

THE

SOCIALIST WORLD

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NUMBER 8

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TO THE WORKING WOMAN

By Theresa S. Malkiel

You are the daughter of a working woman. Your mother has worked the greater part of her life.

She brought you into this world with no brighter prospects before you than she has known. As soon as you were old enough to get a job you had to go out and earn your living. Your mother could not afford to feed and clothe you.

You never cared for the work for its own sake—you worked because you needed the money. When you needed more money you tried to work harder until your body became exhausted.

You long for a change and hope that it will come with your marriage. But you must turn back and consider your mother's fate. She made the change that you are longing to make, only to find that she had to work harder and receive no pay at all for her work.

You are not different from your mother. You belong in the same class with her, and marriage alone will not relieve you from hard toil. On the contrary, comparing the cost of living today with the cost of living when your parents married, your father earned more and needed far less than will your future husband. Today it is more difficult to make ends meet than it was then.

You may not be aware that every woman working outside of the home is in part responsible for the lower rate in wages. The girls go out of the home to earn something, and gladly accept anything that is offered to them. You must realize that it is to the interest of the boss to get his work done as cheaply as possible. He sends away the men whom he has to pay twice the wage for which the girls will work, and employs girls instead.

But the men, being left without a job, must live,

and they seek some other work. They are compelled to offer themselves for less wages than they had formerly received.

The wheel of life turns until it reaches the man you are about to marry. Thus it happens that in your great desire to earn something you are unknowingly cutting the wages of your husband-to-be and lessening the chances for your own betterment.

It is in your power, however, not single-handed, but together with all the other working women, to prevent this ever-increasing evil. If you will but come to the conclusion that the girls who work side by side with you are your friends, that you must join hands with them to fight a common enemy, you will in the near future be able to better your own and, through you, your husband's condition.

It depends wholly upon the working people themselves to make that real change for the better, for which you and every other working woman and every working man are longing. For upon the working people depends the welfare of the world. They build the houses, till the ground, run the railroads, bake the bread, make the clothing, sail the ships, dig the earth for copper, iron, silver, gold and coal.

They do everything, only for some one else to enjoy the proceeds of their labor. The working people themselves live in abject misery. You must stop and reason it all out for yourself. Is it right that you and your loved ones shall work throughout the long years and have nothing to show for it, while the owners of the shops and the railroads and the mines have money to squander in idleness and evil-doing?

(Continued on page 3)

The Socialist World

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OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

Organization Pointers

BY MAX LUTSKY

Secretary Local Allegheny County, Pa.

We have found in Allegheny County that one of the best methods in organization building is a personal call upon prospects, ex-members and inactive workers. There is nothing that causes a revival of interest in a former member more than a personal call which shows that the organization is interested in him. Often-times if nothing else can be done, the comrade visited will make a contribution, subscribe to a paper or do something that will be of value to the cause. We are sending Comrade Billy Adams, one of our old war-horses out to visit registered Socialists, to get their viewpoint and to line them up with the organization if possible. The list of Registered Socialists, wherever it can be gotten is very valuable. As a matter of fact, such a list constitutes our political organization, and a man who is fearless enough to register as a Socialist naturally constitutes good material. In too many cases such lists are neglected. There are 5,000 registered Socialists in our county and at least once a year we circularize them with an appeal for funds. These names also constitute a list to which we mail notices whenever we arrange meetings, entertainments etc. In states where such lists are procurable the comrades should not neglect to make use of them.

In arranging street meetings in places where we have no branches the Registered Socialists are frequently the only ones to whom we can appeal for aid in arranging the meeting. In places where lists of Registered Socialists are not available, a list of prospects can be gotten in this manner.—Let each member of the branch make a list of all those whom he knows to be sympathetic or near sympathetic. After such a list is compiled let a representative from the branch call and talk to the individuals. Leave a piece of free literature. Follow up this call with another call several weeks later. This time try to sell a pamphlet. By persistently doing this you will in time convert the man and possible make a member out of him.

One of the best ways to carry on the propaganda of Socialism is by holding street meetings in your community. It is true our party is handicapped by lack of speakers. But there are frequently members in many branches who have the latent ability to develop into good speakers but because they have never tried to speak publicly are afraid to try it. I have seen many comrades carry on a private argument and bit by bit and word by word parry the opponents' arguments against Socialism. These same comrades could probably do as well on the soap-box. Whenever top-notch speakers are unavailable it is not necessary to go to sleep until the next speaker goes through your town. Get two or three of your own comrades and you will have 45 minutes of street speaking. Your first efforts will not be up to snuff. But as these comrades speak more and more frequently they will develop and soon your branch will have a corps of speakers. Every one of our speakers had to go through his first experiences and so I urge this method of developing new speakers. Here in Pittsburgh we have developed at least two speakers in this way. The street meeting is a place where literature can be sold, new members gotten and your town made alive to the fact that a Socialist organization exists in it.

Let's go to in comrades and go over the top in the 50,000 membership campaign.

A CORRECTION

In the July number of the Socialist World, we published a letter from the Executive Secretary to Comrade Pflaggenburg in which it was stated that Comrade Debs was not connected with the "Debs Magazine."

It appears that this was a mistake and that Comrade Debs is the chief contributing editor. A statement to this effect, by Comrade Debs, is published elsewhere in this issue.

It is also fair to state that Comrade Tucker was readmitted to membership by Local Cook Co. on August 14th.

All of which does not alter the fact that Debs Magazine from its first number, has scrupulously observed its policy of *not* endorsing or supporting the Socialist Party. We are unable to see any reason why Socialist Party members should support a magazine which does not support the party.

REMEMBER THIS

The success of the 50,000 membership campaign depends upon you getting a new member in your branch. You know some socialist who is not a member of the party, get his application this week!

