

# SOCIALIST WORLD

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## Conference for Progressive Political Action

The Conference for progressive political action, called by the sixteen standard railway organizations, met in Chicago on February 20th, and 21st, 1922.

A number of Socialist Party members had been invited as individuals, and accepted the invitation in accordance with the resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee at its Cleveland meeting on November 25th, 1921. These comrades included Morris Hillquit, James Oneal, Otto Branstetter, Bertha Hale white, Victor Berger and Daniel W. Hoan. A number of other Socialist Party members were present as representatives of various labor organizations.

This conference, as originally proposed, was to have been of those elements in the Farmer-Labor movement who are in favor of independent political action, and who would attend for the purpose of attempting to work out some basis for uniting their forces for such action. In issuing invitations for the conference, however, the Railway organizations abandoned this idea and invited officials and members of all so-called progressive organizations, regardless of whether or not they were committed to the principle of independent political action. As a result, the Conference was composed of heterogenous elements, with nothing in common except their criticism and resentment against existing conditions. These elements ranged all the way from certain Railway organizations, whose conception of political action was that of endorsing friends of Labor on the Democratic ticket, to the Socialist Party delegates who desired independent political action with a revolutionary program.

It was immediately discovered that it would be impossible to agree on any program or even a declaration of principles which would be acceptable to all the delegates present. An "Address to the American People" was adopted, mildly stating the criticisms of existing conditions and a plan of action which allows each organization to do exactly that it would have done had the conference not been called. This no doubt is what they will do. The Railway organizations will

endorse the friends of Labor on the old party tickets, the Non-Partisan League and the Farmer organizations will attempt to name their candidates in the old party primaries, and the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties will continue their activities and conduct their campaign as though the conference had not been held. Here and there, locally, there may be some co-operation between the Socialist and the Farmer-Labor parties and such other groups as will combine for independent political action on a working class program. This will necessarily be confined to a few localities, and will not materially affect the general situation.

On the whole, the Conference was a disappointment, so far as immediate results are concerned. The importance of the Conference lies in the fact that representatives of both conservative and radical Unions, Farmer organizations and Non-Partisan League, Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party met together for two days, discussed conditions and remedies and adjourned without antagonism or resentment, with an increased respect and toleration for each other and each others views, and a determination to get together in latter conferences in an effort to establish closer understandings and ultimately, if possible, secure united action on a common program.

The Socialist Party members filed the following statement at the conclusion of the Conference:

### STATEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY GROUP.

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

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

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# THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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by the

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

## THE LABOR PARTY

The desire of Socialist Party members for a united Labor Party is based upon a realization of the fact that the Socialist Party can never become a really powerful factor until it has the endorsement and support of the organized Labor movement. What makes the British Labour Party and the Socialist Parties of other European countries powerful and influential is the fact that they have the support of the Labor Unions.

It is for this reason that the National Convention at Detroit adopted the resolution regarding the proposed Labor Conference and that influential members of the Party recently attended such a conference called by the Railway organizations. We should not, however, allow our wish to be farther to the thought, and imagine that a powerful Labor Party is possible in this country at the present time. The result of the recent Conference and our knowledge of the Labor movement shows conclusively that organized labor is not yet ready to seriously consider and participate in independent political action. Until they are ready to do so, the Socialist Party must maintain its present policy, and not be led to destruction by chasing "Will-of-the-wisps."

The farmer-Labor Party is a failure.

The Forty-eighters never got started and never will. They are a committee of leaders without followers.

The Non-Partisan League is in the process of disintegration.

The Communist and near Communist Parties have no following. They will receive none, and do not offer serious competition on the political field.

The Socialist Party stands alone as the only political organization of the working class, with any important following. It is a recognized political Party and has a place on the ballot in forty States. It has a record to be proud of, and a prestige which is steadily growing. Of all the present existing political organizations, it is the only one which alone, unaided, has any prospects of increasing its following and becoming a real political force. With this unquestioned superiority of position, it would be the height of folly for the Socialist Party to sacrifice either its independence, principles, program or organization, without being sure of being succeeded by a bigger and better organization than we have.

This is impossible until the more powerful Labor organizations are ready to seriously consider the

formation of a bona-fide Labor Party, recognizing the class struggle, and organized for independent political action on a working class program. Until organized Labor is ready to consider this kind of Labor politics, the Socialist Party must continue its activity as an uncompromising Socialist Party, with the slogan "No compromise—No political trading."

## AMNESTY

Bertha Hale White of the National Office has just returned from Oklahoma, where she has gathered information to be used in behalf of fourteen Oklahoma and Texas farmers now confined at Leavenworth. In the near future Comrade White will go to Washington and lay the facts in these cases before the Attorney-General.

Ninety percent of the remaining Politicals in Federal prisons are members of the I.W.W. There is a great deal of misunderstanding in regard to these cases, not only by the general public, but also by the Department heads at Washington. There is a general impression that these I. W. W. prisoners were convicted for burning crops, placing bombs on ships, destroying or injuring timber and saw-mill machinery in the lumber districts, and similar acts of sabotage. THIS IS NOT TRUE. The I. W. W. politicals were acquitted of industrial offenses by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and are now held in prison solely for their expressions of opinion regarding the war. In other words, these men are being held in prison for exactly the same reason that Debs and other Socialists were. The Amnesty work of the Socialist Party will not be completed until the last of these prisoners are released and the Constitution is again in force.

## A FIGHTING LEADER

"Senator Pomerene. And do you favor the soviet government of Russia?"

Mr. Trachtenberg. I am at present working in America, not in Russia.

Senator Pomerene. That does not answer the question. Do you favor the soviet government in Russia?

Mr. Trachtenberg. I am prepared to offer all of the sympathy for the government that they have established for themselves.

Senator Pomerene. Are you trying to establish that form in the United States?

Mr. Trachtenberg. No.

Senator Pittman. Would you like to see it established in the United States?

Mr. Trachtenberg. If the American working class of this country decides to specify a form of government that suits them, and modeled perhaps on the same plan of a form of government as that proposed in Russia, that is, instead of geographical representation they have representation by industrial units, I believe it would be perfectly right to establish such a system.

Clear as mud. Uncompromising as a weather-vane. Some "Fighting leader"!

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

problems before us in the light of the experience to be gathered in the meantime is of a great promise for the future of the producing classes in the United States.

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

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

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

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

## Address to the American People

ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

After mature deliberation, and with a full sense of our responsibility, this conference of American citizens, assembled without regard to party, section, class or creed, to take counsel in this hour of National crisis, reassert, upon this 190th Anniversary of the birth of Washington, the fundamental principles upon which this nation was founded.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"That Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people and not for the

honor or profit of any man, family or class of men.

"That no man, corporation or group of men shall have any other title to receive compensation from the public than that which is measured by the value of the services they render to the public."

Reasserting these fundamental doctrines as the corner stones of liberty, we proclaim that we do earnestly seek to restore the Government of the United States to the noble ends and high purposes for which it was conceived.

We hold that the splendid structure of the visible American Government is sound and well adapted to the genius of our people. But through the apathy of the people and their division upon false issues, the control of this visible government has been usurped by the "invisible government" of plutocracy and privilege, and, administered in every branch by their creatures and servitors, has become destructive of those sacred rights to secure which it was established.

