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The Reward of "Paytriotism"

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

If there is one thing that has come home to workingmen with convincing force, especially those organized in the American labor movement who gave the world war their whole-hearted support, it is that patriotism as defined in the lexicon of capitalism, has its sure reward.

"Work or Fight" was the thrilling slogan announced by the master class for its slaves when the war was declared, and the slaves did both with an enthusiasm that delighted their masters.

A few, a very few of their leaders who saw and understood and had the courage to speak and warn were speedily hissed into silence, hooted down, denounced and discredited, if not mobbed and beaten up by their own class, and then thrown into jail by the office-holding hirelings of the capitalist patrioteers.

It was a common thing to see or hear of a union workingman being assalted by the members of his own union for not being sufficiently patriotic in support of the slaughter of his class ordered by the masters of his class.

I saw two miners at Terre Haute who had been terribly beaten up at the mine at which they worked. Their faces bore traces of the most brutal slugging and they presented a ghastly appearance. They had been knocked down, kicked in the face until their teeth were loosened and in the ribs until they were senseless. These two men were union men. The cowardly brutes who all but murdered them were also union men. They all wore the same badge, all belonged to the same class, and all were members of the same union.

Why were these two men thus assaulted by the members of their owr union? Because they had refused to buy liberty bounds, and the United Mine Workers of America, individually and collectively, were making heavy investments in liberty bonds and priding themselves upon the glorious record they were making in their patriotic support of the war.

But is was not sufficient to beat up these two loyal union men for refusing to contribute to the slaughter of their class, they must be expelled from the union and driven from the mines, and that is what happened. Their membership in the union was revoked and a committee called on their bosses and ordered them discharged as "traitors," which of course was promptly done. It is due to the bosses to say that they had a full appreciation of this exhibition of loyalty and patriotism on the part of their coal-digging slaves.

The incident is related here because of its significance at this time when the patriotic supporters of the war in the labor movement are receiving their reward in such regular and substantial installments. It is at this time that workingmen, especially if they carry a union card, can be made to see, unless they are incurably blind, that 'patriotism'' in the protiteering sense of that term is a delusion and a sham, a fraud and false pretense, and that it simply means their own abject servility and the slavery and degradation of their class.

Let us review briefly some of the facts relating to the war and labor's part in it, including the reward of its patriotism.

Labor, especially organized labor, was promised everything when the war was declared. Nothing was to be too good for labor if it only gave its enthusiastic support to its own slaughter. And labor

(Continued on page 11)

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THAT WHICH YE SOW.

Herrin Illinois, is in the southern part of the state where outlawry and mob violence was encouraged and fostered by the capitalist press for two years during the world war.

It is in that section that organized mobs went from town to town terrorizing the inhabitants, mobbing inoffensive workingmen who were suspected of humane tendencies or a belief in the Bill of Rights.

It was at Mount Olive in that section that a drunken mob inspired by The Chicago Tribune and other capitalist dailies lynched Praeger and perpetrated innumerable other outrages of a similar character.

When the rough and violent population of these counties were mobbing and lynching in accordance with the wishes of the big financiers and the capitalist press they were 100 per cent patriotic and praised for their sterling American qualities. When the self-same mob, with far more justification, wreaks its vengeance upon imported thugs and strikebreakers, the capitalist press is horrified.

What did they expect? Does a leopard change its spots?

Does a community in which the seed of mob violence has been planted and carefully nurtured by the so-called respectable and influential members of society, change its entire character and become a peaceful and law-abiding community overnight?

The incident at Herrin is not the first and will not be the last illustration of the fact that the ruling class cannot deliberately fan the flames of mob violence when it suits their interest and escape that same violence under different circumstances.

Not only Southern Illinois, but many other Amercan communities are yet to suffer from the vicious propaganda and incitation to mob violence of the capitalist press during the late war.

GET A NEW MEMBER

Causes of The Railroad Strike

The Transportation act, under which authority the Railway Labor Board ordered the reduction of approximately \$27,000.000 in the wages of certain classes of railway employes, was passed over the outspoken word of the organized railway workers. After it had become law the Labor Board was not even created until the wage issue had become so acute that widespread "outlaw" strikes forced the Government to offer relief to the men. Since this initial action, so obviously brought about by the exercise of the economic power of organized labor, the status of railway employes has become steadily worse under the regime of the Transportation act and the Labor Board. Wages have been reduced twice. Punitive overtime after eight hours has been abolished for certain classes of maintenance workers, thus bringing about a practical nullification of the eight-hour day. Such decisions against labor have been promptly put into effect by the managements.

But decisions in which the Board sought to maintain the previous status of the men have been largely evaded. Roads under federal receivers have obtained legal immunity from the authority of the Board. The Pennsylvania Railroad has by federal injunction prevented the Board from censuring it for disobeying an important ruling. Roads have farmed out shop work to non-union contractors who did not maintain conditions prescribed by the Board, and although the Board has denunced this practice there seems to be no legal way to prevent it.

Numerous other evasions of the Transportation act in the interests of the railroad managements have been practiced with impunity. Neither the Government nor "the public"—which is apparently another name for the opinion of newspaper editorial writers —has made any noticeable protest against such destruction of the authority of the Board.

These developments have been pricking the railroad workers into a rising frenzy of resentment for the past two years, and the apparent, absolutely disregard of the "cost-of-living" arguments in ordering the latest reduction in wages, which were ably presented by the representatives of these workers, was simply "the straw that broke the camel's back."

The wage reduction is not by any means the largest cause of dissatisfaction; it furnished merely the last of a long series of grievances.

From "Fourty-Four," organ of the printing trades of Philadelphia & vicinity.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Fifty Thousand Members by Election Day

The National Executive Committee is preparing to launch a great organization and membership campaign with the object of increasing the dues paying membership to 50,000 by election day, November 7th.

IT CAN BE DONE

The tide has turned. The workers are more inclined to accept our propaganda than ever before and the field workers are reporting unusually large and successful meetings. The apathy and indifference of our membership is rapidly passing and there is a renewed interest and enthusiasm all down the line.

The National Office has put a force of organizers in the field and, in view of conditions during the past three years, the results have been amazing. New Locals are being organized at a rapid rate and when the existing locals commence an intensive campaign for new members, the membership will increase by leaps and bounds. The following notes give a summary of the results of the first few weeks of organization activity:

SUCCESS IN THE MOUNTAIN STATES

National Organizer, Emil Herman, former State Secretary of Washington and recently released from the Federal Penitentiary at McNeil's Island, is having remarkable success in his organization work in the Mountain States.

In Idaho in twelve days he organized locals at Nampa, Boise, Twin Falls and Preston and secured members at large at Weiser, Payette, Rupert and Pocatello.

He followed this with fourteen days in Utah. during which he organized new locals at Toole, Eureka and Murray and secured additional members for the locals already in existence at Ogden, Provo and Green River.

He is now working in Colorado where a State Convention for the purpose of re-organizing the Party and nominating a State ticket is to be held in Denver on July 9th at Painters Hall, 17471/2 Arapahoe Street.

WEST VIRGINIA ORGANIZING

National Organizer William A. Toole is meeting with unprecedented success in West Virginia.

