

SOCIALIST WORLD

VOL. 5

CHICAGO, JUNE 1924

NUMBER 6

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OUR PARTY—ITS PAST AND ITS FUTURE

By Eugene V. Debs

The doctors in charge of the sanatorium in which I am taking a course of treatment have warned me that my condition of nervous and physical exhaustion is such that I must abandon my usual activities entirely, avoid all excitement, keep quiet as possible, and give myself up wholly to rest and treatment if I expect to recover my health and take up my work again.

I know the doctors are right in issuing their stern orders in my case, but my comrades will understand, I am sure, that it is not easy for me to be inactive and to keep "quiet" at such a time as this, when every live human being should be at the front in the great historic battle that is raging all over the world for the overthrow of the monstrous triune of Capitalism, Militarism and Despotism and the emancipation of the human race from their age-long inheritance of ignorance and superstition, of poverty, misery and degradation.

But I shall be patient as I can, bide my time until the bodily repairs are completed, and then take my place in the ranks again where my heart is and will be until it ceases to beat forever.

However, the usual circumstances now existing and the great emergency confronting our party, which may mean its triumphant rise to greater power than it ever had before, or its utter undoing, move me to break over the rule of silence and make this appeal, feeble though it be, to my comrades, as to the needs and duties of the hour in the present important and critical situation.

The Socialist Party came to birth in 1897 out of the travail of the great railroad strike which had been crushed by the courts and troops of the United

States government. Twenty-seven years ago it entered the field as the Social Democracy on a Marxian platform and began its mission of educating and organizing the American workers for their industrial emancipation, to which it has adhered loyally and steadfastly through all these years of trial, privation and persecution, without once hauling down its tattered flag, renouncing its historic purpose, or compromising its revolutionary principles. That is its record and in this year of 1924 when so many forces are moving toward independent political action of the working class, no member need to blush for it, for the agitation and awakening we behold today, even in the most conservative and reactionary circles, are due more to the twenty-seven years of resolute, energetic and unceasing educational activity of the Socialist Party than to all other causes combined.

That is the actual fact of the case and no one can successfully gainsay or deny it. The Socialist Party it was that through days fair and foul, through good and evil report, sowed the seed and nurtured the crop that is now coming to harvest and fruition.

That, briefly stated, is what the Socialist Party has meant in the past, but it is only the prelude to what it will mean to the American workers in the future.

When the world-war came the capitalist class at once recognized the Socialist Party as the most powerful menace to its criminal misrule and paid it the high compliment of assaulting it more brutally and persecuting it more atrociously than any other party in the land, a grim fact that has not yet lost

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Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post-Office at Chicago, Illinois, January 26th, 1918, Under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Subscription Price: \$1.00 a year. Single Copies 10c
All matter intended for publication must reach this office not later than the 1st of the month preceding date of issue
Published Monthly at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

by the
SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA
BERTHA HALE WHITE Bus. Mgr.

RISING—BOLDLY RISING

Surpassing both in interest and importance every other phenomenon now visible in the affairs of mankind is the slow rousing, the increased thinking and rising of the long wronged workers of the world. Slowly indeed, and with some blundering and fumbling and stumbling too, but with the ever increasing power of clearer vision, higher hopes, and red-blooded courage the workers are shaking off the class-cursing spell of a hundred centuries of consenting to unutterable abuse, a hundred centuries of consenting to endless exploitation and hunger and bitter belittlement, shaking off the spell of a hundred centuries of sad and solemn UNWARENESS OF THEIR CLASS POWER TO THROW DOWN THEIR MASTERS AND GO FREE. The passing of this age-long spell looms red and wonderful over the entire civilized world,—flaming scarlet with the suggestion of the red blood of international working-class fellowship, truly wonderful in its awful portent of dethronement for the masters of the earth, infinitely more wonderful in its deep-reaching meaning for the awakening multitudes of toil-scarred workers,—for that meaning is freedom, the long, long delayed industrial emancipation.

In increasing numbers everywhere we observe meets, conferences, congresses and conventions of workers, local, national and international;—everywhere the clearer ring in their findings, resolutions, programs and platforms, everywhere increasing exchange of opinion and mutual criticism—sometimes amiable and sometimes acrid—but (best of all) increasingly clear and courageous discussion, discussion of the wrongs and rights of labor, discussion of principles, programs and goals, discussion of ways and means, resources and leadership. Always and everywhere now can be noted also increasing discussion of the general industrial reconstruction of society; and everywhere there is an evident drift or current running strong for the new statesmanship of educating the workers generally on fundamentals, fundamentals in economics, in historic study, in political science,—and likewise for the new statesmanship of intensive study of the fundamentals of

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OUR PARTY—

its significance. Thousands deserted for one reason or another when the savage furies of capitalism burst upon it, but other thousands remained at their posts, stood their ground, bravely bore insult, outrage and persecution, saved the party, and kept its principles inviolate and its proud and defiant banner unsullied before the world.

Later on, in the general upheaval that followed the war, the party was rent asunder and thousands more deserted for the strange reason that the party was "not radical and revolutionary enough," and today we behold these same comrades seeking affiliation, under another party standard, with the rawest recruits, the latest arrivals, the most conservative and backward elements in the slow-moving forces, jarred loose mainly by Socialist Party agitation, now marshalling, under more or less reluctant leadership, for independent political action in a party of the working class.

Does it not seem a little strange that nearly all the leaders of these "progressive" organizations and elements that are now proposing to merge into one general labor party were at one time members of the Socialist Party, had their eyes opened by its teachings, and received their training and equipment under its guidance and inspiration, and then withdrew from its ranks because it was "not radical and revolutionary enough," or, on the contrary, too much so, to suit their views? And especially so on the part of those who were reared in the Socialist Party, so to speak, and who are now most vehement in denouncing and most intent upon destroying it?

But this is due and will have to be accounted for upon the ground of a peculiar post-war "tactic" which we are unable to comprehend and have no desire to imitate.

