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THE STRIKE AND YOU

By Edward Perkins Clarke.

You are out on strike. You demand more pay. or you want shorter hours, or you ask for better condition. of labor. You demand a voice as to the conditions under which you work. You have suffered patiently. You have been forced to the wall. You have taken a firm stand. You could endure it no longer. You may be of different nationalities. Your interests are the same. You may be of different races. Your blood is of the same color — red — and your needs are the same. As in the mill, the factory and workshop, you must co-operate to create a product, so when you strike you know you must unite solidly and co-operatively if the strike is to be a success. You have shown a spirit of solidarity. You have asserted your manhood or womanhood. You have heard a good deal about the rights of property. You have called attention to the rights of human beings. You declare, like Abraham Lincoln, that human rights are superior to property rights. You demand a little more of the fruits of your toil. The cost of living does not materially decrease. The growing grocery bill stares you in the face. Your wages lag farther and farther behind. Your needs increase and your share of the wealth grows thinner .

You read about the large juicy melons, which you have produced, which the trusts cut from time to time for those on the inside. You have tasted so many times the bitterness of the lemon which has been thrown to you as your share of the wealth created by you.

You have read how Schwab spent \$4,000,000 for a mansion in New York which did not tickle his royal fancy sufficiently, so he declined to live in it when it was finished. You who built all the palaces

of the parasites have not a roof over your head which you can call your own. One woman spent \$2,700 a year on her pet poodle, and another has built a Queen Anne cottage for her dog, with carpets, lace curtains, etc. The pup eats out of silver dishes and is attended by a dog governess, while the pinch of poverty has driven you to distraction, and your one aim in life has been just to get by on the poorest of food, clothing and shelter. New York dogs are supplied with coats valued at \$200 each, and collars studded with diamonds and rubies worth hundreds of dollars. Your life blood has gone to nourish the bedbugs of human society.

You are on strike for a larger share of the product of your toil, for more wages, for shorter hours, for better working conditions. Your bosses are also out for a larger share of the wealth you have created; they fight bitterly your demand for higher wages and shorter hours. They would force you to work for smaller pay and for longer hours if possible. The boss is opposed to any improvement in working conditions which requires him to pay out anything, as this interferes with his profits or with dividends. It is the old struggle between the capitalist class and the working class for a larger share of the wealth produced by the workers. The truce is ended. The war is on. It is a warfare which will never be ended until the working class receive the full value of the product of their toil.

On the one side you are on strike, organized or disorganized, with but a few pennies and crusts between you and starvation. Other workers will come to your assistance with temporary financial aid, and with offers to care for your children until the strike

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

The Socialist Movement

One of the favorite expression of free lance speakers and publications is "the Socialist Movement is larger than the Socialist Party". This is undoubtedly true. It is also true that Christianity was larger than the church organizations, the prohibition Movement was larger than the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman Suffrage Movement was larger than the suffrage organizations. But is equally true that these organizations formed the nucleus around which the Movements centered and did the work which caused the Movements to grow. Try to think of some movement, revolutionary or reactionary, good, bad or indifferent, which amounted to a hill of beans, that did not have an aggressive, fighting organization at its core.

Our free lance friends are quite well aware of this fact and while they give their allegiance to the "Movement" (what ever that may mean) to avoid the duties, responsibilities and discipline of the party they always appeal to the party members and the party locals for support.

Local Covington, Ky. has set a good example which every local in America should follow. Give your dates and subscriptions to speakers and publications who are members and supporters of the Socialist Party.

Political Power

The Industrial Court Act was adopted and Alexander Howat was jailed in Kansas by the political power which Labor had voted into the hands of the employers. The Railroad Labor Board and the State Constabulary were created by political power; the Federal Judges were appointed and the injunctions are issued and enforced by political power; the state militia was organized and the thugs and gunmen are deputized by and obey the orders of those who hold the political power.

Every public official from President Harding down, — the governors, adjutant generals, judges, state attorneys, sheriffs, and police chiefs who are shooting, clubbing, arresting, enjoining, threatening and intimidating the striking miners and shop men **And** a dozen lesser crafts in an effort to break their

strikes, destroy their unions and force them back to work on the employers' terms, is using political power. Power placed in their hands by the votes of the working people.

Was there ever a more impressive example of the tremendous importance of political power? Or of the folly of placing this power in the hands of the employers and their henchmen? Was there ever a time so opportune for independent working class political action? Or a time when it was so badly needed to protect the rights of Labor?

You know the answer: *Join the Socialist Party.*

They Can't Stand the Light

The article in this issue on the endorsement of the Workers Party by the Communist International was sent out in the National Office Press Service of July 15th and has been quite generally published in the party press, much to the annoyance and discomfiture of the camouflaged communists in the Workers Party, who are howling in seventeen languages that we have betrayed them to the Department of Justice.

This is a fine bit of humor on the part of the distinguished communists who make the charge and who are, in all probability, themselves on the payroll of the government. Their organization is honeycombed with spies and the government knows more than we could tell and more than the honest members of their party know.

They are not concerned about this information reaching the Department of Justice. They have a stand in with Mr. Daugherty's department and are allowed to exist because their work of destruction in the Labor movement serves the interests of American Capitalism. What they are howling about is that several hundred thousand working men are put next to their real character and will steer shy of them on that account.

We are not particularly interested in the underground Communist Party so long as it stays underground. As the Executive Committee at Moscow pointed out to the American Section "it is even more concealed from the masses than it is from the government."

But when, like boring maggots, they squirm out of the decaying carcass of the Communist Party to spread disease and corruption in healthy labor bodies, we are interested. Then, to use one of their favorite expression, we are prepared to do a little "unmasking" on our own account.

And this is what bothers them. Like all underground vermin they dislike being uncovered and exposed to the light of day.

(Continued from page 1)

is won. You are convinced of the righteousness of your cause. You wonder why your fellow workers do not contribute more freely to help you in your struggle. You wonder why the police, the courts, the press, the pulpit, the political powers and the public are against you. If only the police were on your side, if only the judges were favorable to the workers, if the papers would only tell the truth about the strike, if some of the preachers would not, Judas-like betray the working class with a kiss, if only the city officials, the state officers and Congress and the president were representatives of the toilers instead of the bosses, how soon the strike would be won. You remember how the politicians, before election, made great claims and pretensions of being friendly to labor. Where are they now? This is a matter of life and death with you.

The police are against you because they are appointed by the Democratic and Republican tools of the bosses to serve, not your interests, but the interests of the bosses. The judges are opposed to you because they have been chosen by the Republican and Democratic parties on account of their subservience to the wishes of the capitalists. The papers stab you in the back because they are owned by capitalists for capitalistic interests. By your patronage and support of these papers you give your consent to their anti-labor policy. The preacher's voice and actions are too frequently effectually controlled by the money of the industrial bosses, which pays a large part of the salary. The officials of the Republican, Democratic and so-called "non partisan" parties are governed absolutely by those who have furnished the funds to make nomination and election possible. Those who furnish the funds directly are the representatives of big business, the corporations and the trusts, while indirectly, of course, the money comes from the wealth produced by the workers. Therefore when the inevitable conflict comes between the masters and the wage slaves, the police are called out to club the strikers into submission, the militia is summoned by the governor to overawe or shoot down the strikers, and the regulars are called out by the president to forcibly subdue the militant workers.

