

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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PROSPECTS FOR AMNESTY

The signing of the Peace Treaty with Germany, the convening of the Armaments Conference and the approach of the Christmas Holidays, have given a new impetus to the hopes and activities of the various organizations interested in the release of political prisoners.

The national convention of the World War Veterans adopted a Memorial to President Harding and sent a delegation of thirty members, including four Medal of Honor men, to Washington in the interest of Amnesty.

The Civil Liberties Union secured an interview with the President and co-operated with the World War Veterans in picketing the Armaments Conference.

The Illinois Debs Freedom Conference is particularly active and the representatives from Illinois are being made to understand that organized labor in that state is united to a man, in the demand for a general amnesty.

Bertha Hale White, the representative of the Socialist Party at Washington, reports that the sentence of Emil Herman, serving a ten year sentence at McNeil's Island, has been commuted to expire on Dec. 23rd, and the case against Rose Pastor Stokes has been dismissed. The following extracts are from the last report received:

"While greatly disappointed over the failure of their hopes for a general amnesty for Thanksgiving, amnesty workers in Washington are much encouraged over the reports that have been received of a cabinet meeting, at which President Harding devoted the greater part of the session to the subject of political prisoners. This meeting was held on Nov. 22nd. It is now believed that the United States will follow the example set by the other great nations represented at the Armaments Conference. In no other country were convictions had upon such insufficient evidence. The men in prison in this country today were sentenced solely for the expression of opinion. And in no other country were the sentences so long or the review of the cases so exclusively delayed."

"It is understood that each case is to be acted upon separately, but the report that the greater part of the politicals will be released by Christmas is considered to be authoritative. It

is confidently believed that Eugene V. Debs will be the first of the prisoners to be released."

"I have had a number of interviews with Mr. James A. Finch, the Pardons Attorney of the Department of Justice, and presented arguments for the release of the prisoners. From what he has said, I do not find it possible to hope for any sweeping decree of amnesty. He was very ready to discuss individual cases and seemed greatly interested in the story of the prisoners from Oklahoma now incarcerated at Leavenworth. He took a list of their names with notes upon the cruel hardships of their helpless dependents and promised to give me, if possible, some definite statement regarding them next Saturday."

"Through Meyer London, Socialist Congressman from New York, the amnesty memorials presented to the President by the World War Veterans and the committee of Congressional Medal of Honor men were read before the House of Representative and will become a part of the Congressional record. Although the House was rushing through its work in order to adjourn today, Congressman London's time was twice extended and he was thus enabled to speak in favor of the action proposed by the World War Veterans."

"It was the intention of Senator Ladd of Nebraska to read the memorials in the Senate today, but owing to the pressure of legislation he was unable to do so. The Senate stands adjourned to December 5th. It is probable that Senator Ladd will bring up the question of amnesty early in the coming session."

Since the formal signing of the Peace Treaty there is no shadow of excuse for further delay. In view of the reported assurances given by the administration it is reasonable to expect the early review of these cases and the release of at least a large number of the politicals.

Failing to do so will convict the President and his advisers of having been deliberately misleading in their assurances to various committees and delegations and of having betrayed the confidence of millions of citizens who, relying on the statements issued in Washington, have confidently expected the release of the political prisoners at this time.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

Russian Relief Fund

Over Twenty-Five Hundred Dollars in cash and five cases of clothing have been received by the National Office for the Russian Relief Fund. Prices have been obtained on one carload each of soap and condensed milk, two articles badly needed by the Russian workers. Information has been secured regarding shipments direct to the Soviet Government and also regarding the distribution of our supplies by the Friends Service Committee.

At its meeting in Cleveland on November 25th, the N. E. C. will decide on the agency through which we will make our distribution and arrange for the immediate purchase and shipment of supplies.

CONTRIBUTION FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF

F. J. Lavanier, Covington, Kentucky	\$2.00
A. Jaffe, Fort Wayne, Indiana	8.00
Ital. S. F. Br., Schelney, Pennsylvania	10.50
Esa Jappinen, Columbus, Ohio	5.00
U. A. Welchous, Falls Creek, Penna.	2.00
R. S. Hofses, Reading, Penna.	10.00
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Wm. Newman, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
K. Foster Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Anna Miluka, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
33rd Ward Br. No. 2, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
T. & L. Hirsh, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Arbeiter Zeitung, Chicago, Ill.	3.00
Ital. Soc. Br., 17 Ward, Chicago, Ill.	50.50
Estelle Sedgwick, Chicago, Ill.	20.00
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Max Burgholzer, Stevenson, Wash.	1.00
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Finn. Soc. Fed. Br., Quincy, Mass.	28.80
N. W. Side Germ. Br., Chicago, Ill.	3.00
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W. H. Henry, Indianapolis, Ind.	67.18
E. Muehleman, Chesterfield, Mo.	25.00
G. T. S. Covington, Ken'y	2.00
John La Duca, Barre, Vt.	39.65
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J. J. Sturm, Chicago, Ill.	10.00

I. Williams, Greenburg, Penna.	5.00
U. A. Welchow, Falls Creek, Penna.	5.00
Finn. S. Fed. Br., Grand Rapids, Mich.	16.35
Finn. Work. Soc., Fitchburg, Mass.	184.33
H. McKeen, West Paris, Maine	23.60
E. T. Melms, Milwaukee, Wis.	43.00
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S. Ruhomas, Treas., Chester, Vt.	50.36
Finn. S. Fed. Br., Lanesville, Mass.	43.50
Finn. Soc. Br., Warren, Maine	60.00
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I. King, San Francisco, Calif.	15.00
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Finn. S. Fed. Br. Local, Quincy, Mass.	17.11
Finn. S. Fed. Br. Loc. Newark, N. J.	44.44
A. Miskind, Chicago, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
Ital. S. Fed. Br., Old Forge, Penna.	105.78
R. K. Swope, Santa Clara, Calif.	1.00

Total \$2,640.20

THE SUSTAINING FUND.

The receipts for the National Office Sustaining Fund amount to \$12,263.00 or 61% of the amount asked for. Seven States have exceeded their quotas and twenty states have raised more than fifty percent. The remaining states are woefully slow and are lagging behind with anywhere from three or four up to thirty or forty percent.

The Fund is to be closed on December 31st and every state should make an effort to complete its quota by that date. The quotas are equitably distributed and every state can raise its quota if it makes an effort to do so.

How about your own state, will the close of the year and of the Fund find your state near the top or near the bottom of the list?

If your state is one of those which are lagging behind we are depending on you to help wake it up.

If you have not already done so, make your contribution now and then get others to do their part.

Address of the N. E. C. to the United Mine Workers

The Socialist Party of the United States, itself the victim of the same reaction that seeks the annihilation of your own and other labor organizations, sends greetings to the United Mine Workers of America.

The injunction issued by a federal judge, which aims to cripple the finances of the United Mine Workers, follows the criminal activities of the hired mercenaries of the coal companies of West Virginia. In regions of that state these hireling thugs as county officials bear a roving commission to assault and kill at will.

Union miners have been murdered in their homes. They have been evicted from company houses and driven into the hills with their families. State officials have condoned this murderous regime and have driven the miners to desperation.

Now comes this federal injunction as further assistance to the naked rule of the mine owners in West Virginia. It is largely a repetition of a similar injunction by the same judge which brought defeat to the miners two years ago.

This tragic situation also follows swift upon the heels of the treatment of the railroad workers by the railroad managers and the Railroad Labor Board. The latter body had no more than succeeded in inducing the representative of the railroad workers to postpone the strike than the railroad managers announce that another reduction of wages will be announced within 30 days.

The Railroad Labor Board was practically defied by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and no stern position was taken by the board regarding this defiance. On the other hand the railroad workers are sternly informed that they must obey the rulings of the board or pay heavy penalties if they refuse. There is one law for the profiteers and another law for the workers of the United States.

The railroad workers now face the danger that the rules which they have established by generations of struggle may be swept away, rules that mean so much in protecting them against arbitrary exactions of the railway gamblers. Meantime the railway managers have almost free access to the Federal Treasury and insist on payment of dividends upon the enormous fictitious values with which the railroads are loaded.