The important point is that the progressive tendencies of the many parties and unions toward unity and solidarity upon a class-conscious basis, so marked and significant today, can be traced and credited almost wholly to the Socialist Party, and they serve to vindicate triumphantly the twenty-seven years of its toilsome and tempestuous existence.

And now what of the future of the Socialist Party in the face of the impending conventions whose purpose it is to unify all the progressive forces and launch a united party of the workers to fight for their emancipation?

What will take place at St. Paul on June 17th or at Cleveland on July 4th we do not know and cannot tell, but *we do know* that whatever the outcome of those conventions the Socialist Party will

ITS PAST AND ITS FUTURE— DEBS

be more imperatively needed and in greater demand than ever before in its history.

For myself, I earnestly hope a united labor party, based upon the principles of industrial democracy and corner-stoned in the interest of the working class, may issue from these conventions, but whether it does or not we must preserve strictly the identity and guard rigidly the integrity of the Socialist Party as the uncompromising revolutionary political organization of the workers in their struggle for emancipation.

In the event of a united party with which we have affiliation, we shall be in position to carry forward our educational work to better advantage, as the Independent Labor Party was in developing and building up the British Labor Party in England.

In case our party should not merge in the present movement for a united party, we shall need as never before to be on the political battlefield this fall, sounding the clear note and issuing the clarion call, in the babel of confusion, for the unconditional surrender of capitalism and the triumphant emancipation of the working class.

What now, is the need of the Socialist Party, and the duty of its loyal membership in this crucial situation? The party is still sadly crippled as the result of the capitalist slaughter. The wonder is that it could survive at all and the fact that it did is proof conclusive that it is indestructible and that it is and will prove itself to be *the party of the American workers* in fighting their battles in the supreme crisis and in achieving the final triumph over their exploiters and oppressors. Its membership has been greatly reduced and its treasury utterly bankrupted. But the loyalty of the remaining members has not been impaired and that is now the party's vital asset and its assured salvation.

The party needs now and cries aloud for the aid and support of every member. Not one whose name has remained upon the roll of honor can be spared. Not one!

Above all, the party needs money, and first of all the National Office should be rescued from its burden of debt so that it can once more function freely in organizing and building up the party. Our National Secretary is harrassed constantly for the want of funds to meet necessary expenditures, and she cannot possibly do justice to the very important work assigned her and which she is doing with amazing results, under the existing circumstances. Comrade White, Comrade Kirkpatrick and their assistants are bending all their energies early and

late, and often with no salary in sight, to build up the party. Let us at least relieve them of their financial handicap and provide them with the necessary office help and equipment to enable them to render the party the valuable service they are so able and eager to do. We can do it if we will. There are enough of us to do it overnight. Why not?

Collect at once and send in the dues owed by your local. Collect and forward the voluntary assessment levied for convention expenses. The amount of this levy is 50c, \$1.00 and \$5.00, according to your means. A thousand of you at least can afford to pay \$5.00; several thousand can pay \$1.00, and the very least of you can afford a fifty-cent contribution. This levy is voluntary, not obligatory. It is an appeal to your loyalty, your honor, your sense of obligation to the party that expresses and fights for your ideals and aspirations.

The National Office and those entrusted with its affairs are doing all that humanly can be done to place the party where it belongs, and so are the few organizers that still hold the field and are battling bravely to win the day for a triumphant Socialist Party.

If you have a dollar, five or ten dollars or more to spare, send it at once to Bertha Hale White, National Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago. You can make no better use of it. Ten thousand dollars at the National Office now will be worth more than a hundred thousand a year from now. We can easily raise it. *Let us do it! And begin at once!!*

As for the rest, let us all set to work, right now, in dead earnest to get our house in order—to put our party in shape for heroic action in the coming campaign.

Build up your Local and set its machinery clicking with new life; pay up your dues and hold up a clear bill as an example and inspiration to others; add as many new members as you can to your roll of membership; secure every possible subscriber to some Socialist paper; distribute party tracts and leaflets among your neighbors. In a word, toe the mark squarely, do your full duty as a Socialist, and help speed the day of human emancipation.

Well, have you side-stepped,—or have you 'come thru clean'—your full duty done on the Assessment Stamps? IT'S YOUR CONVENTION.

WHY FARMERS AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS SHOULD UNITE

By W. W. Passage

The fact that the isolated campaigns waged by forward-looking farmers and industrial workers in the Northwest has filled with alarm and drawn the fire of the bankers, and of the railroad, grain, water power, oil, coal and other magnates is proof positive that this farm and labor coalition has discovered the master key to victory and has given new hope to the common people.

Chambers of commerce, boards of trade, merchants and manufacturers' associations, and other groups representing big business, have feigned a succession of moral and patriotic spasms at the spectacle of the progressive farmers and industrial workers lately forming group-conscious legislative blocs. The latter, representing approximately ninety per cent of our population are denounced by "Wall Street," representing ten per cent, for beginning to do what it has always done. With what deadly precision did "The Rural New-Yorker" characterize this hypocrisy when it said in its editorial January 14, 1922, "They (the Senators composing the agricultural bloc) are doing *openly* what groups of Senators have for many years done *secretly* for other interests." And commenting upon a cartoon in "The Country Gentlemen" showing the "Farm Bloc" holding a pitchfork against the stomach of a gentleman labeled "Congress," Mr. Arthur Brisbane writes, "Perhaps Mr. Curtis will show now a picture of another 'bloc,' the railroad-financial bloc from Wall Street, holding a gun to the head of Uncle Sam and picking his pockets. It's the Wall Street bloc, not the Farm bloc, that worries the citizens."

In securing legislation through class blocs, "Wall Street" has demonstrated a foresight and intelligence in comparison with which the hindsight and stupidity of the farmers and wage workers afford a most discouraging contrast.