You see it plainly enough now. You ought, if you were a voter, to have voted for the candidates of the Socialist party, which was financed and controlled by the working class alone. You ought to have voted for a party composed of dues-paying working men and women, whose platform and every utterance are dictated in the interests of the toiling masses. You ought to have preferred the Socialist party, which pledges the political, police and finan-

cial power of the state and city in the interests of the workers in case of industrial disputes. You ought to have stood by a party which has stood by the working class in every strike, morally and financially, to the extent of its resources. You ought, whether you are a voter or not, to have allied yourself with and applied for membership in the Socialist party, whose only reason for existence is the advancement of the interests of the working class. Organize on the industrial and on the political field. The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class, and if you are in sympathy with its aims and objects as stated above you should fill out an application card at once and become a member of the party organization.

Workers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a World to gain!



'ORGANIZATION'

DEBS SAYS

"Is The Crying Need of The Day"

Every Socialist Party member, voter and sympathizer knows that this is true. Then—

Let Us Have Organization

Not just a skeleton organization, nor yet a mere paper organization, but a live, aggressive, fighting organization with a punch. And let us make this organization big enough to put some

Power Behind the Punch

It can be done. It can be done very easily
if every one of you will

Get One New Member



'Gene Debs Comes to Chicago

By Bertha Hale White

Great men have to be protected.

When a general or a governor or a great financier stirs abroad, in their entourage are those who represent the majesty of the law and their function is to guard and protect from violence, the violence of hate or of vengeance.

There is one exception.

A great man visited Chicago last week. He, too, had to be protected. Not against vengeance. Not against hatred. He had to be saved from the outstretched hands of those who love him. There is but one such man in America. Perhaps in all the world. Eugene Victor Debs.

Gene Debs arrived in Chicago last Friday morning. News of his coming had gone abroad, but he evaded the expectant throng at the station by taking another train. First of all, he paid a visit to the Party Headquarters and then went to the Lindlahr Institute to arrange for a course of treatment.

The Institute is three blocks south of the National Office. Gene Debs was at the Institute three days and during all that time a wistful crowd wandered up and down those three blocks. At the Headquarters they would stop and ask, "How is he?" and then walk past the Institute for the pleasure of looking at the building that sheltered "Our Gene". Some tried to gain admittance — vainly, for the Institute was on guard — but most of them just looked and lingered, and perhaps unconsciously prayed.

Early Monday morning Gene slipped away from the Institute and undiscovered made his way to the Party Headquarters for a farewell visit. He was leaving that morning for the Lindlahr Sanatorium at Elmhurst where he will spend weeks in seclusion in the hope of defeating the illness which fastened upon him in prison. His report was a hopeful one and we can now review those three days. Some of our anxiety is banished. Gene may find health again.

Was there ever another man loved like this?

There was once a man, a working man, a Carpenter — but no! Let's talk of Gene Debs and Gene's friends.

One of them is helping make the Chicago Socialist a success. He is, officially, advertising manager, but he has no pride of office. He'll run errands or be a Jimmie Higgins, and he has no idea of how many hours should make

up a day's work. Sometimes it is almost tomorrow before today's work is done. And now and then he "sleeps in" and gets down a bit late. They call him "Doctor."

Now Doctor was late last Friday morning and when he came in and was told that Gene had been here, he fairly shriveled up in misery over missing him. He seemed to think it a retribution for being late and vowed never again.

Doctor has a pretty good running mate in Harry. But Harry is not a member of the force. At night he is in charge of a restaurant and daytimes he works for Socialism. When he sleeps no man can say. It is one of the mysteries.

Harry came in just when Doctor was drowning in grief and going down for the last time, and Harry was worse than Doctor. Suddenly, both braced up and remembered pressing duties. Harry dashed away to the North. Doctor had to "get down town". They said goodbye—only to come face to face in front of the Lindlahr Institute fifteen minutes later.

Doctor reformed. He was early Saturday. He was on duty all day Sunday. But alas, Monday he overslept. When he arrived at nine o'clock, Gene had spent an hour with us and departed. Doctor was a hopeless wreck. Seven years since he had seen Gene Debs! And to have missed him again!

The County Secretary took pity on him — that is, he told him to wake up and get busy and forget his woe. He wanted proof from the printer and the printer wanted copy from him. Doctor could rush the one over and bring the other back.

The secretary was in hurry. He waited. No Doctor. He fretted and fumed. No Doctor. Finally he phoned the printer—yes, Doctor was there. And this is what he said:

"Yah — hello — no, I forgot the proof. I'll get it. No—I lost your copy. Can't find it. I forgot about it. I forgot about you. I forgot about my transfer. Say — I just happened to be passing the Institute (the Institute is in the opposite direction from the print shop) and he was just leaving and telling the students goodbye — all out in front. And I thought I might speak — say! I saw him. And he called me Doctor. Such a man. Such a memory. Say — he kissed me. Gene kissed me — twice. Such

a man! Seven years — "But the Secretary hung up. With care Doctor will recover.

But poor Harry. Someone saw him sitting on a waste box across from the Institute at ten o'clock at night. What happened to the restaurant is not recorded. It survived, however, because the next night a member of our City Council who had been investigating the Volstead Act came into Harry's place. Even if they do not agree on politics, they are pretty good pals. Harry volunteered some excellent advice about going home and sleeping it off. But the Alderman insisted upon food. Harry — good Samaritan — gave him coffee — but no. Food must be forthcoming. When it arrived our Alderman playfully sprinkled it over the scenery and Harry gently but firmly led him to the door and helped him through. The Alderman turned and wagged a reproachful finger. "Gene Debs wouldn't a put me out!" he observed bitterly and Harry is wondering if he would.

There is an endless succession of stories — of the graduating class at the Institute on Friday night, for instance. The faculty invited Gene to address the students and he excused himself from that. Then they called for him, those students did. It was suggested that he

just step out on the platform, but Gene thought not. Finally, they had to tell him that the students refused to leave under any circumstances without seeing Gene Debs. That was too much for Gene, so he went out and spoke to them upon their opportunities for social service.

The County Secretary wanted a certain picture of Gene which had appeared in one of the big city dailies. When he called to see about it, the man in charge of the cuts trailed him outside to ask, "Tell me, honest now, how is he?"

"How is he?" — that is what everyone wants to know. The fact that he has entered a sanatorium has alarmed many. But it is not a cause for alarm, but rather for rejoicing and congratulation. He plans to stay three months if necessary, believing that in seclusion and rest he will find health and strength again and that at the end of that time he will be able to take up the work he was forced to relinquish three years ago. It is not impossible that he may emerge with all his old time energy and vigor restored and be able to take part in the final weeks of the congressional campaign. It is a hope shared by thousands.