In the steel industry the masses two years ago faced an experience since realized by the miners and the railroad workers. The intolerable and atrocious conditions they faced brought on a strike. Instantly the powers of press, public officials in Pennsylvania and other states within the area of the strike, the Department of Justice and the War Department, were mobilized to drive the steel workers back to their inhuman tasks. The story of this tragic defeat is too well known to require repetition.

The miners are the latest group to face the consolidated reaction that rules with more power in the United States than in any other country. Events of recent years indicate that the whole

structure of the organized labor movement is in imminent danger of destruction. Generations of effort and sacrifice are at stake.

In this hour of peril it is criminal to maintain the divisions that have prevented unity of action of the organized masses. These divisions are based upon a pre-war era that has passed into history. A new era is before us. A closing up of the ranks is essential. The whole organized labor movement must be mobilized and consolidated for common action if we are to retain the freedom of organization, of the press, of assemblage, of struggle, of picketing, of the use of funds, etc. All these essentials are now in peril of being swept away by the great powers of unionized capital and their tools in public power.

In sending greetings of encouragement and pledging solidarity with the United Mine Workers and the other organizations which have faced the terrific blows of reaction within the past few years, we also urge the supreme importance of political unity in an effort to wrest public power from the common enemy. We but indulge in fatuous illusions and vain hopes if the present shameful division of the masses regarding independent political action is maintained. It is this division that has brought every section of the organized workers almost to the brink of ruin.

Understanding this peril the Socialist Party at its convention last June voted to suggest a plan of political union along the lines that have made the British movement so powerful. There the unions with their policies are an established and recognized factor in the life of the nation. Here we face a struggle to obtain what the British workers have obtained by that union of forces which we are urging.

It was a crisis in the unions with respect to the use of public power which induced our British brothers 20 years ago to federate in the British Labor Party, permitting each affiliated organization to maintain its own autonomy. By this action they have won a status for themselves and security in those rights which are attacked with venom, and determination all along the line in this country.

Our call has gone to the many organizations of the workers. We are receiving some hearty responses. In sending these greetings of solidarity and cheer to you, we repeat this call for unity and mobilization of all our forces for common defense.

The great hour for a powerful consolidation of all forces is here. It is a historical period of the movement. Old prejudices must be cast aside. We must cease to divide and lose; we must unite and win. We must issue from this dark period stronger, more powerful, than ever. We appeal to all to join in this common struggle to rescue the organized movement of the workers from the disasters that threaten.

National Executive Committee of the
Socialist Party.

MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT From The World War Veterans

The World War Veterans representing almost one-half million ex-service men who participated in the World War, many of whom bear the scars of battle wounds, appeal to you for the release of those prisoners now in federal prisons who were convicted of opposing the war.

We understand that there are at present time about one hundred and forty (140) such prisoners in Atlanta, Leavenworth, and McNeil's Island prisons. We ask for their release as a matter of simple justice, since no possible purpose can be served by imprisoning them longer. Most of them were sentenced to term ranging from ten (10) to twenty (20) years, and unless they are pardoned by your order now, the last of them will not be out for years to come.

It is not strange, Mr. President, that veterans of the World War should ask for the release of men who opposed war. These men were moved by the same ideals as moved us. They differed from us only as to the methods of achieving those ideals. We realized that it would be necessary first to fight to end war, while they, no doubt, believe that by not fighting, war could be stopped forever. They did not see in the method of war the realization of their hopes for mankind. Who but the judgment of history shall say whether they or we were right in method? We accord to them the same right to follow the dictates of their faith and conscience as we take for ourselves.

We realize, Mr. President, that some of these prisoners belong to unpopular and sometimes misrepresented movements. Most of them are radicals; some militant; others merely passive.

We make no distinction between them. We ask the release of all of them without discrimination, because they were all convicted of the same offense—that of opposing the war by spoken or written words, or by labor activities construed as interfering with recruiting and enlisting. We can find no single instance of any of these prisoners having been convicted of committing an act of violence: Not one was a German spy.

In making this appeal we are conscious of speaking not only for the majority of the rank and file of ex-soldiers, but for millions of plain people throughout the country. Practically every labor union in the United States has repeatedly urged the release of these prisoners, because they felt their imprisonments was a reflection upon American democracy, and because they knew that every one of these prisoners opposed the war as an expression of his honest belief, and his love of mankind. Not only labor unions, but organizations of the people everywhere have passed such resolutions.

We trust that now, after the celebration of this great and solemn memorial to the war dead for which we have come to Washington, you will see fit to accord to these prisoners the speedy release which our ideals and the country's interest both demand.

A. G. Cooper,
National Chairman

John M. Levitt,
Eastern Division Chairman.

Carl O. Persons,
Minnesota State Chairman.

Letter to President Harding from Four Medal of Honor Men

Washington, D. C., November 13, 1921.
Honorable Warren G. Harding,
President,

The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

We, the undersigned, holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor, wish at this time to second the memorial tendered you by the World War Veterans, a copy of which is attached, believing that the sentiments they express represent the view of the rank and file of ex-service men the country over.

Had the comrade whom we honored this Armistice Day returned to America alive, he would perhaps be appealing with us to you for the release of these prisoners.

You said at this bier on Armistice Day:

"His patriotism was none less if he craved more than triumph of contry; rather, it was greater if he hoped for a victory of all human kind. Indeed, I revere that citizen whose con-

fidence in the righteousness of his country inspired belief that its triumph is the victory of humanity."

Mr. President, it is that very kind of citizen whom the government is today holding behind prison bars for loyalty to their ideals. It was no easy task for them to risk unpopularity and prison to maintain these ideals against the majority of the people in the time of war. Their loyalty to the interest of humanity as a whole, even against their country's decision to join in the war, was what moved them to express the opinions which sent them to prison. We disagree with the methods of the men in prison. We followed, ourselves, the opposite course. But we respect them for their opinions and their courage, as we respect our own comrades.

We understand that every country in the world which engaged in the great war has long since released from prison those who like these prisoners opposed the war. May we ask, Mr. President, why America, with her democratic

ideals, should wait so long to do an act of justice and goodwill?

Again, on Armistice Day, you said:

"I can sense the prayer of our people, of all peoples, that this Armistice Day shall mark the beginning of a new and lasting era of peace on earth, goodwill among men."

May we ask as ex-soldiers, holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor, that you "mark the beginning of this new era" by expressing in

an amnesty the generosity and goodwill of those of us who fought. As Americans we seek a return to that condition of goodwill and love of neighbor which obtained throughout our beloved country before the war.

Faithfully yours,

Clayton K. Slack
 Capt. George H. Mallon
 John J. Kelley
 Berger Lohman

The Reconstruction of the International

On the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, a meeting was held in London on October 19th and 20th between the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Bureau of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, for the purpose of considering the possibility of forming an all inclusive International at the present time.

Those present and representing the Working Union were Comrades Grimm, Switzerland; Adler, Austria; Longuet and Bracke, France; Ledebour, Germany; Kaplansky, Poale-Zion; Wallhead and Shinwell, British Independent Labour Party. The Labour Party was represented by Comrades Arthur Henderson, J. H. Thomas, Ramsay McDonald, J. R. Clynes, Neil Maclean, C. G. Ammon, Ethel Bentham, A. G. Cameron, C. T. Cramp, R. J. Davis, C. Duncan, M. B. Farr, W. H. Hutchison, Jack Jones, F. W. Jowett, Miss S. Lawrence, F. O. Roberts, T. Shaw, Ben Spoor and F. B. Varley.

After two days of fruitless discussion the conference adjourned without coming to any agreement as evidenced by the following communications:

DECLARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES IN REPLY TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY.

We recognize with great satisfaction the complete agreement of the Labour Party Executive and our own Executive with regard to the present unsatisfactory condition of the International Organization of the class-conscious proletariat. We are at one with the representatives of the British proletariat in the keen desire to put an end to the present humiliating weakness of the international proletariat by reconstructing an all-inclusive International.