The history of recent years is a history of re-

peated injuries and usurpation by the servants of this oligarchy in both the dominant parties; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny and Plutocratic Dictatorship within these states. Life, Liberty and Happiness all have been sacrificed upon the altar of greed. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

They have stifled free speech, throttled free press and denied the sacred right of assembly.

They have sanctioned wholesale corruption of the electorate by seating in the Senate of the United States, Newberry, its most notorious beneficiary.

They have used the Federal Reserve system, controlling the life blood of the nation's credit, as an instrument to deflate and crush farmers and independent business men and cause nationwide unemployment.

They have obstructed every honest effort to relieve the distress of Agriculture thus caused, and have used every influence to secure betrayal of the farmers' interests.

They have conscripted four million men and boys while they permitted corporations and individuals to extort unconscionable war profits and have sacrificed the soldiers' just demands for equitable compensation to the dictates of Mellonism and the selfish interests of tax-dodging capitalists and war profiteers.

They have abolished the taxes upon excess profits of corporations and have reduced the taxes upon the incomes of millionaires.

They have squandered the resources of the nation in wasteful and fraudulent contracts and subsidies.

They have permitted the railroads, the arteries of the nation, to be operated not for service but for speculative gain, and, after subsidizing them heavily and guaranteeing their income, have allowed them to be looted by financial manipulation and by contracts to corporations controlled by favored railroad directors.

They have engaged in a campaign of ruthless imperialism in Haiti and San Domingo and have permitted the arms and resources of the United States to be used to trush nations and peoples struggling for freedom and self-government.

They have through the Courts nullified righteous laws of state and nation for the protection of human rights and exalted judge-made laws above the statutes.

They have permitted organized crimes and conspiracies of Trusts to go unhampered and have turned the sword of the Anti-Trust Law only against organizations of farmers and industrial workers.

They have held in prison men convicted of no crimes and have pardoned without warrant notorious profiteers and monopolists.

They have used the Army and the troops and police forces of states and cities to crush labor in its struggles to secure rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

They have prostituted the highest offices of government as channels of pernicious propaganda.

They have surrendered Americanism to Garyism, creating new privileges and immunities for capital and trampling under foot the rights of man.

In every stage of these oppressions, We have petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. Any administration, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

WE, THEREFORE, CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in Conference Assembled, do solemnly publish and declare that our Government of right ought to be administered for the common good and for the protection, prosperity and happiness of the people; that its present usurpation by the invisible government of plutocracy and privilege must be broken; that this can be best accomplished by united political action suited to the peculiar conditions and needs of each section and state; and that to this end, we do hereby pledge ourselves to organize for the coming campaign in every state and congressional district so that this may become once more in very truth a GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, AND BY THE PEOPLE.

## PLAN OF ACTION

ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION.

Your COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION recommends the adoption of the following resolutions:

### RESOLUTION 1.

This Conference recommends that all labor, farmer, co-operative and progressive political forces of the country, as represented in this Conference, unite for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of senators and representatives to Congress and to the various state legislatures, and of other state and local public officers in the coming election of 1922, who are pledged to the interest of the producing classes

and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government.

With this end in view it urges all such forces to organize joint committees within each state, congressional district, county and municipality, who are representative of such organizations and similar organizations that will co-operate with them to secure the election of such representatives.

### RESOLUTION 2.

This conference shall elect a GENERAL COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN members as representative as possible of the various groups

constituting this conference. The general committee shall co-operate with and assist the local organizations in the coming elections, and shall call a national conference on the second Monday of December, 1922, for the purpose of considering and acting upon the proposition of further unifying and mobilizing the forces of the agricultural and industrial workers and other bodies and movements for political action; the organizations to be invited to be:

- (a) Progressive organizations of farmers;
- (2) Organizations of labor;
- (c) Co-operative societies;
- (d) The Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties, Single Taxers and other liberal political groups;
- (e) Such other organizations, bodies and persons as the committee may invite; provided that such organizations or persons are in accord with the purposes of this Conference.

The basis of representation to such conference shall be determined by the general committee.

The general committee shall have power by majority vote of its members to increase its membership and to choose officers and sub-committees, including an executive committee.

The general committee shall have power to employ organizers and clerical help, as well as to publish literature and do all things necessary to carry out the general purposes of this Conference.

Pending the convocation of such subsequent conference, and for the primaries and fall election of 1922, the organizations represented in this conference are urged to make all possible efforts to nominate and elect members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and all state legislative bodies, as well as all other public officers, who are in accord with the purposes of this conference. The method of securing the nomination and election of such candidates shall be left to the judgment of the respective state and local organizations, in co-operation with the general committee of this conference.

**RESOLUTION 3.**

**FUNDS:** The expenses of the general committee shall be met by the organizations supporting this movement, in proportion to their respective numerical strength and with due regard to their ability to pay.

For the purpose of carrying out the immediate objects of this conference, your committee recommends:

That the organization for the conduct of the campaigns in the coming elections be made and carried on largely by representatives in the several states; that the calling of said conferences and the organization of working committees be imposed on the several states.

The avoidance of competing nominations is left, in the first instance, in the hands of state organizations, as are other campaign details. In view of the proximity of the primary elections (some as early as April), and the general elections prompt, efficient organization and united action is imperative.

Your committee, therefore, urges:

(1) That representatives from different states at this conference hold preliminary meetings before the dissolution of the conference, for the purpose of arranging for state conferences at as early a date as possible, to which conferences local representatives should be called who are in sympathy with the purposes of this conference;

(2) Where state organizations have already been formed or are in process of formation, that the representatives of the said states at this conference co-operate with such existing organizations.

Respectfully submitted  
**FREDERIC C. HOWE**, Chairman,

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN.  
 CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION.**

J. G. Brown, Chicago, National Secretary, Farmer-Labor Party.

Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Colorado, National League of Women Voters.

George H. Griffiths, National Non-Partisan League.

Jos. A. Franklin, Kansas City, President, Brotherhood of Boiler-makers, Group 2, Railroad Organizations.

Wm. Green, Indianapolis, Secretary United Mine Workers of America.

Sidney Hillman, New York, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Frederic C. Howe, New York, Public Group.

Wm. H. Johnston, Washington, President, International Association of Machinists.

Morris Hillquit, New York, Socialist Party.

E. J. Manion, St. Louis, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Telegraphers, Group 3, Railroad Organizations.

Edward Keating, Washington, Public Group.

Basil M. Manly, Washington, Public Group.

Warren S. Stone, Cleveland, Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Group 1, Railroad Organizations.

Miss Agnes Nestor, Chicago, Women's Trade Union League.

Benjamin C. Marsh, Washington, Farmers' National Council.

**RUSSIAN RELIEF FUND**

Name	Address	Amount
Previously reported		\$5,638.94
Peter Gittles,	Arkansaw, Wis.	7.00
Joe Hatick,	Chicago, Ill.	2.15
American Br.,	S. P., Erie, Pa.	14.55
J. R. Barret,	Dallas, Texas,	10.00
O. E. Samuelson,	Capron, Okla.	6.00
Local Berks Co.,	S. P. Reading, Pa.	77.79
Local Manzanita,	S. P., Prather, Cal.	5.00
Local Ogden,	S. P., Ogden, Utah.	4.00
N. H. Jacobs,	Nezperce, Idaho	1.00
P. T. Buttler,	Nezpece, Idaho	1.00
Wm. Hoggett,	Nezperce, Idaho	1.00
P. J. Hartnett,	Nezperce, Idaho	1.00

Total ..... \$5,769.43

## Another Communist Camouflage

In accord with the decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International and the instructions of the Executive Committee following the congress, the Communist Party of America has organized a legal political party which will function under the direction and control of the underground organization.