The striking miners in that state are tired of supporting the old party candidates and are flocking to the Socialist Party. In ten days Comrade Toole has organized six locals — at Scott's Run, Monongah, Morgantown, Fairmont, Clarksburg and Montclare with a total of 124 members, an average of over twenty to a local.

A state convention it to be held at Charleston on July 16th for the purpose of forming a state organization and nominating a full party ticket.

OTHER ORGANIZERS TO START

Comrade Mary McVicker commences work in Iowa on July 3rd and Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis in Minnesota on July 10th. There is little doubt but that they will get the same results as were secured in Idaho, West Virginia and other states.

Comrade William H. Henry of the N. E. C. struck Montana the last week in June and started off with two members at large in Billings and a new local of 17 members at Red Lodge.

It can be done, comrades! With the assistance and co-operation of the membership we will have 50,000 members on November 7th and be prepared to conduct a great campaign of education and propaganda during the winter months.

START THE CAMPAIGN NOW

Crowds as large or larger than those which gathered during former campaigns, greeted August Claessens and Ross Brown in their tours of Michigan cities. Ben Blumenberg, Socialist organizer of Detroit, has also done some effective work of late. In Lansing and Owosso he addressed open air meetings, the first that have been held since the war. Lansing long the center or reaction, promises to soon develop a large and lively local. Speakers contemplating traveling in the vicinity of Michigan. are requested to correspond with State Secy. Rubenstein, 5521 Beaubien St. Detroit, Mich. The latter together with the speakers mentioned, declare that some Socialists are making a mistake in putting off the time for the starting of the campaign. In every way the success of the meetings in Detroit and neighboring towns proves that the workers are more eager for the message of Socialism than ever before

CHICAGO GETTING BUSY

Under the able management of Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes, former national secretary, the organization in Chicago is reviving and taking on new activities.

The annual press picnic at Riverview Park was a decided success, five thousand persons attended, twenty-two hundred signatures were secured to the Amnesty Petition, and over nine hundred dollars profit made for the benefit of the Chicago Socialist.

The local is planning another big picnic at White City on July 30th for the benefit of the National Organization and Campaign Fund.

Making Open Air Meetings Successful

BY BEN BLUMEMBERG

There is not a branch or a local but what can make a success of an open air meeting. Open air meetings should be arranged with the same or more care than those held indoors.

The main object of an open air campaign is to reach those who are not accustomed to attending hall meetings. How to reach them is our problem.

Select a busy corner, avoiding one where the auto traffic is heavy in the evening. Streets where there is considerable promenading, the "window shopping" districts, are the best. Avoid street car transfer points, if possible.

If the regulations of the police department require it, secure a permit for the holding of the meeting. Some cities issue no written permits but merely ask that the police department be notified 24 hours in advance of the meeting. Write or phone the police department of the date and place of meeting.

Place the stand or auto on the corner where the meeting is to be held at least a half hour before the speaking begins. In some of the smaller cities where the "daylight saving" rule is in effect, the speaking should begin at 7:30 P. M. "Hold down" one corner. If meetings are to be held weekly at the same place, announce the fact. After a few attempts, you will find a small group waiting for the meeting to begin.

Start and close the meeting at a stated hour. This impresses the audience with the fact that an OR-GANIZATION has the meeting in charge. Don't tire out the crowd. Better a snappy meeting not lasting over an hour and a half than one lasting two or three hours. Where the latter kind are held, the effect of the speech is lost.

The chairman should have the comrades selected who are to take up the collection and sell literature. The number selected for this work depends partly on the size of the audience. The collectors should start from in front of the speaker's stand, a section of the audience being assigned to each. They should proceed with the work slowly and not until after the chairman or speaker has announced that a collection will be taken.

The amount of the contribution will be governed in part by the attitude of the collectors. They should not proceed too rapidly thru the crowd nor should their attitude be an apologetic one. Rather it should be the reverse. In asking the workers to contribute we are but asking them to give to the cause which represents their interests. It also serves to demonstrate the manner in which the Socialist Party gets its campaign funds in contrast to the methods used by other political organizations. Those who contribute will feel a greater interest in the Party thereafter.

The above is also true of our bearing in selling literature. Experience has taught us that the workers value the most that which they pay for. One book sold accomplishes more than several which are given away. Center the book talk on one which the chairman or the speaker is familiar with. It is best to offer but one kind of book at a meeting. To announce several different titles is confusing and shows poor salesmanship. Those who are to sell the books should be supplied with ready change. Hold one of the books up so that the title page or striking illustration may be seen by those near you.

Not only in the smaller towns but in the cities the press will gladly announce the meetings free of charge especially if the speaker is a stranger in the city in which he is to speak.

Regardless of the attitude of the papers towards Socialism, the editors want news. They are glad to run free of charge items similar to the following:

John R. Smith, national organizer of the Socialist Party, will address an open air meeting Monday evening at 8 o'clock, corner of Railroad Ave. and Work St., on the subject of "Labor And Politics". Those who have heard Mr. Smith on the occasion of his former visits to this city, speak of him as one of the ablest spokesmen that the Socialists have engaged for the present campaign.'

News items should be typewritten and doublespaced. Send or give them to the city editor. If you know of any interesting experience the speaker has had, such as holding public office, a close connection with labor unions, institutions of learning or a trip abroad, mention the fact in the news item. "It pays to advertise" particularly when the "ad" costs nothing but a little thought and time. Inform the city editor that the speaker is stopping at such and such a hotel and that the latter would undoubtly give a good "story" to the paper.

Especially during a campaign, one of the best methods of propaganda is the noonday factory meeting. In Detroit, Comrade Claessens gave a lecture in three "installments" at one of the big factories. As soon as the workers left the factory at noon, they were given a card stamped with the time and place of meeting. About 200 attended the first meeting. Announcement was made that the lecture would be given on the installment plan. The second day 300 were present and a couple of minutes were devoted to a review of the first day's talk. About 400 workers were present the third day and a five minute review of the two thirds of the lecture was given. No attempt was made to sell literature but the appeal for a collection met with a

good response and publicity work done for the evening meetings.

Locals should see to it that reports of the meetings, such as attendance, literature sales, collections, etc. are sent to the State Secy.

FIFTY YEARS OF ELECTIONS

By JAMES ONEAL

In the past 50 years, beginning with 1872, about 160 million votes have been cast in Presidential elections. In that year about 6.500,000 votes were cast. In the election of 1920 there were, in round numbers, 26,600,000 votes cast, more than four times the number cast in 1872.

What have the masses done with their votes? The accompanying table gives the answer. Notice that with few exceptions the voters have elected a President and then within two years thereafter, in the Congressional election, they have swung to the opposite party. This has been true of the election of Grant, Garfield, Harrison, the second election of Cleveland, Taft, Wilson, and now the drift from Harding is pronounced.

Notice that the swing from one party to another has sometimes been violent. The swing from Harrison in 1890 was so sweeping that the Republicans only elected 88 Congressmen, the smallest number in this 50 years period. Four years later the Republicans came back with 246 members, the largest number in their history until the election of 1920. In 1920 the sweep against the Democrats was so great as to leave them only 132 members, being the smallest number they have elected since 1872 if we except the one year of 1894.

