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SOCIALIST WORLD

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OUR MOST PRESSING DEMANDS

A Christmas Message from Eugene V. Debs

It is only from a deep sense of duty that I venture to claim the attention of our party members at this time. Recovery from my recent attack of illness has been somewhat slow and I am still confined to my room, bearing with such patience as I can the enforced interruption of the work that lies nearest to my heart. I am sure the comrades know that my weakness is entirely of a physical nature. There can never be any faltering of the spirit in any true comrade, and the situation is trying enough, as the experience of some of us older members proves, when the spirit is so ardent, so militant and eager to serve, while the flesh, worn to the limit, lags and holds back and pleads for more time for recuperation.

But my voice can never be that of weakness, or of pessimism or despair. I am fettered for the moment, held prisoner for a time, but I shall recover myself after a period of release and needed treatment, and take up the work again my heart is in, and without which there would be little worth dreaming of, little to set ideals aglow, and little or nothing to challenge manhood and high resolve, and to fight for in the battle of life.

Since I am now unable to mingle with our comrades who are fighting so bravely in these testing days to rebuild the party; since I cannot make my appeal direct, as I have been making it these many years in all the states of the union, I am taking this means of addressing our members upon the one subject of the most vital interest to me and, as I believe, to the Socialist movement at this time. The rebuilding of the Socialist Party, clean and un-

compromising in spirit and purpose, and upon a bed-rock foundation, is today the work of most pressing need and importance to the American workers.

The Socialist Party has from its very beginning been the party of the working class, has championed its interests and fought its battles with unwavering courage and loyalty. It is true that it has made mistakes, which is also true of every other party in the world, but it has maintained its working class integrity and has never in a single instance failed the workers in their strikes, their boycotts and lock-outs, and in all their struggles to shorten their hours, better their condition, and emancipate their class from industrial servitude.

When the great war was precipitated by the murder masters who rule capitalist society, the Socialist Party was the one and only party that stepped boldly to the front and with the courage of its honest convictions declared that menacing massacre a monstrous crime against the human race. The lightning thus defied struck at once, and from that hour all the powers of capitalism, aroused to a pitch of insane fury, combined against it and decreed the destruction of the Socialist Party. The party had taken its stand squarely upon the side of the conscripted workers who were swept into the red hell, and not a few of whom succumbed to the hysteria which seized upon the nation, and with the common enemy turned upon the party that alone stood like granite to save them from slaughter and

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THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

NOW FOR AMNESTY

The Espionage Act Must Be Repealed

By Emil Herman

All right thinking people will rejoice at the announcement that the last of the political prisoners are about to be released.

The danger now is that many will by this act be lulled to sleep, entirely oblivious of the fact that persistent work.

Let it not be forgotten that *amnesty* means a restoration to the status held prior to conviction—and that a commutation of sentence does not. No political prisoners have been pardoned. All have been released on commutations and are, therefore, felons still, deprived of many civil and political rights. **GET INTO THE FIGHT FOR AMNESTY.**

Some will argue that there are statutory provisions by which political prisoners may have their rights restored. TRUE, several years after release from prison, a felon may apply to the Department of (in) Justice to have his rights restored, but who among the political prisoners will do that?—None. Who would want them to do that?—None, save those who do not know what it is to fight for principle and ideals.

For the same reason that political prisoners, almost without exception, refused to apply for clemency to procure release from prison, they must and WILL now refuse to beg for a restoration of their civil and political rights. To do otherwise would be to admit the moral turpitude which is supposed to be proven by every conviction of felony. Principle, then, would have to be thrown to the winds and we have to accept as a fact that it is Moral Turpitude to be opposed to the murderous violence and destruction of war.

AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST RESULT FROM INTELLIGENT STRUGGLE ON THE PART OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION, and not as a result of the individual applications on the part of those who were victimized under the UNCONSTITUTIONAL Espionage Act.

GET INTO THE FIGHT FOR AMNESTY.

At the same time let us remember that the Espionage Act has NOT been repealed but has merely been declared inoperative during times of peace. Should war again be declared, the Espionage Act would immediately and automatically become operative and our prisons again would be filled with men and women who dared to be active in the Industrial and Political organizations of Labor, and those who expressed opinions opposed to war. Therefore, in addition to the fight for Amnesty, we must put forth our best efforts for the **REPEAL OF THE ESPIONAGE ACT.**

Also, we must not forget that Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the victims of the Centralia Armistice Day assault, by the minions of the Lumber Trust, are still behind the bars—and that in California, right now, almost one hundred men are serving long terms in prison for no other reason than that they belong to a labor union.

"COME EVERY HONEST LAD AND LASS" AND EVERY OTHER REAL MAN AND WOMAN—get into the fight for Amnesty, the repeal of the Espionage Act, the release of class-war prisoners and the repeal of all State Criminal Syndicalist Acts.

This much we **MUST** do in order to vindicate the judgment of the revolutionary founders of this Republic who wrote the first amendment into the constitution of our country with their blood. Were they justified in their faith that religious tolerance, freedom of speech and of press, the right to peaceably assemble and to appeal for redress of grievances would not again be crushed under the rule of tyrants? **IT IS FOR US TO ANSWER—"BY THEIR DEEDS YE SHALL KNOW THEM."**

Union, Maine,
Dec. 5, 1923.

Dear Comrades:

Tell Comrade Debs that we are clearing "stump land" here in the state of Mine, and this proceeding is slow. We have organized three Finnish locals this fall and have new members in our local. We have sent to the organization fund \$50.00 and New England District \$30.00, and more than that for Finnish work. Altogether about \$10.00 for every member that we have in our local. This is about all we can do this fall.

In January we plan to start distributing some leaflets to English-speaking farmers. (We are all farmers.)

Your fraternally,

Matt Laitala

(Continued from page 1)

destruction. In this ordeal of fire it is not strange that there were many desertions, that trials and troubles of all kinds, within as well as without, should beset the embattled membership that refused to compromise or surrender, and that the party was reduced to a mere fraction of its former formidable strength and numbers. But while the membership was decimated, the unconquerable spirit survived, and now that the war is over and the world is seeking to restore itself to such sanity and order as are possible under the prevailing insane and disorderly system, the Socialist Party, true to the faith in itself and in its historic mission that has kept it alive, is again at work with renewed energy and determination to rebuild upon a more solid foundation and make itself stronger and fitter than ever before to serve as the political weapon of the workers in their struggle for industrial freedom.

This great work of party building, so vitally urgent at this hour, cannot be accomplished by a few only and pleads trumpet-tongued for the active and enthusiastic co-operation of us all. It is in this great work that I take the liberty to invite the comrades who have not yet taken hold to join us, that its success may be assured beyond all doubt in the very near future.

We are soon to enter upon a presidential year and the Socialist Party should be in a position to stand full panoplied upon the threshold of that campaign, armed and equipped with all its mental and moral resources to challenge the enemy and to wager with bold and inspiring intrepidity the battle of the workers for industrial liberation.

What can you do, dear comrade, to help in this supremely important task? You can secure a new member, preferably one who has not before belonged to the party, or you can get a new subscriber to some Socialist paper, or, better still, you can do both and repeat the process as often as your time and means will permit.

There is not one of us who cannot add at least one new member to our rolls and one new subscriber to our press.