The new policy was announced in the October issue of "The Communist", official organ of the Communist Party of America."

Three leading articles covering ten pages of the magazine were devoted to explaining and defending the new policy. One of these articles "The Task of The Hour" by A. Rafael, starts out with a frank admission of the complete failure of the underground Communist Party and its tactics.

"It cannot be denied that the Communist Party of America practically does not exist as a factor in the class-struggle. The truth of this statement can be inferred from the fact that the slogans, appeals and proclamations of the former two communist parties never caused even a ripple on the surface of the class struggle. We called upon the workers to boycott the last national elections. We called upon the Workers to demand the recognition of Soviet Russia. We called upon the unemployed to organize. We agitated in favor of the Red Labor Union International. What has become of all this? What is there to show that our propoganda has not been in vain?"

After reviewing their failures and taking stock of the situation, he inquires:

"The problem as it presents itself to us at this moment is: "How can the Communist Party, an outlawed and underground organization, get in touch with the sympathetic and benevolently-neutral elements of the working class? How can the Communist Party make them function in an organized manner under its control and leadership? All along we have been working contentedly on the theory that by spreading general communist propoganda and building up active nuclei in the labor movement, the desired end will be achieved. This is a very simple theory. What has been its result? Almost complete failure. It is high time for us to evaluate our experiences. After nearly two years of existence our Party numbers only ten thousand. It is obvious there is something wrong with the Party."

Following this is a further analysis of their failures and the naive confession that they were too stupid to realize them and had to be kicked out of their pipe-dream by Moscow.

"After all our blunders and failures, and with the helpful guidance of the Communist International, we are beginning to see the light. In order to end the unbearable isolation of our Party and bring it into direct touch with the masses, we must create a legal organization actively participating in every phase of the class struggle—on the industrial field, parliamentary

field; on a platform that will meet the requirements of the law, as actually enforced by the ruling class."

We must have an organization co-existing with the Communist Party and led by it. Such an organization will provide room not only for communists in the strict Party sense of the word, but also for the wider circles of workers who will stand with us and follow our immediate platform and tactics."

After two pages of explanation and defense of the new program the article concludes with an assurance that the new legal party will be safely under control of the underground organization.

"Our underground organization, as an organization will remain intact. But its functions will undergo a change. It will no longer publish all its literature underground. It will no longer distribute this literature through the outlawed organization. All these will be done by the legal organization. The Communist Party, as such will address the working class of America only when the legal organization will not be able to do so. The underground organization will remain without change, except that, instead of functioning in a vacuum, as it does now, the Communist Party of America will be working in a living, fighting mass-organization, in every unit of which there will be a communist nucleus working under the centralized control of the regular Party organization. There is, then, no danger that the Communist Party of America will be liquidated.

### COMMUNIST CONTROL ASSURED.

"The Communist Party may be confronted with the danger of losing control over the legal organization. Theoretically, such a danger is always present. It does us no harm to keep in mind its possibility. But this theoretically possible danger should not serve as an excuse for opposing a legal organization. The question of control is a matter of political leadership. If the Communist Party will be theoretically sound and alive to the real needs of the working class, its policies, tactics and slogans will always appeal to the masses, particularly so to those within the legal organization."

The Question of leadership and control is also a question of organization. Considering the matter from this angle, we must remember that the legal organization is to be created by the Party. This is a sufficient insurance against the danger of losing control at the outset. Furthermore, as many of our members as possible should actively participate in the life of the legal organization. This will insure party-control for a very long time to come."

In accordance with the program outlined in "The Communist" a convention was called in New York last December at which the new "Workers' Party" was organized.

The "Workers' Party" is the above ground organization of the underground Communist

Party. It takes in those elements which have been for the Communist program, but which lacked the courage to join the underground movement, and hopes to receive the support of large numbers of workers who are ignorant of its true character. This explains why the new party did not declare for the dictatorship of the proletariat, subscribe to the 21 points, or apply for admission to the Communist International.

The interlocking Executive Committees of the two parties—makes an open affiliation with the Communist International unnecessary for the Workers Party and does not betray the camouflage by which they hope to trick the workers into supporting them.

All those American workers who want to belong to a political party controlled by a secret underground organization taking its orders from Moscow, will rush to join the "Workers' Party."

The stampede has already commenced, in the other direction, as is shown by the editorials from the official journals of two militant Labor organizations, published on page eight.

With the vainglorious boasting characteristic of the Communists, the new party was launched with the announcement that they were offering to American Workers "A fighting organization with a set of fighting leaders." They then adopted fourteen resolutions and adjourned. In accord with their revolutionary tactics the underground Communist organization split again immediately following the convention over the control and policy of the new party.

Just how much success the new party will have can be judged from the experience of the Workers' League. This was a legal political party organized by the Communists for participation in the New York City elections last Fall.

The League candidates included such popular communist leaders as Gitlow, Winitsky, Lindgren, Dr. Hartman and Rose Pastor Stokes. They had the support of every element now included in the new Workers' Party and received extensive publicity in the capitalist press, which heartily welcomed their avowed intention of "smashing" the Socialist Party.

The Workers' League "went to the masses", they "mercilessly exposed" the Socialist Party and its reactionary leaders, they "Hailed" the "revolution" and "workers republic" and the "Red Trade Union International" in the columns of the capitalist press. Then came election day. The revolutionary working class of Greater New York, including all the members and supporters of the Communist Party, the Workers' League, the American Labor Alliance, the Workers' Council, and half dozen other groups and fragments, rushed to the polls 2,000 strong, to cast an untrammelled ballot for the candidates of the Workers' League.

The Socialist Party, the poor, old, "discredited, bankrupt, reactionary Socialist Party," which had been "mercilessly exposed" and "deserted by the masses" was "smashed" again. It received a pitiful average of only 92,000 votes.

All of which goes to show that the Workers' Party with the assistance of its natural allies, the capitalist press, will no doubt make great progress—backward.

OFFICIAL REPORT

Vote of Minority Political Parties,  
New York City Election, November, 1921

	S. P.	F. L. P.	W. L.	S. L. P.	S. Tax
Mayor ..	82,607	1,005	443*	1,049	454
Comptroll.	93,310	1,566	2,479	1,669	670
Pres. of the B. of Ald.	101,003	4,920	426*	1,667	811
Borough					
Presidents:					
Manhattan	34,037	752	1,799	....	1,010
Bronx....	24,840	339	540	329	....
Brooklyn..	31,312	619	608	....	247
Queens ..	3,130	137	....	....	....

\* The names of Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Winitsky, Workers' League candidates for Mayor and President Board of Aldermen were not on the ballot and were written in by those voting for them. The other candidates of the Workers' League were on the ballot. They were Edward Lindgren for comptroller; Borough Presidents—Rose Pastor Stokes, Manhattan; Jacob W. Hartman, Bronx; Charles Browder, Brooklyn.