What the figures show is "elections by disgust." Almost without a single exception the voters begin to turn against the successful party in a Presiden tial election and proceed to reduce the number of its members in the House. The voters want a change that is worth while but they never get this change.

Notice some of the party slogans. It was "Honest Grover" in 1884. Dissatisfaction is evident two years later and then in 1888 Harrison was elected to bring "prosperity." Before the end of Harrison's term an industrial crisis had set in and "Honest Grover" came back in 1892.

But the industrial crisis continued. McKinley was put forward in 1896 as the representative of the "full dinner pail." The crisis exhausted itself under McKinley and he was returned in 1900 and was succeeded by Roosevelt. The latter became the apostle of the "square deal." Taft was selected to succeed him in 1908 and two years later the Democrats obtained an enormous majority in the House.

Disgust continued and swept Wilson into office as the exponent of the "new freedom" and with the largest membership in the House which the Democrats ever obtained. What the "new freedom" has meant we now know. Immediately the tide began to run against Wilson with a constant decline in the House of Democratic members. He barely pulled through in 1916 on the issue "he kept us out of war." The Democrats had a majority of 1 in the House as compared with the Republicans.

The tide continued to rise against the "new freedom" until it culminated in the tremendous verdict of 1920 in favor of Harding and "normalcy." Disgust is now apparent on all sides and the Democrats are waiting to receive the voters again with open arms!

Why this fifty years of folly and "elections by disgust? "We should know better. Many do know better today. The Socialist Party is in the field. Within 21 years it has slowly accumulated nearly 1,000,000 votes. These voters know what they want. They do not believe in "elections by disgust." The political game of battledore and shuttlecock has no interest for them. Both old parties look alike, act alike and bring like results. Both are owned and both serve the great property owning masters of the United States.

The Socialist Party represents the working masses. Support it. Work for it. Vote for its candidates. Wipe out the barren record of 50 years. The Socialist Party represents you, your interests and the welfare of humanity.

Do not share in another "election by disgust" in 1922!

FIFTY YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS

Presidential and Congressional Elections 1872-1922

PARTY DIVISION IN CONGRESS

President	Υ	Year Democrats, Republicans, Congress				
					of Controlled	
				Congres		
Grant	(R)	1872.	92.	194.	Republicans	
	••	1874.	168.	107.	. Democrats	
Hayes	••					
••	••			129.		
Garfield	••	1880.	138.	146.	Republicana	
Arthur	••	1882.	. 198.	. 124	Democrats	
Cleveland	I(D)	1884.	204.		••	
••	••	1586.		153.	••	
Harrison	(R)	1888.	159.	166.	.Republicans	
	••	1890.		88.	. Democrats	
Cleveland	1 (D)	1892.		126.		
••	••	1894.	104.	246.	. Republicans	
McKinle	y (R)	1596.	134	206.	• ••	
••	••	1898.	163 .	185.		
••	••			. 198.		
Roosevel		1902.	174	206.	••	
••	••	1904.	136.	250.		
	••	1906.	164.	222 .	••	
Taft	••	1908.	172	219.	••	
••	••	1910.	228	162.	. Democrats	
Wilson	(D)	1912.		145.	••	
••		1914.	230.	201.	••	
••	••	1916.	213.			
••	••	1918.	190.	249.	Republicans	
Harding	(R)	1920.	132.			
••	••					

NEHEMIAH HAYDEN

Brought his wife and nine children from Ohio to West Creek in a "prairie schooner" which was the best means of traveling then available. He plowed his land with a walking plow, sowed his grain by hand, harvested it with a sickle (as his ancestors had done since King Solomon's time) and threshed it with a flail. His sons and their contemporaries were not satisfied with such tools as their fathers used; they insisted on the latest improvements.

They also demanded better political tools than "dad", had, hence the Republican Party came into existence and a wonderful work was accomplished by it.

459 citizens of West Creek voted for Harding. 57 for Cox.

Probably more than half of these people boast that they vote the same ticket that their father voted.

Nearly everybody admits that both old parties are rotten but still they stick with them.

It is about time for people who are not satisfied with less than the latest model of their favorite automobile, tractor or other implement to adopt more up to date political machinery and they are going to do it.

There are several new political parties on the market; you should investigate all of them and learn which has the greatest merit.

Some of the citizens of West Creek have arran ged for a lecture on Socialism in the school-house at Belshaw Saturday evening. May 27, by Mrs. Winnie E. Branstetter, formerly manager of the Woman's Department in the National office of the Socialist Party. Mrs. Branstetter will also speak at an open air meeting on the lawn at 323 West Walnut St., Crown Point Sunday, May 28; at 3 o'clock on a subject that will be of interest to all young people from 16 to 60.

Everybody invited to both meetings.

* * *

The above is a sample of the advertising gotten out by Comrade Owen for a meeting at West Creek, Ind. Nehemiah Hayden was one of the pioneers in that community and his descendants live there at the present time. It is safe to say that every person receiving one of the small neat cards containing this ad, read it. It had a local interest which immediately caught the attention of the reader. The meeting was a success. Try something new in the way of advertising for your next speaker, it may get better results.

Machine Guns and The Coal

BY GEORGE WILLIAMS

FOR THE GENERAL DEFENSE NEWS SERVICE

HERRIN, ILL. — The trouble here came because the Southern Illinois Coal Company tried to ship coal in violation of an agreement not to, accordion to information from reliable sources. When the strike was inaugurated on April 1, the status of

the strip mines was different from that of the shaft mines.

Strip mines were permitted by the unions to proceed with the removing of dirt from the coal vein. But outside of piling up some coal for local consumption none was to be loaded on cars for industrial purposes. The concession of removing the dirt from the veins was granted against the time when the strike would end and the company would then be at no disadvantage in mining coal for the market along with the shaft mines. With all companies operating strip mines an agreement was entered into on this basis.

The Southern Company had agreed to these conditions and from the beginning of the strike until a few weeks before the battle, union miners were engaged by the company to uncover the coal. Suddenly the union miners were asked to work at mining the coal and loading it on railroad cars for shipment. This they refused to do.

They were discharged and several days later surkebreakers arrived from Chicago and other points and the actual work of loading the coal began. With the discharge of the union miners, W. J. Lester, the president of the Southern Company, announ ed that his company would no longer recounze the agreement with the union covering the operations of strip raines.

As soon as the strikebreakers were brought in, the union miners did everything in their power to induce the company and the men to refrain from operating the mine under strikebreaking conditions. Delegations of business men from surrounding towns pointed out to Superintendent McDowell that any attempt to operate in the face of a hostile community would be futile and dangerous. To such warning. McDowell is said to have replied: "We're going ahead: I have broken other strikes and I can break this one."

Putting the mine on a strikebreaking basis necessitated placing guards around the property. These guards, furnished by a Chicago strikebreaking agency and heavily armed, posted themselves on nearby roads and closed all traffic even to the farmers who lived in the vicinity, making necessary a wide detour over bad roads. Women were insulted and menaced, thus creating a situation extremely provocative which the entire community resented to a man.