But a new day has dawned as shown by the definite recognition of class-conscious blocs representing economic groups whose interests are separate and distinct. Hitherto farmers and wage workers foolishly have merged their interests with the interests of the non-producing exploiters and profiteers; and have assumed toward each other an attitude of indifference, if not of antagonism.

To the extent that its limited numbers and facilities enabled it to do so, the Socialist Party has tried to show these two great wealth-producing

groups that, so far from there being cause for antagonism, there is every reason why they should cooperate for mutual benefits. Neither is strong enough to win alone. The farmers tried that in the Greenback and Populist Movements long ago. If they could not succeed then, how can they succeed now when their number is relatively smaller? Similar attempts at political organization have been made by "Labor." Both failed, because alone there were never enough of them organizable to win; and they were not organizable, because instinctively the rank and file felt that *alone* they could not win. Bereft of the inspiration and enthusiasm of probable success, without which victory in a political campaign is impossible, these movements were shattered on the rocks of pessimism and lack of faith.

What is needed now, above everything else, is something to restore the confidence of these groups. And nothing in the world can do it but that unity which at once gives them the number necessary to win. For its own class interests "Wall Street" has always stimulated antagonism between the farmer and industrial worker. Its motto is "Divide and Conquer." In a current issue of one of the Hearst papers, George W. Hinman, a regular feature writer on finance and business, falsely represents that the purpose of the British Labor Party is to place all the farms under the management of state officials; whereas, in truth, this was merely the individual proposal of a single group which happens to be affiliated with the labor party and has only a minor influence. Furthermore the land problem of England is very different from ours.

In an effort to remove these false impressions from the minds of American Farmers, the Socialist Party in the year 1909 very definitely limited its demands for collective ownership to "the land and means of production *used for exploitation*," and followed this up with the more definite statement that "it is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona-fide manner, *without exploitation*."

Surely no one reasonably can contend that the great mass of the farmers are using their land for the exploitation of labor, nor have farmers shown either the inclination or the ability to establish a private monopoly enabling them to exploit either labor or the consuming public. Indeed if there were nothing else which the farmer and "Labor"

have in common, they have at least this one thing, that while neither has ever enjoyed the affluence and dominating position afforded by monopoly, both in common have been the abject and bedamned victims of it.

Particularly in the agricultural states, the Socialists have become the leaders in the effort to show that farming, under a condition of socialized industries and public utilities, would remain an individual enterprise, unless, in the developments to follow, the farmers themselves, in common with others, should find it more economical and more remunerative to all concerned to organize and operate agriculture on a co-operative basis.

Meantime, what are the things which the farmer and "Labor" can do for each other?

The farmer wants credit, market, storage, preservation, distribution, irrigation, transportation electric power, slaughtering and packing-house facilities, as well as farm equipment, commercial fertilizers, etc., without having to pay exorbitant costs to middle-men of all kinds. All of these the forward-looking elements of labor are ready and anxious to aid him in securing, and in applying to this purpose the policy of government ownership and operation, labor at the same time consciously establishes itself, jointly with the farmer, in the democratic control of these means of employment.

Now, if in return for this co-operation, the progressive farmers will join with progressive labor, their combined strength will be sufficient gradually to bring under government ownership and operation more and more of the great centralized industries, such as steel, oil, lumber, coal, etc., and will achieve for this ninety per cent of the population a condition in which substantially all things needed can be secured at labor cost. And as "Labor" will receive for its services in the collectively-owned industries a compensation undiminished by that which is now taken by the profiteers in the name of rent, interest and profit, and will have unrestricted opportunity to approach and develop the great natural resources and to appropriate the fruits of co-operative effort, it will be in a position, physically be-

cause of its great number and financially because it receives the full value of its services, eagerly to buy at a highly-compensating price all that the farmer can produce.

Granting this all means an increase in cost to the farmer for his hired help, is it not plain that the multiplied purchasing and consuming power of the industrial workers brings the farmer several times as much more for his product than he must pay in increased wages? For it must be remembered that, compared to trade, commerce, mining, manufacture, etc., the farmer employs very little hired help.

Obviously this resurrected home market is as necessary to the farmer as are land, stock and equipment. It is time he realized this all-important fact and struck hands with labor to the end that economic opportunity shall be guaranteed for every human being, whereby the multiplied products of co-operative effort, modern machinery and co-ordinated industry shall come to each individual according to the service rendered, and bring such an abundance that no longer will human beings be tempted to wrong-doing for material sustenance; and no longer will each new issue of our daily papers read like a chapter from a dime novel.

Workers! Farmers! Is this not a great and holy cause? Is it not time to retire the false teachers who have created in your minds unfounded antagonisms by superficial comparisons between the work day and the compensation of the farmer and of the wage workers? Your enemies are identical! Unite to defeat them! Hail and welcome each other with enthusiasm and fellowship! and join in a holy crusade for your mutual salvation! Candidly and openly acknowledge your interdependence, and make to each other every concession consistent with the idea that wherever private monopoly fosters exploitation, wherever competition entails economic waste, wherever private greed encroaches upon social utility or common necessity, there social ownership and operation shall be established as the guardian of our economic rights and the saviour of our moral and spiritual being.

In the first five months of 1924 the National Office has sold more books than were sold on regular orders in all of the year 1923. During the last month our sales of the new big leaflet, "Silence," have averaged 30,000 per week.

Did you help us distribute any of this literature?

If you and all the other comrades had helped—even a little—the totals above would be vastly larger, multiplied tenfold. Think hard on that.

These are the times that show us the quality of our own souls.

REPORT OF THE FINNISH FEDERATION

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party

Pursuant to the call of the National Executive Secretary, that the translator-secretaries of the Language Federations should write a report of the activities of their respective Federation to the National Convention, I hereby mark briefly the main points that may be of interest to the delegates.

Being primarily a propaganda organization for the purpose of enlightening the Finnish speaking workingmen here, our activities have been devoted to educational undertakings of various kinds and along various lines, aiming always at bringing more workers into the sphere of Socialist propaganda.