The goal is a common one. The difference lies in the estimate which we make of the actual possibilities, and in the methods of reaching the goal. Unlike the Labour Party, we are of the opinion that under present conditions it is impossible to deal with new forms of organization, but rather that International unity must be sought through common action and in the common class struggle. We are therefore not of the opinion that

the summoning of a general conference at an early date would serve to strengthen international relations. on the contrary we think that it would rather hinder a subsequent advance towards International organization. But even if such a conference were opportune we should be unable to accept as we regard the basis as much too narrow. The aim of the Vienna Working Union is a much more far reaching one than that which is expressed in the Labour Party's plan. Our desire is to unite at the appropriate moment all the forces of the class conscious proletariat in an International union, while the proposal of the Labour Party not only leaves out for the present the Parties affiliated with Moscow, but it would not, for example, even enable the Italian Socialist Party, indispensable as it is for International action, to take part in the conference. We must therefore continue to pursue, with determination, the much higher aim which the Vienna Conference of February, 1921 has set before us.

The representatives of the Labour Party have declared that the members of the Executive Committee of the union of Parties known as the Second International are prepared to resign provided that the Executive of the Working Union would do the same, and even that they are prepared to dissolve entirely the Second International provided the union of the world proletariat can be facilitated thereby. The representatives of the Vienna Working Union have no mandate to make a similar declaration nor are they of opinion that under present circumstances a step of this kind on the part of the Working Union would serve the purpose of International unity. We are rather of the opinion that the hope of creating an International which will embrace the whole revolutionary proletariat is rendered more possible of fulfilment by the existence of our Vienna Working Union, which we regard only as a means of creating an all-inclusive International.

Our standpoint on the question of possibilities and methods with regard to the creation of an all-inclusive International is laid down without ambiguity in the resolutions of the Vienna conference of February, 1921, and in the letter which we sent to the Labour Party on July 11th, 1921. It is true that we regard the difficulties in the way of the creation of a true International as being more serious than the Executive of the

Labour Party, which takes as its starting point the conditions prevailing in England, conditions which are far less complex than those on the Continent. Nevertheless we are convinced that the union of all proletarian forces in definite common action, especially in the fight against counter-revolutionary reaction, imperialist warmongers and imperialist exploiters, against the growing misery of the working class and the famine in Russia, will develop in an ever increasing degree. The union of the proletarian forces which took place in Germany after the Kapp Putsch, and after the murder of Erzberger, appears to us as an example that common action can be promoted in a high degree through discussions for purposes of information, such as that which we have had to-day with the British Labour Party. As we have already made clear to the Labour Party in our letter on July 11th, 1921, we are always ready for such discussions with any parties to whatever international grouping they may belong.

We recognize that the important position occupied by the British Labour Party in the world proletarian movement entitles it to promote such discussions, and therefore the Vienna Executive will be interested to hear from you respecting any further proposal you may make.

THE REPLY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY.

Dear Comrades :—

We are in receipt of your communication following upon the discussion we had with you yesterday, and we regret that you have decided to refuse cooperation in an immediate attempt to bring together the disrupted sections of the International Working-Class Movement, but rather that you will continue to put obstacles in the way of such a meeting.

We must point out to you that it is not correct to suggest that we intended to place difficulties in the way of the Italian Socialists attending the proposed Conference; in fact, we had already extended to them an Invitation.

We did not propose, for the moment, to invite the Communist Parties because their methods are so diverse as to make cooperation impossible.

Your own declaration contains evidence of our strong desire for unity, but we would again remind you of the position, as stated at the Conference on our behalf. The present position of the Socialist and Labour Movement in Europe is an extremely painful one. We have warring sections, no unity of effort, division of energy, sections working against each other; and the desire of the British Labour Party is, if at all possible, without recrimination, to bring together all the parties who are seriously desirous of having a united movement in order that they may work out a basis on which we can have one International.

We proposed to send Invitations to all the Socialist Parties to meet together, without prejudice to their existing International relations, to work out this basis for a unified International, and we requested the Vienna

Union on its part to recommend its affiliations to come together and by coming together try to bring about a solution of the difficulty. The Vienna Union declined to make that recommendation.

It has always been the intention of the Executive of the British Labour Party to make the basis of the proposed Conference as wide as possible, and to endeavor to secure that any agreed basis for the future Socialist International would secure to each Socialist group freedom to work in its own country in accordance with its own means towards its Socialist goal, but with the common determination to bring about Socialism.

As further evidence of the desire for a unified International, the officials of the "Second" International, as your declaration shows, were prepared to recommend the dissolution of the "Second" International immediately the new basis of agreement had been accepted, and provided the Vienna Union were prepared to take the same steps in order to secure unity.

What we have stated is complete evidence of our anxiety to attain whatever concentration of Socialist forces is possible at the present moment. It is clear from your declaration that the object of the Vienna Union is to prevent any substantial progress towards International Unity until the Communist have so modified their position as to make their cooperation with all other Socialist parties in the world possible.

This indefinite postponement is indefensible, and the Executive of the British Labour Party therefore regrets that its efforts towards an all-inclusive Socialist International which had succeeded so far as the "Second" is concerned to the extent stated in this communication, should have been prevented from coming to a satisfactory conclusion by obstacles presented by the Vienna Union.

On behalf of the Executive of the British Labour Party,

(Signed)

ARTHUR HENDERSON, Secretary.

DEBS' CANTON SPEECH

Printed In Neat Ten Cent Pamphlet

The speech which Comrade Debs made at Canton, Ohio, and for which he is now serving a sentence of ten years in the Federal Prison at Atlanta, has been printed in pamphlet form and is now ready for shipment.

The announcement in the October issue that it would make a 48 page pamphlet selling for 15 cents was an error. Debs' Canton Speech is a 32 page pamphlet on good book paper, with cover, and sells for only ten cents a copy, \$1 a dozen, and \$6.00 per hundred, prepaid.

The pamphlet, Are You A Socialist, is of 48 pages and sells for 15 cents. It will not be ready for shipment until about December 15.

In arranging the advertisement last month the printer through an error exchanged the size and price of these two pamphlets. In filling advance orders which have been received, the number of pamphlets which have been paid for at the correct price will be sent.

The Socialist Party

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OTTO BRANSTETTER,
 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

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 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,

NOTICE.

Local Secretaries, Socialist Party.

There are a large number of delinquent members and ex-members now being carried on the mailing list of the Socialist World. This is a needless expense which the National Office cannot continue in the present state of our finances.

Please send the National Office a new and complete list of the names and present addresses of all your members in good standing, not later than December 10th.

The Mailing List will be Revised on
 December Tenth.

All names on the list which are not in the reports received from the local secretaries between now and December 10th will be dropped.

To all Party Members.

You are entitled to receive the Socialist World, published by the National Office of the Socialist Party, free of charge. Your subscription is paid for out of your monthly dues. If you are not getting the Socialist World now, see that your local secretary sends in your name, with correct address before December 10th.

If you are getting the World at present and want to continue getting it, see that the local secretary includes your name on the report asked for.

If your secretary does not send in such a report, or if your name and address is not on the report, your name will be taken off the mailing list.

If you have moved since join-

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

Chapter II

SOCIALISM—THE MOVEMENT

The explanation of Socialism given in the preceding pages has to do with Socialism as the future organization of Society.

Socialism, however, is something more than an ideal of the future, it is something which exists at the present time in the form of a well organized, world-wide movement.

Socialism, the Movement, has for its purpose the education and organization of the working class for the overthrow of Capitalism and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Its organization, methods and tactics are based upon certain well defined theories and principles. These theories, enumerated in the following pages, are accepted by all the Socialist Parties of the world and form an integral part of the Socialist philosophy.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Society is, and since the development of private property, always has been divided into classes. The number and nature of the class divisions are determined by the methods of production and vary in different periods of development.

Between the classes there is an irreconcilable conflict of interests. What is of benefit to one class is necessarily to the disadvantage of another.

In every age and in every class there are persons who do not recognize the inherent antagonism of class interests. They think it is to the common interest and the mutual benefit of the slave and his owner, the serf and his feudal lord, the wage earner and his employer, to maintain the existing conditions.