Conditions inside the ring of gunmen were even worse, according to the tales of two men who escaped the fury of the mob. There the steamshovel workers, many of whom came to the mine unaware of the real conditions, were virtually trapped. They were denied permission to leave after becoming familiar with the real conditions, and even had they the privilege of departing they would have had to face the vengeful people who waited on the outside of the ring of guards, too impatient for impartial investigation. To them the danger, after they were once on the mine, was as great from one source as from the other.

It is said by many persons in the trouble zone that the wholesale killings would never have occured but for the killing of two union miners on the preceding day.

These men, in company with several hundred others, had gone to the strip mine Wednesday afternoon to plead with the strikebreakers to lay down their tools and leave the job. The men were proceeding up the main road on the west side of the mine and were still nearly a half mine away when the guards opened fire and the two miners fell mortally wounded.

This shooting aroused the marchers to fever heat. The news spread with the swiftness of the telegraph and before long on the same day people began to pour in from the various surrounding towns and mining camps by trucks, busses and any other conveyance available. Many came long distances on foot.

Stores in all the nearby towns were stripped of arms and ammunition and hurried to the scene of the trouble. The battle which had started with the killing of the two miners gathered force with the constant arrival of more and more miners and sympathizers. All Wednesday night the firing continued between the opposing forces. More than 1,500 people surrounded the mine and cut off all possible escape for those inside.

Thirty guards with two machine guns defended the mine as best they could. The steam-shovel men, according to one, took little part, taking refuge in the iron coal cars that stood on the track near their boarding cars. From the woods outside and across open fields the miners poured in a never-ceasing fire on the few guards who answered from behind the high mounds of dirt placed there by steamshovel operations.

It is said that the superintendent, seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, telephoned Col. Sam Hunter, of the state militia and was advised by him to display the white flag and endeavor to establish a truce. Whatever the reason, the white flag was hoisted by the gunmen inside and they surrendered shortly after daybreak on Thursday.

When the mine was captured next morning the entire countryside was, to quote an eyewitness. "fairly alive with people." Numberless women and children come to the scene, so great was the indignation over the unprovoked killing of the miners. Nearby towns were practically emptied of people. And wrought up as they were it is small wonder that their wrath fell on all alike—the dupes as well as the principals.

Surrender of the guninen was a clamorous affair. 'Everyone armed to the point where they marched out with hands upraised. According to some, they were tied in pairs; others maintain that none were tied. The procession started for Herrin proper and it was generally agreed that after reaching town the prisoners would be placed on trains and deported from the community.

During the march, however, a severe harangue had been kept up between the gunmen element among the prisoners and the union miners. Against Superintendent McDowell and the chief of the gunmen the anger of the mob was mainly directed and their defiant attitude more than anything else inflamed the miners into the mood which led to the slaying.

McDowell was the first to be shot because, according to eyewitnesses, he refused to go further and resisted attempts to be forced along. At this time the rest of the prisoners made a break for the woods. A barbed wire fence lay across their path and in their frantic endeavors to get through it they became entangled. A hail of bullets followed them.

The Potency of

The two mining towns of Park City and Eureka, both situated in the mountains of north western Utah, furnish a striking example of the difference between political indifference and independent political action on the part of the working-class.

In Park City, wages average \$4.00 per day. There is no sewer system and when the snow melts in the spring of the year the flood waters coarsing down the mountain slopes flush the cess pools and the human offal is washed down into the back yards of the residents below.

This desease breeding and demoralizing condition prevails there notwithstanding that it is in violation of State Board of Health regulations and indicates that the authorities care nothing for physicai, moral, intellectual and spiritual welfare of the working class.

In that community I found a working-class so indifferent, so unenlightened and so cowed by the fear o fthe economic power of their employing masters that I could not find five Socialists with enough sense and courage to organize a local of the Socialist Party.

How different in Eureka. Here the workers had had the good sense and necessary courage to elect the candidates of the Socialist Party into complete control of municipal affairs, and with what result? There is a good sewer system and the human offal from one family's cess-pool is not washed into the back yards of the neighbors living below them. The health and the moral of the people are decidThe mob closed in and killed indiscriminately. Some of the prisoners escaped; some were captured some miles from the scene of the battle, and hanged. Others met death in a pond.

Listening to discussions carried on by many groups in the streets and hotels here, and by both business men and workers, I have yet to meet any who has assumed a boastful attitude toward the affair. It is entirely untrue as reported in the Chicago and St. Louis papers that the population regards the matter exultantly.

General opinion is that innocent workers ignorant of the situation were trapped into paying the penalty while those who were higher up sat safe at distant points ready to reap the profits if by any chance the plan of breaking the strike worked.

True, the gunmen element were not of the innocent kind. To them the game was an old one and a game at which continual success had made them certain of still further success. They tackled the wrong community and they lost.

Political Action

By Emil Herman

edly better, they are more enlightened and courageous and the average wage in \$5.00 per day — one dollar per day more that at Park City. True, the local here had disbanded owing to the general disorganization of the Socialist Party by wartime hysteria. But unlike Park City, I experienced no difficulty in organizing a strong local here and in collecting four months dues from each applicant for membership.

Of those wiseacres who are prone to sneer at the S. P. for emphasizing the necessity of independent political action along class lines, I will ask: Is not a one dollar per day higher wage and a more decent moral and sanitary environment worth the price of membership in the S. F., at twenty five cents per month, a little propaganda work and the "stuffing of a piece of paper in a ballot box" once in a while?

Of course, I know that some will retort that the higher wage, better sanitary conditions and higher standard of intelligence and courage of the miners of Eureka is due to their better union organization and class solidarity. To which I reply that this better union organization and class solidarity is due to the application of Socialist principles taught to them by the Socialist Party.

All of which proves the necessity for industrial and political solidarity of labor as taught by the Socialist Party.

Take courage. Join the party of your class. There is no time to lose .

Amnesty Work of The Socialist Party

Report of the N. E. C. to the National Convention

As soon as the prosecutions during the war period resulted in the conviction and imprisonment of Socialists and others for the expression of opinion, the Socialist Party commenced a continuous campaign for their release.

At the National Executive Committee meeting on January 18, 1919, elaborate plans for an Amnesty Campaign were formulated, which included the formation of an Amnesty Conference in cooperation with other organizations.

The first meeting of the groups called into conference by the National Executive Committee was held at the National Headquarters on February 20th, and a temporary organization was formed. Tentative plans for amnesty demonstrations were. made. Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes was requested to take charge of the work of amnesty. Time not permitting proper arrangements, the date of the Amnesty Demonstration was postponed from May First to July. The new organization was called the American Freedom Foundation, with the Socialist Party as one of the co-operating organizations. The Convention of the Foundation was not held until September first, at which time a permanent organization was effected. Comrade Barnes resigned as Director, and was successeded by H. Austin Simons. A big Amnesty demonstration was held at the Coliseum in Chicago early the following year, and considerable amnesty sentiment was created in labor unions as a result of their activity.

In November, 1919, the National Office inaugurated an intensive Amnesty campaign. The work was pushed as vigorously as our funds would permit, but the bitterness and hysteria of the war was still so great that the campaign was seriously hampered by the arrest of speakers, prohibition of meetings and so forth.