To build up the party means also to build up the press, just as building up the press means the building of the party.

These twin duties go hand in hand. We shall never have a real movement until we have a press of our own to speak our word, deliver our message, and fight our battles.

This then is the thing I am asking each member of the party to do for me this holiday season. I wish no other gift and I ask that none other be sent

me. To comrades who are kind and generous enough to wish to send me a personal gift I beg to return my thanks as if the gift had already been sent, accepting the will for the deed, and asking that such gift be sent to some poor person who needs it while I do not, and the sending to whom will be as a tenfold gift to me.

Sufficient unto me is the love and goodwill of my comrades. That I confess I wish above all else, on condition, however, that I may feel that I have in some small measure earned it and that I am not entirely undeserving of such a rich and satisfying possession.

With deep affection, hearty greetings and loyal devotion to all our comrades, and earnestly hoping the coming year may see our party rise to unprecedented power and prestige and realize our highest hopes and our noblest aspirations, I am, as ever,

Yours fraternally,

Eugene V. Debs.

A NEW SOCIALIST WEEKLY

By James Oneal

For more than a year Socialists in many states of the east have been urging the Socialists of New York to publish a weekly Socialist propaganda paper and party organ that would represent the Socialist Party. This need became more pronounced after the New York Call was transferred to the trade unions. It became a continuous demand since The Leader, which succeeded The Call, failed.

After a number of conferences of members of the Socialist Party in the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, it became evident that there is a big demand for a Socialist Party weekly. These conferences led to the appointment of committees to consider every aspect of the proposal and finally to the decision to organize a publishing company to bring out the paper.

The New York comrades can now definitely announce that the new weekly will appear the first week of January. It will be an 8-page paper, combining popular Socialist propaganda with that of a definite party organ supporting the Socialist Party and interpreting the news of the week from the standpoint of Socialist philosophy. The features of the new weekly, which is to be known as "The New Leader", will be several pages devoted to the current news of the week that is of importance to the Socialist movement. One page will be devoted to important books and another to the news of the

Socialist movement in all countries. Special attention will be given to the Socialist Party and its activities in the United States, serving to aid the party and increase its membership wherever "The Leader" is read.

An attempt will be made to keep its readers informed of the best articles that are appearing in the current magazines. A forum will be maintained for the discussion of questions of interest to Socialists and Socialist sympathizers. A staff of contributors is being assembled and their special articles will be a feature of the new publication. The object is to combine good propaganda for making Socialists with material that will make a more powerful Socialist movement, a paper that every Socialist will feel that he must have and that every other reader will feel that he cannot do without.

"The New Leader" will fight for the Socialist Party without any reservations. It will seek to inspire Socialists with the remarkable record of the party in its position on the World War and its avoidance of illusions after the war ended.

Our capitalist enemies with their "liberal" allies waged war for "democracy." The Socialist Party challenged this. It opposed this as either hypocrisy or illusion. The party suffered but it has been proven right.

Then there were those who saw the "revolution at our doors. They left us. They prepared for the "great day." It never came. Sixteen Communist organizations were organized in four years! In underground caverns—caves and cellars they gathered, accompanied by the police. Their romance was exploded in the midnight gathering in the sand dunes of Michigan. Like all ultra-revolutionists, they have now become the most dangerous of opportunists, seeking any alliance that will save them.

The Socialist Party was also right in refusing to follow these Utopians in their case of the unattainable. But in the west they still tell their fairy tales about the Socialist Party. Now and then it will be necessary to deal with some of these tales, but not often. The big mission of "The New Leader" is to carry Socialist propaganda into the dark places, to inspire supporters of the Socialist Party with enthusiasm regarding its past record and its future possibilities and to rebuild the local and state organizations.

"The New Leader" will not compete with any daily or weekly Socialist paper. It will supplement them. It will have a national character while the others are chiefly local. It will encourage comrades to build up their own publications while supporting "The New Leader."

What is more, the Socialist Party must inspire its members with self-respect. Various movements and individuals with hazy views have hung on to the fringe of the Socialist Party. They have attempted to dilute its philosophy and blur its aims. Near-radicals, hazy "progressives", dubious "liberals" and a motley collection of new cults have been spawned by the World War. Aimless and going they know not where, "sweet souls" looking for a Messiah, they have looked with compassion on Socialists for a number of years. They have so much to unlearn and so much yet to learn—yet they want to teach us!

"The New Leader" will also serve to bring clarity where this confusion prevails and to inspire Socialists everywhere with the view that the Socialist movement is not in need of these strange cults and their stranger views.

"The New Leader" will appear early in January. Its rates will be five cents a copy on newsstands; one year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.25; three months, 75c. Agents are wanted in all the states. Comrades who are interested cannot afford to miss a single number. Special rates are made to agents of "The New Leader." All correspondence regarding the new Socialist weekly should be addressed to THE NEW LEADER, the People's House, Room 507, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

A Last Warning?

The outbreak of open revolution is bringing home to the world the irresistible fact that Germany is in the process of rapid dissolution. Innumerable warnings have been uttered from time to time during the last four years from responsible quarters whose words seemed to fall upon deaf ears. The disastrous process was set going at the moment the Versailles Treaty was imposed upon a defeated Germany.

There can be no doubt that given tolerable conditions in which to attempt to re-establish the shattered political and economic fabric of the State, Germany would have succeeded in her endeavours to restore something approaching normal healthy life. But this is precisely what France was determined to prevent. She has done everything in her power to keep Germany crushed. She had no desire to see an industrious and solvent Germany rise up out of the debris of defeat.

Every sanction provided by the Treaty has been used to harass the political leaders and to disorganize the industrial life of the new Republic. Openly or covertly separatist designs have been encoura-

ged, and the latest adventure in the Rhineland has only been possible because of the protection afforded by French and Belgian bayonets.

The political and economic structure of post-war Germany, having been undermined by foreign agencies, is now the object of attack by the irreconcilable forces which represent the state of internal disunion—monarchists, avaricious industrialists, and revolutionary communists. It is the Allies, and particularly France, who carry the chief burden of responsibility for the revolutionary atmosphere that has been engendered. They could scarcely have rendered greater assistance to the monarchist reactionaries and their industrial auxiliaries if their policy had been deliberately and avowedly designed to secure a restoration of the old regime, to destroy which was one of the declared objects of the war.

A disarmed German democracy has experienced nothing but hostility and oppression from the Western democracies, and it would hardly be surprising if this were to lead to a revulsion of feeling in favour of a militarist Empire, which, when it existed before, was certainly able to protect its citizens from outside attack until it began its own mad march against the world.

The vain dream of the monarchists has become a feasible proposition because of the disastrous betrayal of democracy at Versailles. The early dis-

appearance of the German Reich, the dissolution of its post-war political ties, and the break-up of its industrial and economic system seem almost inevitable because of the vindictive spirit which was shown by all the Allies some of the time and by some of the Allies all the time since the war ended.

Is it to be wondered at that General Smuts, the chief representative of a self-governing community that is the outstanding illustration of the wisdom of a defeated people being justly treated by the victors, should have been impelled to denounce in the most vigorous terms the reckless handwork of the statesmen who dominate Europe? General Smuts warned the world that it was no use resorting to a process of patching, of temporising, of playing with the dreadful reality which has already made possible the slow, steady, fatal deterioration of conditions all round.