The ruling class always encourages this idea. In the name of religion, patriotism and the home, the slave is taught to be content, to defend the existing conditions,—and to remain a slave.

But neither the ignorance of the slave or the denial of the masters alters the fact that their interests are opposed. The antagonism exists regardless of its recognition. It is there. It manifests itself in the constant effort of the masters to secure more labor, or more profit from the labor of the workers and in the continual striving of the workers to secure better treatment, improved conditions or higher wages. When conditions become unbearable or when there is a group of workers unusually desperate or aggressive, it manifests itself in slave uprisings, serf revolts or industrial strikes and in bloody suppression and cruel reprisals by the ruling class.

Even when the antagonism is so acute as to result in such open conflicts, the workers do not ordinarily recognize their class character. Such conflicts

ing the Party, or since your name was sent in for the Socialist World, see that your secretary has your present address correctly.

If you are a member in good standing you are entitled to receive the Socialist World and we want you to receive it. It is good for you and good for the Party.

Semi-annual reports of the kind asked for is the only way in which we can be sure that every party member will continue to receive the World and at the same time save the National Office the expense of sending it to persons who are no longer members of the party.

Help us keep our mailing list correctly.

Help us get the Socialist World into the hands of every party member!

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Dear Comrades:

I beg to report as follows:
National Executive Committee Motion No. 3.

(Executive Question)

Submitted October 18. Vote closed, October 30.

"Shall the National Office publish an edition of 10,000 copies of Debs' Canton Speech?"

Note by Executive Secretary.

In reply to suggestions of Comrades Gerber and Mauer as to the advisability of publishing the speech at this time, would say that before the matter was submitted to your committee I had Comrade Debs' consent to its publication, and Comrade Stedman's opinion that there was no objection to its publication at this time.

Vote.

All members recorded affirmative votes. **Motion carried.**

National Executive Committee Motion No. 4.

(Executive Question)

Submitted October 21. Closed, November 2.

"Shall the National Office accept seconds to motions proposed for referendum from any local or state in excess of the number of members in good standing for the preceding year, as shown by the purchase of both dues and convention stamps?"

Comment.

Gerber: "I am voting 'NO' on the proposition to accept the seconds to referendum motions and credit the Locals and Branches with

are usually nothing more than a blind, unreasoning revolt against intolerable conditions and are directed against some individual or group of individuals in the master class rather than against the masters as a class. They are for the redress of some particular grievance, rather than for the overthrow of the social system which naturally creates the grievance.

Periodically, however, in the history of the world, a subject class becomes conscious of this antagonism, conscious of its interests as a class, and determined to defend and advance them.

Then occurs a class struggle. All history is a record of such struggles between contending classes. All class struggles are struggles for the same objective, namely—the capture of the political power.

THE NECESSITY OF POLITICAL POWER.

The ruling class has possession of the political power—the power of the State. It controls the police, the army, the law-making bodies and the courts.

Through the law-making bodies it passes laws to its advantage and for its protection. Through the courts it legalizes whatever is to its advantage and makes illegal whatever is to its disadvantage.

Through the police it enforces obedience to its laws, and through the army it suppresses any forcible resistance or attempts at rebellion.

A class entrenched behind the power of the State is supreme. It is the dominating, exploiting, ruling class by very virtue of that power.

No class can hope to escape exploitation or attain its freedom while the power of the State remains in possession of an opposing class.

Hence the class struggle—the struggle for political power.

Socialism attempts to educate and organize the workers as a class for this struggle and the conquest of political power.

It repudiates the theory of the Anarchist that no government is necessary, and that the State should be destroyed instead of being captured.

Socialism also repudiates the theory of the Syndicalists and the I. W. W. that an industrial State can displace the political State without the preliminary capture of political power. It denies the possibility of forming an industrial organization which will constitute "the new order within the shell of the old" and which will at a given signal, take possession of the industries, "ignore" the political State and proceed to organize an industrial State based upon the industries they have taken.

The trouble with this program is that while they may ignore the political State, the political State will not ignore them. On the contrary, all the force at its command will be used to crush them.

There is but one thing that can prevent its doing so, that is for the revolutionists to meet its force

the full membership they claim to have and not on the basis of the Convention Assessment Stamps. While we cannot be guided entirely by the Convention Stamps, it is a better guide than dues stamps. I believe our whole system or method of initiating and seconding referendums is wrong. What is more, in view of the annual conventions, we should not have these referendums to amend the constitution between conventions, but such matters should be placed on the agenda for the next convention. While I favor the reduction of dues in the Party, it should be done at a convention when we can work out some system of financing the Party. To reduce the dues without making some plan for the financing of the Party would be hitching the cart before the horse, we would lose the difference in the dues, without making it up in some form, and the Party like any other organization must have a permanent revenue to cover expense.

"I think the Comrades of Berk County and of St. Louis who have initiated referendums to reduce dues, and all Locals and Branches who are ready to second it, should discuss the question thoroughly and place the question on the agenda for next year convention. I am opposed to changing our constitution every three months, and unless the question is very urgent it should wait for the convention. Otherwise, why Annual Conventions?"

Maurer: Relative to Motion No. 4, and interpretation of the word, "membership", will say that, as I read the constitution, I don't see any contradiction.

"Paragraph 5, of Sec. 1, Art. 12, says, "The term membership shall mean the entire membership on the basis of dues paid in the preceding year." Section 5, of Article 8 provides for the sale to members of special convention stamps, while Section 6, of Article 8 says that "These special convention stamps shall be sold for fifty cents and no member of the party shall be considered in good standing in the party on and after the convention for which the stamp is issued, unless such stamp is attached to his, or her, membership book. Dual convention stamps shall be issued to dual membership."

My interpretation of these sever-

with superior force, for them to conquer and overthrow the political government and themselves take over the power of the State.

The working class cannot under any conceivable circumstances, take and retain possession of the industries and organize an industrial democracy while the Capitalist class still retains political power.

Socialism proposes:

1. The capture of political power.
2. The use of this power to take over the great industries of the nation and organize them on a democratically co-operative basis.
3. The reorganization of the machinery of the State, along industrial rather than political lines.
4. The lessening of the restrictive and coercive powers of the State as the abolition of economic classes and class interests results in the dying out of class antagonisms and class hatreds and makes the maintenance of the State as a weapon of class rule no longer necessary.

Except under the most unusual and extraordinary circumstances, there are but two ways in which a subject class can capture the power of the State. One is through armed rebellion, the other is through political action.

Socialism, while not opposed to the use of force under certain circumstances, accepts the principle and is committed to the policy of political action.

(To be continued in December issue)

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al sections, covering this subject, is that Sec. 6, Article 8, clearly specifies what constitutes a member in good standing. It places the special convention stamps on a par with dues stamps and clearly states that "no member of the party shall be considered in good standing in the party unless such stamp is attached to his, or her, membership book." Paragraph 5, of Article 12, provides a basis for working out the voting strength of a local or branch and, in doing so, uses the word "dues", which, according to Section 6, of Article 8, must mean his, or her, entire obligation to the party as provided for in the constitution. I, therefore, vote "NO" on Motion No. 4."

Melms: "While I have no doubt after studying carefully Article 12, and Sections 5 and 6 of Article 8, that the construction which you have placed upon them is correct; that no

(Continued on page 16)

PROPOSED REFERENDUMS

By Local Berks Co., Pa.

Fourth publication. First publication in *Socialist World*, Aug. 15th.

Motion

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

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

Seconds

Previously reported 1072; Debs Br., Hagerstown, Md., 41; Harrisburg, Pa., 50; Milwaukee Co., Wis., 714; Greenfield, Mass., 15; Glenside Br., Md., 7; So. Boulevard Br. Md., 8; Central Br., Baltimore, 30; Total 1937.

Necessary to initiate, 2124.

Notice.

The ninety days allowed by the National Constitution for seconding motions proposed for referendum having expired without the above motion receiving the required number of seconds, it is declared lost for lack of necessary seconds.

Following are two motions by Locals St. Louis and Springfield, Mo., also proposing a reduction of dues. Seconds to the Berks Co. motion will be transferred to either the St. Louis motion or the Springfield motion upon request.