Lectures, speeches and casual addresses by various persons have been the principal propaganda methods. Besides these our press, consisting of one daily and one monthly publication, is doing valuable work continually. It is pleasing to note that both of them have added hundreds to their subscription list, thus reaching considerably wider now than at the time the last convention of the party was held in New York City more than a year ago. Figures published last January show that the number of subscribers for the daily had increased 16.5% during the preceding three months, and I may truthfully say, that the increase has continued almost at the same rate since then.

Several leaflets have also been published and sent to the branches for distribution free of charge.

Naturally such gains in regular subscribers and the consequent adding of new readers in still larger proportions have increased the strength and prestige of our propaganda work. Thus our educational work has become more influential and the financing of new undertakings easier.

Shortage of speakers and lecturers has been a serious handicap for several years and still is. But in order to overcome that, the last General Conference of the Federation laid plans to arrange a series of lectures, or a regular instruction course for those willing to become speakers.

These courses will probably be held in New York during next winter and we may be able to secure a prominent lecturer from the old country as one of the instructors. Should these plans materialize, the result will be most salutary, renewing activity and aggressiveness throughout the Federation. Then we will be able to concentrate our efforts on those places where a well conducted attempt will result in organizing new branches and bolstering up the weak ones.

During the time covered by this report several of

our speakers have toured the "pagan territory", i. e., those states West of Ohio, where our organization was totally wiped out during and after the World War and its subsequent split in the Labor Movement in every country. And although we have been able to organize only a few small branches in places where we had strong and dominating Locals before, signs of better success in the future are not lacking. Minneapolis is back in our organization, Chicago much stronger than a year ago, and even Detroit, that celebrated stronghold of Russia inspired, fanned and controlled Communism, is showing signs of getting tired of the yoke of the self-appointed high priests of the Moscow type of proletarian dictation. It is within possibility that we will be able to organize a branch there before the next National Convention of the party meets. If only an English speaking Local were functioning there our task would be comparatively easy.

Last summer a series of lectures was delivered for the Young People's Socialist League in the principal Finnish centers of Massachusetts, resulting in much good among those Y. P. S. L. Circles, thanks to the able instructor, Comrade August Claessens of New York. At the present time, however, the Y. P. S. L. movement is not in such healthy condition as we would expect. Several Circles have seemingly lost interest in the cause and let their activities deteriorate to the detriment of the entire movement, functioning only nominally if at all. It seems to be rather difficult for the Finnish speaking young people to keep themselves interested in Socialism where there are no native American comrades, young or old to associate and work with them.

Numerically expressed our Federation is strong and healthy, and anyone taking the pains of examining into its understanding of the Marxian principles would undoubtedly judge it fundamentally sound in that respect also. We have about three thousand dues paying members, many halls, several splendid out door recreation centers or parks, with swimming pools, base ball grounds and tracks for various athletic activities, not mentioning the socialistically inclined Co-operative movement, controlled by our members; many hundred libraries, Sunday schools acting in almost every larger locality, and various other branches of activity, so that we may well be said to be the dominant intellectual force among the Finnish population in this country. Strike breakers are no longer recruiting among Finns, because, in spite of the differences in opinion regarding the various forms of proletarian activity, in that respect we all agree. It is only in very few cases that

even those who are still religious and hate us, will venture to act as strike breakers; so thoroughly has the idea of workers' solidarity in that respect permeated the Finnish working men, so disgustingly loathsome has strike-breaking become as the result of teaching Socialism.

But in one respect we must confess our failure. And that is in carrying on propaganda work among the English speaking population. There we have failed utterly. Regardless of our great number, our various and successful undertakings offering no doubt admirable examples along many lines, that should and could be just as easily and successfully carried on by the English speaking working men, the example does not seem to convince. To the Natives we are and always will remain just a group of foreigners.

And thereby is found an explanation to the seemingly strange fact, that while in sole localities strong and successful foreign speaking branches of the

party have been functioning for decades, controlling—as is the case with us for instance—in many places the entire intellectual life of their own nationality, they have not been able to organize an English speaking branch. A socialist leaflet handed out by an alien will not carry much weight. Therefore, our assistance to the Socialist Party is unavoidably much curtailed in this the most important phase of our work, and limited primarily to the meagre financial assistance we are able to give.

Realizing this and recognizing our shortcoming, we ask to be recorded only as trail blazers among a certain branch of the ancestors of the future forces of American Socialists, not as the establishers and builders of the Co-operative Commonwealth in America.

Yours in comradeship,

A. N. Reivo.
Finnish Translator-Secretary.

RISING—BOLDLY RISING

(Continued from page 2)

everyday practical politics, in order that (all important) as the workers further rouse and rise, their organizations shall not be wrecked, their plans destroyed, their number scattered, their morale wasted, their labor lost, their hearts broken, and the inspiring dawn of a new time grow dark with gloom and long delay.

Now is happens that the workers of the United States are—or think they are—superior; and this happy and juvenile feeling of always adequate superiority puts these workers off guard, politically. In some respects no doubt the workers of this country are superior. But however that may be, they are, so far as knowledge gained thru independent, self-guided political experience is concerned,—so far as relates to information in the very special fields of study particularly important to workers when endeavoring to guide themselves politically,—in short with respect to the various intellectual and political disciplines necessary for successful, concerted, independent effort in great numbers, the American workers, thus considered, are almost romantically emotional, undisciplined and uninformed. Unhappily also they show scarcely any anxiety about their sinfully innocent condition. They are enthusiastic but not analytical, eager but not skillful—politically. This may seem a trifle blunt, but it is intended to be fraternally sympathetic (and admonitory.)

ESTHER FRIEDMAN'S JULY DATES WITH ADDRESSES OF CORRESPONDENTS IN CHARGE OF THE MEETINGS

Socialists should get in touch with these comrades and give every possible assistance toward making the meetings entirely successful.