(Continued from Page 1)

How did they come by it? Money does not grow like grass. Someone must earn it. If we are the ones who do all of the work, then we are the ones who earn all of the money. That which they have they took from you and from all of the rest of the working people. They can do this because they own all of the tools which you must use to do the work. If you refuse to let them take as much as they want, they will no longer give you the use of the tools. They lock up the mills and the factories and the mines and shut the workers out. Therefore, because we must live, we bow our heads and accept anything that they give us.

But why should they own the tools? If this is a free nation they should not keep you in wage slavery. Why should not the nation itself own all of the factories, the mines, the railroads, the shops?

this would save the working people from giving three-quarters of their earning to the bosses. The nation would manage its own affairs for the benefit of all the people, something after the manner in which the postoffice, the public schools, the bridges and the parks are supposed to be managed today.

This idea is known to the world under the name of Socialism. The Socialists are working people like yourself—tired of giving their life, their strength, in order to keep a whole army of idlers, who suck the very life-blood out of the workers.

The Socialists were the first to foresee the great change for the better which is bound to come as soon as all the working men and women become united into a strong force. It is, therefore, the duty of every honest working man and working woman to study Socialism, and when they are convinced that the Socialists are right, to join their ever-growing ranks.

A Testing Time For Socialists

By James Oneal

This is the coming-of-age year of the Socialist party. It was 21 years ago that two Socialist organizations met in a Unity Convention in Indianapolis and founded the Socialist party. Little did those of us who gathered there anticipate that within less than 20 years a ruthless Prussianism would arise and try to strangle the Socialist party.

It is the merit of the Socialist party that although it was farthest from the war in Europe it judged the war and its issues correctly. It was easy for us to take our stand regarding the war and its issues before the United States became involved. The real test came when we were on the eve of entering the war ourselves.

We met that test with a firmness and courage that will always be to our credit. Many knew that we would have to pay a price but few anticipated that we would have to pay what we did. Some few were unable to withstand the siren plea of a "war for democracy." They left us, some to go over completely to the enemy. Many of the members in the smaller cities and towns could not meet and organizations disappeared.

It was in the smaller cities and towns where the greatest courage was required to brave Woodrow Wilson's spies and "patriotic" hoodlums. The local banker, capitalist and corporation lawyer had their opportunity to raise their special interests to the heights of glory. Given free license they terrorized everybody into submission. Our comrades lost their jobs. Some were deported from their homes. Some were mobbed. Some lost their lives.

When the history of this period of the party's history is written it is the Socialists in the smaller cities and towns who will receive the greater credit for their courage. In the large cities our very numbers afforded us greater protection even though the terror raged there as well.

The end of the war, however, brought another test. The hysteria of the war maniacs had its reflex within the party. There were those who believed that the revolution was "just round the corner." They were sincere enough, except for a few leaders. They had visions of soldiers coming home in a rebellious mood. They believed that the Russian revolution could be imported, that it could be reenacted by the United States. They organized to install it. The wave of hysteria released by the war weighed on their minds like a nightmare. They could not shake it off.

It was another testing time for the Socialist party. This exotic product could not be reasoned with. It decided in favor of romantic adventure, a ludicrous underground life, weird manifestoes summoning the masses to armed battle, imitating every phase of the Russian revolution and hurling stinging epithets at all party members who were not swayed by these morbid emotions.

It was a testing time because in all party controversies a faction has arisen that assumed to be extra revolutionary. Many members shrink when referred to as "yellow." They recoil at being classified as "reformists." They wince when the only thing they have to meet is words. These words carry

mysterious power when they take the form of "Kolchaks", "Scheidemanns," "counter-revolutionists", etc.

They find themselves enlisted under the banner of a czarist general or with some other enemy of the masses. How they came there they do not know. They know that the morbid ones assign them this role and they cringe before the terror of words.

The spell of words had its effect and many party members failed to meet the test of cool and scientific analysis of this craze. The party was split and the insurgents took some 30,000 members with them. They had their opportunity. Did the returning soldiers rise? Did capitalism collapse? Did the masses respond to the morbid propaganda? Has this propaganda built a movement? Has it even touched the great mass of organized workers and gained their sympathies?

There is no need of answering these questions as it is apparent that those who left us miscalculated everything. Not one of their forecasts have been realized. The Socialist party's position on the questions raised within the party has been as thoroughly vindicated as its position on the world war itself.

All that the insurgent factions accomplished was to further weaken the Socialist party and leave it almost prostrate before the capitalist enemy. But the insurgents themselves could reach no common unity. They have split into no less than a dozen fragments in the three years of their wanderings and they still have their divisions.

Credit is also due to those members who met this test and refused to be swayed by the spell of words. They never for a moment allowed themselves to be swerved from material realities. Their point of view was not that of the sentimental "revolutionary" swayed by abstract babble, but that of the worker who builds on facts and history; the worker who refuses to substitute illusions for material reality.

But this period of our history is now passing. The Socialist party faces the second epoch of its history. It is being rebuilt. When enough locals are organized in a few weeks in West Virginia to enable us to form a state organization it is evident that the party is "coming back." The organization work of Emil Herman in the West also tells the same story. Other organizers in the field also report of splendid opportunities for organization, propaganda and a good party vote.

All events indicate that the time is ripe in this coming-of-age year of the Socialist party to rebuild the party on a better basis than ever. I firmly believe that if the National Office can get the funds to place 15 or 20 speakers and organizers in the field this year we can accomplish an immense work

of organization.

The party also desires to publish new literature, leaflets and pamphlets, to meet the new problems which the post-war period has brought. The National Office should become a general center for publishing books and pamphlets for general sale all over the country. Much of our old pre-war literature is out of date. It must be scrapped except for a few of the most fundamental booklets that will always be servicable.