Plans were made for a new Amnesty campaign with a demonstration in Washington on April 13th, the first anniversary of Debs' imprisonment. The lead in this Amnesty drive was given to the American Freedom Foundation under the impression that more co-operation from non-Socialist sources could be secured and prospects for success enhanced by making the campaign under the auspices of some other than the Socialist Party.

After the announcement and development of the plan of the American Freedom Foundation, they found it necessary to cancel their arrangements owing to opposition and refusal to co-operate by the liberal groups in the East.

Since this experience the Party has consistently

followed the policy of conducting its Amnesty work independently of other organizations. The result of such independent activity has been favorable and more fruitful of results than any efforts we have made in co-operation with other groups.

In March, 1920, at the request of Frank P. O'Hare, the National Office took up the case of Kate Richards O'Hare, then confined at Jefferson City, Mo. Comrade George E. Roewer, Jr., was sent to North Dakota and succeeded in securing information and supporting affidavits which he took to Washington and presented to Attorney General Palmer. The information gathered by Comrade Roewer was largely, if not wholly, responsible for the release of Comrade O'Hare a few months thereafter.

Following the failure of the plans of the American Freedom Foundation, the National Convention of the Socialist Party meeting in New York City in May, 1920, adjourned to Washington where a committee from the convention interviewed Attorney General Palmer and other prominent officials. The convention marched in a body to the White House and presented Secretary Tumulty with a memorial to the President.

Amnesty propaganda, agitation and meetings formed an important part of the presidential campaign activities. A number of special Amnesty speakers was routed and a large amount of Amnesty literature circulated.

Both before and after the demonstation by the National Convention in Washington, our efforts were opposed by the liberal groups of the East who felt quite sure that President Wilson was going to release the political prisoners at an early date, and that our activities could have none other than a detrimental effect. When the Christmas holidays of 1920 arrived without the release of the politicals, it was quite evident that nothing could be expected from the outgoing administration, and a plan was made to bring the matter of the political prisoners to the attention of the new administration immediately upon its accession to office.

During the early part of 1921, an active campaign was carried on which resulted in tens of thousands of letters and telegrams being sent to Senators and Congressmen and to both President Wilson and President-elect Harding. A national Amnesty Headquarters was opened in Washington in March in charge of Comrade Harriot Stanton Blatch, and Congressmen and Senators were personally inter viewed in behalf of Amnesty. This campaign culminated on April 13th with a demonstration in Washington at which time committees interviewed President Harding, Attorney General Dausheity, and a large number of Senators and Congressmen and other officials. A petition containing 550,000 names and resolutions representing more than three million members of labor and other organization was presented to Congress.

The campaign did not close with the demonstration, however, as our headquarters were kept up in Washington under the direction of Comrade Winnie T., Branstetter, and later, by Comrades Lilith Martin Wilson and Pertha Hale White.

The National Convention at Detroit addressed a communication to President Harding and on July 27, 1921, a committee consisting of Comrade Lilith Martin Wilson, Samuel J. Castleton, Norman Hapgood, William F. Kruse and William H. Johnston was received by President Harding when the communication adopted by the Socialist Party Convention was presented. The committee received no definite statement, but it was distinctly given to understand that upon the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Germany, we could expect the release of our comrades.

On September 14th, following, the President was again interviewed by a committee of the Socialist Party composed of Comrades Bertha H. Mailly, George E. Roewer, Jr., and James Oneal, all members of the National Executive Committee. Practically the same results attended this attempt to secure action.

During November and December, a large number of Congressment and Senators were interviewed. Individual cases were discussed with officials in the Department of Justice. The outlook for a declaration of Amnesty which would include the majority of the political prisoners seemed very encouraging. Practically no open opposition was encountered by our Washington Jobby.

On December 19th, Bertha Hale White, representing the Socialist Party, presented a petition to President Harding signed by more than thirty thousand citizens of Terre Haute, and asked for Comrade Debs release as a Christmas gift to the nation. On December 23rd, the President announced his decision of Aninesty which provided for the release of Debs and twenty-three others --- the largest number of who were already at liberty on parole.

Undoubtedly the Terre Haute petition, which had been circulated by the Debs Freedom Conference of Illinois under the direction of Oliver C. Wilson, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, was a decisive factor in securing the release of Comrade Debs.

The Christmas releases, while they included the last of the Socialists who had been convicted for their activities as Socialist Party members, were extremely disappointing in that a great majority of the I. W. W. and the Oklahoma and Texas tenantfarmer prisoners was left in prison with no indication of future elemency.

Owing to the nature of the evidence which the Department of Justice asserted was on record against the tenant-farmer cases, the National Office decided it would be necessary to make an investigation of the trials before any further work could be done in Washington. Bertha Hale White was therefore sent to Oklahoma in January and spent a month in a dozer. Oaklahoma towns interviewing officials of the United States Courts, City officials, County officers and citizens. A large number of letters and statements was secured and special petitions circulated.

On March 16th, a public Hearing before the House Committee of the Judiciary was had upon Joint Resolution No. 60, introduced in Congress by Meyer London on April 21, 1921, and providing for a general amnesty. Comrade White appeared at the hearing and presented documents proving that the records of the Department of Justice were inaccurate, particularly in respect to the constantly repeated charge that a loss of life had resulted from the draft opposition in Oklahoma, and that the men for whom clemency was denied were the leaders in the outbreak. The story of loss of life was without foundation in fact.

On March 22nd, Mrs. White was received by President Harding at which time she was enabled to present the documents she had secured in her investigation, together with letters and special petitions asking pardons for the Oklahoma political prisoners, and was given an assurance from the President that the Department of Justice would be instructed to reopen those cases.

During the various campaigns conducted by the Party, we have spent \$17,000,00 on Amnesty work alone, and have printed and distributed ten special leaflets on the subject of Amnesty and sent out through the National Office Press Service ninety-four Amnesty articles and stories which have been very generally published in our Party papers.

At the present time, there are 113 politicals still in Federal prisons, the great majority of whom are I. W. W. Under these circumstances, the General Defense Committee of the I. W.W. is quite properly taking the lead and at present engaged in a nation-wide campaign for general Amnesty which includes the circulation of a petition with the object of securing not less than 1,000,000 signatures.

The National Office of the Socialist Party is cooperating with the General Defense Committee and giving what assistance we can to make their campaign a success. through with it.

The Reward of "Paytriotism"

(CONTINUED FROM 1st PAGE)

as a whole responded in a frenzy of patriotism that evoked a roar of delight from Wall street. Kaiserism would now be killed and the world made safe for democracy and liberty.

Unions and union men whooped and shrieked for war, invested feverishly and to the limit in war bonds, and gave the capitalist government its unqualified support.

William Howard Taft, at one time "Injunction Bill" and now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was made joint chairman with Frank P. Walsh of the War Labor Board. It was a wise choice and a great combination. Walsh was known for his splendid work as chairman of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations and Taft was an honorary member of the Steam Shovellers' Union. For the first and only time in his life Taft was friendly to organized labor. He handed it all kinds of bouquets and made it all necessary concessions. But this was strictly for the period of the war. Since then he has been hauding down from the supreme bench the rewards of patriotism.