July 3, Pasco Washington;	C. F. Stinson
" 4, Hermiston, Oregon;	M. Duty.
" 5, Umatilla "	Mrs. Minnie McFarland.
" 6, Pasco, Washington;	Return date.
" 7, Yakima, "	W. A. McBride, R. No. 7, Box 125.
" 8, Cle Elum, "	Chas. Krall, Box 521.
" 9, 10, 11 & 13 "	Will speak before union meetings and coal miners; Emil Hendrickson, Maple Valley.
" 12, Roslyn, "	A. Harper.
" 14, Auburn, "	J. R. De Spain, 416—2nd Ave., N. E.
" 15, Seattle, "	Mrs. G. F. Erdtman, 1327 1st Ave.,
" 16, Mukilteo, "	Louie Anderson.
" 17, Everett, "	H. Arends, 2426 Virginia St.
" 18, Stanwood, "	A. H. Baker, Regis Cafe.
" 19, Mt. Vernon, "	G. Worman, 118 Division St.
" 20, Sedro-Woolley, "	Chas. Hill, 604 Metcalf St.
" 21, Sumas, "	H. G. Brockway.
" 22, Hopewell, "	Magnus Wickberg, Rt. No. 3, Everson.
" 23, Van Zandt, "	C. E. Anderson.
" 24, Lynden, "	Geo. W. Rosser, Rt. No. 4, Box 105, Bellingham.
" 25, 26, 27.	C. E. Benedict, E. Maple St. Bellingham, "
" 27, Blanchard, "	R. W. Giles, Bow. Mrs. Emma Sager.
" 28, Anacortes, "	
" 29, Mt. Vernon "	
" 30, Sedro-Woolley, "	Mrs. John Hendrickson,
" 31, Arlington "	Camp No. 2, Eddy Logging Co.

REPORT OF THE JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND

To the National Convention of the S. P.

During the last year the National Office of the Jewish Socialist Verband organized three tours for the purpose of Socialist propaganda. The first tour was started in February, 1923 with Comrade Ben-Zion Maimon, the Washington correspondent of the Forward. He started from New York and went as far as Los Angeles, visiting all the cities with a considerable Jewish population. His meetings were a success everywhere. In this tour we aimed not only to put new life into the branches of the Verband, but also to be of use to the branches of the Socialist Party. Wherever possible Comrade Maimon also held English lectures. His tour turned out to be a financial as well as a moral success.

Prof. Galatzky's Tours — That same winter another tour was arranged with Comrade Galatzky. He covered most of the cities of the South, Middle-West and East. His lectures were so successful, that he was often obliged to remain in a city for another day upon the urgent request of the comrades, who later wrote asking us to arrange a second tour. Since summer was coming, we had to put this off until autumn. This time, however, the tour was arranged by the New England Bureau. According to the official report of the Bureau and the warm letters from the locals, all parties were satisfied. During the month of March the Pittsburgh branch arranged to have him lecture in the cities and towns in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. Until May Comrade Galatzky was with the Western Bureau. Prof. Galatzky has proved to be a devoted and active comrade, who has been of great use to us in our Socialist agitation.

Comrade Panken's Tour — This tour was arranged in conjunction with the National Office of the Socialist Party. Comrade Panken gave up his month's vacation to make this trip. He visited Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Ore., Seattle, Tacoma, Minneapolis, Flint, Detroit and Cleveland. The lectures were successful all over. If we only had more such comrades to help us in our propaganda work, we could even under the present trying conditions strengthen the Verband and the Socialist Party.

ORGANIZATION TOURS

We had no opportunities to arrange organization tours, not having the proper persons at our disposal. We were able to arrange one tour with Comrade Walitzky, who organized a number of new branches, revived the old ones and brought in a net profit of \$1000.

WECKER TOURS

Comrade Stillman canvassed New England and New Jersey for subscriptions to our weekly organ, "Der Wecker." He did good work there. Comrade Teitelman of Philadelphia carried on his work in Pennsylvania. This tour was successful, but to our regret it could not be continued. Comrade Teitelman might have increased our subscription list to another thousand.

DISTRICT BUREAUS

Western Bureau

It was resolved at the last convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband to organize district bureaus in all the large centers of the Verband. A conference was held in Chicago, at which Alexander Kahn represented the National Executive Committee. The Western Bureau was founded there and Comrade Levitas appointed as Secretary-Organizer. There were many obstacles in the way, but Comrade Levitas staunchly put his shoulder to the wheel and did his utmost.

New England Bureau was organized in 1922. A second conference was held in Worcester in 1923. Comrade Chanin and Botwinick represented the National Executive Committee. This conference was a great success. There was great difficulty in getting an organizer. Although the territory is the best suited for the work of a bureau, the results did not reach our expectations.

South Eastern Bureau — The National Office of the Jewish Socialist Verband called a South Eastern conference in Atlantic City in August, 1923. Owing to the hot weather the conference was not the success it might have been. However, the Philadelphia comrades did their utmost for the bureau. They took as their organizer Comrade Walitzky, who was unable to remain in the city. Left to themselves, the comrades worked in harmony and did their best on the field of organization as far as their limitations would permit them.

New Jersey Bureau — The National Executive called a conference of the branches in Passaic, Paterson and Newark. At the conference, held in Elizabeth, there were representatives of the Workmen's Circle branches in Bayonne and Elizabeth. The conference led us to expect a great deal, but after the conference the bureau showed no sign of life.

BRANCHES AND MEMBERSHIP

At our last convention the average sale of stamps was 600 per month, which means that our membership was twice that number. During the last year our average sale of stamps was 1000, which means that our membership has been doubled. Our

membership is now 2000, excluding the two new branches of Toronto and Montreal, over which we could not yet effect stamp control. Branches were organized or reorganized in the following cities: Chicago, (Cloakmaker branch,) Milwaukee, South Bend, Chelsea, New Haven, Denver, San Francisco, Down-Town, N. Y. and Lower Bronx, N. Y. We now have fifty branches over the country. New branches are being organized in the Capmakers Union, Furriers Union, Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union, and a branch in Coney Island.