The important work before us means that thousands of our party members must contribute funds to prosecute it. Thousands of former members and potential members are scattered and need attention. They can be organized into active and working party locals. To do this requires money. The National Office must have it and the members and sympathizers must give it and give it in the next few weeks.

Some of us saw this opportunity one year ago. We began to subscribe one dollar, two dollars, five dollars and some ten dollars each month to the National Office to prepare for this work. I am now asking every reader of this article to "plunge" deeply for a contribution to the National Office. Make that contribution as generous as you can. We can obtain a fund of \$50,000 and get it quick and make every promising state hum with activity.

Make this 21st anniversary of the Socialist party a year of intense activity and party organization. The masses are ready for our message. Meetings everywhere show remarkable interest. Give, Comrades, as you never gave before. Give when it counts the most. Give NOW. This week give and give generously.

Send your contributions to the National Executive Secretary, Otto F. Branstetter, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

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ON STRIKE AGAIN

BY JOSEPH E. COHEN

Member Philadelphia Typographical Union

Whenever conditions become unbearable, so that men and women leave their jobs, the cry is raised: "They are on strike again:"

It is meant to be a knock. But it is really a boost. A sad thing indeed would it be if the workers were not ready to stand up for their rights every time and as often as those rights are in danger. Without such resistance they would soon be hired at any rates the employers choose to make, hours of labor would be inhumanly long, children would again be machine oil, public education missing, the right to vote held by the property owners, with political and industrial autocracy unchallenged.

A terrible situation it would be. And a terrible situation it will be whenever the men and women who labor refuse to quit work if that is the only protest left to them against unbearable conditions.

Men and women on strike are at once attacked by all the forces at the command of the employing class. Strikebreaking agencies are opened to sweep up the unfortunate and vicious, whose manhood is sold cheap. The daily press owned by capitalist interests belches forth its venom against the strikers and pretends that its class prejudice and hate is "public opinion." Speakers and writers are ready to support the pretensions of the money power. And Republican and Democratic office holders, repaying the financial support given them by the corporations, place the police, the military and the courts at the disposal of the small minority of the citizens who live upon the labor of the majority.

All the agencies of darkness are combined to maintain the "right to work" of the scab. None of them has ever lifted a finger to support the right to work of the millions unemployed in an industrial depression, such as America as well as Europe has been suffering from. None of them will have any feeling except of unlimited contempt for the strikebreaker once the labor dispute is settled and the union men and women are back to work for they are the ones who do the work which makes the employers' fortunes and the nation's wealth.

When the railroad men went on strike in 1884, it was a Democratic president, Grover Cleveland who expressed his obligation to the Pullman Company by sending the troops into Chicago, over the protest of Governor Altgeld of Illinois. In the railroad strike of our day, his example was duplicated by a

Republican president, Warren G. Harding, who acted upon his hostility of labor unions by forwarding troops into railroad and coal strike centers without the slightest provocation. The two old parties alike are tools of the plutocracy.

In both cases corporation-selected judges eagerly discharged their political debts by judicial lynch law against the unions. History has repeated itself. It always will so long as the appointees of the corporations constitute the administration, local, state and national. When men and women go out on strike, it will be just what they should expect. For they will never be disappointed.

The men and women who labor to earn their living must not only strike, whenever they cannot secure a just deal without quitting work, but they must strike as a union. The concern of those injured must be the concern of all in the union and in every union. The body of labor cannot be attacked at one point without hurting their whole class. Labor cannot win anywhere without labor everywhere reaping the benefit. For that reason labor must pool its strength. Capital has always done that.

There must be an end to union men and women doing unfair work. Each union cannot help but use its own judgment as to when it will fight. But no union can choose except to help every union on strike. With labor divided, capital always gains. Even successful strikes prove this.

Thus the International Typographical Union is, single-handed, putting over the reduction of working hours from 48 to 44 a week. But it has required an enormous outlay of funds, supplied by the members, and needless length of striking. Had the other thirteen crafts of the printing industry stood with the compositors, it would have made a different story.

There is not much more argument for photo-engravers and pressmen doing work for strikebreakers than there would be for compositors scabbing on each other. There should be an end to that.

Similarly when railroad shopmen go on strike—and they had every reason for going on strike—train crews might have something to say about transporting strikebreakers. No union that is a union has ever made an agreement with employers to help

break strikes. And no union man should lift a finger to assist in breaking a strike.

Furthermore, those on strike should form a union of their forces, whether for the time of the strike or afterward. The miners and railroad men on strike at the same time should be on strike together. The corporations always act in harmony, backed by the financial power of the country. Union men should work together.

Especially is this true for the miners and railroaders. Caring for the two key industries of the country, once they join hands their influence will be irresistible—just what it should be considering their importance to the country.

Men and women are cheerful when they are on strike. The dull routine of their daily tasks is broken, they are out in the smiling sunshine, resting and gaining health, they stop being industrial drudges and greet their friends as human beings, and they realize the unity and solidarity of their interests as working people. In all this a strike pays.

Better than that, they stand erect as men and women, matching their strength with the most powerful plutocrats. In that alone are the hopes for themselves, their class and the nation.

The most conspicuous and glaring fact of our time is the menace of organized capital. Through

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM, 1922

The coming elections to Congress will be fought in the midst of a concerted onslaught of the profiteering interests against the toiling masses.

As soon as peace was concluded with the hostile powers of Europe our industrial magnates declared war against the workers of America.

Employers throughout the country, themselves organized in powerful associations, launched an "open shop" drive, with the object of depriving the workers of the right to organize and reducing them to a mass of incoherent and helpless units without defense or protection against the aggressive greed of their masters.