The Bosses And Their Kept Press Lie

By Alfred Baker Lewis

For a year and a half the bosses and the capitalist press have been dinning into the ears of their readers that labor must be deflated, and until that is done prosperity will not return. Constantly they have been telling their readers that profits have been deflated and it is time that the wages of labor also were deflated. When the workers protested individually or through their unions against the wage cuts, the bosses have been telling them that they had to reduce wages because profits were so small it was impossible to keep on paying the former rate of wages. The attempt has been made by the employing class through the capitalist press to give the impression that profits have been heavily reduced by the hard times and that it was labor's turn to suffer deflation and the campaign for still further reductions in wages is still on.

This whole attitude is a lie. Profits for big concerns on an average have not been reduced by the hard times and wages have been very heavily reduced. No doubt there are many small and weak capitalist concerns, especially small storekeepers, who have been forced to the wall by bankruptcy or

have suffered a heavy reduction in their profits. But among the big concerns profits have been just as big on an average as before the slump and bigger.

This is a bold statement to make, for it means that the bosses, their press agents, and their statisticians are either fools or liars. But it is true. The only comprehensive figures which are available up to date prove it to be true. The "New York Journal of Commerce", is a twin sister of the "Wall Street Journal". It is published solely in the interests of the capitalist class and is read by the capitalist class. It gathers figures from a large and comprehensive list of enterprises in every line of industry showing the dividend and interest payment made by them monthly. These figures show that the capitalist class got larger dividend and interest payments in 1920 than they got in 1919; and still larger sums in 1921, when they were telling the workers they were making such small profits, than they got in 1920. In 1922 they got an average of \$266,000,000 a month., in dividend and interest payments, in 1920 an average of \$284,000,000. a month, and in 1921 an average of \$296,000,000.

every month. And these figures were not gathered by Socialists, nor were they intended for publication in a Socialist paper. They were gathered and published by a capitalist paper. They were republished by the United States Government in the Monthly Supplement to the Commerce reports, entitled "The Survey of Current Business", for January, 1922, and the government does not publish figures which it believes are misleading.

While the capitalist class were thus getting fatter, what has happened to the workers during the present hard times? New York and Wisconsin are the only states that publish regularly any comprehensive figures on the actual wages received by the workers. In both states, the State Industrial Commission gathers figures each month on the actual payrolls of the same list of establishments employing in each state about one-third of the state's industrial workers. These figures show that in New York at the end of 1921 the workers were getting only two thirds as large wages as they got at the height of prosperity in the middle of 1920; and in Wisconsin the workers were getting *less than half* as much in December 1921 as they got during the peak of prosperity. This does not mean of course that wage rates were reduced on an average by that amount, but that, taking wage cuts and unemployment together, the workers were getting in New York only two thirds and in Wisconsin less than half, as much in the way of actual pay as they got a year and a half before when times were good.

This means that the workers on an average have been deflated and deflated heavily. Yet the bosses are demanding still further wage cuts. It means that the bosses on an average were actually getting in 1921 4% larger returns out of the industry in the way of dividends and interest than they got in 1920, and yet they were trying to tell the workers that they were making such small profits that they had to reduce wages. They were telling lies. These figures show that every penny of the burden of hard times was placed by the capitalist class on the shoulders of the working class. The capitalist class even made still larger money out of the hard times than they were getting before by cutting wages ruthlessly and keeping prices, except the prices that the farmers get for their products, away up. When the conservative economists of our schools and colleges tell their pupils that it is the investors and capitalists who take the risk of loss during hard times they are not telling the truth, for these figures show that all the burden of the hard times was placed on the shoulders of the working class.

Comrades of the Socialist Party, when you read this, don't keep the information to yourselves. Tell

your fellow workers how the bosses lie. Tell them that the power of the bosses to fool the workers comes from their control of the newspapers that the workers read, and to quit reading the capitalist press and read the Socialist Press instead. Tell them that the power of the bosses to exploit the workers comes from their ownership and control of the means of large-scale production, distribution, and exchange, things like mines, mills, railroads, factories, shops, banks, office buildings, ships, grain elevators, etc. Tell them that as long as the bosses own and control these things they own and control the jobs of the workers and can throw the workers out of a job whenever they like or whenever they want to create unemployment and cut wages. Tell them that the only way for the workers to end this exploitation is for the workers collectively to own and control the mines, mills, factories, railroads, grain elevators, banks, etc., and that that is what the Socialist Party stands for.



What You Can Do

1—If you are not a party member

JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

2—If you are already a member—

Get Others to Join the Party

3—In either case, make a contribution to the

Organization and Campaign Fund

4—Pay your dues promptly; attend branch meetings regularly; take an active interest in party affairs; give some of your time to distributing literature, canvassing your precinct or serving on committees. In other words

Be A Working Socialist

Workers' Party Receives Russian O. K.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International endorses the Workers party and Commands all Communist Party members to join it Under Penalty of Expulsion.

By Otto Branstetter

The controversy which has been raging in the Communist Party of America over the organization of the Workers Party to function as the legal party of the underground Communist Party, seems to be definitely settled by a recent decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

There is a considerable minority of the Communist Party who still believe the teachings of the Communist International of two or three years ago and refuse to work with the "centrists" and "yellow opportunists" who were allowed to participate in the formation of the Workers Party. All these members who had not definitely rejoined the Communist Party and submitted to discipline, including the orders to join the Workers Party, by June 25th, are to be expelled according to orders from Moscow.

On November 21st last year the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted a lengthy thesis, entitled "Concerning the Next Tasks of the Communist Party of America". This thesis was in line with the resolutions adopted at the preceding International congress and contained instructions for the immediate organization of a legal party in the United States. The following are some of the more interesting extracts from this thesis:

"***** The Communist Party must take the initiative in the formation of the new legal Party and must take the control firmly into its own hands. It must be careful to assure to itself the actual control over all the leading organs of the legal Party. For this reason, the legal organization must take the permanent form of a Party organization. Some other loose organization form would be very much more difficult to control and to guide. Furthermore, the development of a solidly organized legal Party, in which members of the Communist Party have at least the majority on all important Committees, will make possible the control of still other anti-capitalist organizations thru this legal Party.

"***** The program of the legal Party will have to be somewhat restricted — Special measures and slogans which, while not stating the illegal Communist purpose, will objectively have the revolutionary effect

upon the masses, must be adopted. The legal Party must, at all times, go as far toward the Communist program as is possible while continuing a legal existence.

" 5. The entire membership of the underground Party, the real Communist Party, must join the open Party and become its most active element. Communist Party members must, at all times, hold the positions of leadership in the legal Party. In addition to the entire Communist Party membership, the legal party should admit to its ranks the more advanced workers who accept the principle of the class struggle, and the abolition of capitalism thru the establishment of the Workers' Power. Working class organizations that subscribe to these principles can be admitted to or affiliated with the legal Party, as a body, within the judgment of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

" 6. The Executive of the Communist International has resolved to support the position of the majority of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America in favor of the immediate construction of a legal political Party on a national scale, which will act as an instrument of the illegal Communist Party for participation in legal activities, such as electoral campaigns, etc. The Executive of the Comintern takes this position after having been informed that the Minority of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America accepts "in principle" the tactic of legal work of various sorts at the present time, but rejects the tactic of the immediate construction of a legal political Party on a national scale with the Communist Party membership as its nucleus. The ruling of the Communist International must be accepted as obligating every member of the Communist Party of America, minority or majority, to work diligently in the immediate construction of a legal political party. As a rule, Party members who fail to participate whole heartedly in the legal work, or who sabotage that work, must leave the Party.