The railroad men and the miners were pre-eminently the super-patriots during the war. They backed up Wall street and the profiteers to the limit of their resources and they were flattered for it through the press and otherwise in terms that brought joy to their hearts and pride to their One Hundred per Cent American Citizenship. And woe to the hapless wight among them who saw through the bunco game and refused to be ensnared for the benefit of his master!

And so the war was won! The victory was overwhelming and complete. Kaiserism was dead and the millennium of democracy and liberty now dawned upon the world and the triumphant warriors and the generations to follow were to enjoy the fruits thereof forevermore.

And such fruit, such luscious fruit, and in such abundance as it has proved to be! Ask the railroad men, the miners, the steel employes, the textile workers and all the rest of the wage-slaves who supported with such valor the war to give them liberty and abundance.

Here let me remind union workers that when the Clayton bill was passed there was great jubilation among them and President Gompers their leader declared that it settled forever the question of labor being a commodity and that it amounted to another Declaration of Independence. In an interview at that time I said it amounted to nothing or would amount to nothing when the Supreme Court got What now remains of the Clayton law that changes the commodity nature of labor or that resembles a Declaration of Independence?

The child labor law has for the second time taken the count after receiving its solar-plexus knockout from the same source.

But these are only incidents related to the program adopted by Morgan and Company, War Boomers, Limited, for the reward to labor for its patriotic support of the war to make the world safe for their bonds and other private investments.

As soon as the war was over Wall street dropped its mask and raised its mailed fist to indicate its grateful attitude toward labor for its patriotism and loyalty in serving the profiteers as cannon fodder.

The first thing the capitalist master did to reward the workers was to shut down their mills, factories, mines and industries and throw six or eight millions of them into the street without jobs.

Returning soldiers by hundreds of thousands begged in vain for employment of any kind at any thing to keep them from starvation, and at this writing, four years after the war, the politicians at Washington are preparing to hand them a bunco bonus that they may have a bunco issue upon which to claim their votes in the fall elections.

Next following the shut-down in industry the Wall street masters inaugurated a nation-wide "Open Shop" campaign for the deliberate purpose of smashing the labor movement and either killing it outright or reducing it to a state of helpless impotency.

In pursuance of this program of annihilation of union labor as the reward for its patriotism, the several states have been passing "criminal syndicalism" and other repressive laws under which free speech is gagged and true union leaders who refuse to bow to the Baal of the House of Morgan are sent to the penitentiary.

Now comes the slashing of wages, and such a slashing has never before taken place in the United States. All the wages and all the working conditions granted by Taft and Company during the war must be taken away from the workers. These concessions were for war purposes only; just a bait and a bribe to lure labor to its slaughter.

Hundreds of millions have been cut out of the wages of railroad employes and the end is not yet. They must be cut to the bone for the bond-holderr need the money and the government, their government, means that they shall have it.

And while this merciless gouging is going on the leaders of the railroad unions talk about "taking a strike vote," as if that did anything but amuse the railroad executives. Yesterday one of them said in an interview that the threat of "taking a strike vote" had come to be a chestnut."

The railroads do not fear "strike votes" so long as their employes are subdivided into scores of craft unions under separate and often conflicting jurisdictions and utterly unable on this account to bring the united power of their class to bear against the enemy.

Railroad employes ought to be united in one powertul industrial union but they never will be as iong as an army of "grand" officials drawing from five to twenty-five thousand dollars per year and expenses find it necessary to keep them divided in weak and discordant craft unions to hold down their own fat jobs.

The weakness of organized labor in the present titanic struggle is pathetic to say the least. With every smashing blow it receives union labor is taking the count and all because it is divided and not united in this the most critical hour of its existence.

When the steel workers were battling for their lives the miners and railroad men could not help them. It was contrary to the rules of their unions. And the steel workers went down in defeat and their union was wiped out. Now the miners are striking but the railroad men can only pass resolutions of sympathy which waste the paper they are written on. The miners are being attacked fore and aft and left to fight alone, and when they are slaughtered the railroad men may strike next and receive in return the sympathy they are now giving to the miners.

And to cap it all Chief Justice Taft, alias "Injunction Bill" hands down a unanimous decision in the Coronado coal case under which every labor union may be dragged into court, mulcted, ravished, paralyzed, its funds seized, the shanty homes of its members, if they have any, confiscated, and their activities in their own behalf absolutely destroyed.

It is a little interesting to note that the Taft who "hands down" this drastic decision is the same Taft, who was so popular with union men and laughed and joked with them as a fellow-unionist, holding a card in the Steam Shovellers' Union, while he served as a Joint Chairman of the War Labor Board. It is also worthy of note that this eminent jurist and union card man was not satisfied to merely smash union labor with a trip-hammer blow but he must incorporate in his decision, his reward of patriotism to union labor, his regret that the court was unable to soak the United Mine Workers for the full amount of damages claimed inasmuch as the strike out of which they grew had not been ordered by the national organization. Never before was such an impudent, insulting and uncalled for expression injected into a court decision and never such a kick in the face administered to a labor organization. Taft should be impeached for the outrage. But of course he will not be. He is the very man to officiate at the reward counter of the House of Morgan where union labor may receive what is coming to it for its patriotism to Wall Street.

In the present situation the grim facts have to be faced and the workers made to see that only when they unite in their own interest, organize their own industrial and political power, and stand together and fight their own battles, will they be able to cope with the power of capitalism with its master class, its congress and legislatures, its courts and department of "justice," its regular soldiers, its state militia, its private gunmen, thugs, spies, sneaks and other mercenaries, its politicians and pulpiteers, its editors and professors, and its vast aggregation of ignorant and educated lackeys, and emancipate their class from slavery, poverty and degradation.

The whole body of American workingmen with but few exceptions gave their support to the war and their votes to capitalism and they are now receiving the reward of the betrayal of their own class. It is inevitable. It could not have been otherwise. They are harvesting the crop they have sown with their own hands, and having planted thistles they cannot gather grapes. They gave their support, their strength, their substance to their masters when they should have reserved it for themselves and now the masters are using the power conferred upon them by their slaves to rivet more securely the shackles that bind them in servitude.

This is a time for plain speaking, for clear thinking, for calm deliberation, and for courageous action, and if the working class of America is not totally blind to its own interest and deaf and dumb to its own destiny it will be aroused from its apathy by the danger which threatens it, marshal its hosts in battle array, gird up its loins, and prove to the world that its eyes have been opened, its selfreliance inspired, and its emancipation made inevitable by Capitalism's Reward of its Patriotism in the World War.

Sugue 1. Del

The Socialist Party

Executive Secretary, OTTO BRANSTETTER.

220 South Ash!and Blvd., Chicago

National Executive Committee:

Edmund T. Melms, 579 8th Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis. Wm. H. Henry, 709 East 13th St.,

Indianapolis, Ind.