A thorough overhauling of the position is wanted. A radical reconsideration and where necessary, revision of existing arrangements are overdue. The only real hope for the future is a clean break with the past, and a concerted effort made in a spirit of peace and understanding to avert the destruction that threatens to engulf all, and to restore the conditions of a healthy life to Europe.

Labor Press Service (England)

MEMORANDUM

Explaining the Bill to establish a Credit in Raw Material and Food for Germany in Order to Revive Business and Trade there.

Germany is starving. A nation which ten years ago counted 70,000,000 people—and was considered one of the most prosperous and most progressive and most powerful of the world—is now in the grip of hunger. Reliable authorities say that three-fourths of the German people never get enough to eat and that from ten to twenty millions are in danger of dying from lack of food.

This is an appalling situation. All of Europe is facing a similar danger, because Germany is a vital part of Europe.

I am satisfied that the frightful crisis in Germany can be relieved at once, if we put Germany into a condition to help herself. And that is the purpose

of this bill, which is to establish a credit for Germany of one billion dollars in food and raw material without the outlay of actual money—in other words to permit the use of our credit to a certain extent for the revival of Germany industry.

If this proposition is carried out it will cost our Government nothing or next to nothing. But it will furnish Germany with one billion dollars worth of raw material and food. It will give Germany the capital with which to put her people to work and lay the foundation for a new prosperity—and it will help our farmers, our cotton growers, and our meat producers—and on the other hand our Government is absolutely safeguarded and secured against any possible loss.

Senator Lenroot's bill to have our country donate \$20,000,000 to Germany is undoubtedly a humane measure. The proposition—while involving a considerable tax on our treasury—means less than thirty cents per head of the German people. This will relieve the situation very little, of course.

The fact remains that no nation can be kept alive

by charity, and least of all a nation still numbering 60,000,000 people who are accustomed to work and support themselves in good style.

If this credit bill, however, is adopted by Congress it will mean that the credit of a billion dollars can be paid for and be turned over three times annually, so that during a five years' term it would be equivalent to a credit of fifteen billion dollars and would go far towards rehabilitating industry in Germany. And it would mean business which our farmers and manufacturers would be getting without en-

tailing any funds of the United States.

The carrying out of this plan will not only revive Germany, all of Europe, but its effects will be very largely felt also in Great Britain and more than anywhere, in the United States.

It is an absolutely safe plan. It involves no cash outlay. And it will be continuously under the supervision of our Government. I cannot see any reason why it should not be adopted. I hope and expect that it will be adopted.

Victor L. Berger.

A CONSTRUCTIVE RELIEF MEASURE

A BILL

(H. R. No. 4081)

*Introduced in Congress by Victor L. Berger
December 17, 1923*

Establishing a Revolving Guarantee Fund not to Exceed one Billion (\$1,000,000,000) Dollars and to Provide for Security and Indemnity to the United States Government Against Liability on Account Thereof

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

Sec. 1. — In order to stimulate trade between producers and manufacturers resident and transacting business in the United States and in the Republic of Germany and the citizens and residents thereof there engaged in business, and to assist in relieving the existing distress in Germany and the impending economic chaos in that country, a revolving guarantee by the United States of America which shall at no one time exceed an aggregate liability on the part the latter of One Billion (\$1,000,000,000) dollars, is hereby created, undertaken and assumed by the Government of the United States of America subject to the terms, conditions and restrictions contained in this Act.

Sec. 2. — Within thirty days after notice by the Republic of Germany to the Government of the United States that the requirements of Section 6 of this Act have been complied with by the Republic of Germany the President shall, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint a Commission consisting of five persons, citizens and residents of the United States (hereinafter collectively referred to as the "Commission" and separately referred to as a "Commissioner") each of whom shall hold office for five years from the date this law takes effect and who shall be subject to removal only by a majority vote of the Senate.

In the event of the death, resignation or removal

of any Commissioner his successor and the successors of such successor shall likewise be appointed by the President with the like advice and consent of the Senate to hold office for the balance of the unexpired term of the predecessor of such Commissioner.

The Commission shall from time to time in its discretion choose a Chairman from among its members, by a majority vote of its membership, who shall hold that office at the pleasure of the Commission.

The annual salary of each of the Commissioners shall be Ten thousand (\$10,000.) dollars and the Chairman shall receive additional compensation at the rate of Two thousand five hundred (\$2,500.) dollars per annum, which sums, together with all costs, salaries and expenses connected with the administration of the provisions of this Act, shall be payable from and out of a fund to be secured and accumulated for that purpose as provided in Section Seven of this Act.

Sec. 3. — *Powers of the Commission.*

(a) The acts and resolutions of a majority of the Commission shall be deemed the acts and resolutions of the Commission.

(b) It may enact, and from time to time repeal, amend or modify by-laws, rules and regulations for the conduct of its affairs and that of its respective members as such and with respect to its obligations to and relations with those with whom it may have business relations. All such by-laws, rules and regulations shall have the same force and effect and shall be enforceable in like manner as though expressly embodied and enumerated in this Act.

(c) It may in its discretion from time to time appoint one or more secretaries, assistant secretaries and other officers and such foreign and domestic agents, experts, counsel, attorneys, clerks and assistants, for fixed terms or subject to its pleasure, as provided by its by-laws or as it may in its judgment require, any and all of whom it may remove at will,

and may generally enter into such contracts or other commitments involving the conduct of its business as the Commission shall approve.

(d) Whenever and as often as the German Commission provided for by Section Six hereof shall certify to the Commission its approval of any purchase or proposed contract or order for purchase in the United States by any merchant, dealer or manufacturer resident in Germany and the shipment from the United States to Germany of any raw materials, agricultural or other products or merchandise, owned, sold or dealt in by any resident of the United States, specifying the name and residence of the proposed purchaser resident in Germany and of the vendor in the United States, certifying in detail the character, extent, price, and terms thereof and of the security that is tendered therefor, and that the Republic of Germany has guaranteed to the vendor and assigns of such vendor the payment of the purchase price therefor at maturity and has undertaken through the German Commission or otherwise to protect and safeguard the security that is thus offered, the Commission shall determine upon the acceptability of the proposal after such investigation as it may see fit to make.

If the Commission be of the opinion that the terms of the proposed transaction are fair and just and that the security offered by the purchaser—supplemented by the guaranty of the Republic of Germany—reasonably adequate to protect the United States Government from loss on account of such transaction or that for other good and sufficient reasons the same should be concluded as being within the intent of this Act it shall so certify to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall there upon make give or endorse the negotiable guaranty of the United States upon the obligation, in such form as the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commission shall approve. Such guaranty may be an undertaking on the part of the Government of the United States in general terms to pay to the purchaser his nominees or assigns the face amount of such obligation or any deficiency thereof that may remain after appropriating toward the satisfaction of the obligation the proceeds derived from the sale of the security (if any) applicable thereto and after exhausting all other legal remedies for the payment thereof.

The Commission may undertake or require the purchaser to undertake the enforcement of all security and other remedies for the payment of the obligation before resorting to the Guaranty Fund hereby provided for the payment thereof.

Whenever any raw materials that are intended for use for manufacturing purposes in German mills

or factories are involved in the purchase, such security shall, wherever found by the Commission to be practicable, include a first lien upon the finished product into the manufacture of which such raw materials have entered, such liens to be evidenced, held and enforced in such manner as the Commission may determine.