" 7. But, in carrying out these instructions, the Party must guard itself against the tendency to repudiate or neglect the illegal work — the tendency to become legal in fact as well as in outward appearance. This tendency will be found especially among "intellectual" Party members who have little experience in the brutal physical phases of the class struggle to which the rank and file workers are always exposed, but from which the intellectuals engaged in legal political work are sometimes shielded. Upon finding themselves in

the easier life of legal activities, many will forget that no matter what maneuvers may be made upon the public stage, the final class struggle must be, until its end, a brutal fight of physical force. A certain element of the Party membership will inevitably forget this fundamental principle (which no humble worker in the class struggle is allowed to forget) and will come forward with naive proposals for liquidating the illegal machinery of the Party. Such a tendency is very dangerous to a proletarian revolutionary Party. The actual liquidation of the underground Party means the liquidation of the revolutionary movement. Party members who persist in such a view must be ruthlessly expelled from the illegal Party.

"8. The underground organization of the Communist Party must not sink into disuse, but, on the contrary, must constantly extend its illegal machinery further and further, in proportion to the growth of the illegal Party. While coming out in the open, the Communist Party must not make the mistake of being trapped in the open by exposing its national or district Communist Party headquarters, records or illegal machinery, its underground printing arrangements or the personnel of its Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee headquarters (of the Party proper) must continue to be guarded in secrecy (and even the problem of redoubling its security from discovery should be constantly studied). The underground machinery of the Communist Party is not merely for emergencies but for constant and permanent use. Down to the lowest unit — the group of ten — every branch and stem of the Party structure must continue to keep its secret addresses and meeting places and to use these in constant underground functioning. Every member, no matter what his work is in the legal Party, must also perform his duties in the underground organization.

"10. The intellectual workers in these legal institutions of the Party must be subject to the same discipline, wage scale and regulations as underground Party workers. It must always be remembered that the real Revolutionary Party — the American Section of the Third International — is the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA and that the legal Party is but an instrument which it uses to better carry on its work among the masses. Only thru membership in the American Section — the Communist Party of America — can American workers become members of the Communist International."

The organization of the Workers Party had already been accomplished before the receipt of this thesis and the Communist Party of America was torn asunder as a result:

"***** Over thirty of the minority were in conference when the Theses sent by the International Executive arrived. These Theses are read to them by the International Delegate. The minority leaders flatly

refused to submit, decided to call themselves an emergency convention of the C. P. of A. elected an Executive Committee, and sent one of their number, Comrade Moore, to Moscow to demand recognition for their faction as the C. P. of A. Section of the C. I. with the excuse that the actions of the C. I. had been based upon misinformation."

After lengthy hearings before the Executive Committee a decision was handed down fully endorsing the actions of the Communist Party of America in organizing the Workers Party, and commanding the rebellious members to apply immediately for reinstatement in the Communist Party and, being reinstated, to join the Workers Party and follow all instructions and submit to all discipline of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America. Upon receipt of this information the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America issued an ultimatum giving the seceding communists until June 25th in which to comply with the instructions of the Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is sending a special representative to this country to superintend the re-organization of the Communist Party and see that the instructions of the Executive Committee are carried out.

This decision will do much to clear the air and let the workers of America know exactly what the Workers Party is. While the controversy was raging in the Communist Party and the minority group was issuing manifestos in the name of the Communist Party denouncing the Workers Party, it was difficult to know exactly where they stood.

Now the matter is definitely settled. The Communist Party of America and the Communist International are solidly behind the Workers Party and all Communist members not in sympathy or agreement with this decision are out of the Communist Party and can no longer speak in its name.

It will also be helpful to the non-Communist members of the Workers Party and to the Trade Unionists and the working class in general. They are now definitely assured that when they join the Workers Party they are joining the legal political party of the underground Communist Party and need not worry about the management, control or policy of the Workers Party. That will be taken care of by the underground Communist organization and whenever any question or difficulty arises it will be settled by the decision of the Executive Committee in Moscow.

Under these circumstances, the Workers Party will, no doubt, have a rapid increase in membership from the masses of American

workers who are eager to be led, instructed and "disciplined" by the Communist Committee in Moscow.

To The Workers of All Countries

We came to Berlin by order of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties with a view to make preparations for realizing the united front of the working class together with the representatives of the Second and the Third Internationals. Now that our work is interrupted for the moment we must not disperse without telling the workers of the whole world what difficulties we had to face.

The Vienna Union at its foundation in February 1921 in spite of taunt and mockery on all hands, was the first to launch the idea of the united front into the ranks of the proletariat. It declared that the rallying of the working class of all countries which had been split up by the consequences of the war is only to be realized by concerted action. It worked incessantly at this self-imposed main task and created, for this purpose, a basis in the shape of the Committee of Nine which was charged to prepare an International Labour Conference.

But the convening of such a conference takes it for granted that all who want to attend it have the sincere and steady will to unite their efforts, to provoke no new splits, and not to try to use the rallying of the proletarian agencies for the particular aims of a single party.

In the ranks of the parties affiliated to the Second International the interest prevailed in the first place to protect their federations from splits and disintegration through bolshevists. But in their fight against communist demagoguery they lost sight of the general needs and lasting interests of the Labour movement so that, finally, those parties got the upper hand which, in consequence of their whole opportunist policy, from the beginning, were opposed to the united front of the working class. Thus the Second International always threw up new obstacles in the way of the unification of the proletariat.

The Communist International, for some time, was guided by the wish to have the foreign policy of the Moscow Government supported by the pressure of the world proletariat. They, therefore, agreed to the idea of calling a general Labour Conference. But they did nothing to promote the cause of a world conference by their actions. On the contrary. The Bolshevik Government not only did not

stop the terrorist persecutions against the socialists in Russia but intensified them and continued its attacks against the freedom of opinion and action of the Labour federations and its oppression of the right of self-determination of peoples. It kept sowing mistrust and continually abused and defamed the Socialist Parties they pretended to have the will to cooperate with. Its tactics was devoted to the so-called "unmasking"; the slogan of the united front was but a means to an end. Far from creating the temper and atmosphere of concerted action by loyalty and sincerity it destroyed it by lack of good will.

Thus the representatives of the Second International came to attend the meeting of the Nine just for the sake of stating that their ultimative conditions as to the calling of a world conference — cessation of terror in Russia and renunciation of trades-union cell tactics—were not fulfilled. The representatives of the Third, on the other hand, insisted unbendingly and without regard to the difficulties still to overcome on the unconditional and immediate calling of a conference. This contrast of opposite and unyielding demands made for the present, any further step in the way of the united front impossible and inevitably led to the rupture of the Committee of Nine.

This interruption of the efforts of the Vienna Union at realizing the proletarian solid front can only be a temporary one.

At a time when the capitalist states by their struggle of competition which involve the danger of new wars and by their combined efforts of exploiting the working class threaten the rights of the proletariat in all countries, increase unemployment, readjustment of wages, longer working-time, misery and suppression, only the world's proletariat united as a serried mass across all boundary lines is able to form a strong rampart against the ever growing offensive of imperialism and capitalism.

