of dollars in this double work. I cannot see where our International relations are going to suffer to any great extent through this delay. I believe the vast majority of our members will agree there is no immediate action necessary on this question, and I think the following of any precedent should be considered from the viewpoint of importance.

Comment by Henry: Am voting no. I do not think it is best to hold the matter up, and again I don't think there is much chance for another vote being called for on action of convention unless it should be on lowering of dues, and if such a move be made, it would take some time to get the seconds and vote placed.

National Executive Committee
Motion No. 2.

By Gerber and Oneal.
That the National Executive Secretary be instructed to issue a call to locals and branches of the So-

could be produced under the old hand system. This increased productivity and the resulting benefits to both the individual and society furnishes the incentive which is required to make co-operation practical and successful.

The modern factory system makes co-operation practical and our modern social development makes it absolutely necessary. Without it there would be no railroads, telephones or street cars. There would be no large mills or mines, no great manufacturing or commercial establishments of any kind. If co-operative production was to stop tomorrow half our population would starve or freeze to death within a year and our civilization be set back to the age of individualistic hand production.

Socialism does not imply anything of that kind. Socialism implies large scale production with the aid of labor saving machinery and the division of labor of the modern factory system. No society is a socialist society and no industry can be socialized until this condition exists.

Socialism is collective ownership, democratic management and *Co-Operative Use*.

THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

It is often said, "the early Christian Church tried socialism and it was a failure." The records relating to the economic and social conditions existing in the early church are meager but in the fourth chapter of Acts is found this statement; "Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need . . . neither said any of them that ought of the things he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common."

If this is a true statement of their property relations, they did not have socialism. Socialism does not propose to hold all things in common. It proposes to hold in common only those things which are used in common, or upon which the people in common depend. This of course includes the streets, roads, parks, schools, post offices and all that property which is now publicly owned and which we need not consider. The question is what kind of property that is now privately owned will be collectively owned under socialism?

The purpose of socialism is to stop the exploitation of the working class. The private ownership of certain kinds of property gives the owner the power of exploitation and we therefore demand that such property be collectively owned. There are other kinds of property whose private ownership gives no such power and it will therefore be left in the hands of private owners.

cialist 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 co-operate 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.

Comment.

"In support to this motion, we submit that the party by itself is not able to render any aid to the Russian people, especially in the form of finance as its resources are taxed to raise a fund to carry on its own work. At the same time clothing and foodstuffs can be collected and arrangements can be made in New York for a central agency to which such collections may be sent. We submit that one of the best ways of helping Russia is by building up a powerful Socialist organization and this work should not be neglected for a moment. We also owe this to our political prisoners who are still confined. By co-operating with various groups we may be able to send a substantial quantity of goods to Russia that will be of service in relieving the famine that prevails in that country. If this motion carries the comrades in New York will, in co-operation with other groups, organize the agency for receiving shipments for Russia."

Voting Yes: Gerber, Oneal, Martin, Maurer, Brandt, Henry.

Not Voting: Melms.

Motion carried.

CLAESSENS TOUR

August Claessens and party are on the return trip after a series of successful meetings in Colorado and Wyoming. The tour will close at Pittsburgh, Pa., on September 18th.

CONVENTION STAMPS

The expenses of the National Convention amounted to \$4,941.17. Up to August 23rd the sales of Convention Stamps amounted to \$4,475.50 leaving a deficit of \$465.67. No member is good standing who does not have a 1921 Convention Stamp in his membership book.

Mr. Astorbilt may now own a million dollar palace and it will work no hardship on any other citizen. The palace is the product of labor and the workers who produced it were exploited out of the largest portion of its value at the time of production, but when that exploitation has been accomplished, when the palace once becomes his private property, it will give him no power of exploitation over any other man. You and I do not have to use his palace, we do not depend upon it in any way or for any purpose and he can own that palace all his life without having power to work any injustice on us or any other person.

But if it is a railroad instead of a palace which he owns, it will be different. He will have the power of exploitation over every producer, shipper and consumer in the territory which it serves. Every person living along the right of way of that railroad will pay tribute to Mr. Astorbilt on account of his private ownership of that railroad upon which they all depend.

Mrs. Astorbilt may now own a million dollar necklace and such ownership will give her no power of exploitation over any working man. Workingmen do not have to wear her necklace, they do not have to use it or depend upon it in any way. She and her descendants after her can own that necklace for a thousand years without having the power to take a single penny from the pockets of the workers.