MOVEMENT FOR A LABOR PARTY

We sent a number of circulars to our branches, explaining to them the standpoint that the Socialist Party adopted at its conventions with reference to the movement for a Labor Party. In accordance with the policy of the Socialist Party, we were represented at the conferences held at Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis, through our delegates, Alexander Kahn and H. Lang. We were also represented at the New York political labor conference held at Albany.

After the St. Louis conference the Jewish Socialist Verband arranged a meeting at which the delegate of the Verband, Alexander Kahn, and the delegate of the "Forward" Ass'n, B. C. Vladeck, reported on the conference.

WECKER PUBLISHING COMMITTEE

The Farlag "Wecker" (Wecker Pub.) is growing from day to day. This is not due to any great desire to go into the publishing business, but to the fact that the branches cannot get along without the necessary literature for propaganda work. We have until the present day published the following books and pamphlets in Yiddish:

- 1) The History of the Socialist movement in America — James Oneal 10,000 copies.
- 2) The Essence of Marxism — Edward Bernstein — 5,000.
- 3) Are You a Socialist? — B. Feigenbaum— 25,000.
- 4) A Half Century of Russian Revolution — Leo Deutsch — 5,000.
- 5) From Marx to Lenin — Morris Hillquit — 5,000.
- 6) Poems — I. Adler — To volumes as premium to the Wecker — 3,000.
- 7) A Letter to Mr. Olgin — David Einhorn Leaflet — 50,000.
- 8) Who Are the Left Proletarians in the Workmen's Circle? — Leaflet 25,000.

All the branches except a few have ordered these books and pamphlets and partly distributed them. Although we have a considerable stock on hand,

we are sure that during the coming winter we will dispose of a large number. We have just published another interesting book of great consequence to the Yiddish workingmen. It is called "Forty Years in the Jewish Labor Movement." There is already a great demand for it.

TRADE BRANCHES

We now have two trade branches of the Cloakmakers Union, one in Chicago, the other in New York. We are now organizing three more trade branches among the capmakers, furriers and fancy leather goods workers.

"DER WECKER"

The "Wecker" is the greatest financial burden of the Verband office. Its deficit has not decreased during the last year. Although we doubted at our last convention as to the advisability of making the strenuous effort of issuing a weekly organ, we are now firmly convinced that it is necessary for the life of our movement. Under the editorship of Comrade Shub the "Wecker" has become the most consistent Jewish Socialist weekly journal in the world. The "Wecker" has become our guide in all political and social questions on the program of the Jewish and non-Jewish labor movement all over the world. In our conflict with the Communists, who pretended to be the new Messiah, but turned out to be the false Messiah, the "Wecker" was our strongest cannon. In this respect the "Wecker" was a source of information to the leaders and members of the unions and Workman's Circle. We have issued three special number of the "Weckers," which were a financial as well as a moral success. The income from ads for the three issues was \$3500.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

On receiving appeals from prominent leaders of the Russian Social-Democratic Party and the "Bund" to help the political prisoners, the National Executive Committee decided to start a drive for the relief of the Socialist martyrs in Soviet Russia. Over three hundred organizations participated in this campaign. Were we willing to be involved in greater expenses, we might have raised twice \$4000. \$3000 has already been sent abroad.

MAY 1st CELEBRATION

In conjunction with the United States Hebrew Trades we called a May 1st conference in New York to which the labor organizations responded warmly. Meetings, addressed by representatives of the Jewish Socialist Verband, United Hebrew Trades and Poale Zion, were held in all parts of the city. A number of mass meetings were also arranged by some of our branches over the country. These meetings were successful everywhere.

Agenda National Convention Socialist Party

CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

Motion No. 1. That the Socialist Party continue its affiliation to the Conference for Progressive Political Action and that it endorse and support an independent political party of labor upon a plan which will preserve the autonomy and integrity of organization of the Socialist Party and other constituent groups.

Motion No. 2. That the Socialist Party of the United States sever its affiliation to the Conference for Progressive Political Action and that the activities of the party be concentrated upon party building and education in the principles and program of Socialism.

CONSTITUTION

Amend the National Party Constitution by striking out: Section 5, Article VII: "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."

Amend Section 10, Article IV, and Section 8, Article VIII, to provide that National dues shall be ten cents per month.

Referendum

To restore the sections of the National Party Constitution providing that all platforms, constitutional amendments, etc., be submitted to referendum of the membership.

Appropriations and Rebates of Dues

In order that the National organization shall not be hampered in its necessary work by an annual deficit, no fixed appropriation for special work nor rebate of dues to foreign language federations with a membership of less than 1,000 shall be made unless and until the average regular income from dues and literature sales shall be adequate to cover the fixed and mandatory expenses of the National Office first, but that such appropriations and rebates may be made from special funds collected for organization work when receipts and conditions warrant.

Socialist World

Motion No. 1. As the regular income from membership dues is inadequate to cover operating expense of the National Office and sustain a membership publication, that an annual Socialist World stamp be issued by the National Office in order that the Socialist World may be continued and improved and made a more effective organ of the Socialist Party.

NATIONAL PRESS BUREAU

To instruct the National Office to establish a Press Service Bureau for the dissemination of Socialist and Labor news, both National and International, and of comment on current events. Said Bureau to be maintained by the National Office and the several Socialist and Labor papers that may subscribe to same.

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Motion. No. 1. As laxity of discipline is a source of weakness and disintegration, that the National Party Constitution be so amended as clearly to define the provisions dealing with the duties of State, Federation and Local officials to, and their relations with, the national organization.

PLATFORM

From Local Elmira, New York:

1. "We demand proportional representation and the right of all usefully productive workers to vote at any and all elections, without regard to time of residence, place of residence or tax obligations, and that useful service be the only qualification for citizenship, for public office or for jury duty.