By 10th Ward Branch, Local St. Louis

Third publication.

First publication in *Socialist World* of September 15th.

Motion

Amend Article 4, Section 10, and Article 9, Section 6 (a) of the National Constitution to read as follows:

Art. 4, Sec. 10. The National membership dues

as provided in this constitution shall be \$1.00 per year, 60 cents of which is for one year's subscription to the monthly publication of the National Office, to be known as the *Socialist World*, and shall be so applied by the Executive Secretary.

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

Seconds

Previously reported 159; Muscantine, Ia., 14; 12th Ward Br., St. Louis, Mo., 15; Total 188.

By Local Springfield, Mo.

Third publication.

First publication in *Socialist World* of Sep. 15th.

Motion

Amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party as follows:

By striking out Sec. 10, Art. 4 in its entirety and by striking out Sub-Sec. A, Sec. 6, Art. 9 and by inserting in its place the following, itself to be known as Sub-section A, Sec. 6, Art. 9:

"Membership dues of the Socialist Party shall be as follows:—One dollar upon application for membership, sixty cents of which shall ap-

ply in payment of a one year subscription of the national publication, fifteen cents shall go to the National Office as revenue for the use of the National Executive Committee and twenty-five cents to the Local Treasury for a regular monthly membership dues stamp; twenty-five cents per month thereafter (five cents of which shall go to the National Office, ten cents to the State Office and ten cents to the Local Treasury), until this section shall have been changed or amended by a majority vote of the entire membership. Local organizations to determine the part of their income that shall go to branch organizations."

Seconds.

Previously reported, 84.

By Local Springfield, Mo.

Third publication.

First publication, *Socialist World*, Sep. 15.

Motion

Amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party as follows:

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

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

Seconds

Previously reported, 91.

IMPORTANT

Under the provisions of Sec. 1, Article XII of the National Constitution, City or County Central Committees or other delegate bodies can not propose or second motions for referendum. Where a city or county local is composed of two or more ward or language branches, these branches act independently in proposing or seconding referendums.

National Constitution of the Socialist Party

AS AMENDED BY THE DETROIT CONVENTION—JUNE, 1921

PREAMBLE

The Socialist Party of the United States is the political expression of the interests of the workers in this country, and is part of the international working-class movement.

The economic basis of present day society is the private ownership and control of the socially necessary means of production, and the exploitation of the workers who operate these means of production for the profit of those who own them.

The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. It is the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system and to obtain for themselves the largest possible share of the product of labor. It is the interest of the working class to improve their conditions of life and get the largest possible share of their own product so long as the present system prevails, and to end this system as quickly as they can.

In so far as the members of the opposing classes become conscious of these facts, each strives to advance its own interests as against the other. It is this active conflict of interests which we describe as the class struggle.

The capitalist class, by controlling the old political parties, controls the powers of the state and uses them to secure and entrench its position. Without such control of the state its position of economic power would be untenable. The workers must wrest the control of the government from the hands of the masters and use its powers in the upbuilding of the new social order, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Socialist Party seeks to organize the working class for independent action on the political field, not merely for the betterment of their conditions, but also and above all with the revolutionary aim of putting an end to exploitation and class rule. Such political action is absolutely necessary to the emancipation of the working class, and the establishment of genuine liberty for all.

To accomplish this aim, it is necessary that the working class be powerfully and solidly organized also on the economic field, to struggle for the same revolutionary goal; and the Socialist Party pledges its aid in the task of promoting such industrial organization and waging such industrial struggle for emancipation.

The fundamental aim of the Socialist Party is to bring about the social ownership and democratic control of all the necessary means of production—to eliminate profit, rent and interest, and make it impossible for any to share the product without sharing the burden of labor—to change our class society into a society of equals, in which the interest of one will be the interest of all.

As subordinate and accessory to this fundamental aim, it supports every measure which better the conditions of the working class, and which increases the fighting power of that class within the present system.

ARTICLE I.

Name

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in such states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II.

Membership

Sec. 1. Political action within the meaning of this section is participation in elections for public offices and practical legislation and administration work along the line of the Socialist Party platform to gain control of the powers of government in order to abolish the present capitalist system and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Sec. 2. Every person, resident of the United States of the age of twenty-one years and upward, without discrimination as to sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties and political organizations, and subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party, including political action and unrestricted political rights for both sexes, shall be eligible to membership in the party.

Sec. 3. No person holding an elective public office by gift of any party or organization other than the Socialist Party shall be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party without the consent of his state organization; nor shall any member of the party accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative (Civil Service positions excepted), without the consent of his state organization. No party member shall be a candidate for public office without the consent of the city, county or state organization, according to the nature of the office.

Sec. 4. A member who desires to transfer his membership from the party in one state to the party in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer and also a transfer card duly signed by the secretary of the local from which he transfers.

Sec. 5. No member of the party, in any state or territory, shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular or organized movement in any other state.

Sec. 6. All persons joining the Socialist Party shall sign the following pledge:

Application for Membership in the Socialist Party

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class organizing itself into a political party for the purpose of obtaining collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of production and distribution, hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party and enclose \$..... for dues. I also subscribe for The Socialist World for the period of my membership, sixty cents of each year's dues paid by me, being for subscription to the publication.

"I have no relations (as member or supporter) with any other political party.

"I am opposed to all political organizations that support and perpetuate the present capitalist profit system, and I am opposed to any form of trading or fusing with any such organizations to prolong that system.

"In all my political actions while a member of the Socialist Party I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party.

"Upon the acceptance of my application for membership in the Socialist Party, I promise within three months, wherever possible, to make application for citizenship."

ARTICLE III.

Management

Sec. 1. (a) The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Executive Committee and national officials, the National Committee on Appeals, the National Conventions and the general vote of the party.

(b) The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members, elected by the National Convention at its annual sessions; not more than two shall be from one state. The committee shall take office immediately following its election and shall hold office until the next regular convention, and until their successors shall have been elected.

(c) The National Executive Committee shall be elected by secret ballot. The convention shall first elect seven members who shall constitute the National Executive Committee.

(d) The convention shall, by secret ballot, further elect seven additional members as alternates to the Executive Committee.

(e) A majority vote of all the votes cast at the convention shall be required to elect either the members of the Executive Committee or alternates to the Executive Committee.

(f) In case of a vacancy on the Executive Committee, it shall be filled by one of the alternates in the order of the vote they received.

Sec. 2. (a) Members of the National Executive

Committee may be recalled by a referendum of the members of the party.

(b) A motion for the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee may be initiated by any one local, and shall require the seconds of locals with a membership of at least ten per cent of the total membership of the party, located in at least five different states.

Said motion may be accompanied by a statement of not more than 500 words.

(c) A motion to recall any or all members of the National Executive Committee shall be open for seconds for not more than 90 days, and shall be published in the party bulletin.

(d) If sufficient seconds are procured before the expiration of 90 days, the National Secretary shall send the referendum out immediately.

(e) Motions for the recall of a member or members of the National Executive Committee failing to receive sufficient seconds during the time allowed for seconds shall be dropped and cannot be renewed again during the period of the service of the member or the committee.

(f) In submitting ballots to a vote on the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee, the local initiating the motion, and the member or members who are to be recalled, shall have the right to submit a statement giving the reasons for the recall or in the defense as the case may be, such statements not to exceed 1,000 words. This statement to be submitted with the ballots for a vote.

(g) If more than one member of the National Executive Committee is to be recalled, each member shall have the right to submit a statement of not more than 300 words, such statement to be submitted with the ballots for referendum vote.

(h) The time for voting on referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall be 60 days from the time the ballots were sent out from the National Office, and all state, local or branch organizations must retain the individual ballots for at least six months, and must send them either to the state or National Office when demanded.

(i) Only members in good standing who have been in the party at least six months can vote on the recall of members of the National Executive Committee.

(j) Referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall not be submitted if the National Convention is to meet prior to, or within 60 days of the closing of the vote for the recall.

Sec. 3. Three years consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for membership on the National Executive Committee and executive officials.

ARTICLE IV.