James H. Maurer, Rooms 1, 2 and 3, Commonwealth Trust Co. Building, Har-

risburg, Pa. Merris Hillquit, 19 W. 44th St., New

York City. B. Charney Vladek, 175 E. Broadway,

New York City. George E. Roewer, Jr., 120 Pemberton

Sq., Boston, Mass. Victor L. Berger, 528 Chestnut St. Milwaukee, Wis.

PROPOSED REFERENDUM BY 1st-3rd-8th A. D. BRANCH LOCAL KINGS NEW YORK

Sent out for seconds May 31st., 1922

MOTION

"Resolved, That this Branch initiate a referendum to the following effect: That the Party dues be fixed at 25 cents per month, to take effect within 30 days of the approval by the membership of this referendum; income from the dues to be apportioned as follows; to the National Office 71/2c; to the State Organization, $71/_{2}c$; to the Local, 5c and to the Branch, 5c."

Members in good standing 23

SECONDS

English Branch, Erie County, Penna, 42 members.

Branch #1, Local Newark, New Jersey. 75 members.

Local Yonkers, New York, 26 members.

Allegheny County, Penna. 350 members. Branch #2. Westfield Co., N. J. 11

members . Total 527

Number of seconds required 1078

PROPOSED REFERENDUM ON

UNITED POLITICAL ACTION BY

LOCAL ALLEGHENY COUNTY PENN. Sent out for seconds June 10th., 1922.

MOTION

That Local Allegheny initiate a referendum to bring the action of the National Convention at Cleveland embodied in the amendments to Article Una



to a referendum vote." Members in good standing 350 SECONDS
Local Oakland, California 45 members Total
July 6, 1922 To the State Secretaries and

Т Translator-Secretaries.

Dear Comrades:

The new provisions regarding dues are now in force. Commencing with July 1st the National dues are 121/2 cents per month which is the price at which dues stamps will be sold by the National Office to the State Organizations.

State Secretaries should take stock of the dues stamps on hand on July 1st and remit to the National Office $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents for each stamp on hand. This represents the difference in price at the time the stamps were purchased and the price at present when they are being used. The State dues, as provided by the Constitution are now 121/2 cents and State Secretaries will sell dues stamps to the local organizations for 25 cents, representing the State and National dues, except where the State Organization has regularly provided for a higher state dues. The right of the State Organizations to charge more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents is expressly reserved by the constitutional amendment.

LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

Translator-Secretaries will hereafter remit to the National Office 121/2 cents for each stamp sold to their respective branches. Instead of refunding the full amount for organization purpose as heretofore, the National Office will refund 91/2 cents out of each 121/2 cents paid by the respective Federations. The Federation secretary will remit to the respective State Organizations 10 cents for state and local dues for each stamp sold to their branches in the respective states during the preceding month-

The State Secretary will retain $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents for each stamp so paid for as state dues and remit the remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents to the County organizations. Each state, however, has the right to alter this division and pay either a larger or a smaller portion to the County organization.

NATIONAL CONVENTION STAMPS.

The National Convention Stamp has been abolished and commencing with July, the National Office will set aside three cents from each stamp sold in a Convention Fund for the purpose of detraying the expenses of the next National Convention.

Technically, members who were members prior to the Convention last April and who have not yet purchased a 1922 Convention stamp are not in good standing and should be compelled to purchase said stamp. It is doubtful, however, since the Convention Stamp has been abolished that many of them can be sold after this date. I therefore suggest that all State and Translator Secretaries make a final report on their Convention Stamps, returning all ussold stamps and remitting for any of those sold which have not been previously paid for.

> Yours fraternally, OTTO BRANSTETTER Executive Secretary

The average membership for the first six months of this year was

12,150

The National Executive Committee Asks You To Get ONE NEW MEMBER DURING JULY AND AUGUST

This Will Give Us A Membership On Sept. 1st. of

24,300

The Rest Will be Easy 50,000 Members by November 7th.? Sure! If You Do Your Part!

MINUTES OF THE N.E.C.

MEETING HELD MAY 20-21, 1922 AT THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE NEW YORK CITY

Present: Victor L. Berger, George E. Roewer, Jr., William H. Henry, Morris Hillquit, B. Charney Vladeck, Otto Branstetter, Secretary. Comrade Melms unable to attend on account of important local meetings. Comrade Maurer absent on account of failure to receive notice of the meeting.

Organization of the Committee

Hillquit elected Chairman for the day.

Edmund T. Melms elected Permanent Chairman of the National Executive Committee; Otto Branstetter nominated and unanimously elected Executive Secretary. The following rules were adopted:

1. The Committee shall meet at least once in every two months.

2. At least one meeting each year shall be held at the National Headquarters.

3. As a matter of policy, the Committee will hold the other meetings in different cities when arrangements can be made for the local organizations to bear the expense.

4. The Executive Secretary shall prepare an Agenda for each meeting, accompanied with necessary information and reports required by the committee.

5. A majority of the Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings. A majority of those present shall be sufficient to adopt any motion or resolution.

6. At Committee meetings the Executive Secretary shall act as secretary and a Chairman for the day shall be elected at the opening session on each day of the meeting.

7. Between sessions of the Committee, all business shall be transacted by correspondence.

Organization and Campaign Work

Motion By Roewer: That the National Executive Committee initiate a membership campaign through the various state and local organizations having for its object the increase of the party membership to 50,000 by the next election.---Adopted.

The following methods are suggested in connection with the membership campaign:

1. The recommendation to the state organizations that all arrears of dues for more than three months be remitted; this privilege to remain in force until August 1st.—Adopted.

2. That wherever initiation fees exist they should be remitted if the applicant is a member of a bona fide labor organization or of an organization of working farmers.—Adopted.

3. Recommendation that members in arrears and former party members be canvassed by personal calls where possible in an effort to induce them to resume active membership in the party.—Adopted.

4. That the state officers are urged to carry on a system of follow-up letters addressed to the members urging an intensive drive for new members, and that in such locals where personal calls cannot be made among former members of the branch, a similar system of follow-up letters be used.—Adopted.

5. Recommendation that efforts be made to make the business meetings of the party branches more interesting by reducing the routine work to a minimum and devoting as much time as possible to the discussion of timely subjects, and where possible, have the discussion introduced by a speaker appointed for the purpose.— Adopted.

6. Recommendation that the party papers be requested to co-operate with the state and local organizations in the membership campaign.—Adopted.

7. Recommendation that the Executive Secretary prepare a table apportioning the required increase of membership to each state organization, and receive and publish reports of the progress of the campaign.— Adopted.

Suggestion by Comrade Berger for the use of literature in the furtherance of the membership campaign. Action deferred.

A committee representing the 21st A. D. of the

Socialist Party, Local New York, appeared before the National Executive Committee requesting their aid in the circularization of a pamphlet entitled, "The Next Emancipation," by James Oneal.

Motions: That the National Office accept 1,000 copies for circularization purposes, the National Office to cover the expense of such circularization.—Adopted. Consideration of Organization and Campaign work in various states.

Contrade Roewer requested to sttend the next meeting of the State Executive Committee of New Hampshire. The Executive Secretary instructed to take up the matter of special work and assistance in the States of Ohio and Michigan with the respective state secretaries.

Motion: That the Milwaukee Leader be requested to release Comrade John M. Work for two weeks organization work in lewa.—Adopted.