While the enormous fortunes "made" by the American profiteers during and after the war are mounting to heights that baffle human imagination, the very industrial free booters who appropriate these fabulous fortunes from the toil of their fellowmen, cut the meager wages of their workers and increase their work hours under the pretext of "deflating" the cost of commodities.

In this sordid campaign against labor the American capitalists have the full support of the subsidiz-

industrial progress, political corruption and ruthless war, a very small number have in their grasp the financial control of the country. They dominate the general sources of livelihood by their hold on the banks, insurance companies, railroads, mines, mills, factories and other large-scale methods of producing goods and wealth. They try to dictate wages and prices. The whole nation toils but to increase the enormous, unearned incomes of these few. It is a situation intolerable and unendurable to a free people. It cannot last.

It will be ended. But it will be ended only when the workers of every occupation get together. They must stick to their unions. They must build their own political party and vote together to make the government the will of the majority. They must support their own press. They must use their savings for themselves. Always they must stand as one. Only so can they overcome predatory capital.

On strike again? Yes, for it is the chief hope of democracy that men and women are ready to make every sacrifice for their convictions, born and bred of the sufferings and needs and hopes and ideals of the common people.

Labor must strike again and again, strike industrially and politically. It must strike every blow it can for itself, for its loved ones, for the future generations. Only so can humanity be free.

ed press and all departments of the government.

By a series of crushing decisions the nine old men, without mandate from or accountability to the people, who constitute the Supreme Court of the United States, have nullified the Clayton Act, the only comprehensive piece of Congressional legislation ever enacted for the protection of labor in its struggles against economic oppression, limited the rights of organized workers to recruit new members; paralyzed the effectiveness of their struggles by practically outlawing the use of pickets in strikes; delivered their union funds to the mercy of the employers, and set aside the law for the protection of young children from greedy exploitation in mines, mills and factories.

At the same time inferior courts of the United States and judges of state courts all over the country have perfected their government within the government, a government unsanctioned by the constitution and repugnant to all fundamental conceptions of freedom and democracy—the arbitrary and tyrannical government by injunction, which reduces workers engaged in industrial disputes to the condition of

outlaws.

In the momentous struggles which the workers on the railroads and in the mines have been forced to wage for the preservation of their very lives the President of the United States has gone the length of openly siding with the railroad magnates and coal barons, and calling upon the state executives to drive the revolted slaves back to their tasks by brute force.

In the executive departments of the government as in the courts, in Congress as in the state legislatures, in the press as in the schools of the country reaction is rampant and militant, oppression is brutal and triumphant.

The menacing situation cannot be attributed solely to the new Republican policy of "normalcy." It began under the Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson, and is supported and maintained by both old parties alike. It is the practical operation of the dictatorship of the capitalist class which dominates the Democratic party as well as the Republican party. There is no hope for the workers of America in either of these interest-controlled parties. Their only salvation lies in breaking up the whole bi-partisan Democratic-Republican citadel of profiteering capitalism, to take over the political government and industrial management of the country and to administer them for the people—with special privileges to none and justice to all.

This is the great task which the workers of America must perform for their self-preservation, for the restoration of civic liberties and for the well-being of the whole people.

This is also the ultimate aim of the Socialist Party, and it is in furtherance of this aim that the Socialist Party enters the Congressional Campaign of 1922, upon the following program:

1. SOCIALIZATION

Public ownership of public utilities and natural resources, especially the railroads, mines, steel works and other basic industries which have attained the extent of national monopolies, with ample provisions for representation by the workers in the management of these industries.

2. LABOR

A normal forty-four hour work-week, or less in cases of emergencies; a minimum wage based on a decent standard of life and a system of government insurance to take care of all workers in periods of sickness and unemployment, during old age or invalidity and to compensate them for injuries sustained in the course of their work, without contribution

on the part of the workers.

The enactment of suitable constitutional amendments to prohibit the labor of children in any industrial, mercantile and agricultural pursuits; to guarantee to the workers the absolute right to organize, to strike and to picket; to prohibit the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes and to deprive the courts of the usurped power to nullify laws on the alleged ground of their unconstitutionality.

3. THE FARMER

The taxation of all farm land not cultivated by owners to the full amount of the rental value; the extension of ample government credits at low rates of interest for the organization of co-operative farms, provided with modern machinery; a comprehensive plan for the elimination of farm tenantry; the establishment of public elevators and cold storage plants.

4. CIVIL RIGHTS

The immediate restoration of full freedom of speech, press and assembly, and complete amnesty of all persons imprisoned for the expression of political belief or opposition to war or for labor union activities during the war. The rigid enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments with reference to the Negroes and effective legislation to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

5. IMPERIALISM AND MILITARISM

The recognition of the governments of Russia and Mexico. The immediate withdrawal of military occupation of Hayti and San Domingo and the surrender of the arbitrary and lawless exercise of dominion over these republics. Rapid reduction and ultimate abolition of all standing armed forces.

The Socialist Party presents these political demands to the voters of the United States, and more particularly to the workers, as measures intended to rescue the government from the intolerable control of the greedy profiteering interests, to restore to the people the rights and liberties which are essential to true democracy, to free the producers from tyranny and exploitation and the consumers from unbridled extortion and oppression, to pave the way for a government based on true political and industrial equality, social justice and world peace.

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

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, Harrisburg, 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
August 2, 1922

Dear Comrades:

You will recall that the National Convention at Cleveland authorized the National Executive Committee to adopt and publish a national program for the Congressional campaign.