The Farmer-Labor Party had candidates in 33 Assembly District in the counties of New York, Bronx and Kings. Their vote in the eight Bronx Districts is typical of that in the other counties.

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
Socialist	3,328	3,743	6,097	6,968	6,546	898	4,219	1,092
Farmer-Labor	134	153	118	75	127	107	36	53

THERE IS ONLY ONE ONE LABOR PARTY IN AMERICA. IT IS THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

ORGANIZATION NOTES

A new organization district to be known as the Mountain States Organization District, consisting of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, has recently been organized.

Comrade O. A. Kennedy, Utah National Bldg. Ogden, Utah, State Secretary of Utah, is District Secretary. As District Secretary, Comrade Kennedy will serve as State Secretary for each of the States in the District. Locals and members at large in these States will purchase Due Stamps, etc. from Comrade Kennedy at the above address.

Comrade Esther Friedman, National Organizer, has been assigned to work in Cleveland and Northern Ohio, under the direction of the State Office for one month, commencing April 10th.

# THE WORKERS PARTY

## Two Militant Labor Papers Respond to Their Call

### SAVED AGAIN.

(Editorial in the *Auto-Worker*—Official Organ of the United Automobile Workers)

The workers of America may now heave a sigh of relief. All of the problems that have troubled us will promptly proceed to fade away. We are to be saved. Great leaders have been selected for us, programs printed and all of the skids greased for capitalism. The "Workers Party" has been born.

Jack Carey or Ebert Hubbard, I can't remember just which, not having taken the Roth memory course, once said that in times of stress when real leaders are needed that "A Man Steps Up From the Crowd." This time we are so fortunate as to have seventeen leaders climbing over each others' necks to lead us.

A convention was held in New York City where there gathered the brains of the coming revolution. Resolutions were passed announcing the downfall of capitalism, the bankruptcy of business and the end of the interests. All of the great working class organizations affiliated with the American Labor Alliance were represented, as was also the Workers' Council and the Workers' Educational Association.

Thus representing nearly three hundred actual members this mighty convention proceeded to solve the questions of the hour. After disposing of a few minor matters such as the Dangers of Capitalistic Imperialism, Militarism, the Disarmament Conference, the Indestructibility of Matter, the Third International, the Ifness of the What and the Consciousness of the Unconscious, the convention devoted several moments to the formation of a real revolutionary party for the revolutionary revolutionists.

The chairman of the convention announced, "We offer to American labor a class conscious fighting organization, with a set of fighting leaders." Each and every one of the entire seventeen "fighting leaders" guaranteed to be staggering around with a load of brains heavy enough to cause flat feet.

These seventeen "fighting leaders" have fought their way to "leadership" despite the high cost of print paper and regardless of pied type. They will now proceed to bore from within the unions, having missed meals by being bores without. So if you notice a new "fighting leader" hanging around like a first mortgage on the old homestead, take off your hat to one of the head ushers of the coming revolution.

During the election days watch for the Workers' Party to come leaping to the surface like a ton of lead. The Workers' Party will be known by its proclamations and communiques. They announce in advance that they will "arouse the millions" with a cry of "Hail, Hail, Hail." It will

### FOUR DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

(Editorial in *Industrial Unionist*, Official Organ of the I. W. W.)

Few cities of the world really become famous. The favored few usually arrive at fame through some great event. The invention of baked beans made Boston famous. Salt Lake City holds its place in history as the home of Brigham Young and all the little Youngs.

The recent convention of Communists' "Doctors, lawyers, left wingers, splits, splitlets and splitters which gave birth to "The Workers' Party" shook New York from the ranks of the commonplace to that of fame.

The importance of this convention should not be underestimated. The preponderance of intellect spilled upon the convention floor by its distinguished delegates literally shook the old world from corner to corner. Astronomers in different parts of the world report that even the Moon was doing a little shimmying.

The convention opened in grand style. The temporary chairman struck the key-note when he said: "We offer to American labor a class conscious fighting organization, with a set of fighting leaders." Think of that offer, workers of America, a fighting organization with a set of "fighting leaders" thrown in.

On the first day Comrade Harry Watson, whose Leninistic aspirations did not please the other Lenins present, cried "I bolt" and he bolted. He was followed by Gustave Schaffer, revolutionary leader of the "Hoboes Welfare Association." Schaffer paused long enough to assume a dramatic pose and exclaim in true-bolistic tones, "You will hear from us." Thus again the world was shaken.

Margaret Prevey, millionairess, of Akron, Ohio, said, "We workers must take control of industry." Margaret has her share already. She

(Continued on next page)

be "Hail to the Workers' Republic of Russia," "Hail to the Workers' Democracy of Japan" and "Hail to the Workers' Party of America." So take out your hail insurance now while it is still cheap.

The Workers' Party will open all meetings with their membership campaign song, "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles." The official emblem will be the sign of the cross (double) and the revolutionary auger (signifying the bore) All local unions should be on the watch for the messenger of revolutionary light assigned to bore from within their organization. He should be welcomed as a "fighting leader" deserves to be welcomed. Remember these leaders are of the type who will take a foot if given an inch. Better give them the foot first.



will have to wait patiently for the rest of us to get our share. When Margaret got this bold declaration off her chest, the old world vibrated so vigorously that the peas rolled off Trotzky's knife in Petrograd.

Whom the delegates represented, we have not been able to ascertain. However, it is reported that among the many delegates, at least three of four were wage workers.

Running the gauntlet of commissars and red guards, the Industrial Unionist representative succeeded in being introduced to Comrade George Hardy. Comrade Hardy is the only living Marxian, and like all great statesmen, is not given to loose talk.

When asked whom he represented, Comrade Hardy replied with appropriate dignity: "I represent the Red Trade Union International Committee of the I. W. W." Hardy said "For years I have stood like the Rock of Gibraltar in the I. W. W. for political action."

Not desiring to interrupt such a great intellect, we commented—to ourselves—"and just as thick."

Hardy said that "the I. W. W. was divided into two sections." We presume he meant the mem-

bership in one section and he in the other.

By this time many commissars and Bolshevik diplomats had gathered around the Marxian giant. Comrade Hardy noticing this gained courage and blurted out in undiplomatic language, "the I. W. W. is yellow and anarcho-syndicalistic." At his explosion of wisdom the old world shook itself into convulsions.

Our investigations bear out Comrade Hardy's statement as to whom he represents: in fact all three of the Red Trade Union sections of the I. W. W. admit that Comrade Hardy represents them.

Comrade Batt, who led the Proletarian delegation from Detroit, batted his way to the convention floor on the third day and denounced the whole proceedings as a "Mess Party and not a Mass Party."

Honorable mention is due Skeeter Jack Carney, Commissioner of the Chicago Soviet. Commissar Carney's historic and impressive oration on r-r-r-r-evolution shook the world so much that the icicles fell of the north pole.

The "Workers Party" with its "set of fighting leaders" reminds us of what P. T. Barnum said about one being born every minute.