Sec. 1. The duties and powers of the Committee shall be:

(a) To represent the party in all National and International affairs.

(b) To call National Conventions decided upon by the referendum of the Party.

(c) To make reports of the membership and condition of the party organization to National Conventions, with recommendations thereon.

(d) To strengthen the organization, promote propaganda and to establish regular organization and lecture circuits.

(e) To formulate the rules and the order of business of the National Conventions of the party not otherwise provided for by this constitution, and subject to amendment and adoption by the conventions.

(f) To receive dues and reports from state organizations.

(g) To conduct the national referendums in the manner provided by this constitution.

(h) To supervise the work and transact all current business of the National Office.

(i) To print the minutes of its meetings in the official organ.

(j) To print in the official organ a specific statement of all moneys expended for printing leaflets and books, with titles and authors of the same.

(k) To maintain in connection with the National Office, such bureaus and departments as may be necessary.

(l) To supervise the activity of elected legislative representatives and party owned newspapers.

Sec. 2. Members of the National Executive Committee shall be eligible to serve as organizers. Any member may be appointed lecturer on courses arranged by the National Office and may be given temporary assignment for special party work.

Sec. 3. The National Executive Committee, as required by the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, shall elect a permanent chairman who shall serve without salary.

Sec. 4. The Committee shall formulate its own rules of procedure, not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 5. Meetings of the National Executive Committee shall be held at least once every three months, except by unanimous consent.

Sec. 6. The National Executive Committee shall be the custodian of all party property.

Sec. 7. The location of the National headquarters shall be determined by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 8. (a) No funds of the National Organization shall be appropriated by the National Executive Committee for any purpose not directly connected with the propaganda of Socialism or the struggles of labor. No more than \$100 shall be appropriated to any one organization other than a sub-division of the party; and no application for financial assistance coming from locals or other sub-divisions of state organizations shall be entertained unless they have the endorsement of the state organization.

(b) The committee shall not have power to appropriate funds, except for the current expenses of the National Office unless the party has sufficient funds on hand to meet all outstanding obligations, or unless the regular income will in the natural course of events cover such appropriations before the end of the current year. The committee shall make no appropriations directly or indirectly, for the support of any paper or periodical not owned by the National Office.

Sec. 9. The National Office mailing lists of locals and branches and of subscribers shall not be given out to anyone outside the membership, nor shall they be given to members for private purposes. Appropriate portions of them may be given to members and party officials at any time for purposes of organization, propaganda and renewals of subscriptions.

Sec. 10. The national membership dues as provided in this constitution shall be \$1.20 per year, sixty cents of which is for one year's subscription to the monthly publication of the National Office to be known as the Socialist World and shall be so applied by the Executive Secretary.

ARTICLE V.

Executive Secretary

Sec. 1. The Executive Secretary shall be employed by the National Executive Committee. He may be removed at any time by the committee or by referendum vote of the membership. He shall give bonds in the amount fixed by the committee. His compensation shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. The Executive Secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the National Office, including the employment of necessary help subject to the directions of the National Executive Committee. He shall supervise the accounts of the National Office and its departments.

Sec. 3. The Executive Secretary shall cause to be published in the official organ of the party all important official reports and announcements; a monthly report of the financial affairs of the party; a summary of the conditions and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations and language federations; the principal business transacted by the National Officials and such other matters pertaining to the organization of the party as may be of general interest to the membership.

ARTICLE VI.

National Committee on Appeals

Sec. 1. (a) The National Committee on Appeals shall consist of seven members elected by the National Convention in the same manner as provided for the election of the National Executive Committee, not more than two shall be from any one state and no member or alternate of the National Executive Committee shall be a member of the National Committee on Appeals.

(b) The Committee shall meet immediately follow-

ing the adjournment of the Convention at which it is elected, and shall organize by electing a chairman and secretary, the names and addresses of which shall be kept standing in the official organ of the party.

Sec. 2. (a) It shall be the duty of the National Committee on Appeals to hear cases involving the revocation of charters, or suspension of organizations on appeal from the actions of the National Executive Committee and on no other matters.

(b) The committee shall formulate its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution, or with a fair and impartial hearing of the matter before it.

Sec. 3. (a) All acts of revocation of charters or suspension of organizations by the National Executive Committee shall have full force and effect on and after their adoption by the National Executive Committee, unless rescinded by the National Committee on Appeals.

(b) The National Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal from any decision from the National Committee on Appeals to the next succeeding National Convention, but the decision of the National Committee on Appeals shall be final, unless rescinded by the National Convention.

Sec. 4. When a charter of an organization affiliated with the Party is by action of the National Executive Committee revoked, or when an organization affiliated with the party is suspended from membership, such organization shall have the right to appeal to the National Committee on Appeals within 30 days after the decision of the National Executive Committee. All appeals must be submitted to the committee in writing, addressed to the secretary of the National Committee on Appeals, and a copy of the appeal sent to the National Executive Secretary. On the receipt of an appeal for a rehearing, the secretary of the National Committee on Appeals shall immediately arrange for a meeting of the Committee which shall be held within 30 days from the date the appeal was filed.

ARTICLE VII.

Representatives in Congress

Sec. 1. Members of Congress elected on the ticket of the Socialist Party shall submit reports of their actions in Congress to the National Conventions.

Sec. 2. In the support of measures proposed by the Socialist Party, they shall carry out instructions which may be given by the National Conventions, the National Executive Committee or by a general referendum of the party.

Sec. 3. In all legislative bodies, as Congress, State Legislatures, Boards of Supervisors or Town Council, Socialist Party members shall organize into a group separate and apart from all other parties. They shall elect a chairman and in the support of all measures definitely declared for in the platforms of the party, they shall vote as a unit.

ARTICLE VIII.

Conventions

Sec. 1. There shall be a National Convention of the Socialist Party each year.

Sec. 2. The date and place of the National Convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. The representation at regular National Conventions shall be one delegate from each organized state having a membership of 1,000 or less, and one additional delegate for every additional thousand members, or a major fraction thereof based upon the sale of dues stamps during the year preceding the National Convention.

Sec. 4. In presidential years the National Convention shall be composed of 200 delegates to be apportioned among the states in the following manner:

One from each state or territory and the remainder in proportion to the average national dues paid by the organization of such states or territories during the preceding year.

Delegates to National Convention must be resident members of the state from which they present credentials, and must be members of the Socialist Party for at least three years.

Sec. 5. Railroad fare, including tourist sleeping car fare of delegates to and from the conventions, and a per diem of five dollars to cover expense, shall be paid from

the National treasury from a special convention fund to be created by the sale to the members of a special Convention stamp.

Sec. 6. These special convention stamps shall be sold for fifty cents, and no member of the party shall be considered in good standing in the party on and after the convention for which the stamp is issued, unless such stamp is attached to his or her membership book.

Dual Convention Stamps and Exempt Convention Stamps shall be issued under the same conditions as Dual and Exempt Dues Stamps as provided in Sec. 7, Art. IX of this constitution.

Sec. 7. (a) Delegates to the national convention shall be elected by referendum vote of the members.

Sec. 8. (a) The election of delegates to the national convention shall, wherever possible, be completed not later than thirty days preceding the convention, and the respective state secretaries shall furnish the Executive Secretary with a list of accredited delegates immediately after said election.

(b) The Executive Secretary shall prepare a printed roster of the accredited delegates to be sent to each delegate and forwarded to the party press for publication. Such list shall contain the occupation of each delegate at the time of his nomination and his office or employment in the party. All official reports required to be presented to the national convention shall be printed and sent to each delegate elected at least fifteen days before the date of the convention and furnished to the party press for publication.

(c) At the time and place set for the opening of the national convention, the Executive Secretary shall call the convention to order, and shall call the roll to ascertain the number of uncontested delegates, and they shall permanently organize the convention.

Sec. 9. The national convention shall have the power to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, to adopt a national platform and to transact such other business as the convention may see fit. Vacancies on the national tickets shall be filled by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 10. All national platforms, amendments of platforms or constitution, and resolutions adopted by any national convention shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership:

1. Upon request of the membership through initiative provision of this constitution; or

2. Upon the specific request of delegates numbering at least one-fourth of the delegates voting on such measure. Such request for submission to referendum to be made before the adjournment of the convention.