I am now in receipt of a proposed program from Comrade Hillquit which I am submitting herewith for your approval as

National Executive Committee

Motion No. 4

(Executive Question)

"Shall the Congressional Program proposed by Comrade Hillquit be adopted?"

Submitted, August 2. Vote closes, August 12th.

In voting upon this motion the committeemen will vote upon the program as a whole, and at the same time make suggestions of any additions or changes which they may deem necessary. If such proposed changes, if any, do not affect the proposed program in any important particular they will be made and the program published without further submission to the committee. In case important changes or additions are suggested, the program will be re-submitted to the committee before publication.

Fraternally submitted,

Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

August 5, 1922

To the National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

Local Philadelphia has renewed their invitation and accepted the offer of the committee to meet in their city on Sept. 16th-17th.

The meeting will therefore be held on that date. The location of the head-

The First One Hundred

**Hustlers in 50,000
Membership
Campaign**

| | You can count on me. I will get my new member. | I have got my new member. How's that for speed? | Do not intend to stop. Will get another one. | I will attend the next meeting of my branch | Enclosed find \$1 for the expenses of the campaign. |
|--|--|---|--|---|---|
| 1 I. A. Anderson, Chicago, Ill. | x | | | x | \$1.00 |
| 2 P. Redman, Kokomo, Ind. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 3 Harry Nishnum, New York, N. Y. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 4 Irwin G. Seasholtz, Allentown, Pa. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 5 Max Silverman, Chicago, Ill. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 6 Theodor Johnson, Cleveland, Ohio | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 7 Wm. M. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 8 E. H. Thomas, Milwaukee, Wis. | | | | | 2.00 |
| 9 W. L. Krieghoff, Detroit, Mich. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 10 Robert Scheinblum, Bronx N. Y. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 11 Horace D. Houtz, Bethlehem, Pa. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 12 C. Meier, Chicago, Ill. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 13 T. J. Brown, Denver, Colo. | x | x | x | x | 2.00 |
| 14 Louis Sabloff, New York, N. Y. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 15 W. S. Wolleson Chicago, Ill. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 16 A. E. Marsh, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 17 John Bush, Peoria, Ill. | | | x | | 1.00 |
| 18 Emil Herman, Seattle, Wash. | x | x | x | | 1.00 |
| 19 Anna Spidel, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 20 Samuel Klein, Braddock, Pa. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 21 Louis Zicht, Brooklyn, N. Y. | | 2 | x | | 1.00 |
| 22 Maurice Schoenwald, Passaic, N. J. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 23 Ed. Horak Cleveland, Ohio | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 24 Emil Johne, St. Louis, Mo. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 25 Frank Loss, Monongah, W. Va. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 26 Frank Brosta Cleveland, Ohio | x | 6 | x | | 1.00 |
| 27 Albert Boardman, Norwich, Conn. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 28 Wilmer T. Stone, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 29 J. B. Phinney, Kansas City, Mo. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 30 H. E. McDade, Hagerstown, Md. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 31 No Name, Munhall, Pa. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 32 Henry N. Eagle, Reading, Pa. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 33 Ethel S. Cohen, Washington, D. C. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 34 D. S. Landis, Neosho, Mo. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 35 S. Popara, Chicago, Ill. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 36 Harry Eckard, New Kensington, Pa. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 37 W. R. Dowler, Oakland, Calif. | | | | | 2.00 |
| 38 P. Blechschmidt, Jersey City, N. J. | | | | | 2.00 |
| 39 Irma B. Lewis, Altoona, Pa. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 40 A. F. Richter, Chicago, Ill. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 41 Wm. Gottlieb, Bronx, N. Y. | x | | x | x | 1.00 |
| 42 Fred Abele, Columbus, Ohio | | | | | 1.00 |
| 43 Richard Waller, Linden, N. J. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 44 Fred Gast, Milwaukee, Wis. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 45 John Pietrucci, Chicago, Ill. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 46 C. E. Zingheim, Canon City, Colo. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 47 W. Stelk, Chicago, Ill. | x | | | | 2.00 |
| 48 S. A. McKee, New Castle, Pa. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 49 A. W. Anderson, Los Angeles Calif. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 50 Jacob Axelrad, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 2.00 |
| 51 A. V. Vasely, Chicago, Ill. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 52 W. G. Short, St. Louis, Mo. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 53 No Name, Jersey City, N. J. | | | | | 1.00 |

quarters will be furnished you later
Please make no arrangements that will prevent your attending this meeting. As Comrades Hillquit and Berger will be in Europe, the attendance of all the remaining members of the committee will therefore be necessary.

Fraternally submitted,
Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

To the National Executive Committee
August 8, 1922

Dear Comrades:
I submit for vote of your committee the following

National Executive Committee
Motion No. 5

By Henry

"That the National Executive Committee inform the Socialist Party of Iowa that they immediately select a Socialist Party member to run for U. S. Senator on the Socialist ticket in the fall election, 1922."

COMMENT

"The Party position does not give a state organization the right to refrain from making nominations except under certain agreements with certain organizations. As far as has been stated, the state Party convention just simply refrained from making nomination to favor a so-called reformer.

"Every state has its political reformer as always, and if we are going to endorse them whenever they bob up we just as well quit. I can see no excuse for the actions of some of our comrades."

Vote closes August 18th. Ballot enclosed.

Fraternally submitted,
Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

August 14th, 1922

To the National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

I submit for vote of your committee, the following

National Executive Committee
Motion No. 6
By Hillquit.

"That credentials be issued to Comrade Morris Berman as a delegate of the Socialist Party to the Congress of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties to be held at Carlsbad, September 16, 1922".