2. "We demand that the farmer who tills his own acres with the aid of none but members of his own family, and all other useful workers, be exempt from all manner of taxation; that all homes, not held for rent, to the value of four thousand dollars or less, be stricken from the list of taxable property. Also that income be legally designated as profits accruing from money loaned or invested.

3. "We demand that all lands held for speculation and all homes held for rent be taxed at their full rental value; also, a five year moratorium on all farm mortgages.

4. "We demand the establishment of national or state stores for the distribution of all the necessities of life to the useful workers, at a profit just sufficient to guarantee to the patrons of such stores adequate insurance against sickness, accident, unemployment, maternity and old age.

5. "We demand the abolition of money, rent, interest, taxation, price, profit, cost and market value, and that the right to consume be conditioned upon free service."

Banking

That the Socialist Party, organized to work for the interest of the majority of the people, make Government Ownership of Banks the paramount issue in the campaign of 1924.

*Socialist Party National Convention,
Cleveland, Ohio.*

PROGRAM FOR THE FIRST DAY

SUNDAY, JULY 6

At Hotel Winton.

- 10 A. M. — Organizing convention; address by Chairman; report of National Executive Committee; election of Committees; adjournment to Monday morning, July 7.
- 2 P. M. — Mass meeting at Moose Hall, 1000 Walnut Ave.
Speakers: Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, Meyer London, James H. Maurer and Abraham Cahan, editor of Forward.
- Admission — 25c.
- 5 P. M. — Automobile parade through the principal streets of Cleveland.
- 7:30 P. M. — Banquet at Hotel Winton, \$2.00 per plate.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

First Day

The Convention shall be opened by the Executive Secretary, who shall call the roll of the Delegates to the Convention, as certified by the respective State Secretaries. The Convention delegates, whose seats are uncontested, will proceed in the following order:

1. Election of Chairman for the day.
 2. Election of Vice-Chairman for the day.
 3. Report of the N. E. C. submitting Rules and Order of Business for the Convention.
 4. Appointment of a Sergeant-at-Arms and assistant.
 5. Appointment of tellers.
 6. Election of Committees.
- Regular Order of Business*
1. Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman for the day.
 2. Communications.
 3. Roll call of delegates.
 4. Report of the N. E. C. by the National Executive Secretary.
 5. The Agenda.
 6. Report of Committee on Resolutions.
 7. Report of Committee on Organization, Propaganda and Finance.
 8. Report of Committee on Economic Organizations.
 9. Report of Committee on Constitutional amendments.
 10. Election of a National Executive Committee, consisting of seven members and seven alternates.

RULES FOR THE CONVENTION

1. A Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected at the commencement of each day's session.
2. The Executive Secretary shall serve as the Secretary of the Convention, and shall appoint necessary assistants.
3. A Sergeant-at-Arms and assistant shall be appointed by the chairman for the entire Convention.
4. Three Tellers to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire Convention.
5. A Committee on Constitutional Amendments shall be elected, consisting of five members.
6. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, consisting of five members.
7. A Committee on Organization, Propaganda and Finance shall be elected, consisting of seven members.
8. A Committee on Economic Organizations shall be elected, consisting of five members.
9. A roll call shall be taken daily. Absentees, unless engaged on business of the Convention or presenting satisfactory excuses, shall not be entitled to per diem for that day.
10. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, except when the "previous question" has been called for, one delegate on each side of the question shall be allowed five minutes to sum up before the question is put.
11. Discussion shall be limited to five minutes for each speaker, except Chairman of standing committees, who shall have twenty minutes. The time of any speaker may be extended by unanimous consent. No speaker shall be granted the floor a second time upon any one motion unless all desiring to speak upon the motion shall have had opportunity to do so.
12. Fraternal delegates shall have a voice but no vote.
13. A quorum shall consist of not less than thirty-five delegates.
14. A roll call vote shall be taken at the request of one-third of the delegates present and entitled to vote. A separate roll call vote of Convention delegates only shall be taken upon demand of three Convention delegates.
15. Sessions of the Convention shall be from 10.00 A. M. to 1.00 P. M. and from 1:30 to 5:30 P. M. Night sessions shall be held as soon as reports of committees are ready or as voted by the Convention.