One-fourth of the regularly elected delegates shall be entitled to have alternative paragraphs submitted at the same time. Such alternative paragraphs, signed by one-fourth of such delegates shall be filed with the Executive Secretary not later than one day after the adjournment of the convention.

Sec. 11. Any matter referred to the membership by the convention shall not be in effect until approved by the referendum vote of the membership.

Platforms and resolutions shall take effect upon adoption. Amendments to constitution shall take effect sixty days after being adopted.

Agenda Committee

Sec. 12. The National Executive Committee shall formulate the Agenda for the party convention. The Committee shall issue a call for resolutions and suggestions four months before the convention, allowing one month for filing of same with Committee. After preparing a preliminary Agenda based upon the material received at the expiration of the allotted time, the Committee shall send it to the sub-divisions of the Party for amendment and revision, allowing one month for the same. Upon receipt of revisions, the Committee shall prepare a final draft of the Agenda which shall be sent to the party sub-divisions and submitted to the convention.

ARTICLE IX.

State Organizations

Sec. 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the organization of state or territorial organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. No state or territory may be organized unless it has at least ten locals or an aggregate membership

of not less than two hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution. When the membership of any state averages less than one hundred and fifty per month for any six consecutive months the National Executive Committee may revoke the charter of that state.

Sec. 3. (a) The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto. No state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the candidate of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or indorsement from any other party or political organization.

(b) No member of the Socialist Party shall, under any circumstances, vote in any political election for any candidate other than Socialist Party members nominated, endorsed or recommended as candidates by the Socialist Party, or advocate voting for them. To do so will constitute party treason and will result in expulsion from the party.

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organizations shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; provided, such propaganda is in harmony with the constitution of the party; and provided also that the National Office may route organizers and lectures direct through any state as a part of a regular organization and lecture circuit if the cooperation of the State Organization cannot be secured. Their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the National Committee, its sub-committees or officers shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. (a) The State Committees shall make monthly reports to the Executive Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

(b) During the months of January and July of each year, or at any other time required by the Executive Committee or by this constitution, the state secretaries shall furnish the Executive Secretary a list of all locals affiliated with their respective state organizations, together with the number of members in good standing, and the name and address of the corresponding secretary of each local. Refusal, failure or neglect to comply with this section shall subject the state organization to suspension from the Socialist Party and deprive such state organization of participation in the affairs of the Socialist Party, and shall be a forfeiture of the right to representation in the National Executive Committee, the conventions and congresses of the party.

Sec. 6. (a) The dues of members of the Socialist Party shall be 50 cents per month which shall be divided as follows: to the National organization 10 cents, to the state organization 15 cents, to the county or city organization 10 cents, to the branch organization 15 cents. In counties or cities where there is no central organization the county dues shall be paid to the state organization.

(b) Only dues stamps issued by the National Executive Committee shall be affixed to members' dues cards as valid receipts for the payment of dues.

Sec. 7. (a) The National Office shall also issue to the state secretaries exempt stamps, both regular and special, free of charge, to be used by party members temporarily unable to pay dues on account of unemployment caused by sickness, strikes, lockouts or any other condition not within their control.

(b) Any member desiring to use such exempt stamps shall make application therefor to the financial secretary of his local organization, and such application shall be passed upon by such organization. Exempt stamps shall be issued only to members in good standing who have paid dues for at least three months and who are by the same action exempt from the payment of dues to the state and local organization. The number of exempt stamps shall not exceed 10 per cent of the total number of stamps obtained by the respective state organizations. The acceptance of exempt stamps by any

member shall in no way disqualify such member from any rights and privileges of party membership.

(c) The National Office shall also issue a double perforated stamp to the state secretaries to be sold at the same rate as the regular dues stamps.

One half of such stamp to be affixed to the membership card of the husband and the other half to that of the wife. Husband and wife desiring to use such stamps shall make application to the financial secretary of their local, and such obligations shall be passed upon by such organization.

Sec. 8. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

Sec. 9. No person shall be nominated or indorsed by any sub-division of the party for candidate for public office unless he is a member of the party and has been such for at least two years, except with the consent of the state organization. But this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than two years.

Sec. 10. When a controversy exists in a state organization, the Executive Secretary shall continue to sell dues stamps to the Secretary recognized by him before such controversy is officially brought before him, until a state referendum has decided otherwise. He shall take no action except on petition of ten per cent of the locals (but not less than three locals), which must be located in different localities, appearing on the last official list filed with him by the State Secretary at least three months prior to controversy, and then only if there is doubt as to who is State Secretary. In such case he shall hold a referendum of those locals reported on the last official list to determine who is State Secretary. The individual signed ballots in such referendum shall be sent to the Executive Secretary.

ARTICLE X.

Delegates to the International Congress and the International Secretary shall be elected by the National Convention. There shall be one delegate for every 20,000 members, ascertained by computing the average membership for the preceding year.

Members to be eligible must have been members of the party for at least three years at the time of their election. The expense of the delegates and a per diem equal to the per diem fixed for the delegates to the National Convention shall be paid from the National Treasury.

ARTICLE XI.

Foreign Speaking Organizations

Sec. 1. Five branches of the Socialist Party working in any other language than English shall have the right to form a National Federation under the supervision of the Executive Secretary and the Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. The constitution of such National Federation shall provide for the seating upon the National Executive Committee of a member to be selected by the National Executive Committee of the party. Such member shall have a voice but no vote in all proceedings of the committee and shall make a report thereon to the Executive Secretary of the party.

Sec. 3. (a) Such National Language Federation shall have the right to elect an officer known as Translator-Secretary, who shall be conversant with his own language as well as the English language, and whose duty it shall be to serve as a medium of communication between his federation and the National Organization of the Socialist Party.

(b) The headquarters of the Language Federations shall be the National Office of the Socialist Party, and no Federation shall be permitted to have offices anywhere else.

Sec. 4. When such National Language Federation shall have at least 1,000 members, their Translator-Secretary shall be entitled to necessary office room in the National Headquarters, and to such salary from the National Office as may be decided by the National Executive Committee of the party. Such Translator-Secretary must be at least three consecutive years a member of the party except when his federation has not been affiliated with the party that length of time. When any Language Federation is reduced to 1,000 members, the rights of that Language Federation to office room and salaries shall be suspended at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. (a) Language Federations shall pay to the National Office the same sum monthly per capita as paid by the state organizations, receiving in exchange therefor dues stamps. They shall also pay through the Translator-Secretary to the regular state and county or city organization 50 per cent of the dues paid by the English-speaking branches.

(b) The Translator-Secretary shall pay monthly to the respective state secretaries the quota of all monthly dues paid by the branches of his federation in the state. The State Secretary shall forward the county dues to the respective county secretaries, wherever there is an organized county.

(c) Any Language Federation failing to remit dues for any state or local organization for three months is subject to suspension by the National Executive Committee.

(d) The National Executive Committee shall have power to audit the accounts of the Language Federations and furnish reports to the State Organizations.

Sec. 6. (a) Branches of Language Federations shall be an integral part of the county and state organizations and shall be governed by the constitution and by-laws of the respective state and local organizations.

Language branches, not affiliated with a federation of their respective language, shall work in harmony with such federations, restricting their work within the territorial jurisdiction of such branches. In no case, however, shall such branches indulge in or permit their members to carry on work against the interest of the federation or the party. Federations shall not be permitted to organize additional branches within the territorial jurisdiction of branches not affiliated with them except with the consent of the state organization.

The charter of any language branch not affiliated with a federation, that condones or conducts work aiming at the destruction of a federation, shall be revoked by the state organization in accordance with the method of procedure provided by the constitution of the state organization. When the charter of such branch is revoked, such of its members who will agree to refrain from similar objectionable work in the future, shall be organized in a new branch. But no member of a branch the charter of which has been revoked shall be denied admission to the new branch, if a statement is signed obligating himself to work in harmony with provisions of this section.