COMMENT

"I understand Comrade Berman expects to sail for Europe at his own expense and to be in Carlsbad at the time of the planned Congress, and I believe that his services to the Party and his standing in it fully qualify him to represent the Party in the International

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|----|---|---|-------|
| 34 | Frank Wolf, St. Louis, Mo. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 35 | H. Pascholdt, Camden, N. J. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 36 | Samuel Goldstein, Brooklyn, N. Y. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 37 | J. H. Cook, Thomas, W. Va. | x | | x | x | 1.00 |
| 38 | Geo. M. Spector, Bronx, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 39 | Dr. I. Van Porten, no address | | 2 | x | x | 1.00 |
| 50 | A. V. Brandon, Bronx, N. Y. | | 2 | x | x | 1.00 |
| 51 | Abe Singer, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 52 | J. A. Henkensiefken, Phila., Pa. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 53 | Dr. L. Ricucci, Hoboken, N. J. | x | | | x | 2.00 |
| 54 | O. A. Kennedy, Ogden, Utah. | x | x | x | x | |
| 55 | G. F. Hempler, Davenport, Iowa | x | | x | x | |
| 56 | L. G. Wentworth, Brookline, Mass. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 57 | Leo Pyrzyblinski, Mt. Carmel, Pa. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 58 | R. C. Graft, Davenport, Iowa | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 59 | W. C. Brinkmann, St. Louis, Mo. | x | | | x | 1.00 |
| 70 | D. F. Peabody, Iola, Kansas. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 71 | Al. Hanson, Salt Lake City, Utah | | 9 | x | | 1.00 |
| 72 | Louis Simon, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 73 | P. H. Schmitt, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 74 | S. Christensen, Apache, Okla. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 75 | Fred Klinge, New York N. Y. | | x | x | x | |
| 76 | Jane Grey Allen, New York, N.Y. | | x | x | x | 10.00 |
| 77 | Leslie Thompson, Manitowoc, Wis. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 78 | J. C. Matranga, Sacramento, Calif. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 79 | Anton Army, Cleveland, Ohio | x | x | x | | 1.00 |
| 30 | Sam Meiners, Almyra, Ark. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 31 | Alb. Lange, Sheboygan, Wis. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 32 | Fred A. Diekman, Manitowoc, Wis. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 33 | Edith M. Williams, S. Byfield, Mass | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 34 | Bernard Huelster, Brooklyn, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 35 | E. W. Loomis, Delta, Coio. | x | | x | x | |
| 36 | H. M. Leach, Los Angeles, Calif. | x | | x | x | 1.00 |
| 37 | F. J. Offenburger, St. Louis, Mo. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 38 | Sam Young, Harrisburg, Pa. | x | | x | x | |
| 39 | Wm. Llewellyn, New Castle, Pa. | x | 12 | x | x | 1.00 |
| 30 | Francis Cook, Lansing, Mich. | x | 6 | x | x | |
| 91 | Chris. Behrens, Durango, Colo. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 92 | B. L. Gilbert, Durango, Colo. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 93 | Elvina S. Beals, Berkeley, Calif. | | 3 | x | | |
| 94 | J. W. Richman, Washington, D. C. | x | x | x | x | 1.00 |
| 95 | J. H. Rempel, Stirling City, Calif. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 96 | Stevan Slavko, Bethlehem, Pa. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 97 | Alice S. Eddy, Los Angeles, Calif. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 98 | N. Handelman, New York, N. Y. | x | | | | 1.00 |
| 99 | E. A. Rosenthal, New York, N. Y. | | | | | 1.00 |
| 100 | A. K. Rosenthal, New York, N.Y. | | | | | 1.00 |

gathering."

Ballot enclosed. As the time is limited, please send in your vote immediately. Closing date, Aug. 24th.

I beg to report as follows on Motion No. 4. (Executive Question) "Shall the Congressional Program proposed by Comrade Hillquit be adopted?"

Voting Yes: Henry, Maurer, Melms, Roewer, Vladeck (5)

Not Voting: Hillquit, Berger (2)

Affirmative action.

The vote closed on Saturday last, in time to include the program in the regular press service.

Fraternally submitted,
Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

(Continued on page 16)

**These comrades
have gotten
2-9-12-6-3
New Members.
—
You can surely
GET ONE
DO IT NOW**

National Constitution Socialist Party

As Amended by the National Convention at Cleveland, April, 1922.

PREAMBLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE I.

Name

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

ARTICLE II.

Membership

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

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

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

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

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

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

Application for Membership in the Socialist Party

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE III.

Management

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 2. (a) Members of the National Executive Committee may be recalled by a referendum of the members of the party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and must send them either to the state or National Office when demanded.

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

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

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

ARTICLE IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 8. (a) No funds of the National Organization shall be appropriated by the National Executive Committee for any purpose not directly connected with the propaganda of Socialism or the struggles of labor. No more than \$100 shall be appropriated to any one organization other than a sub-division of the party; and no applica-

tion for financial assistance coming from locals or other sub-divisions of state organizations shall be entertained unless they have the endorsement of the state organization.

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

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

Sec. 10. The national membership dues as provided in this constitution shall be \$1.50 per year, forty-eight cents of which is for one year's subscription to the Socialist World and thirty-six cents of which is for expenses of the national convention, and shall be so applied by the Executive Secretary.

ARTICLE V.

Executive Secretary

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

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

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

ARTICLE VI.

Representatives in Congress

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

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

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

ARTICLE VII.

Conventions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 5. Railroad fare, including tourist sleeping car fare of delegates to and from conventions, and a per diem of five dollars to cover expenses, shall be paid from the National treasury from a special convention fund to be created by setting aside three cents for each dues stamp sold by the National Office.

Sec. 6. Delegates to the national convention shall be elected by referendum vote of the members.