## Rosa Luxemburg on Bolshevism

The following article is taken from the "Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung" (Vienna Labor Gazette):

Rosa Luxemburg, one of the greatest and noblest women of international socialism, gifted with rare depth and sharpness of mind as well as with revolutionary enthusiasm, stood at the head of the left wing of the German labor movement, of the Spartacists, the forerunners of the German Communists, during the stormy months of revolution. In the midst of the fight this tender woman was traitorously assassinated. Since then it pleased the communists to cover themselves with the glory of this martyr. "Rosa Luxemburg" was the banner with which the German communists tried to justify their attacks on socialism. They were severely criticised right after the March insurrection by her best friend, Paul Levi, for disgracing the name of the dead comrade. But that a world separated her from the bolsheviki becomes only now obvious from the pamphlet just published and nothing seems more believable than the remarks of Paul Levi in his preface that "a certain party" had intended the death by flames of her criticism.

Rosa Luxemburg wrote the pamphlet during her imprisonment in the fortress of Breslau at the beginning of 1918. A few months before the bolsheviki of Russia had gained the control and with a great and passionate gesture had put socialism as a practical problem in the centre of the struggle of the world. With all her deep enthusiasm Rosa Luxemburg greeted this action which seemed to fulfill the work of her life, to bring about Socialism. But the peculiar development

of things in Russia, the exposure of the real nature of bolshevism in its political practice, in its particular methods and measures, soon aroused the opposition of her critical mind. Rosa Luxemburg was an old opponent of the bolshevists. As far back as 1904 Lenin had to fight a hard duel with her. In 1917 she gave bolshevism her sympathy in the hope that, put into the world of facts, it would change its methods and become the pioneer of socialism. In 1918 she opposed it energetically (in this pamphlet), when she became aware of the fact that bolshevism in power still remained bolshevism, in its methods, widely separated from socialism.

The methods of bolshevism are of eminent practical importance for the fate of the labor movement, and Luxemburg's pamphlet receives its particular value from its criticism of the nature of bolshevism as the negation of democracy, which in abolishing democracy is also abolishing the vital principle of socialism and changing the dictatorship of the ruling proletariat into the dictatorship of a small party, protected by the power of the state. Luxemburg rejected the arrogant claim of the bolshevists to supreme criticism of Soviet-Russia, but thought it highly necessary in the interest of the international labor movement to come to an explanation of bolshevism.

"Not by creating a revolutionary hurrah-sentiment," she writes, "but quite contrary, only by insight in the whole terrible seriousness, the complicatedness of the task, by political maturity and cautious independence, by critical reasoning

power of the masses (which, under various pretenses, was systematically killed by the German democracy), can the capacity be born. To discuss critically the Russian revolution in all its historic connections is the best schooling of the German as well as the international workers for the tasks growing from the present situation."

The Kerensky government sought to delay the calling of the National Assembly fearing a discussion of the peace and agrarian problems. An armed insurrection of the bolsheviks, who had passionately demanded an immediate meeting of the National Assembly, overthrew the government. But Lenin and Trotzky, come to power, dissolved the National Assembly, for the "saving" of which they had undertaken the insurrection. Luxemburg says: "Certainly, every democratic institution has its faults and imperfections, which it has in common with all human institutions. But the remedy, found by Trotzky and Lenin, the abolishing the democracy altogether, is worse than the evil it seeks to remedy, for it entombs the living well which alone can cure the original imperfections of the social institutions, namely, the active, free, energetic, political life of the broad masses."

In the place of the National Assembly the bolsheviks put the soviets, to which, on account of restricted elections, only part of the population have admission while great parts are excluded. Luxemburg does not deny the necessity of soviets; even the restriction of political liberty, necessitated by the resistance of the counter revolution, seemed absolutely justified to her.

"But," she writes, "suffrage that outlaws whole strata of society and puts them outside of society, while it is unable to create for them room within society, is a deprivation of rights not as a concrete measure for a concrete purpose but as a general rule of lasting effect; it is not a necessity of dictatorship but an improvisation."

Luxemburg advocated "soviets as the backbone as well as constitutional assembly and general suffrage," i. e. transferred to our conditions, workers councils as well as the parliament. The dissolution of the parliament, the abolishing of civil liberties (as free press, free assemblage, personal liberty) had to lead, according to Luxemburg's convictions, to the destruction of sound public life. "It is an obvious fact that without a free press, without unchecked right of assemblage the rule of the broad masses of the people is unthinkable."

"Liberty," she writes, "for the adherents of the government only, for members of the party only—may they be ever so numerous—is no liberty of the opponent. Not on account of fanaticism for "justice," but because all education, all cure and cleansing by political liberty depends on this condition and therefore loses its effect if it becomes a privilege."

For this reason democracy is indispensable as the form in which the will of the people, the many needs of all parts of the people, can make themselves felt. Of course, so long as the capitalist class is ruling, democracy is only an instrument

of class rule. "It is," says Luxemburg, "the historic task of the proletariat to put socialist democracy in place of capitalist (bourgeois) democracy, not to abolish democracy all together. But socialist democracy does not begin in the Promised Land, after the basis of socialist economy is created, as a ready made christmas gift for the good people who in the meantime have supported faithfully the few socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins with the excavation of class rule and the erection of socialism."

And now we are able to comprehend the mental orientation of Rosa Luxemburg to the problem of dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship consists, according to her well founded opinion, "in the manner in which democracy is used, not in abolishing it, in energetic and determined interference with the acquired rights and economic conditions of the capitalist (bourgeois) society, without which interference a socialist revolution is impossible. But this dictatorship must be the work of the class and not that of a small leading minority in the name of the class, i. e., it must always result from active participation of the masses, must stand under the control of the public; it must result from the growing political schooling of the masses of the people."

The socialist system of society can only be a historical product, "born from experience in the hour of fulfillment, from development of living history, which, like organic nature, a part of which it is in the end, has the beautiful habit of creating together with a real social need, the means to satisfy that need." Therefore socialism cannot be "introduced by decrees." Only experience is able to rectify and open new ways. Only unchecked, sparkling life discovers a thousand new forms, has creative power, corrects all failures. Public life in countries with restricted liberty is so insufficient, so poor, so schismatic, so sterile, because by the expulsion of democracy it bars the living sources of all mental wealth and progress."

And so public criticism, guaranteed by democracy, appears to her not only as a guarantee against corruption but as indissolubly connected with the practice of socialism.

"The practice of socialism demands a mental revolution of the masses, degraded by centuries of bourgeois class rule; it demands social instincts in place of egotism, mass initiative in place of mental laziness, idealism that carries away over all sufferings, etc. Nobody knows this better, pictures it more urgently, repeats it oftener than Lenin. But he does not use the right means to bring this about: decrees, dictatorial powers of the factory superintendent, draconic punishments, terrorism, those are the means which are preventing this rebirth. The only way for this rebirth is the school of public life itself, broadest democracy, public opinion, Terrorism demoralizes." And it is, therefore, inevitable, in the opinion of Rosa Luxemburg, that the soviets, without a general representation will be forced to kill themselves.

"Lenin and Trotzky," she writes, "have

claimed so often that, instead of representative bodies, the soviets are the only true representation of the working masses. But with the suppression of the political life in the whole country the life in the soviets will also be paralyzed. Without general elections, unchecked freedom of press and assemblage, without a free struggle of opinion, life in public institutions will die out, bureaucracy will remain the only active element. Nobody can escape this law. Some dozens of party leaders of immense energy and boundless

idealism are ruling, and amongst them a few dominant heads are really directing; the elite of the working class is called to meet from time to time in order to applaud the speeches of the leaders and to adopt unanimously the resolutions submitted to them. That is clique rule — a dictatorship, yes, but not a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship of a handful of politicians, i. e., a dictatorship in the capitalist sense, in the sense of the Jacobin rule which must result in a demoralization of public life."