(b) A Language Federation, if its constitution so provides, may, with the approval of the National Executive Committee of the party, exclude for cause any of the branches or locals affiliated with it. Such excluded locals and language branches shall lose only the rights and privileges dependent upon affiliation with the federation. They shall continue to be an integral part of the County and State organizations, until such time as the exclusion has been approved by the County and State organizations.

Members of a federation cannot be suspended or expelled from the party by the federation or by any of its sub-divisions, the power to suspend or expel members from the party being vested exclusively in the county and state organizations. The accused members shall be accorded a fair trial in the manner provided by the county and state constitutions or local by-laws.

Sec. 7. All propaganda work of the language federation shall be carried out under the supervision of their executive officers according to the by-laws of the federations. Such by-laws must be in conformity with the constitution of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 8. Each Translator-Secretary shall submit a monthly report of the dues stamps sold during that period to the National and State offices, and to all local and county offices in cities and counties where branches of their federation exist. He shall also make a monthly report to the Executive Secretary showing the financial condition of the federation, the kind of literature published and the amount sold during the month, and the nature and extent of propaganda and organization work carried on.

Sec. 9. The National Party shall not recognize more than one federation of the same language.

Sec. 10. Each national federation shall be entitled to elect one representative to meet with the National Executive Committee of the party. Such representative to have a voice but no vote in all proceedings of the committee. Each national federation shall also be entitled to elect one fraternal delegate to the National Conventions

of the party; provided that such delegate shall have a voice but no vote. He shall receive railroad fare and per diem from the party the same as regular delegates.

ARTICLE XII.

Sec. 1. Motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party shall be submitted seriatim by the Executive Secretary to the referendum vote of the membership upon the request of Locals as follows:

On amendments to Constitution, upon request of Locals representing at least eight per cent of the membership.

On recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee, upon request of Locals representing at least ten per cent of the membership, located in at least five different states.

On all other actions, upon request of locals representing at least five per cent of the membership.

The term "local" as herein used shall mean a local or branch of a local, but not a body composed of delegates from branches or locals. The term "membership" shall mean the entire membership on the basis of dues paid in the preceding year.

Delegates to International, National, State and Local Congresses and members of executive and other governing committees of the Party, in National, State and local organizations must be citizens of the United States, and in continuous good standing in the party for at least three years provided such organizations have been organized for such time.

Sec. 2. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open ninety days from the date of first publication, and, if it has not then received the requisite number of seconds, it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

Sec. 3. Referendums shall be submitted without preamble or comment. But comment not to exceed two hundred words both for and against may accompany the motion when printed.

Sec. 4. Only members of the party in good standing and who have been members of the Socialist Party for at least six months can vote on national referendums. (Ballots for national referendums shall contain a line where members can state as to their length of membership in the Socialist Party.)

Sec. 5. Any officer who attempts to interfere with the processes of the membership shall be expelled from office.

Sec. 6. Whenever a motion, resolution or an amendment has been regularly initiated and passed upon by the party membership, another motion that conflicts with the same shall not be considered for at least six months.

Sec. 7. No motion for referendum on suspension of national conventions will be permitted within six months preceding the conventions.

ARTICLE XIII.

Young People's Socialist League

Sec. 1. The work among the young, between the ages of 14 and 25, in the national field shall be under the control and direction of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 2. The organization work of the Y. P. S. L. shall be under the supervision of the various State Organizations of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 3. The National Executive Committee shall issue a voluntary assessment stamp which shall be sold for twenty-five cents.

Sec. 4. The National Office of the Socialist Party shall receive five cents of the above, which shall be used for the issuance of a bulletin or any other means to help the organizations of the various states.

Sec. 5. The State Organization of the Socialist Party shall receive twenty cents which shall be used for organization and educational work among the young.

Sec. 6. The various State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall be chosen by the Y. P. S. L. and approved by the Socialist Party.

Sec. 7. The various State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall elect one of their members to represent them at all National affairs and Conventions of the Party.

Sec. 8. Members of the Y. P. S. L. under twenty-

one year of age must upon attaining the age of twenty-one become members of the Socialist Party or withdraw from membership in the League. No applicant for membership in the Y. P. S. L. between the age of twenty-one and twenty-five shall be admitted unless a member of the Party.

Sec. 9. The branches of the Y. P. S. L. shall be under the jurisdiction of the City, County, or State Organizations of the Socialist Party, and must in all cases work in harmony with the constitution and platform of the City, County, or State Organization of the Party.

Sec. 10. Every State, City and County organization of the Party shall elect at least one member to represent the Socialist Party in the respective State, City and County organization of the Y. P. S. L. Such Party representative to have a voice and vote in all affairs concerning the Y. P. S. L.

Sec. 11. Every State, City and County Organization of the Y. P. S. L. shall elect at least one member to represent the Y. P. S. L. in the respective State, County

and City Organizations of the Socialist Party. Such representatives to have a voice and vote in all affairs concerning the Y. P. S. L.

Sec. 12. The Y. P. S. L. shall pay monthly to the National Office a sum equal to five cents for each member in good standing within their respective states, for which they shall receive dues stamps or other valid receipt for dues. Only dues stamps issued by the National Office shall be considered as a valid receipt for dues.

Sec. 13. The State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall issue a quarterly report to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party concerning the membership, financial condition and general standing of the Y. P. S. L. Said reports to be published in Party or Y. P. S. L. bulletin.

Sec. 14. The Y. P. S. L. shall be entitled to one Delegate, having a voice but no vote, to the National Convention of the Socialist Party. Said delegate shall receive railroad fare and per diem from the Party the same as regular delegates.

(Continued from page 9)

member is in good standing unless he has purchased a convention stamp of 1921.

Nevertheless, under the present conditions prevailing in the Socialist Party of America, I don't think it is wise to put a hard and fast construction on the sections and articles of the constitution for the following reasons:

"1st. The State Secretaries are continuing to sell dues stamps to those members in the Socialist Party who have not a convention stamp in their possession. Why not prohibit any member from purchasing additional dues stamp who has not a convention stamp in his book until such time that he has purchased a convention stamp?

"2nd. What are we going to do for the comrade who is not in a position to pay for a convention stamp? We are issuing exempt stamps, but up to this time have not issued any exempt convention stamps.

"3rd. Wouldn't it be wise to permit any branch or local to initiate a proposition on the basis of the number of members in good standing for the preceding year, and then permit only the number in each state to vote in proportion to the number of convention stamps purchased.

"4th. What ruling shall we lay down to those members who have joined the party after the convention of 1921 was held?

"5th. There is only one way by which the sections of this constitution can be justly enforced, and that is to set aside a certain amount of money on each dues stamp purchased by the secretaries and other organizations affiliated with the

THE BEST
ARGUMENT
FOR
AMNESTY

Debs'
Canton
Speech



PRICE
TEN CENTS

\$1.00 PER DOZ.
\$6.00 PER 100

PREPAID.

Socialist Party of America. In so doing compel each member to pay his fifty cents for a convention stamp during the period of twelve months upon his purchase of dues stamps."

Vote.

Voting Yes: Melms (1)

Voting No: Brandt, Gerber, Wilson, Maurer (5)

Motion lost, Oneal not heard from.

Statement by Executive Secretary.

By the adoption of this motion, I am not authorized to count the seconds from Milwaukee County as reported by Comrade Seidel. It would, however, be unfair to refuse the whole number of seconds offered because it is larger than the number to which they are entitled.

Since submitting this motion to your committee, Wisconsin has paid for 150 additional convention stamps, bringing the total number sold to 808. As 94 seconds have been received from other counties in Wisconsin, there is a difference of 714 which I am crediting as seconds from Milwaukee County.

.National. Executive. Committee.

Motion No. 5.

By Lilith Wilson.

Submitted by wire, Oct. 24th. Vote Oct. 27th.

"That the National Office immediately call upon all locals to observe November 7th to commemorate the establishment of the Socialist Republic in Russia, preferably by holding mass meetings and using the occasion to raise funds for famine relief."

Vote.

Voting Yes: Brandt, Henry, Wilson Maurer, Melms, Oneal (6).

Voting No: Gerber (1)

Motion carried.