Motion: That the Executive Secretary be instructed to astend or secure some comrade to strend the State Convention of Missouri as a representative of the National Executive Committee. Adopted.

Motion By Roewer: That whenever possible the National Executive Committee send representatives to attend all state conventions.—Adopted.

Motion by Hillquit: That the State Secretary of Nentucky, be requested to call a meeting of the State Committee' and secure a general representation from the picnic to be held by Local Covington on June 25th, and the Executive Secretary instructed to attend or secure some comrade to attend as the representative of the National Executive Committee.—Adopted.

The Executive Secretary is authorized to render such assistance as is possible to the states of Arkansas and Kansas.

At the completion of the tour in Massachusetts, vonrade W. R. Snow is to be assigned for work in Mane. Vermont and Rhode Island at the expense of the National Office.

Coniraide W. H. Henry assigned for special work in lowa and Nebraska.

The Executive Secretary instructed to call a state convention in Colorado for the purpose of reorganizing the state and nominating and filing a party ticket, and to give special attention to the reorganization work in that state.

The Executive Secretary instructed to request the state office of Penniylvania, to assist in reorganization work in Delaware.

The Executive Secretary instructed to call a state convention for West Virginia and to make every effort to secure the nomination and filing of the ticket in that state.

Action in regard to the State of Texas deferred to the next meeting, but the Executive Secretary is authorized to extend such assistance as is possible to all the states in the reorganization and campaign work.

Session, May 21, 1922

Roewer elected Chairman for the day.

Finance

General discussion of financial report.

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Comrades Hillquit and Madeck appointed a subcommittee for the raising of funds.

The Executive Secretary instructed to circularize the Arbeiter Ring and local labor unions throughout the country for contributions to the Congressional campaign fund.

That is Frantive Secretary urge all

locals to arrange picnics or other affairs on the anniversary of the Party on July 21st, fifty per cent of the proceeds from such affairs to be contributed to the National Office. —Adapted.

Motion By Berger: That the Executive Secretary and the trustees of the headquarters property be authorized to sell the headquarters property for \$37,500.00 —Adopted.

Communication from the Socialist Party of Italy referred to the International Secretary, Comrade Hillouit.

Communication from the Mexican Labor Party referred to the Executive Secretary with instructions to send material requested.

Communication from a committee in Paris of the Social-Revolutionists of Russia. Received and filed.

Communication from the Hands Off Russia Committee. The Executive Secretary is instructed to publish a summary of the pamphlet in the National Office Press Service.

Motion By Roewer: That Comrades Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger and Algernon Lee be elected delegates to the proposed International Conference, the expense to the National Office for all delegates not to exceed one thousand dollars.—Adopted.

Invitation from the Farmer Labor Party to send fraternal delegates to their national convention, meeting in Chicago on May 27th.

Motion: That the invitation be accepted and Comradea Berger, Stedman and Branstetter be selected as our delegates.—Adopted.

Communication of the Executive Secretary of May 11th to the State Secretaries, setting forth the forms of co-operation of the Socialist Party and other working class organizations organized for independent political action under the provision of the resolution adopted by the Cleveland Convention. Approved and the Executive Secretary instructed to use same as a basis for action by the National Office and instructions to the state and local organizations.

Concede Theresa Markiel given the floor in behalf of the New York Call.

Motion By Henry: That the Executive Secretary insert a half-page advertisement in the Anniversary Edition of The Call, containing greetings from the National Executive Committee.—Adopted.

Comrades Berger and Hillquit elected a sub-committee to draft a National Congressional Platform.

Comrade Roewer elected a sub-committee to revise the National Party Constitution in accordance with the motion and the amendments adopted at the Cleveland Convention.

Motion: That the National Executive Committee authorizes the State Executive Committee of New York to make such arrangements for cooperation with the Farmer Labor Party or other independent labor parties as they deem best, subject to the rules adopted by the Cleveland Convention as interpreted by the National Executive Committee.—Adopted.

The Executive Secretary reported that the constitutional amendments affecting party dues adopted at the Cleveland Convention will make the collection of Federation dues extremely complicated and difficult and recommended that under the authority of the motion adopted authorizing the committee to make such revisions of the constitution as are made necessary by the actions of the convention, that the committee amend the Constitution so as to provide a uniform state and county dues to be paid by the Federations.

Motion: That Section 5 (a) of Article XI. of the National Constitution be revised to read as follows:

"Language Federations shall pay to the National Office the same sum monthly per capita as state organization, receiving in exchange therefor dues stamps.

"They shall also pay to the respective state secretaries ten cents per month for each member, as state and county dues. The division of this amount between the state and county organizations shall be left to the respective states provided that unless and until the division is made by the state organizations, $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents shall go to the state and $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents to the county organization." —Adopted.

Motion: That the Executive Secretary is instructed to set aside three cents for the Convention Fund from each dues stamp sold to the Language Vederations. The full amount of dues received from the tespective Federations in excess of this three cents, up to \$100.00 per month, shall be rebated to the respective Federations for organization work in lieu of the Translator's salary.— Adopted.

Motion: That the consideration of the Young People's Socialist League be deferred to the next meeting of the committee and that Comrade Weisbord, National Director, be invited to attend.—Adopted.

Literature.

The Executive Secretary is instructed to issue small propaganda leaflets as outlined in the November meeting of the National Executive Committee held at Cleveland; these leaflets to be sold at cost and Comrades Nearing, Seidel, Kirkpatrick and Maurer invited to furnish copy for same.

The Executive Secretary is instructed to request submission of manuscripts for propaganda pamphlets from Comrades Scott Nearing and James O'Neal.

Action on Comrade Berenberg's text book for Socialist Sunday Schools deferred to next meeting of the committee.

Publication of the Twenty-first Anniversary Year Book, as approved by the National Convention, referred to the next meeting.

Motion By Vladeck: That the National Executive Committee request the New York Call, the Milwaukee Leader and the Jewish Daily Forward to join with this committee in a joint communication to the various relief and defense committees requesting a statement of their control and management, receipts and disbursements, etc.—Adopted.

The Executive Secretary was instructed to prepare a summary of the previous committee's report on the Children's Crusade for publication, such summary to be submitted to the committee at the next meeting. — Adopted.

The National Executive Committee endorses the Amnesty Campaign heing conducted by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. and instructs the Executive Secretary to render such assistance and co-operation as is possible.

Motion: That the appeal to the membership in connection with the fifty thousand membership drive be referred to Comrades Hillquit and Branstetter. — Adopted.

Motion: That the next meeting of the committee be held at Buffalo on July 15th, subject to change by the committee in case developments make it necessary or advisable.—Adopted.

Adjourned sine die.

OTTO BRANSTETTER, Secretary.

IS SOCIALISM INEVITABLE?

An Explanation Of The Social Forces Of Social Progress BY AUGUST CLAESSENS

Instructor at the Rand School of Social Science, Member of the New York State Assembly, Author of "The Logic of Socialism" etc.

Published by the National Office Socialist Party. Price 10 Cents, \$1.00 per dozen. \$6.00 per hundred, prepaid.

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