## The Union Man's Prayer

Inspired by the acceptance of the Landis Award by Some of the Chicago Building Trades Unions

"Almighty and all powerful Landis, who art in the Federal Building when not at the ball park; thou who art the father of the Citizens' Committee and the godfather of the Open-Shop, we hail thee as the greatest umpire of the century; we bow down before thee in obedience."

"When thou sayest come, we come. We have no desire but to obey thy mandates. When thou sayest black is white, we shall swear to it and lick the everlasting stuffin' out of the man that disputes it. When thou takest snuff we will sneeze; when thou sayest 'Peace in the building trades' we echo thy words; when thou sayest work, then work we will."

"We are union men after the improved Landis type. Our business is to build, and to build cheaper. What is it to us whether we have a union or not? We are but dogs that eat the crumbs that fall from our master's table. When the crumbs fall, we wag our tails; when they fall fast, we wag faster, when they don't fall, we wait until they do."

"This is Unionism. This is the kind of Unionism that accepts the Landis award. O, most adored master we love thee for what thou hast done for us. We love thee because thou art Landis. We humbly surrender ourselves to thee. Do with us as thou wilt. Though liver is forty cents a pound we love thee; though rent is high, we love thee; though the building industry is paralyzed, we love thee; though we are still out of work, we love thee; though our children are clothed in rags, we love thee; though our wife, the dear companion of our bosom, is scantily dressed and looks so shabby that she can't go to church, we love thee; though we are sinking deeply in debt and poverty is knocking at the door and hunger its staring us in the face, we love thee still."

"Yea, we love thee, Landis. We love thy award also and all thy works. We know we said that we would not accept thy award, but we lied when we said it. We thought then we had some manhood about us, but we ain't. We have no independence. We don't want any. Thou, O mighty Landis, hast all the manhood in the building industry. We are fools, liars, lickspittles and mudsills. We have no business to want anything or say anything."

"In 1921 we favored a closed shop and in 1922 we oppose it. We favored it because we thought it was right. We oppose it, most adored master, because thou told us to. Ain't we honey of the first water? Did ever a dog serve his master more faithfully? Did ever a dog get less for it?, O, mighty master, we are very ready to seive thee an' thy Citizen's Committee. All the pay we ask is to be patted on the back by some big boss or banker and called a good American."

"We love thy Citizens' Committee also. O noble Landis. They are big contractors and business men and bankers, fit friends and associates for thy high and exalted self. We love the political parties to which they belong. We thank thee, O Landis, for permitting us to be Democrats and Republicans and to vote for the candidates that are supported by the Citizens Committee. It is glorious thought that on election day we can go to the polls and vote for the same men that you vote for."

"We ain't got any sense. We don't want any. It don't take any sense to be a good Democrat or Republican. What a joyful thought! We don't have to think. We don't have to worry. Our work is mapped out for us. All that is expected is that we do what we are told to do."

"We thank thee again, O Landis, and through thee we thank thy Citizen's Committee and the Democrat and Republican parties. We thank them for the war. We thank them for the unemployed and the hungry men and women in the land. We thank them for the high prices and low wages. We thank them for the rags our children wear. We thank them for the clothes our wife needs and can't get."

"And now, O great and exalted Landis, we leave us in thy care. Do with us as thou wilt. Kick Unionism into the middle of the next century; give more privileleges to the contractors; reduce wages; take away our overtime; declare an open shop; make us work with scabs and blacklegs in other trades; and above all, O mighty master, protect us from ourselves. We might try to be men again. Don't let us be. If we strike, issue injunctions against us; indict our officials; club our pickets; smash our organization and thine shall be the honor and the credit and the glory forever, Amen."

## The Socialist Party

Executive Secretary,  
**OTTO BRANSTETTER,**  
220 South Asbland Blvd., Chicago.

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

Lilith Martin Wilson, Box 685  
Reading, Pa.

Wm. H. Henry, 709 East 13th St.,  
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Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th St.,  
New York City.

Edmund T. Melms, 570 8th Ave.,  
Milwaukee, Wis.

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

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

To the National Executive  
Committee.

Dear Comrades:

I submit for vote of your  
committee the following National  
Executive Committee  
Motion No. 4.

Executive Question

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

Comment by Executive Sec-  
retary.

I am informed that this in-  
vitation will be accepted and  
the Socialist group attending  
the Labor Convention in Chi-  
cago are unanimous in the  
opinion that the invitation  
should be sent.

Ballot enclosed. Vote closes  
March 11th.

On Motions 2 and 3, I re-  
port as follows:

Motion No. 2.

Executive Question.

Submitted Feb. 10. Vote  
closed Feb. 21.

"Shall the date of conven-  
ing the National Convention  
be postponed from April 22nd  
until April 29th?"

All members voted. Carried  
unanimously.

Comments.

Gerber: My reasons for  
postponing the Convention  
are: First, the Jewish Forward  
celebrates its 25th anniversary  
on April 23rd. If the conven-  
tion was held in New York  
there would be no reason to  
postpone the convention, the

To Remain  
in  
Good Standing

Buy a

**NATIONAL  
CONVENTION  
STAMP**

—  
MAKE A  
MONTHLY  
PLEDGE

to the

**ORGANIZATION**

**FUND**

Rebuild

the

Socialist

Party

delegates to the convention  
would participate in the cele-  
bration in a body, but as the  
convention is held in Clevel-  
land, many of the delegates  
will not only want to be at the  
celebration but some of the  
comrades whom we want at  
the convention will on account  
of their position in the move-  
ment have to be and should be  
at the Silver Jubilee of the Jew-  
ish Socialist Organ in the Unit-  
ed States.

The Forward by virtue of its  
services to the cause and to the  
party should have the fullest  
co-operation of the party orga-  
nization, and for this reason  
alone the convention should  
be postponed.

Second, by opening the con-  
vention on April 29th will give  
us a chance to hold a large  
meeting in the city where the  
convention is held on May  
First; and it may be good to  
again celebrate May 1st as In-  
ternational Labor Day, it is  
good that we reaffirm our allegi-  
ance to the International Broth-  
erhood of the Human Race in  
particular. We must rescue in-  
ternationalism from the odium  
cast on it by profiteering, pat-  
rioteers and irresponsible  
phrase mongers.

—  
Motion No. 3.

Executive Question.

Submitted Feb. 15th. Vote  
closed Feb. 27th.

"Shall an organization dis-  
trict be formed comprising the  
Sates of Utah, Idaho, Wyom-  
ing, Colorado, New Mexico,  
Nevada, and Arizona, with the  
appointment of Comrade O.  
A. Kennedy as District Sec-  
retary, with an appropriation  
of \$25.00 for initial office ex-  
pense, and a payment of  
\$75.00 per month for a period  
of six months to maintain the  
work?"

All members voted. Carried  
unanimously.

Fraternally submitted,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,  
Executive Secretary.

# Preliminary Agenda National Convention

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. That the Socialist Party continue its present policy of non-affiliation with international organizations, until the annual convention of 1923.

2. That the National Convention elect delegates to attend the next international conference called or participated in by the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (Vienna International) and to report with recommendations as to affiliation with the Working Union or with such international organization as may result from the next conference held.