Sec. 4. — The obligations of the German purchasers of such materials or merchandise may at the option of the vendors or of the Commission take the form of sight or time acceptances or drafts drawn by the purchasers, or may be in such other form of obligation as shall be approved by the Commission.

Upon the failure of any purchaser to meet his obligation at maturity, after exhausting the security, if any, held therefor, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon the certificate of the Commission of the amount owing on account of such purchase and on being satisfied that the Commission has been duly subrogated to the rights of the vendor, pay the amount thereof to the vendor or to his assignee or nominee for and out of the revolving Guaranty Fund hereby created. Provided, however, that in no event shall there be at any one time outstanding actual or contingent obligations on account of such guaranty exceeding in the aggregate the sum of One Billion (\$1,000,000,000.) dollars.

Sec. 5. — The Commission is hereby empowered to sell, assign, transfer, hypothecate or otherwise dispose of or deal with any obligations that may come into its hands and to bring, maintain and prosecute suits in any domestic or foreign jurisdiction to recover any moneys that may be owing on account of such obligations. Such suits shall be instituted and prosecuted in the name of the then Chairman of the Commission on behalf of the Commission. The property recovered shall be converted into cash, and all such cash and the proceeds of such property shall be paid by the Commission to the Secretary of the Treasury to be turned into the Treasury of the United States and applied as against the expenditures authorized by this Act.

All such credits may be taken into account in determining the limitation of the revolving Guaranty Fund hereby created.

Sec. 6. — This Act shall not take effect unless and until the Republic of Germany shall have lawfully and effectively agreed, in a form satisfactory to the Commission, to hold and keep indemnified and harmless the United States of America from; against and on account of all debts, liabilities and obligations assumed hereunder, nor until it shall have appointed a Commission (herein referred to as the German Commission) of such number and personnel as it may determine and as shall be ap-

proved by the Commission, whose duty it shall be, among other things, to investigate in the first instance all applications by its citizens and residents transacting business in Germany for the privilege of purchasing materials and for the guaranty thereof under the provisions of this Act and to report its approval, disapproval or recommendation thereon to the Commission; to receive, safeguard and hold subject to the order and for the benefit of the Commission such collateral or other security, if any, as may be required by the Commission to be furnished as a guaranty on purchases of materials made hereunder.

The German Commission shall be empowered from time to time, on the demand of the Commission or of its authorized agents and representatives in Germany; to prosecute and enforce the collection of such collateral or security by legal, administrative or other proceedings in the Republic of Germany either in its own name or on behalf of the Commission, but for the benefit of the latter, at the option of the latter and the German Commission shall, whenever so requested by the Commission, prosecute such proceedings as may be directed or approved by the latter for the collection thereof, and shall pay over the proceeds thereof to the Commission or its authorized agents and representatives as from time to time directed by the Commission. The German Commission shall be invested with such other powers and shall be subject to such restrictions as may be agreed between the Republic of Germany and the Commission.

Sec. 7. — For the purpose of defraying the expenditures or liabilities that may be incurred by the United States Government in administering the provisions of this Act and of further indemnifying it against loss the Commission is hereby authorized to impose and collect from each purchaser of materials in connection with each purchase for whose account the particular obligation is incurred or endorsed and on all renewals of such obligation a charge or fee to be paid by the purchaser not to exceed one-half of one per cent of the face amount of the obligation so guaranteed.

From and out of the fees so to be collected the Commission shall make the expenditures provided for by Sections Two and Three of this Act, and may appropriate and apply the balance of such fees or charges so collected, insofar as the same may be necessary, to satisfy and make good any losses that may be suffered by the United States Government on account of such revolving Guaranty.

Sec. 8. — On the first Tuesday of January, 1925, and yearly thereafter the Commission shall make and submit to the Congress a full and detailed

report of all its transactions, accompanied by such recommendations as it may deem advisable. It may also submit to the Congress interim or intermediate reports of its activities, with recommendations, whenever in its judgment warranted by circumstances.

Sec. 9. — This Act shall take effect immediately and shall continue for the term of five years from the date its operation goes into effect by compliance by the Republic of Germany with the provisions of Section Six hereof. At the termination of said period of five years the power of the Commission to guarantee obligations hereunder shall cease. The Commission shall nevertheless continue in existence so long thereafter as may be necessary for the purpose of liquidating its affairs and shall continue to exercise the powers hereby delegated to it for all such purposes of liquidation. All suits or other proceedings that may be instituted by it after the expiration of said term shall continue to be prosecuted in the name of the Chairman in Liquidation, and all suits and proceedings against the Commission may be prosecuted during the term of this Act and thereafter against such Chairman as representing the Commission in Liquidation.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has voted to conduct a vigorous campaign in support of the Berger resolution. Everyone should join forces with Congressman Berger. The resolution has been referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Unless pressure is brought to bear upon the members of that committee, it may be ignored. Only public opinion can force a reluctant committee of Congress to act. Write to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Tell them you want early action, favorable action, on House Resolution No. 4081 by Congressman Victor L. Berger for the relief of starving Germany. Following are the names of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. "House Office Building, Washington, D. C." is sufficient address.

Stephen G. Porter (Chairman) Pa.; John Jacob Rogers, Mass.; Henry W. Temple, Pa.; Edward E. Browne, Wis.; Merrill Moores, Ind.; James T. Begg, Ohio; Henry Allen Cooper, Wis.; Theodore E. Burton, Ohio; Benjamin L. Fairchild, N. Y.; Hamilton Fish, Jr., N. Y.; Cyrenus Cole, Iowa; Richard Aldrich, R. I.; J. Charles Linthicum, Md.; Charles M. Stedman, N. C.; Tom Connally, Texas; R. Walton Moore, Va.; Ross A. Collins, Miss.; Martin L. Davey, Ohio; David J. O'Connell, N. Y.; Robert H. Clancy, Mich.; William N. Rogers, N. H.

PROSPERITY AND HARD TIMES

(Continued from December Issue)
Our Greatest National Sport
 By August Claessens

Electing Presidents and then "cussin" them; lauding them with extravagant praise, if good times prevail during their terms of office, and razzing them with bitter blame if a panic or an industrial depression comes instead—that's our greatest national sport.

Our fool public sweetly ignores the fact that hard times have come within the terms of intelligent Presidents and good times have smiled upon us under mediocre and dull ones. Furthermore, they forget that periods of prosperity and depressions follow each other with a regularity almost as certain as the phases of the moon. Between 1819 and 1923 eight financial crises and industrial depressions visited us. History records 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1894, 1907, 1913 and 1920 as years of economic panic, chaos and misery.

These eight periods of hard times came in intervals of an average of twelve and a half years. Since 1884 they have come at considerably shorter intervals—approximately eight and a half years. If we continue at this rate of progress the inevitable phases of business boom and blow-up will be upon us so frequently that every sensible person will be compelled to challenge the further existence of capitalism and its doubtful blessing.

Let us briefly review the history of business conditions in this country during the last 34 years. During this spell we were favored with four fine economic smash-ups—and they came within the terms of four more or less popular Presidents.