It is the task of the workers to overcome by their pressure the ill-will and the policy of cleavage on one hand and the dislike and the narrow-minded policy on the other in order to do away with the disruption of the working class which weakens its power in the whole world.

The Vienna Union will continue its efforts at realizing unity. It summons the workers to support it in its work.

Workers, your cause is at stake!

THE DELEGATION OF THE VIENNA UNION ON THE COMMITTEE OF NINE
Adler (Vienna). Bracke (Paris). Crispian (Berlin).
Berlin, May 24th 1922.

THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE

Report of the Delegation of the Vienna Union To the Executive of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties.

Dear Comrades,

On May 23rd 1922 there took place a meeting of the Committee of Nine in the Reichstag in Berlin in accordance with the resolution of the Berlin International Conference of April 5th. The meeting was attended by the following comrades. The Second International: MacDonald (Great Britain), Wauters (Belgium), Wels (Germany); the Third International: Hecket and Zetkin (Germany), Radek (Russia); the Vienna Union: Adler (Austria), Bracke (France), Crispian (Germany). The comrades Adler, Wauters and Zetkin were elected chairmen. Each delegation was allowed to be attended by a translator and a secretary.

As to the technique of the meeting it was resolved to receive but written communications from outside associations and no deputation whatever. Besides, Radek laid before the committee the paper containing the conditions which were made as to his stay in Germany.

Dealing with the real tasks which the Committee of Nine had been entrusted with by the Berlin Conference MacDonald read a declaration on behalf of the Second International, Radek on behalf of the Third and Adler on behalf of the Vienna Union. The

Declaration of the Vienna Union

by which the whole situation of the Committee of Nine was characterized, runs as follows:

We put on record that the Executive of the Vienna Union which, on January 15th 1922, took the lead in calling a general international Conference have to a man made every effort at overcoming the obstacles in the way of a general Conference. We are still of opinion that the task of the Vienna Union is by no means fulfilled; on the contrary, we shall continue our efforts on lines dictated by circumstances at carrying into effect international unity of action.

But united as the Executive of the Vienna Union

is as to this task we are sorry to state that this unity does not exist within the two other Executives. The internal difficulties within the Executives of both the Second and the Third Internationals make the solution of these problems more difficult and increase the obstacles in the way of a General International Conference.

These hindrances are traced in the first line to the German majority socialists and the French communists. From remarks in the "Vorwaerts", the leading paper of the S. P. D. (German majority socialists) it is evident that they are against holding a World Labour Conference. But within the Third International, too, there are no doubt tendencies not to continue for the moment the preparations of an international Labour Conference. We remind you that the communist delegation on the Committee of Nine was openly blamed by Lenin for their attitude during the Berlin Conference and that this censure was officially published. We see that even within the K. P. D. (Communist Party of Germany) there is no complete unity as to this question. To-day's "Rote Fahne" writes that the attitude of the Berlin delegates who at the decisive moment abstained from voting was approved of in order to protest thereby against "superfluous fluctuations and needless concessions". But the article of Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, which was written as early as May 17th that is before the meeting of the Nine and published in to-day's "Rote Fahne" goes far beyond the remarks of single representatives of the Communist International. In this article Zinoviev says as follows: "The rupture of the Committee of Nine will serve not to weaken but to strengthen the struggle for the united front within the Communist International." This statement evidently means that the cessation of the Committee of Nine for the moment is looked upon by the communists as a favorable result. Thus the Berlin "Vorwaerts" and the Berlin "Rote Fahne" at present are at one in wishing for the time being to put an end to the activity of the Nine, that is to say to stop it before it has really begun. In the declarations of both the Second and the Third Internationals communicated to the Committee of Nine this tendency is obvious though their wordings are more cautious than those of the newspapers.

In face of these tendencies we are of opinion that the Berlin Conference had expected the activity of the Nine to have a wider scope. According to the Berlin resolution of April 5th the Committee of Nine is instructed "to prepare further conferences of the three Executives as well as conferences on a larger scale including such parties as do not belong to any of the three international organizations." Therewith we come to the salient point of the difficulties within the Third International. The French communists have protested against a permanent activity of the Nine. These difficulties within the Third International are reflected in to-day's declarations of its followers that either the World Conference should be held at once or the Committee of Nine should be broken up.

The representatives of the Vienna Union, on the other hand, are of opinion that it is in the interest of the realization of a World Labour Conference to continue the work of the Committee of Nine with perseverance and zeal, as it is only in such a way that the difficulties which face a common international action may be overcome. We believe the Committee of Nine to be a modest but necessary organ for preparing the World Conference. We are, therefore, of opinion that it is our duty earnestly to start the work expected of the Committee of Nine and to do away with the misunderstandings and obstacles which still exist between the different delegations by steadily carrying on the

proceedings. We consider the Committee of Nine to be absolutely necessary in order to achieve a World Conference. The communist delegation, in fact, agrees with us in declaring: "Should the non-communist masses of workers succeed in bringing about t'is change in the attitude of their leaders the Executive of the Communist International will always be ready again to delegate their representatives to a joint meeting of the three Executives."

Although then, on principle, we all agreed that the realization of the world Labour Conference is only possible by means of an organizing committee appointed by all the three Executives, we realize that, in consequence of the declarations of both the Second and the Third Internationals, it has become impossible to continue the proceedings. We have no means of exercising a pressure on the representatives of the Second and the Third Internationals. We can do nothing but forward their regrettable declarations to our Executive, but we shall find means on the part of the Vienna Union to materialize the idea of an international Labour Conference and joint international action.

The declarations of the representatives of the three delegations were followed by a series of statements. Since after the question of the chairman, comrade Adler, neither the representatives of the Second nor of the Third were ready to modify their declarations he could not but state that for the moment there was nothing to be done but the delegations reports to their Executives. Thereupon Radek declared that the Communist representatives were instructed by the Moscow International to lay down their mandates.

Thus the activity of the Committee of Nine is at an end for the time being. We call upon the Executive of the Vienna Union to examine the situation resulting from the attitude of both the Second and the Third Internationals and to strengthen their efforts for the realization of the united action of the international working class. For this purpose we suggest to hold as soon as possible an

International Conference

of the Parties affiliated to the Vienna Union and of such as have announced their affiliation to the Vienna Union. This International Conference just as the Vienna International Conference of February 1921 will devote its work to the realization of the international front of the working class. It will give a new impetus to our efforts at reaching the aim which the Vienna Union has put itself.

THE DELEGATION OF THE VIENNA UNION ON THE COMMITTEE OF NINE
Adler (Vienna). Bracke (Paris). Crispin (Berlin).
Berlin, May 23rd 1922.

"THE LEAGUE OF BRUSSELS."

Some statements by Friedrich Adler.

The communists feel very uneasy since having seceded from the Committee of Nine.

Zinoviev's instruction was — as all his commands heretofore — the maximum of stupidity both as regards matter and tactics.