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

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

Sec. 8. The national convention shall have the power to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, to adopt a national platform and to transact such other business as the convention may see fit. Vacancies on the national tickets shall be filled by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 9. All national platform, amendments of platforms or constitution, and resolutions adopted by any national convention shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership:

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

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

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

Sec. 10. Any matter referred to the membership by the convention shall not be in effect until approved by the referendum vote of the membership.

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

Agenda Committee

Sec. 11. The National Executive Committee shall formulate the Agenda for the party convention. The Committee shall issue a call for resolutions and suggestions four months before the convention, allowing one month for filing of same with Committee. After preparing a preliminary Agenda based upon the material received at the expiration of the allotted time, the Committee shall send it to the subdivisions of the Party for amendment and revision, allowing one month for the same. Upon receipt of revisions, the Committee shall prepare a final draft of the Agenda which shall be sent to the party sub-divisions and submitted to the convention.

ARTICLE VIII.

State Organizations

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

Sec. 2. No state may be organized unless it has at least ten locals or an aggregate membership of not less than two hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states organized prior to the adoption of this constitution. When the membership of any state averages less than one hundred and fifty per month for any six consecutive months the National Executive Committee may revoke the charter of the state.

Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto. No state or local organization shall fuse, combine or compromise with either the democrat or republican parties or endorse candidates nominated by either of those parties.

Sec. 4. State organizations of the party may cooperate with organizations of Labor and working farmers within their state in independent political action, but such co-operation must in all cases be on the following conditions:

(a) The term "independent political action" as herein employed shall be understood to mean the nomination and election of candidates by a party of workers and farmers organized in express opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties and excluding participation in the primaries of such parties as well as voting for their candidates in public elections.

(b) That in any form of political co-operation the independence and integrity of organization and official political standing of the Socialist Party be fully preserved.

(c) The political programs and platforms adopted for such joint political action shall not be inconsistent with the platform and declaration of principles of the Socialist Party.

(d) That all co-operation of Socialist State organizations shall be object to approval by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. No member of the Socialist Party shall participate in the primaries of the Democratic or Republican parties, nor vote for or advocate voting for any candidate other than those nominated, endorsed or recommended by the Socialist Party.

Sec. 6. In states in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state organizations shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing

within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state; provided, such propaganda is in harmony with the constitution of the party; and provided also that the National Office may route organizers and lecturers direct through any state as a part of a regular organization and lecture circuit if the co-operation of the State Organization cannot be secured. Their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the National Executive Committee, its sub-committees or officers shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state organizations.

Sec. 7. (a) The State Committee shall make monthly reports to the Executive Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

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

Dues

Sec. 8. Until such time as the national membership shall total 25,000 the State and National dues paid by members of the Socialist Party shall be twenty-five cents per month of which 12½ cents shall be paid to the National Organization and 12½ to the State Organization; when the membership reaches 25,000 or more the dues shall be 20 cents per month of which the State and National organizations shall each receive 10 cents; when the membership reaches 50,000 or more the dues shall be 15 cents of which the State and National Organizations shall each receive 7½ cents; provided that local and branch organizations may charge such local and branch dues in addition to the State and National dues provided for in this section as may be decided upon by the respective local and branch organizations; and provided further that while the State dues shall in no case be less than is provided in this section that nothing in this section shall prohibit the State Organizations from increasing the state dues by action of the membership in the respective states.

(a) In those states where no State Organization exists the Locals and Branches shall pay the State dues as provided above to the National Organization.

(b) The dues of members at large in unorganized states shall be 50 cents per month.

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

Sec. 9. The National Office shall also issue to the state secretaries exempt stamps, both regular and special, free of charge, to be used by party members temporarily unable to pay dues on account of unemployment caused by sickness, strikes, lockouts or any other condition not within their control.

(a) Any member desiring to use such exempt stamps shall make application therefor to the financial secretary of his local organization, and such application shall be passed upon by such organization. Exempt stamps shall

be issued only to members in good standing who have paid dues for at least three months and who are by the same action exempt from the payment of dues to the state and local organization. The number of exempt stamps shall not exceed 10 per cent of the total number of stamps obtained by the respective state organizations. The acceptance of exempt stamps by any member shall in no way disqualify such member from any rights and privileges of party membership.

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

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

Sec. 10. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

Sec. 11. No person shall be nominated or indorsed by any sub-division of the party for candidate for public office unless he is a member of the party and has been such for at least two years, except with the consent of the state organization. But this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than two years.

Sec. 12. When a controversy exists in a state organization, the Executive Secretary shall continue to pay dues stamps to the Secretary recognized by him before such controversy is officially brought before him, until a state referendum has decided otherwise. He shall take no action except on petition of ten per cent of the locals (but not less than three locals), which must be located in different localities, appearing on the last official list filed with him by the State Secretary at least three months prior to controversy, and then only if there is doubt as to who is State Secretary. In such case he shall hold a referendum of those locals reported on the last official list to determine who is State Secretary. The individual signed ballots in such referendum shall be sent to the Executive Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

International Secretary and Delegates

Sec. 1. The National Convention shall elect an International Secretary who shall serve until the next convention and until his successor is elected.

Sec. 2. The National Executive Committee is empowered to elect delegates to International Conferences.

Sec. 3. The International Secretary and International delegates must have been members of the party for at least three years at the time of their election. The expense of the delegates and a per diem equal to the per diem fixed for the delegates to the National Convention shall be paid from the National Treasury.

ARTICLE X.

Foreign Speaking Organizations

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

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

shall make a report thereon to the Executive Secretary of the party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 10. Each national federation shall be entitled to elect one representative to meet with the National Executive Committee of the party. Such representative to have a voice but no vote in all proceedings of the committee. Each national federation shall also be entitled to elect one fraternal delegate to the National Conventions of the party: provided that such delegate shall have a voice but no vote. He shall receive railroad fare and per diem from the party the same as regular delegates.