PERSPIRATION

We begin our survey with a period of good times. Popular opinion names this seemingly happy condition Prosperity. In behalf of the working people it should be called Perspiration! When times are good the workers perspire. "Produce more! Speed up! Turn out more goods! Increase production—that's our only salvation!"—shout our grand chorus of Babbitts from their Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturer's Associations, and their Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs. Statesmen and politicians, press and pulpit join in the d'n. The mad frenzy of boom times hypnotizes the multitudes into a fever of business activity and speculation. Farmers and wage-earners are caught in the tornado and whirled along in the excitement. The lure of good prices and

high wages entice them into hard work and long hours. And they sweat and sweat and then some. Suddenly an ominous calm intrudes. A sickening stillness in the air and a weakening in the voices of the boomers spread the suspicion that the prosperity is nearing its end. Then follows the grand collapse, the shutdown of industries, the lay-off of millions of toilers and the conclusion of their period of perspiration. "Yes, We have no Jobs." Your Service no Longer Required." "Part Time and Low Wages or No Time and No Wages"—become the popular lyrics of the day.

In 1889 there existed fairly good times, and they continued into 1890. Then followed a sudden stillness and business crept along on all fours through 1891 and 1892. In 1893 it approached the precipice and fell over, and in 1894 it landed in the bottom of the chasm of general bankruptcy. Explanations, charges and counter-charges, howls of rage and unlimited "cussin" rent the air. Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party, then at the helm of the ship, were blamed for piloting it upon the rocks. The indignant public cursed this crew and swore for revenge. They voted the "Jackass Party" into retirement and installed the great "Elephant" into power.

Our economic illness dragged on through 1895. Convalescence in '96. Fresh start again in '97. Up and at them in '98 and once again boom times. Of course, the Spanish-American War helped. War generally does. When slaughtering of human beings and vast destruction of property stalk in on our humdrum existence, business picks up like a balloon and soars toward heavenly heights. Hurrah for War! Three cheers for Prosperity! To the Devil with peace, brotherliness, love and co-operation! These are rotten conditions for gross speculation and large scale profiteering!

Good times raced on through '99 and 1900. In 1901 and '02 came a slowing down. Then we rambled along at a cautious gait in 1903 and '04, and eventually struck another queer snag in 1905.

Came that awful calm in 1906, and then over the brink and down into the abyss in a glorious smash-up in 1907. Once more the angry multitude split the air with accusations and curses. This time the target of their abuse was no less a man than the strenuous Theodore Roosevelt, captain of the ship

of State with the Republican Party and its budding progressives on board. But this crew had the same unfortunate luck as had Cleveland and the Democrats in 1893 and '94.

Political panic followed economic chaos and in the elections of 1908 safe, sane and fat Wm. H. Taft crowded into the Presidential chair. Business conditions recovered in 1909, and without great excitement they rambled along at a fair pace through 1910 and '11. But it was painfully slow going and over flat and unstimulating country. In 1912 came the yearning for the "New Freedom" and Woodrow Wilson mounted the national rostrum. Immediately the boat began to rock and roll and presently it floundered on the shallow shores of 1913 and '14. Almost complete business stagnation followed and vast hordes of unemployed aggravated the general hopelessness and despair.

A STATE OF MIND!

Our erstwhile Professor and College President sensed the situation and presently gave to our nation and to posterity one of his imperishable documents of rhetoric and logic. "Hard times," he proclaimed, "are purely psychological." Well, that stumped us all for a moment. And yet he was correct.

Every sophomore knows that a psychological condition is a state of mind. And a state of mind is usually the reflex of another condition—the belly-logical. In other words, if one can frequently lunch at one of the best restaurants in town, one's inner feelings generally serve as a magnificent basis for fond hopes, a cheerful outlook and an exceedingly prosperous disposition. But if one's appetite sours for non-support and the dread disease of consumption wastes our poverty-stricken bankroll, our outlook upon things in general—that is, our psychological condition—is exceedingly apathetic and the damp, dark clouds of gloom moisten our enthusiasm. President Wilson's explanation was truly ingenious, but it failed to help matters.

In the middle of 1914, hell broke loose in Europe. That helped. In the latter part of 1915 we began to get its backwash and then the boom commenced. With heated ardor our Knights of the Golden Realm waded in to clean up. The political campaign for "Preparedness" and peace was shamelessly eclipsed by the propaganda of our eager profit-mongers for a season of unparalleled prosperity. Huge plunder was in sight and every wheel of industry was geared for action. Wages went sky high and prices climbed above the clouds. The mad scramble increased in fury. In 1917 we were plunged into the European blood-bath and its agony, death and devastation became our financial harvest.

New millionaires bloomed like a field of daisies and business prosperity gorged itself to bursting in 1918. In the following year it burst.

Then back to "Normalcy," Warren G. Harding and the Republican Party once more. No sooner had the genial soul of Marion, Ohio, taken the steering wheel when the over-loaded and over-strained ship caved and sank. Again during 1920 and '21 mutterings were heard throughout the land and before the protesting hordes could give vent to their desire for political revenge, our ill-fated President died. And now it appears as if prosperity is about to kiss this fair land once more. But how long it will linger with us no one can tell.

Four financial panics and industrial depressions occurred within the last 34 years. Two came under Democratic and two under Republican administrations. We contend and will attempt to prove that our Presidents and their political cohorts are responsible for hard times only inasmuch as they and their policies maintain and encourage the insane economic system that gives rise to these recurrent cataclysms.

The economic cycles that have wheeled and whirled us around since 1819 have affected all other capitalist nations, and their panics have come almost simultaneously with ours. Here then, we are confronted with an international disease. Its eruptions appear on our political skin, but the cause of it is within. Before we could begin our diagnosis and propose a treatment and remedy for the trouble we had to expose these surface indications which inspire our greatest of national sports—electing Presidents and then "cussin'" them when misfortune lays a bad egg in their nests.

Next Article, "The Root of the Trouble," will appear in February Issue.

E. E. MARTIN, PIONEER SOCIALIST, IS DEAD

Comrade E. E. Martin died in Los Angeles, Calif., on November 22nd.

Socialists in the State of Washington, by whom he was well known and loved, will always cherish him in their memories and their hearts because of his long and devoted service in the cause of labor and of humanity.

Comrade Martin was one of the first members of the Socialist Party in the state of Washington. He was state secretary of the party from 1903 to 1907 and a delegate to the national convention in 1908.

An honest, intelligent, untiring and sincere worker in the cause of labor's emancipation, he enjoyed the confidence and respect of all who knew him.

Emil Herman.

THE NURNBERG CONFERENCE

(From Socialist Youth International Magazine
October, 1923.)

More than once during the weeks before the Nurnberg meeting, we thought: Shall we try it—in spite of the occupation of the Ruhr, in spite of the fall of the mark, in spite of the rise of fares by the railroads? Youth gave the answer. Applications literally rained down upon us; three thousand, six thousand. Then came the rise of the fares, and for a few days it became quiet. Here and there a group withdrew. But then it became lively again. Three days before the Nurnberg meeting we had 22,000 applications for cards of admission. They came from all parts of Germany and from almost all countries of Europe. Of the foreigners, the Austrians were ahead with almost the first thousand. Then came the German-Bohemians with over two hundred, the Dutch with fifty, the Swedes with more than twenty, and in addition, the smaller delegations of the Belgians, the English, Georgians, Tschechs, Russian, Polanders, and numerous others. There was no doubt any more that the Nurnberg Youth Meeting was going to beat by far all preceding meetings of young Socialists. With this assurance we went to Nurnberg to make final preparations and to receive the first guests.