The communists were commanded to break up the Committee of Nine by order of Moscow. Now they try to trouble the water of facts by heaping lies and calumnies in articles filling many pages. In particular the absolutely correct attitude of the representatives of the Vienna Union is highly disagreeable to them. Therefore the Berlin "Rote Fahne" has recourse to the means of weaving a tissue of lies on the "Brussels league of the Second and Second and a half Internationals".

The tale of the "League of Brussels" reduces itself to the following facts: On May 17th the representatives of the British Labour Party, of the French Socialist Party and the Belgian Labour Party met in Brussels for the purpose of discussing the dangers resulting from the Genoa Conference and the critical day of May 31st. They reached a wide agreement in questions of foreign policy and voiced their opinion in a resolution. Well, this resolution is no secret at all but was published in full three days before the meeting of the Nine. viz. on May 20th in the "Peuple" in Brussels and on May 21st in the "Populaire" in Paris.

The detailed resolution contains also the following passage:

On the other hand, the three parties believe it imperative that the organized proletarian parties exercise a supervising control over the conference of the Hague. They will take the necessary steps — the British Labour Party and the Belgian Labour Party with the Executive of the Second International, the French Socialist Party with the Executive of the Vienna Union — to give effect to the summoning of a Labour Conference in the Hague during the meeting of the Government Conferences.

As may be seen quite clearly this is but a suggestion which did not contain any proposal as to the limitation of parties which should attend the proposed Conference. But even this suggestion remained in its first stage, for up to now, the French Socialist Party did not approach the secretary of the Executive of the Vienna Union with such a proposal. These facts were stated by the author of this already in the meeting of the Nine on May 23rd. The Berlin "Rote Fahne" reports about it on May 28th.

In the meeting of the Nine Adler tried to represent the matter as a most innocent one. He declared that the resolution of the Brussels Conference was but a proposal by which nobody was bound. That these were mere words uttered to cover his embarrassment may be seen by the fact that on the very day of the meeting of the Nine the "Freiheit" published a note

on the meeting of the Second International in Cologne which reads as follows:

"In the second half of June a conference of the Second International is likely to take place in the Hague to which both the Amsterdam Trade Unions International and the Vienna Union will probably be invited but not the Communist International.

The "fact" then, serving as a basis for the latest communist campaign of calumnies is that the Berlin "Freiheit" relying on information got from some press bureau on a conference of the Second International wrote that there was an intention to invite the Vienna Union. This pretended intention of the Second International is transformed by the communist forger into an "engagement" which the Vienna Union is said to have entered into. He writes with a brazen face:

The Second and a half International came to the meeting of the Nine with the *engagement entered into* to hold a separatist conference with the Second International without the Communists, with a hostile front against the Communist International.

In view of the unscrupulousness of Radek and his imitators it is, I am sorry to say, necessary to be very clear and distinct; I, therefore, state:

(1) It is a lie that the delegation of the Vienna Union or any member of it had entered into whatever "engagement to hold a separate conference with the Second International" anywhere or at any time.

(2) It is a lie that any organ of the Vienna Union, that is, neither the Executive nor the Bureau nor the delegation, had carried a resolution to hold a separate conference together with the Second International. There was not even an opportunity of discussing these questions.

(3) It is a lie that such a separate conference of the Vienna Union and the Second International will take place in the second half of June in the Hague or that it is at all intended for any place or any time.

All that the communists have got to say in order to excuse their secession from the Committee of Nine is mere humbug and falsehood. The representatives of the Vienna Union stated with all desirable clearness that the fault lies equally with the Second and the Third International. The Vienna Union will not give up its efforts. The Vienna Bureau will meet in Frankfurt—upon—Main on June 15th and then declare when a general conference of the parties affiliated to the Vienna Union and of all those parties having announced their affiliation to it is to take place. The action of the Vienna Union is appreciated by ever growing masses of the working class who con-

ceive that it must be our first task to eliminate superfluous controversies within the working class and to avoid superfluous internal quarrels. The Vienna Union is convinced that the proletariat unfortunately is not strong enough to afford the luxury thus to waste its energies. The communists keep provoking new conflicts without any responsibility; they destroyed the slender beginning of mutual understanding within the working class represented by the Committee of Nine. This lack of responsibility separates us from them. But the time will come when both the Second and the Third Internationals will have learned that beyond all that separates us the common tasks of the whole proletariat must be fulfilled.

WHO THROWS AWAY HIS VOTE?

By John M. Work

No, you do not throw away your vote when you vote the Socialist ticket.

You throw away your vote when you vote a capitalist ticket.

The Republican and Democratic parties stand for the continuation of the present system, which robs you. They are run in the interest of the capitalist class.

If you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket you help to strengthen and perpetuate the rule of your enemies, so that they can continue to rob you.

Your ballot is a strong and heavy club.

If you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket you hand that club over to the capitalist class, saying, "Please smash me over the head with that!"

And they smash you, all right.

If you vote the Socialist ticket, even if it does not win, you strengthen and build up the party which is destined to emancipate you.

The only way you can avoid throwing away your vote is by voting the Socialist ticket.

The only way in which you can make your vote hasten the day of your deliverance is by voting the Socialist ticket.

To vote any other ticket is to vote to make your chains thicker.

Socialism is not a far-off dream. If you have that erroneous notion in your head the sooner you get it out the better.

Socialism is the next step.

Join the Socialist Party.

If you are already a member, get other to join the Socialist Party.

GET A NEW MEMBER

The Socialist Party

Executive Secretary,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,
220 South Ashland 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.

Morris Hillquit, 19 W. 44th St., New
York City.

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

George E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton
Sq., Boston, Mass.

Victor L. Berger, 528 Chestnut St.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

Official Business

To the National Executive Committee.
July, 24, 1922

Dear Comrades:

My attention has been called to the fact that no formal report has been made on Motion No. 1, which is as follows:

EXECUTIVE QUESTION

"Shall the National Office publish the manuscript, "Pantopia" in the Socialist World?"

Voting Yes: Vladek (1)

Voting No: Hillquit, Henry, Melms,
Roewer (4)

Not heard from: Maurer, Berger (2)

Negative Action.

I am submitting for your consideration the following letter from W. G. Daniel, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Iowa:

Davenport, Iowa, July 18, 1922
Dear Comrade Branstetter:

The state convention of the Socialist Party of Iowa, at Des Moines, July 4th, intentionally refrained from nominating a candidate for U. S. Senator for the alleged reason that organized labor was for Col. Brookhart and that by nominating a candidate for that office we would antagonize organized labor. Brookhart is a "progressive" candidate on the Republican ticket. This was not unanimous. Delegates Moll and McIntosh dissented. They contend that this action was not constitutional, and want a ruling from you on this point, at the earliest possible moment. If it is not constitutional, then the state executive committee should proceed at once to nominate a candidate for that office."

(Signed) W. G. Daniel.

I have written Comrade Daniel informing him that his communication was

being submitted to you for such action as you may see fit to take.

Fraternally submitted,
Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

To the National Executive Committee.
August 1, 1922

Dear Comrades:

I report as follows:

ON NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE MOTION No. 3

By Hillquit

Submitted by wire, July 29. Vote closed, August 1.