ARTICLE XI.

Socialist Parties in Insular Possessions

Sec. 1. Socialist Party organizations in the insular possessions of the United States desiring to affiliate with the Socialist Party of the United States may be admitted as an integral part of the Socialist Party by subscribing to the constitution and platform of the Socialist Party and in all their activities conforming to the principles of the party.

Sec. 2. They shall pay a per capita tax to the party equal to one cent per month for each member in good standing.

Sec. 3. They shall be entitled to one delegate to the National Conventions of the party, but the expense of such delegate shall be paid by the party in the respective colony or insular possession.

ARTICLE XII.

Young People's Socialist League

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

Sec. 2. The organization work within the states shall be conducted by the various divisions of the Young

People's Socialist League under the supervision of the respective state organizations of the party.

Sec. 3. The National Executive Committee shall issue a voluntary assessment stamp which shall be sold for twenty-five cents. The money received from the sale of these stamps shall be used for the issuance of a Y. P. S. L. bulletin or for other purposes designed to build up the Y. P. S. L. in the various states.

Sec. 4. In those states having recognized state organizations of the Y. P. S. L., twenty cents from each assessment stamp sold within those states shall be paid to the respective state organizations of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 5. The various State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall be chosen by the Y. P. S. L. and approved by the Socialist Party.

Sec. 6. Members of the Y. P. S. L. under twenty-one years of age must upon attaining the age of twenty-one become members of the Socialist Party or withdraw from membership in the League. No applicant for membership in the Y. P. S. L. between the age of twenty-one and twenty-five shall be admitted unless a member of the Party.

Sec. 7. Members of the Y. P. S. L. who are also members of the Socialist Party shall be exempt from the payment of State and National party dues. The National Executive Committee shall issue a special dues stamp which shall be identical with the regular dues stamp except that there shall be printed thereon the words "Dual Membership—Y. P. S. L."

Such stamps shall be furnished to the State and Local organizations free of charge and shall be sold by the Local to the Branches for an amount equal to the Local dues. Branch secretaries shall sell such stamps to their members only upon presentation of a paid up membership card in the Y. P. S. L., for an amount equal to the combined dues of the Branch and Local.

Sec. 8. The branches of the Y. P. S. L. shall be under the jurisdiction of the City, County, or State Organizations of the Socialist Party, and must in all cases work in harmony with the constitution and platform of the City, County, or State Organization of the Party.

Sec. 9. Every State, City, and County organization of the Party shall elect at least one member to represent the Socialist Party in the respective State, City and County organization of the Y. P. S. L. Such party representative to have a voice and vote in all affairs concerning the Y. P. S. L.

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

Sec. 11. The Y. P. S. L. shall pay monthly to the National Office a sum equal to five cents for each member in good standing within their respective states, for which they shall receive dues stamps or other valid receipt for dues. Only dues stamps issued by the National Office shall be considered as a valid receipt for dues.

Sec. 12. The State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall issue a quarterly report to the National Secretary of the Y. P. S. L. concerning the membership, financial condition and general standing of the Circles in their respective states. Said reports to be published in Party or Y. P. S. L. bulletin.

Sec. 13. The Y. P. S. L. shall be entitled to one Delegate, having a voice but no vote, to the National Convention of the Socialist Party. Said delegate shall receive

railroad fare and per diem from the Party the same as regular delegates.

Sec. 14. The National Director of the Y. P. S. L. shall conduct referendum for the election of the fraternal delegate to national conventions of the party.

ARTICLE XIII.

General Provisions

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 2. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open ninety days from the date of first publication, and, if it has not then received

the requisite number of seconds, it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 8. Delegates to International, National, State and Local Congresses and members of executive and other governing committees of the Party, in National, State and local organizations must be citizens of the United States, and in continuous good standing in the party for at least three years provided such organizations have been organized for such time.

(Continued from page 9)

August 19, 1922

To the National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

I beg to report as follows:
National Executive Committee
Motion No. 5
By Henry

Submitted, August 8. Vote closed,
August 18.

"That the National Executive Committee inform the Socialist Party of Iowa that they immediately select a Socialist Party member to run for U. S. Senator on the Socialist Party ticket in the fall election, 1922."

Voting Yes: Henry, Hillquit, Maurer, Roewer (4)

Voting No: Melms (1)
Not heard from: Berger, Vladeck (2)

Affirmative action.
* * *

I have received the following telegram from Comrade Hillquit:

"Adler cables Carlsbad Congress is called off. Inform Berger immediately."

Fraternally submitted,
Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

To the National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

I beg to report as follows:
On National Executive Committee
Motion No. 6
By Hillquit.

CIRCULATE

The

Congressional Program

FOUR PAGE

LEAFLET

Price

25 CENTS PER 100

\$2.00 PER 1000

\$1.75 PER 1000 IN

LOTS OF 5000

OR MORE

Submitted August 14th. Vote closed
August 24th.

"That credentials be issued to Comrade Morris Berman as a delegate of the Socialist Party to the Congress of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties to be held at Carlsbad, September 16, 1922."

Voting Yes: Hillquit, Berger, Henry, Maurer, Melms, Roewer, Vladeck.
Unanimously Adopted.

Fraternally yours

Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

"The 'statement' being circulated that I have no connection with the magazine that bears my name does harm and injustice both to myself and to the Editors of the Magazine."

"Since my release from prison I have been the Chief Contributing Editor of the 'Debs Magazine' and shall continue to be so."

"I am in constant touch with its editors and am very much interested in its success as a propaganda organ."

(Signed) Eugene V. Debs