* * *

Nurnberg's name has a unique ring. When we hear the name of this city, we see before our eyes the Nurnberg of the past, the rich medieval commercial city with her marvelous and magnificent architecture. When we see her as we stroll through the crooked narrow streets and lanes of the inner city, we picture the diversified variegated life of long ago. The great proud commercial warehouses, the historic market-place, the many old hotels which accomodate the numerous strangers tell of the life in those days. Of course, in the old Nurnberg it could not have been so nerve-racking and strenuous as at present. If it had been, they would not have been able to erect such monuments which we still admire today. Whether it be the wells or the churches of Nurnberg, these works bespeak a fabulous degree of love and perseverance. Generations gave their lives to finish these monuments, and great masters served in the building of these common works without asking whether their names would be honored and celebrated by posterity. It is all this that fills us again and again with such profound respect for the people of those days

and their work. Believing in an idea, they created great things. In their work for the common good was devotion, solemnity, and piety. Their creations have lasted longer than the idea. Today the churches resemble splendid empty vessels. We are again in the whirlpool of time from its balance; we look for a new harmony of life. Socialism will create a new generation whose strivings for the common weal will again result in festivity and spiritual elevation. But the distance yet to be traveled and the difficulty of the task is felt in Nurnberg. Shall we be able to achieve our goal?

* * *

But, why doubt? Has not the new generation firmly and resolutely passed the monuments of the past? They have come imbued with a holy belief in the great cause. Be not mistaken. The Red Youth left the noise of the factories, the air of the offices, the stuffy shop and the God-forsaken villages. Happy were those who needed only to wipe the sweat of the workshop from their foreheads in order to journey cheerfully through the country to Nurnberg. Too many were in great distress. The youth from the Rhine and the Ruhr, from the Palatinate and the Saar Valley had to risk their very lives. Those from the Saar Valley had to march for days; those coming from the Palatinate had to start without any preparation in order to get into unoccupied territory before the bridgeheads of the Rhine were closed; and hundreds from the Ruhr district had to sneak in small groups over the boundary line, swim across the Ruhr River, and march for hours with heavy baggage through the critical zone until their courageous leader had luckily succeeded in bringing all of them over the line. The young people of a working-class that makes such sacrifices cannot perish.

We had counted on 22,000 visitors. The comrades of Nurnberg had arranged for private accommodations for 13,000 and ample mass-accommodation for the others. But all calculations proved to be false. By Saturday noon there were 35,000 visitors. Early Friday morning arrived those from Chemnitz in a special train. Then, until Saturday noon, they came almost without interruption. In nine special trains came the young Socialists from Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, Breslau, Bielefeld, Frankfurt a. M., Stuttgart, and the Ruhr District. Thousands from the other parts of the country came

by regular trains, so that hardly an hour passed which was not marked by the joyous and cheerful reception of a group more or less large.

All found shelter. The comrades and sympathizers of Nurnberg gave the last they could spare, and the accommodations for 13,000 were enlarged to over 30,000. Everyone found a place in which he could gather new strength during the hours of the night for the coming day. And not only that. The workers of Nurnberg gave of the last of their scanty provisions in order to make a good meal for their young guests. The example of the workers of Bielefeld was splendidly repeated in Nurnberg. The deepest impression we received of the Nurnberg of today was the hospitality of the workers.

The cordial reception was extended to every one without any discrimination whatever, the foreign comrades as well as the German; all were comrades of one army, no matter whether they came from Austria, Russia, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, or any other country. Although the idea of internationalism was not always strikingly in the forefront, the quiet spontaneity with which our foreign comrades were drawn into the circle, gave us the feeling that here exists a real international community.

* * *

The stream of visitors had not yet ended when the reception began in Hercules Hall. In the same halls where the German Socialists, hardly a year ago, decided to unite again, 2000 representatives of the Socialist Youth of almost the whole world gathered to witness the calling to order of the International Young Socialist Meeting. It was a brilliant richly-colored picture. Everywhere in the big rooms was the variegated holiday dress; everywhere, vivacious groups full of expectation. Quiet descended only when the solemn notes of the organ started the meeting. The music was followed by the brilliant Young People's Glee Club of Hamburg, and after Comrade Karl Broger had recited the prologue, Comrade Max Westphal welcomed first of all the foreign guests and the youth of the occupied districts, then gave a retrospect of the twenty years' history of the Youth Organization, briefly recalling the day on which the constitution of the republic was signed, and finally turned to the great goal. We are here today to prove that the Socialist Youth is marching onward. He was followed by Comrade Henry Schultz, State Secretary of the Interior of the Cabinet Ministry of Germany. Then came Comrade Dr. Heimerich, Alderman of the City of Nurnberg, Comrade Bartels of the National Executive Board of the United Socialist Party of Germany, Comrade Fischer of the Workers Organizations of Nurnberg. In con-

clusion, Comrade Voogd, the President of the Socialist Youth International, stepped upon the rostrum. The big gathering received him with stormy applause. He extended the greeting of the International and glorified this day as the day of a great festival and battle-day in the history of the German and International Youth movement. The meeting applauded enthusiastically and sang the finest song of our time for young folk: "When We March Side By Side."

* * *

In the afternoon the political aspect of the movement became prominent. The Socialist Youth and the workers of Nurnberg celebrated the Constitution Day of the Republic. The new Republic experienced a great triumph. Our procession marched for hours through the city. The excellent discipline of the demonstration, the magnificent picture of the demonstration in the Luitpold grove,—all this drew the masses. New faith in the victory imbued every soul. Our faith and fighting spirit aroused the grim and fanatic rage of our antagonists. Every red flag and every battle song of the Young Socialists in the procession was received with yelling and hissing by the "National Socialists." (The reactionaries call themselves National Socialists.) Thanks to the sobriety and discipline of our Youth, and the service of Socialist marshals, serious disturbances were prevented.

In the Luitpold grove, Comrade Paul Lobe spoke to thousands. Modest and simple, yet impressive, was his appeal to the army of the tens of thousands of young and old comrades. In spite of all misery it was a group believing in the future, and willing to act in the service for the people and humanity.

It was not a contradiction, but a climax that this strong expression for the Republic on a Sunday morning followed by the international demonstration. In the Schmausenbuck, the magnificent natural theatre, the Socialist Youth International sealed its re-union. In Hamburg the two rings were neatly joined together and received a common name; in Nurnberg, in the fire of overflowing enthusiasm, they were forged into a new whole, and the new ring will hold. This conviction was expressed in the addresses of our foreign comrades, Kooe Vorrink of Holland; Felix Kanitz of Austria; Ernest Paul of Tschechoslavia; and John Brown of Amsterdam. They spoke as representatives of the strongest organizations; in justice, they could speak in the name of all other foreign organizations present in Nurnberg. Had all gotten the floor, hours would have passed and songs and dancing would not have been enjoyed. That would have been a loss, for in this hour we had a right to enjoyment and sport.