"That the National Executive Secretary be directed to cable protest to Moscow against the imposition of the death penalty on the Socialist Revolutionaries now on trial."

Voting Yes: Berger, Hillquit, Melms,
Roewer, Vladek (5)

Not heard from: Henry, Maurer (2)

MOTION CARRIED

In accordance with above motion, the following cablegram was sent:

"Lenin — Moscow:

The Socialist Party of the United States joins the protest against the possible execution of the Socialist Revolutionaries now on trial. Their execution would be a disgrace to a workers government and a crime against the revolutionary workers of all countries.

(Signed) Branstetter, Secretary."

KENTUCKY PICNIC

I am informed that there has been some criticism made regarding the assignment of Comrade August Claessens to the Kentucky picnic at Covington on June 25th.

For the information of the committee, I am submitting the following statement of facts and copies of correspondence.

Sometime in May, the comrades at Covington wrote to the National Office requesting a speaker for a big state picnic which was to be held on June 25th at Covington at the time of the A. F. of L. Convention. I replied that I was unable to definitely assign a speaker at that time, but that I would send someone to them and would notify them as soon as was able to do so. A little later, I wrote them saying that I was sending Comrade August Claessens to them on the date desired.

The following correspondence is self-explanatory:

"Columbus, Ohio, May 31, 1922

Mr. Otto Branstetter,
220 So. Ashland, Chicago, Ill.
Dear Comrade:

Dear Comrade:

You have
Received a Letter
from the
NATIONAL OFFICE.

We want
an answer on the
HUSTLER'S
REPLY SLIP

Send a dollar
if you can but
PLEASE

do not think that
is all we want.
WE WANT A ANSWER
more than we do the
dollar. And you can send
an answer, it costs
ONLY TWO CENTS.

Say that you will
Get a Member

or, at least, that
you will attend the
NEXT MEETING.
of your branch.

RENEWED

Interest and activity
will get the
50,000 MEMBERS.

We thank you.

N. E. C.

Was home over the Decoration Day holiday and received your letter offering us August Claessens for our picnic.

"Am exceedingly sorry your letter didn't reach me sooner as we had already contracted with Irwin St. John Tucker.

"We were apprehensive lest we would not secure any speaker at all so we contracted with Debs Magazine Co. to dispose of 1000 magazines for a Tucker lecture.

Fraternally,
H. Plaggenburg.

H. Plaggenburg,
Covington, Ky.

Dear Comrade Plaggenburg:

"I have your communication of the 31st ult., and also regret that you did not receive my communication regarding Claessens before you had engaged Tucker as your picnic speaker.

"Neither Drake, the editor of the Debs Magazine, nor Tucker are members of the party, and Comrade Debs is not connected in any way with the Debs Magazine. In other words, Debs Magazine is the same as all other free lance papers such as The Pip-Saw, the Appeal to Reason and others.

"I am sending Claessens to your anyway on that date and in case your finances do not permit, you need not pay him. If you make a lot of money you can. I am leaving that to your fairness and judgment, and I am sending Claessens on a chance because we want a Socialist speaker and a representative of the National Executive Committee to be there.

"With best wishes, I am
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

117 West 10th St., Covington, Ky.
June 8, 1922

Otto Branstetter,
"Dear Comrade:

"Your letter to H. Plaggenburg, regard to Tucker speaking at our picnic. Comrade Plaggenburg is at present time in Columbus, Ohio. The letter was read at our meeting tonight. Motion made to cancel the Tucker engagement and notify Otto Branstetter to be sure to send August Claessens to our picnic. If we knew that Tucker was not a member of the party we would save some money. We have notified Drake to cancel the date for Tucker.

"Hoping that Claessens will be on hand, I am

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) F. J. Lavanier."



ATTENTION!

Have you Read
"The Strike
and You"

In This Issue?

It is a Message
to a Million Men

ON STRIKE!

Carry it to
Them!

Published as

A Four Page
Leaflet

\$2.00 per Thousand

* * *

"Is Socialism
Inevitable?"

By August Claessens

Socialist Member New
York State Assembly

A 40 page Pamphlet

10 cents per Copy,

\$6.00 per Hundred
Order from

National Office Socialist Party,

220 So. Ashland Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.



"Frank J. Lavanier,
Covington, Ky.

Dear Comrade Lavanier:

"I have your communication of the 8th inst., notifying me of the cancellation of Tucker's date on June 25th.

"You can positively count on August Claessens being there at that time as I am assigning him to Cincinnati and Covington for the 24th and 25th respectively."

"With best wishes, I am
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) Otto Branstetter"
Executive Secretary.

For the last four or five years, Socialist locals have been exploited by speakers and publications representing everything except the Socialist Party. The action of Local Covington is a most encouraging one, and is an example which should be followed by other locals. It will be a fortunate day when every local organization demands membership in and support of the Socialist Party as a condition in employing speakers or supporting publications.

Fraternally submitted,
Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

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 7½c; to the State Organization, 7½c; to the Local, 5c and to the Branch, 5c."

SECONDS

Previously reported	527
11th Ward Br. Camden, N. J.	55

Total 582

PROPOSED REFERENDUM ON
UNITED POLITICAL ACTION

BY

LOCAL ALLEGHENY COUNTY
PENN.

Sent out for seconds June 10th., 1922.

"That Local Allegheny initiate a referendum to bring the action of the National Convention at Cleveland embodied in the amendments to Article IX to a referendum vote."

SECONDS

Previously reported	395
Central Br. Los Angeles, Calif.	65

Total 460

MINUTES OF THE N. E. C.

MEETING AT BUFFALO, N. Y., JULY 15, 16, 1922

Present, Morris Hillquit, James H. Maurer, George E. Roewer, Jr., and Executive Secretary Otto Branstetter. Absent, Victor L. Berger, Edmund T. Melms, William H. Henry and B. Charney Vladeck. Roewer elected Chairman.

The Executive Secretary reported the dissolution of the Committee of Nine, and its failure to call an international conference, but that an international conference of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties had been called to meet at Carlsbad, Czecho-Slovakia on September 16th.

Motion by Maurer: That the delegates elected at the last meeting of the committee to attend the proposed conference to be called by the Committee of Nine, Comrades Hillquit, Lee and Berger, be elected as our delegates to the conference of the Working Union. *Adopted.*

Motion by Hillquit: That a credential as delegate also be issued to Comrade Jacob Panken with the understanding that his attendance will entail no expense to the National Office. *Adopted.*

Motion: That our delegates to the I. W. U. S. P. are also authorized to attend as delegates any joint international conference held while they are abroad called by or participated in by the Working Union. *Adopted.*

The delegates are authorized to make arrangements with prominent European comrades for a tour of the United States during the coming Winter.

Communication from Comrade J. Ransay MacDonald referred to the International Secretary.

AMNESTY

The Executive Secretary reported the recent release of Comrade William L. Benefield of Oklahoma from the penitentiary at Leavenworth, due to the efforts of the National Office and the work of Comrade White in Oklahoma and Washington.

Communication from the General Defense Committee inviting us to send a representative of the Party to serve on the amnesty delegation which has an interview with President Harding on Wednesday, the 19th.