3. That the Socialist Party of the United States apply for immediate affiliation with the International Working Union of Socialist Parties.

## AFFILIATION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES IN INSULAR POSSESSIONS.

That the Convention amend the Party Constitution so as to provide for the affiliation of Socialist Parties organized in the colonies or dependencies of the United States, upon the payment of nominal dues or affiliation fees.

## PARTY HAND BOOK

That the National Office shall publish an annual hand book which shall contain the gist of the Party's position on important matters. It shall contain information and suggestions on methods of organizing, building up and maintaining locals and branches; effective methods of collecting dues and raising campaign funds, a simple digest of parliamentary rules, an order of business for branch meetings, and other information that will aid in building up an efficient and disciplined Party organization.

## LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

That the National Executive Committee be authorized to select delegates to attend the next meeting or convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Such delegates to have no power to commit the Socialist Party to any policy, but only to report with recommendations to the next succeeding National Convention.

## TWENTY-FIRST PARTY ANNIVERSARY

Considering that July 29th will be the 21st anniversary of the convening of the Unity Convention at which the Socialist Party was organized, it is recommended that July 29-30 be celebrated as the "coming of age" anniversary of the Socialist Party. To stimulate interest in this celebration the National Office shall, from time to time publish information of the proceedings of the Unity Convention of 1901 that will be of interest to the membership.

## DUES AND FINANCES

1. The National Party dues shall be seven cents per month, the State, local and branch dues to be determined by the respective organizations.

2. The National Party dues shall be ten cents per month. Three cents of each month's dues received shall be kept in a separate fund for the payment of National Convention expenses. State, local and branch dues shall be determined by the respective organizations.

3. The dues of members of the Party shall be \$4.00 per year, payable quarterly at the first meeting in January, April, July and October, in the sum of \$1.00 per quarter. The quarterly dues shall be divided as follows: National dues 25 cents, State dues 30 cents, Local dues 45 cents. All new members whose applications are received before the end of the second month of the quarter shall pay dues for the quarter in which they join; those joining in the third month of the quarter shall pay dues commencing with the following quarter, provided that all applications for membership shall be accompanied with dues for a full quarter. The National Office shall issue quarterly stamps or quarterly membership cards in lieu of the monthly stamps now furnished.

## INITIATION FEE

All applications for membership shall be accompanied by an initiation fee of 50 cents in addition to the required dues. The National Office shall issue an "Initiation Stamp" as a receipt for this payment. The fee shall be divided as follows: to the National Office 20 cents; to the State Organization 15 cents; to the local 15 cents.

## CONVENTION STAMPS

That the section of the constitution providing for a special convention stamp be repealed and the following adopted:

A special Dues and Convention Stamp shall be issued for the month of January, (or for the first quarter in each year) which shall be sold for forty cents more than the regular dues stamp. The purchase of this stamp shall be mandatory and every membership card must contain this stamp as the only valid evidence of good standing for the month of January. The 40 c. collected above the regular dues shall go to the National Office for the payment of Convention expenses.

## CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Considering that important State and Congressional elections will be held this year and that it is important that the drive for a National campaign fund shall not conflict with similar drives by the state and local organizations, the following procedure is recommended:

That immediately after the National Convention the National Executive Committee shall elect particular months in which to make its drive for funds and shall confine its appeals to those months; that all state and local organizations be requested not to conduct drives or money raising campaigns during the months selected by the National Executive Committee.

### YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

That members of the Young People's Socialist League, who are also members of the Party, be permitted to pay one month's dues for both memberships.

That the National Executive Committee under-

take the publication of the Young People's Socialist Magazine, through the appointment of an editor to supervise the editorial work on behalf of the N. E. C.

That the National Executive Committee be instructed to call a National Convention of the Y. P. S. L.

## Proposed Congressional Program

The Socialist Party of the United States appeals to the suffrage of the toiling masses as their Party representing their welfare. Its platform is an interpretation of society and a forecast of what humanity must do to avert the collapse or the destruction of the modern nations.

Private property in the resources of nature, the great plants of production, the means of transportation and communication, is rapidly becoming the corporate property of a powerful class of owners. The great trustified industries dominate the lives of millions of human beings.

This rapidly centralizing ownership is not due to the malice of the owners. The great discoveries and inventions of the past and present centuries have increased our power to produce wealth. To fully use this power great organizations of capital have resulted. The small plant and small industry must give way to the large one. Competition slowly gives way to corporate organization and control. This tendency is inevitable in an age of machinery, steam and electric power, and organization.

But corporate ownership and control enables a class to monopolize the chief benefits of industrial progress. Enormous incomes flow into the laps of the great masters of our industrial life. A struggle ensues between the owners of industry and the masses who work in the industries.

Modern society is thus afflicted with industrial warfare. Two main classes face each other, the owners of industry and the workers in industry. This struggle rages around wages and hours of labor. Modern industry breeds this irrepressible conflict. Socialism will end it. The greater industries must pass out of the hands of a small minority of the population into the hands of the nation, organized and administered by the masses and representing the will of all.

While preparing for this fundamental change and working towards it as a final end, we realize that questions of grave immediate concern face us today. The world war has left this country a fateful legacy of political evils and industrial derangements, which call for immediate and drastic remedies.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The war has been over for more than three years, yet large numbers of persons are still imprisoned in Federal and state jails for so-called war-time offenses. As a rule these offenses consisted of the mere expression of opposition to war

or of labor-union activities during the war. The prisoners were tried in an abnormal atmosphere of passion and prejudice and were given inhumanly heavy sentences.

The demand for a complete and immediate amnesty for all such political prisoners is foremost in the measures of our immediate concern. When it becomes unsafe for citizens to express dissenting economic and political opinions, civil rights are a farce and a lie, social progress is checked and the human mind is stifled in an atmosphere of cowardice and servility. Political persecution engendered during the war and continued after the war leads logically to open class persecution and oppression in normal times. We call the attention of organized labor to the menace of this fatal tendency to their own struggles.

Organizers of the trade unions have been mobbed and driven out of some communities. In the areas of the steel trust union meetings have also been suppressed. These grave invasions of the most elementary rights won by centuries of sacrifice cannot be permitted to continue without effective protest. The workers of the nation have a vital interest in joining forces with the Socialist Party in arresting the sweep of despotic power over the expression of opinions, public meetings, the press and the organizations of labor.

### MILITARISM

In all modern countries the advanced sections or the organized workers are actively combating the danger of militarism. Militarism is incompatible with the welfare of the people in general and the masses of workers in particular. It breeds a lust for power and conquest. It contaminates the whole social and educational life of a nation with false ideals. It fosters military cliques whose only ambition is to breed wars. It tends to grasp power from civilian authority. It glorifies force and is generally ranged against the workers in all their struggles for better conditions.

The Socialist Party pledges its candidates to oppose universal military service, standing armies and large navies. Experience teaches that they mean certainty of war, devastated lands, wrecked homes, enormous debts, the rise of reaction at home and savage hate of people abroad. A ruined world staggering under enormous debts cries out in protest against militarism. The working people of the nations provide the vast bulk of the human sacrifices and upon them is placed the heaviest burdens of war.