* * *

Had we not seen it with our own eyes, we would not have been able to believe that after all these impressions, a climax could be possible. Yet in the evening came the most glorious and best event. In front of the gigantic festival hall of the city, so wide and great that the strongest human voice could not penetrate it, a torch-light procession was formed. The head of the procession went through the park to the Dutzend pond and while the snake-fire gradually encircled the pond, new masses came out of the hall, lit their torches and followed the procession. The fiery blaze lit the deep darkness more and more; the pond soon was too small for the procession. Everywhere were heard the forceful battle-songs of the Socialists; everywhere, red and black-red-gold banners were visible in the glow of the fire. No matter in what direction of the pond you looked, the procession of youth was visible. The songs rang out through the stillness of the night, and the blazes of the torches were reflected by the water. The magnificent spectacle lasted almost two hours; then the water returned to its wonted peace, and the young folk began preparations for home. The spectacle of this unique evening has gone forth into the world as a powerful symbol of our power and our strength.

* * *

Enough for the various individual features. That does not mean that all the impressions have been sketched by any means, but we omit the minor events which made the picture complete to the individual visitor. How much hope may we derive from the fact that 35,000 young men and women workers found a resting place in as many workers' homes, although Dame Distress has held sway in those homes for years? The Socialist Movement is infinitely more than a bare community of naked commercial interests. For, may we not believe that the fight for the Republic has some prospects in Bavaria, too, when we saw how the population cheered the procession of our youth on Saturday afternoon and gave refreshments to the thirsty ones, and how handsomely they treated our young sportsmen on Sunday afternoon? Finally, how hollow the talk about degenerated youth sounds to every one there who saw the attentive congregation during the hour of leisure at the city theatre, or at the concerts at the Lorenz church, or to those who saw the merry company play Hens-Sachs plays at the old Meistersingers Church. When the worst wretchedness has been dispelled, when the greatest obstacle has been removed, then a strong and merry generation will arise from the valley of suffering of our time to a clearer height and inaugurate the

Socialism which lives in the hearts of the Socialist youth of the world. The precious surety is with us stronger than ever before since Nurnberg.

MORE ABOUT JUDICIAL AUTOCRACY

Comptroller Graig of New York won't have to go to jail after all. The papers have been full of a wrangle between him and Attorney-General Daugherty which few people have read—and that's that.

What was it that Mr. Graig's case involved? Something more important than the mere issue whether or not he, busy city official, would have to spend sixty days as a more or less privileged prisoner in the Essex County Jail in Newark, New Jersey. It involved the rights of the individual which should be much more sacred in a free state than the so-called majesty of the law. It involved also the equality of men before the law. Attorney-General Daugherty has aggravated both issues. First he has abusively declared Mr. Graig guilty of the crime of contempt of court for which Judge Mayer sentenced him. Now, Mr. Daugherty is not a judge. He gave Mr. Graig no new trial and his denunciation adds nothing new to our knowledge of the facts. Mr. Daugherty's assertion of the right of a judge to sentence a man to jail for criticizing him does not in the least check the dangers of judicial tyranny.

On the other hand, having insisted on Mr. Craig's guilt, the Attorney-General shows rank favoritism in recommending that he be kept out of jail because it would be politically embarrassing to put him in. That is to say, if a poor chap without official influence or newspaper publicity were guilty of the offense charged against Mr. Craig, he might go to jail and stay there for all Mr. Daugherty cared; but if the offender has some influence, Mr. Daugherty will call him names but keep him out of jail.

Thus is the majesty of the law defended by our Attorney-General. More than ever should Congress investigate the whole business with a view to imposing upon courts and judges limitations of powers as are exercised whenever a judge on his own complaint sends a man to jail for contempt of court for any reason other than active interference with the course of a trial in process before him. And while Congress is investigating, it might very well look into the business of friendly receiverships by which public utilities fly from municipal control to the arms of Federal judges. It was this sort of business that precipitated the Craig row.

League for Industrial Democracy.

The Socialist Party

OTTO BRANSTETTER,

Executive Secretary.

BERTHA HALE WHITE

Assist. Executive Secretary

2653 WASHINGTON BLVD.

Chicago

National Executive Committee:

Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.

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

Edmund T. Melms, 579 8th Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.

Birch Wilson, 616 Genesee St. Buffalo, New York.

W. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Leo M. Harkins, 1325 Arch St., Philadelphia, Penna.

W. R. Snow, 1501 Warren Ave., Chicago Illinois.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 26, 1923.

To the National Executive Committee:
Dear Comrades:

At the last meeting of the committee, I was instructed to call a committee meeting in connection with the conference for Progressive Political Action, to be held in St. Louis, unless conditions made it imperative to hold a meeting before that date.

The date of the conference has been definitely set for February 11th, in St. Louis, and I am, therefore, calling a meeting of the National Executive Committee to meet in St. Louis on Saturday, February 9th. There are a number of very important matters which must be decided by the committee, and action should be taken on some of them before the date of this meeting. I do not want to call an additional meeting, however, on account of the expense.

Comrade Snow is located in Chicago, and I have asked Comrade Melms to come down from Milwaukee to meet with us next Tuesday. We will consider the situation and submit motions to the National Executive Committee by correspondence.

Fraternally submitted.

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 3, 1923.

To the National Executive Committee.
Dear Comrades:

I submit for vote of your committee
*National Executive Committee Motion
No 18*

By Melms

That the Executive Secretary be instructed to issue a call for the election of delegates to the 1924 National Convention and to apportion same in accor-

dance with Section 4, Article 7, of the National Constitution, with the provision, however, that the National Office will be liable only for the expenses of as many delegates as the respective states are entitled to in regular convntions, as provided in Section 3, Article 7. The expenses of the additional delegates to be paid by the respective state organizations.

Comment

The constitution provides for a convention of 200 delegates in presidential years. Such a convention will cost between \$15,000 and \$20,000, and it is impossible that the National Office will be in a position to bear any such expense. Even if it were possible to secure loans to meet this expense, such loans would constitute a lien upon the campaign fund, and the money raised would have to be used to pay for the convention rather than for campaign purposes. This situation is due to the fact that the constitutional provisions regarding conventions were adopted when we had a membership of a hundred thousand and have not been changed in accordance with the changed condition of the party.

In view of these facts, it is incumbent upon the National Executive Committee to take some action to relieve the situation.

The purpose of the above motion is to make the convention as large as possible but to limit the expenses of the National Office to what we may reasonably be able to bear. The expenses of the delegates which we pay will amount to about \$3,000, which is approximately the amount collected in dues for convention purposes as provided in Section 5 of Article 7.

National Executive Committee Motion No. 19.

By Snow

That the Executive Secretary be authorized and instructed to appoint a committee of three representing the National Executive Committee for the purpose of auditing the books of the Jewish Socialist Alliance, as provided in Section 5 (d), Article 10, of the party constitution.

Ballots enclosed. Vote closes December 13.

Comment by Executive Secretary

The above motions are the result of a conference held between Comrades Melms, Snow and myself at headquarters last Tuesday and are self-explanatory.

A call for agenda propositions will be issued in the regular routine, and no action by your committee is required.

Immediately after the first of the year a call for a convention will be issued and apportionment of delegates made in accordance with the motion if it is adopted.

NOTICE

Under Article VII, Section 11, of the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee will formulate the Agenda for the National Convention at the meeting of the committee in St. Louis, February 9th.