Motion: That Comrade Hillquit represent the Party on this delegation and in case of his inability to attend, that Comrade James Oneal serve as alternate. *Adopted.*

LITERATURE

The Executive Secretary submitted a manuscript by James Oneal, entitled, "Labor and Imperialism."

Motion: That publication of Comrade Oneal pamphlet be authorized with a suggested change of title. *Adopted.*

Adjourned to 2:00 P. M.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

Comrade Albert Weisbord, National Director of the Young People's Socialist League, reported 26 affiliated Circles in nine different states and upon the general condition of the League.

Motion: That Comrade Weisbord make an organization tour for the League, arrangements for which to be made in co-operation with the Executive Secretary.—

Adopted.

Motion: That the Executive Secretary be instructed

to allow space in each issue of The Socialist World for copy furnished by the Young People's Department.—*Adopted.*

Motion: That the motion to provide for the payment of only one dues by comrades holding membership in both the party and the League referred to the committee by the National Convention at Cleveland, be referred to the Executive Secretary with instructions that the dues of such comrades are to be reduced, the amount and method of collecting such dual dues to be left to agreement between the Executive Secretary and the National Director of the Young People's Socialist League. *Adopted.*

LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

Credentials as fraternal delegate from the Polish Alliance presented by Comrade Sokolowski who was given the floor. Comrade Sokolowski states that the Polish Alliance by provisions of its constitution now in effect recognizes the Socialist Party of the United States as the party representing the interests of the working class and the ideals and principles of international Socialism in this country, and on behalf of his Executive Committee offers the support and co-operation of the Polish Alliance in the coming campaign.

Motion: That the offer be accepted with thanks and that the Executive Secretary be instructed to make appropriate recommendations to the state and local organizations of the party in those places where the Polish Alliance has branches as to methods of effective co-operation. *Adopted.*

Motion: That the Executive Secretary be a committee of one to confer with the officials of the Alliance for the purpose of continuing and increasing the fraternal relations and looking toward the final affiliation of the Alliance as a regular federation of the Party. *Adopted.*

Comrade Girolamo Valenti, Translator-Secretary of the Italian Federation was given the floor and reported on the condition of his federation and asked for a reduction or rebate of dues in order to enable them to continue their federation work and the publication of their official organ.

The Executive Secretary reported on conditions in other federations and the difficulty experienced in securing prompt reports and remittances from several of the federations to the National and State offices.

Motion: That the Executive Secretary is instructed to inform the respective federations that the committee has no authority to waive the constitutional provisions regarding the payment of dues and to point out to them the fact that all party organizations, national, state and local, as well as the respective federations, are having the same struggle to maintain their organization and meet necessary expenses; that under present arrangements the federations are paying only one-fourth the national and one-half the State and local dues being paid by the English branches and to call their attention to the fact that money collected from sale of dues stamps does not belong entirely to the federations but that the amount provided to be paid as national, state and local dues is the property of those respective organizations and should be so considered and held inviolate by the Federations. *Adopted.*

Communication from Comrade Gerber of Local New York and from State Secretary Merrill of New York,

regarding the division of state and local dues paid by the language federations.

The Executive Secretary was instructed to reply suggesting a change in the division as between the state and local organizations, the authority for which is expressly provided in the motion adopted.

As the local committee had arranged for the committee members to speak at a mass meeting, the session adjourned to Sunday morning at ten o'clock.

SUNDAY MORNINC SESSION

Roewer elected Chairman.

Communication read from Comrade Joshua Lieberman reporting resolution adopted by Local New York, reference failure of Wisconsin party to nominate a candidate for United States Senator.

Motion: That the following statement be adopted:

The National Executive Committee takes cognizance of the explanation of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin as to the reasons for its failure to name a candidate in opposition to Robert M. La Follette.

The Committee realizes that the situation in Wisconsin was very exceptional, and declares that the action of the Wisconsin comrades is under no circumstances to be regarded as a precedent, and that the Socialist Party is definitely committed against any support, direct or indirect, of any candidate for public office on the ticket of either of the old parties. *Adopted.*

Adjourned to 2 P. M.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

Executive Secretary reported on organization.

The report was approved and the Secretary was instructed to write Comrades Cahan and Vladeck, of the Forward, and Comrades Ervin and O Neal, of The Call, urging co-operation and effective publicity in connection with the membership campaign.

Communication, from Comrade Ben Blumenberg of Michigan, and State Secretary Plunkett of Connecticut, asking for assistance for those states.

Motion: The Executive Secretary be authorized to extend such assistance to those and other states as is made possible by the receipt of funds. *Adopted.*

Communication from Comrade Shiplacoff regarding the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

Motion: That action be deferred pending receipt of additional information. *Adopted.*

Communications:

From Frank Sayers, Secretary Messenger Local No. 1, submitting resolution. Secretary is instructed to reply that the resolution of the last convention states the position of the Socialist Party and that the Committee has no authority to amplify the provisions of the resolution.

From Editor of Dziennik Ludowy with copy of Vacation Bill for workers passed by the Polish Diet. — Received.

From Secretary of Central Committee, Ukrainianian Soc. Dem. Labour Party with appeal for aid for famine sufferers. — Received and filed.

From 21st A. D. New York Secretary is instructed to purchase a quantity of the pamphlets, "The Next Emancipation" for sale to our local organizations, if satisfactory price can be secured from the publishers.

Motion: That the next meeting of the Committee be held in Philadelphia on September 9th or 16th, at the discretion of the Executive Secretary.

Adjourned Sine die.

OTTO BRANSTETTER,

Secretary.

A FINAL WORD

The National Organizers continue to meet with enthusiastic receptions and find no difficulty in securing members and organizing new locals. Five states where the movement has been practically dead for three or four years are back on the map again. Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana and West Virginia all have a group of new and aggressive locals and will have candidates in the field this Fall.

The same conditions which made it possible for our organizers to secure such splendid results in these states, exist in every other state. The field is ripe. The harvest is waiting. All that we need is workers, and more workers, to reap the fruits of our years of agitation and propaganda in the form of new members, new voters, and greater prestige, influence and power.

It is impossible for the National Office to send organizers into all the states and cities. We have neither the money nor the men. We will do all that we can—and then some—but we can not begin to cover the field. That is where you come in. Where every last member of the Socialist Party has a duty right at his door.

There is work to be done in your city. There are new members to be had, almost for the asking, in your ward, in your precinct, perhaps in your very block. You are there, right on the ground. It would be foolish to spend the time and money required to send a national organizer to get the application of the man who lives next door to you, or works beside you in the shop. **THAT IS YOUR JOB.**

Hand him an application for membership card today. Get him into the party where he belongs. Do your share in getting that 50,000.

Nine Hundred and Fifteen Thousand Citizens

Voted for Debs and Socialism in Nov. 1920. Every one of these voters is a *prospective* member of the Socialist party. Our job is to make them *actual*, dues-paying, redcard members.

Getting Their Membership

Depends largely upon our ability to reach them with written and spoken arguments showing the necessity of organization.

The Organization and Campaign Fund

Is to be used for that purpose. When we have fifty thousand members we can begin to DO things worth while.

Lets Get the Fifty Thousand!