But if it is a million dollar coal mine which she owns, she will have the power of exploitation over every miner working in that mine. Every day they dig coal they will divide up with Mrs. Astorbilt. She will take from them the largest portion of the value of their product through her private ownership of the mine which they must use in order to produce coal.

It is that kind of property, the things which we all depend upon, that we want to own collectively. We do not want the collective ownership of a sack of flour. We want every family to own their own sack of flour, but we want the collective ownership of the flouring mills of the country upon which we all depend for our supply of flour.

And so in every industry, it is not the product which we want to collectively own, but the means of producing. We want the private ownership of food and clothing, of furniture, carpets, pictures, books, pianos, horses and buggies, automobiles, of all those things which are privately and individually used. We want the collective ownership of the means of production, the railroads, mills, lands, mines and factories in which those things are produced.

Socialism is collective ownership, democratic management and co-operative use of the *Means of Production*.

(To be continued in September)

| National Convention Expense | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
| State | Delegate | Expense |
| Cal. | King | \$242.08 |
| Conn. | Plunkett | 109.02 |
| D. C. | Richman | 102.26 |
| Ill. | Engdahl | 59.28 |
| " | Kruse | 59.28 |
| " | Wenschhoff | 84.10 |
| Ind. | Lewis | 59.80 |
| Iowa | Feuchter | 76.20 |
| Kans. | Magill | 109.86 |
| Ky. | Sandefur | 96.06 |
| Md. | Neistadt | 102.26 |
| Mass. | Roewer | 123.98 |
| " | Puranen | 112.74 |
| " | Fieldman | 108.40 |
| Mich. | Davidow | None |
| Mo. | Hoehn | 78.08 |
| N. H. | Cheatham | 122.20 |
| N. J. | Jones | 101.68 |
| Sou. O. D. | Flanagan | 125.00 |
| N. Y. | Wilcox | 72.24 |
| " | Noonan | 78.50 |
| " | Orr | 102.85 |
| " | Solomon | 103.74 |
| " | Hillquit | 97.74 |
| " | Lee | 103.74 |
| Ohio | Willert | 52.88 |
| " | Ojala | 57.12 |
| Okla. | Stanwood | 145.80 |
| Pa. | Coleman | 75.30 |
| " | Cohen | 104.00 |
| " | Wilson | 97.00 |
| R. Is. | Marcus | 131.74 |
| Utah | Kennedy | 224.18 |
| W. Vir. | Kirkendall | 68.40 |
| Wis. | Hoan | 73.18 |
| " | Berger | 73.18 |
| " | Coleman | 73.18 |
| " | Boorman | 86.18 |
| N. W. O. D. | Newman | 210.81 |
| Total | | \$3,904.13 |
| Fraternal | | |
| J. Slav. | Petrich | \$ 59.28 |
| Boh. | Kolarik | 59.28 |
| Ger. | Dreifuss | 59.28 |
| Ital. | Valenti | 59.28 |
| Fin. | Makela | 102.74 |
| Y. P. S. L. | Novik | 94.90 |
| Total | | \$434.76 |
| N. E. C. | | |
| Brandt | | \$ 84.08 |
| Melms | | 74.90 |
| Maily | | 100.84 |
| Henry | | 69.18 |
| Branstetter | | 64.28 |
| Total | | \$393.28 |
| Office Force & Miscel. | | |
| White | | \$58.28 |
| Lemke | | 56.28 |
| Klopfstein | | 54.28 |
| Feigenbaum | | 15.00 |
| Mis. Ex. | | 25.25 |
| Total | | \$209.09 |
| Total Con. Ex. | | \$4,941.17 |

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| Catholic Church and Socialism | .10 | 1.00 | |
| Constitution Russian Soviet Republic | .10 | 1.00 | 4.00 |
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| By Art Young | .05 | .50 | 2.00 |
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| Thompson | .10 | 1.00 | 4.00 |
| Rights of the Masses—Brewer | .10 | 1.00 | 4.00 |
| Salaried Man, The | .10 | 1.00 | 7.00 |
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| Should Socialism Be Crushed—Hunter | .05 | .50 | 1.50 |
| Socialism—What It Is and How to Get It. | | | |
| Ameringer—(16 page leaflet) | .05 | .25 | .75 |
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