## FOREIGN POLICY

The war has enthroned the spirit of imperialist conquest. The United States has developed into a world power, a power in the Caribbean Sea, a power in Latin America, a Pacific power, a power with ambitions in exploitable regions all over the world.

Within twenty years the Foreign policy of the United States has witnessed a radical and alarming change. In the Panama Zone it maintains what in Europe would be called a "Crown colony" ruled by a governor. It seized the Panama strip under the guns of American warships. It has supported a financial imperialism in Haiti and San Domingo, overthrowing the republics of these countries, and ruling them with armed force. It has threatened Mexico repeatedly. For a generation it has controlled elections in Nicaragua. It maintains a protectorate over Cuba. After twenty years of repeated promises of independence for the Philippines it still rules these islands.

No nation can rule with armed might abroad and threaten its weaker neighbors without becoming despotic at home. The Foreign policy of the government under Democratic and Republican administrations has been the same since 1898. Each administration has followed the policy of supporting the big banks and American investors in their ventures abroad, of serving as a police force to back up their international financial ventures.

American investments in ranches, oil lands, coal and mineral lands, railroad building and other foreign enterprises tend to drag the military and naval power of the United States after them. The policy of the State Department is to support the demands of the bankers and investors. The secrecy maintained in developing this policy leads to a commitment of the armed powers of the nation to purposes of which the people are entirely ignorant.

The Socialist Party protests in the name of the thousands that may be sacrificed to this imperialist policy. It demands that no war should be waged to safeguard or recover private investments. It insists on the policy that all foreign investments be made under the laws of the country where the funds are invested and at the individual risk of the investors.

As a measure contributing towards the revival of industry and international trade we urge speedy recognition of Russia and the resumption of trade relations with the Russian people. So long as the people of Russia and the vast resources of Russia are isolated from the rest of the world there can be no permanent stability in the modern world.

## LABOR LEGISLATION.

The post-war reaction has chosen the organizations of labor for the principal object of its attack. The propaganda of the "open shop" is an assault upon the freedom of organization of the wage workers. If it were successful it would mean unrestricted and brutal dictatorship of the

masters of industry and reduce the workers to helpless servitude.

The Kansas Industrial Court with its prohibition of strikes is a logical result of this nationwide propaganda. Already bills have been introduced in a number of states and in Congress embodying this vicious idea. Anti-syndicalist laws have been passed in many states which threaten to restrict or abolish the worker's right of organization.

The Socialist Party pledges its full support to the organized workers in their struggle to check this assault of the employing masters.

The amazing and frequent use of injunction in labor disputes and the power exercised by the courts in setting aside laws should be restricted. The startling use of Federal power through the Department of Justice in breaking strikes also reveals the grave necessity of the workers to obtain political power. The increasing use of hired gunmen and spies in labor struggles also reveals the need of federal legislation to abolish these sinister agents of corporation mastery.

The Socialist Party is pledged to watch and work, in both the industrial and political struggle, for every immediate interest of the workers of the nation; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for protection against sickness, accident, invalidity and old age; for larger opportunities of education, and for every gain or advantage that may be wrested from the capitalist system that may strengthen the hands of all forms of useful labor.

## SOCIAL INSURANCE

In this period of wide-spread unemployment and general distress caused by the greed, planlessness and recklessness of the capitalist privateers, the governing parties have shown a callous indifference to the wants and needs of millions of workers. The system of shameless profiteering continues unabated. The masters of our industrial life insists on more drastic reductions of wages and increases of the hours of labor. Human life and health are still sacrificed for the gains of the masters of industry. Wide-spread and inhuman child labor still curses a nation that boasts of its civilization.

The Socialist Party insists that the business of insurance should be taken over by the Government, and should be extended to include adequate provisions for unemployment, accident, sickness, invalidity and old age, without contribution on the part of the workers.

## THE FARMERS

The collapse of agriculture is a striking development of post-war history. Millions of farmers face trying economic conditions which bear especially upon the tenant farmers and the farm laborers. While millions of dollars are appropriated for the Department of Commerce to aid in developing trade and investments of capitalists and bankers, the best that the administration could do for the stricken workers in the rural regions is to call a conference. This body, like most gatherings called and organized by

government officials, offers nothing more than talk to the rural workers.

The grave situation that faces that rural workers demands effective and immediate federal aid.

The Socialist Party proposes that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed its full rental value; that the Federal Government shall acquire other lands by reclamation, purchase, taxation, condemnation or otherwise, such land to be organized into socially operated farms with modern machinery; that ample credits be extended to farmers at low rates of interest; that a comprehensive plan of elimination of farm tenantry be worked out with the view to establishing socially owned and operated farms where the relations of employers and employed shall disappear; that socially owned cold storage plants be established and rural wage workers be encouraged to organize unions of farm laborers.

**SOCIALIZATION.**

A marked feature of the great basic industries of the nation is their social character. They involve the welfare of so many thousands of human beings that no private or corporate group should be permitted to own them for private or corporate enrichment. They should be socialized. This is particularly true of the railroads, the mines, the steel industry and many other of the larger industries of the country.

The conflict between human needs and private or corporate greed is particularly glaring in the three industries mentioned. The conditions in these industries are becoming inhuman and intolerable for the millions of workers engaged in them.

These industries should be socialized and the program of socialization should be extended to other large industries as rapidly as possible. But such a program should carry with it the safeguard of increasing representation and control by the workers in the industries to avoid the bureaucracy and tyranny that too often accompany purely government enterprises. The anti-social and anti-human character of the present ownership and management of industry is apparent to all. It cannot be ended too soon.

**THE NEGRO**

The Negro workers of the United States occupy a special status in society that is of grave concern to the white-wage workers. The mass of them belong to the same economic class as the white-wage workers. They constitute a poten-

tial power in the labor movement and labor unions should welcome them on a basis of equality with all other wage workers.

The Socialist Party insists that the Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments with reference to the Negroes, and effective Federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

The Socialist Party pledges itself and all of its candidates who may be elected to Congress to use all of their power and influence for the realization of the measures here outlined and on this ground it asks for the suffrage and support of all American workers.

**FULL TICKET IN ILLINOIS**

The Primaries for the Fall election are unusually early in Illinois, primary petitions having to be filed not later than March 3rd. State Secretary Wilson reports that a complete ticket has been filed, including candidates in every Congressional District and all but three State Senatorial Districts. The ticket is more nearly complete than they have had for several years past, and the Party workers report no difficulty in securing the necessary signatures, even where there is no working Party organization.

**MONTHLY PLEDGES FOR 1922**

Name	Locality	Amount per month
Previously reported		\$200.50
J. C. Moore,	San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
Eugene Meuhlemann,	Chesterfield, Mo.	5.00
S. John Block,	New York City, N. Y.	3.00
Meyer Gilles,	New York City, N. Y.	2.00
Leon Gottlieb,	New York City, N. Y.	3.00
W. W. Passage,	New York City, N. Y.	1.00
A. Schonberg,	New York City, N. Y.	2.00
Abraham Shiplacoff,	Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
F. Krichesky,	Bronx, N. Y.	1.00
D. Rubinow,	Bronx, N. Y.	2.00
John P. Schlessmam,	Steelton, Penna.	1.00
Birch Wilson,	Reading, Penna.	1.00
Total		\$228.50

**CUT THIS OUT and SEND IT NOW.**

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_