The call for Agenda proposals was sent to all locals and branches on December 22. Propositions for consideration of the National Convention must reach the National Office not later than February first.

and if not, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

At the committee meeting in St. Louis on February 9 it will be necessary for the committee to decide upon the date and the place of holding the convention. In preparation for this, we are communicating with the locals in the larger eastern cities asking for inducements for the National Convention.

Comrade Debs' illness has seriously curtailed the work of the National Office inasmuch as the cancellation of the dates already made incurred a loss of approximately \$1800.00 already expended in hall rents, advertising, advance organizers' expenses, etc. There is no prospect of Comrade Debs being able to resume lecture work in the near future, although it is possible that he may be able to fill some dates in the spring. The loss on the cancelled meetings has seriously crippled the office financially, as all profits of previous meetings and the Organization Fund have been expended in organization work as rapidly or more rapidly than they were received. We are now faced with the necessity of curtailing the work which has been started and retrenching National Office expenses to as great an extent as possible.

I have notified the District Secretaries of the Northwestern and Mountain States Districts that their appropriations of \$75.00 a month each will be stopped with the month of December, with the understanding that the committee will consider their needs and the situation at its February meeting, and renew the appropriations if they find it possible to do so.

One matter that is causing considerable uneasiness and rather heavy expense is the case of Comrade Esther Friedman at Kansas City. In connection with her promotion of the Debs meeting in that town, she spoke on the street last summer and was arrested with eight of the local members. The cases against seven of them were dismissed, but Comrade Friedman and Comrade Hodges, local secretary, were each fined \$150.00. We took an appeal on this, which was to have been tried the middle of last month within a few days of the Debs' meeting. The appeal is from the police court to the Circuit Court, which gives us a jury trial, and the defendants and attorney are quite confident of an acquittal. In case of conviction we have an appeal to the Court of Appeals. The case, however, was not called when set, and has been continued for one week for three successive weeks. Under the circumstances, it has been impossible for Comrade Friedman to leave Kansas City without for-

NEW LEAFLETS

Four Page

"Labor of City and Country Must Unite!"

By Joseph E. Cohen

"The Right to Work."

By Otto Branstetter

"The Story of The British Labor Party."

By Morris Hillquit

"Organized Labor's Need For Independent Political Action."

By Arthur Greenwood, M. P.

\$2.00

per thousand \$1.75

per thousand in lots of five thousand or more.

TWO PAGE

"Our Railroads,"

"What About Coal?"

By Joseph E. Cohen

"A Big Undertaking"

"Do You Really Want Socialism?"

By John M. Work.

"Yearning For Liberty"

By Debs and Nearing

\$1.25

per thousand \$1.00

per thousand in lots of five thousand or more.

Order from National Office Socialist Party.

feiture of her bond of \$600.00, and we are liable for her wages and expenses as long as she remains there. The case is now set the trial next Friday. In case of acquittal the matter is closed, with only such expense as has already been incurred. In case of conviction we will appeal, as the appeal could not be heard for months and it will enable Comrade Friedman to return to New York City and end our expense on that score. In case of further continuances, however, I shall pay the fine and allow Comrade Friedman to return to New York as being the cheapest possible way out of the situation. I do not like to do this, as it is a particularly aggravated case of persecution. I am confident that it could be beaten eventually, but we are in no position to stand the expense that would be required.

A financial statement covering the Debs meetings, the Organization Fund and membership drives will be forwarded to you within the next week or ten days.

Faternally submitted.

Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 13, 1923

To the National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

I beg to report as follows:

National Executive Committee Motion
No. 18.

By Melms

"That the Executive Secretary be instructed to issue a call for the election of delegates to the 1924 National Convention and to apportion same in accordance with Section 4, Article 7, of the National Constitution, with the provision, however, that the National Office will be liable only for the expenses of as many delegates as the respective states are entitled to in regular conventions, as provided in Section 3, Article 7. The expenses of the additional delegates to be paid by the respective state organizations."

Submitted December 3rd. Vote closed December 13th.

Voting Yes: Brandt, Harkins, Hillquit, Melms, Snow, Wilson. (6)

Not Heard From: Debs. (1)

No comment.

Motion Carried.

In accordance with above action, the following apportionment has been made:

APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1924

	Paid	Unpaid
Arkansas	0	1
California	1	6
Connecticut	1	3

December 26, 1923.

To the National Executive Committee.
Dear Comrades:

We are in receipt of formal notification and apportionment of delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which meets in St. Louis on Monday, February 11. The National Organization of the Socialist Party is entitled to seven delegates. As there are seven members of the National Executive Committee, I am certifying these to the secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action as our delegates, with myself and Comrade White as alternates, as we will both be in attendance at the committee meeting in St. Louis on February 9, two days preceding the Conference.

In order to avoid addition expense, our representatives should be confined to those who will be in attendance at the National Executive Committee meeting, unless there is some special reason for sending some other comrade.

If there is some objection on the part of any member of the committee, or other nominations to be made, please make them immediately. If no contrary motions have been received on or before January 2, I will notify the secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action of the election of our delegates, as stated above.

Fraternally submitted,

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

December 28, 1923.

To the National Executive Committee.
Dear Comrades:

I submit for your consideration the following:

National Executive Committee Motion
Number 21

By Snow.

"On behalf of the starving workers of Germany, and to the end that the Socialist Party of the United States extend whatever relief is in our power, I move (1) that the National Executive Committee take steps to raise funds for the relief of the starving workers and their wives and children in Germany, and (2) that we do all in our power through a campaign of publicity, through our press and otherwise, to aid in the passage of the Bill introduced in Congress by Victor L. Berger on December 17, 1923, to establish a credit in raw materials and food for Germany in order to revive business and trade there."

Ballots enclosed. Vote closes Jan. 7, 1923.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Assistant Executive Secretary

District of Columbia	1	1
Illinois	1	10
Indiana	1	3
Iowa	0	2
Kansas	0	1
Kentucky	0	1
Maine	0	1
Massachusetts	2	21
Maryland	1	2
Michigan	1	3
Minnesota	0	2
Missouri	1	3
Montana	0	1
New Hampshire	0	1
New Jersey	1	8
New York	2	26
Oklahoma	0	1
Ohio	1	9
Oregon	0	1
Pennsylvania	2	19
Rhode Island	0	1
Texas	0	1
Vermont	0	1
Washington	0	1
West Virginia	1	1
Wisconsin	2	24
New England States		
Organization District	1	0
Northwestern States		
Organization District	1	0
Rocky Mountain States		
Organization District	1	3
Bohemian Federation	0	1
Finnish	1	2
German	0	1
Italian	1	2
Jewish	1	2
Irigo-Slav	0	2
Lithuanian	0	2
Y. P. S. L.	1	3
Total	27	173

National Executive Committee Motion
No. 19.

By Snow.

"That the Executive Secretary be authorized and instructed to appoint a committee of three representing the National Executive Committee for the purpose of auditing the books of the Jewish Alliance, as provided in Section 5 (d), Article 10. of the party constitution."

Submitted December 3rd. Vote closed December 13th.

Voting Yes: Brands, Harkins, Hillquit, Melms, Snow, Wilson. (6)

Not Heard From: Debs (1)

No comment.

Motion carried.

Fraternally submitted.

Bertha Hale White

Assistant Executive Secretary.

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