*Submitted by the
National Executive Committee.*

INCOMPLETE LIST OF DELEGATES
TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
CLEVELAND, JULY 6, 1924

		<i>New York</i>
		May Harris Mainland, Brooklyn.
		Charles Solomon, New York City.
		Morris Hillquit, " " "
		Algernon Lee, " " "
		August Claessens " " "
		William Karlin, " " "
		Jacob Panken, " " "
		Morris Berman, " " "
		Jos. D. Cannon, " " "
		Julius Gerber, " " "
		Louis Waldman, " " "
		Harriot Stanton Blatch, " " "
		Joshua Lieberman, " " "
		S. John Block, " " "
		Simon Berlin, " " "
		James Oneal, " " "
		A. I. Shiplacoff, Brooklyn
		J. A. Whitehorn, "
		W. W. Passage, "
		Joseph F. Viola, "
		Jacob Bernstein, Bronx
		Henry Feuer, "
		Patrick J. Murphy, "
		Joseph Kooperman, Woodridge.
		Harold Hasbrouck, Poughkeepsie.
		Herbert M. Merrill, Schenectady
		Warren Atkinson, Rochester.
		Irving M. Weiss, Buffalo.
		<i>Ohio</i>
		Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton.
		Oscar K. Edelman, "
		John G. Willert, Cleveland.
		Joseph Martinek, "
		Anna Kiel, Cincinnati.
		Nick Weltlich, Massillon
		John Ojala, Ashtabula.
		Thomas C. Devine, Toledo.
		J. H. Bjorn, Warren.
		Theodore Johnson, Cleveland.
		<i>Oklahoma</i>
		E. H. Gates, Oklahoma City.
		<i>Pennsylvania</i>
		Howard Wogan, Altoona.
		Sidney Stark, Braddock.
		W. J. Wright, Donora.
		G. Weinstein, Edgewood.
		F. W. Hirt, Erie.
		Cora Bixler, Lancaster.
		H. Levine, McKeesport.
		Harry Eckard, New Kensington
		William Temme, " "
		Darlington Hoopes, Norristown.
		Joseph E. Cohen, Philadelphia.
		Alfred Baker Lewis, "
	<i>California</i>	
Cameron H. King,	San Francisco	
Alexander Horr,	Oakland.	
Wm. Falls,	Antioch.	
	<i>Connecticut</i>	
Louis Krahl,	Meriden,	
Mrs. Louis Krahl,	"	
Walter E. Davis,	Whitneyville.	
S. S. Weissberg,	New Haven	
	<i>Illinois</i>	
Evar Anderson,	Chicago.	
Tilden Bozarth,	Staunton.	
Katherine Claus,	Lincoln.	
John Collins,	Chicago.	
Wm. A. Cunnea,	"	
George Koop,	"	
Morris Siskind,	"	
W. R. Snow,	"	
John T. Whitlock,	"	
Dave Woodhouse,	"	
John Frank Danis,	Divernon.	
	<i>Indiana</i>	
Emma Henry,	Indianapolis.	
Wm. H. Henry,	"	
Severino Pollo,	"	
Wm. Fogleson,	Clinton.	
	<i>Maryland</i>	
S. M. Neistadt,	Baltimore	
Wm. A. Toole,	"	
James L. Smiley	Annapolis.	
	<i>Michigan</i>	
A. L. Day,	Detroit.	
M. Wagman,	"	
Louis Wise,	"	
	<i>Missouri</i>	
W. L. Garver,	Springfield.	
W. M. Brandt,	St. Louis,	
G. A. Hoehn,	" "	
B. Cohen,	" "	
	<i>Montana</i>	
James D. Graham,	Livingston	
James L. Wallace,	Missoula	
	<i>New Jersey</i>	
Leo M. Harkins,	Camden.	
George H. Goebel,	Newark.	
Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin,	Ridgefield Park.	
George Bauer,	Jersey City	
Herman Niessner,	Camden.	
Andrew P. Wittel,	Belleville.	
August P. Gunther,	North Bergen.	
Benjamin Gillman,	Newark.	
Louis Reiss,	"	

Nathan Malyn, " "
 Charles Sehl, " "
 J. Slayton, Pittsburgh.
 Wm. Van Essen, " "
 Anna Van Essen, " "
 John Aulenbach, Reading.
 Geo. W. Snyder, " "
 J. Henry Stump, " "
 William Adams, Wilkinsburg.
 P. A. McGowan, Williamsport.

West Virginia
 I. G. Miller, Morgantown.

New England States Organization District
 W. N. Reivo, Fitchburg, Mass.
 George E. Roewer, Jr. Boston, Mass.
 Moses Hahl, Warren, Maine.
 Mrs. Ida Jokinen, Maynard, Mass.
 A. Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass.
 Walter Hutchins, Greenfield, Mass.

(Wisconsin Delegates not reported)

Northwestern States Organization District
 Emil Herman, Seattle, Wash.

Bohemian Federation
 Alois Kostka, Chicago, Ill.

Italian Federation
 James Battistoni, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Girolamo Valenti, New York City.

Jewish Federation
 S. P. Kramer, New York City.
 H. Lang, " " "
 N. Chanin, " " "

Jugo-Slav Federation
 Frank Zaitz, Chicago, Ill.
 Charles Pogorelec, " "
 Andrew Bogatay, Cleveland, Ohio.

Young People's Socialist League
 Albert Weisbord, Boston.
 A. J. Parker, Fitchburg, Mass.
 Oscar Albrecht, St. Louis, Mo.

Delegates from State Committees
 of the Socialist Party
 to the Conference for Progressive Political Action
 Cleveland, July 4, 1924.

California
 Cameron H. King, San Francisco.
 Alexander Horr, Oakland.

Connecticut
 Louis Krahl, Meriden.
 Nathan Gandelman, New Haven.

Illinois
 Tilden Bozarth, Staunton.
 Wm. A. Cunnea, Chicago.

Indiana
 Wm. H. Henry, Indianapolis.
 H. S. Newlund, " "

Maine
 Moses Hall, Warren.

Massachusetts
 George E. Roewer, Jr., Boston, Mass.
 Mrs. Ida Jokinen, Maynard, "

Maryland
 S. M. Neistadt, Baltimore.
 Wm. A. Toole, " "

Michigan
 Louis Wise, Detroit.
 M. Wagman, " "

Missouri
 W. L. Garver, Springfield.
 W. M. Brandt, St. Louis.

Montana
 James D. Graham, Livingston.
 James L. Wallace, Missoula.

New Jersey
 Leo M. Harkins, Camden.
 George H. Goebel, Newark.

New York
 Julius Gerber, New York City.
 Algernon Lee, " " "

Ohio
 Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton.
 John G. Willert, Cleveland.

Pennsylvania
 Wm. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh.
 Joseph E. Cohen, Philadelphia.

West Virginia
 I. G. Miller, Morgantown.

Wisconsin
 William Coleman, Milwaukee.
 Daniel W. Hoan, " "

Northwestern States Organization District
 Emil Herman, Seattle, Wash.

Young People's Socialist League
 Albert Weisbord, Boston, Mass.

National Socialist Party Delegates
 Morris Hillquit
 Bertha Hale White,
 Victor L. Berger.

MONDAY, JULY 7.
 8 P. M. — Jewish mass meeting at Jewish Center
 Auditorium, E. 105th & Grantwood Av.
 Speakers: Abraham Cahan, H. Lang,
 N. Chanin and others.

On to Cleveland Gladly— And Carefully

By George R. Kirkpatrick

Of course the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the Socialist National Convention—both to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, early in July—are, just now, interesting and all-important. Either or both may sadly fail or brilliantly succeed.

May it please you: Both the Conference and the Convention will require statesmanship.

And what indeed is statesmanship?

Well, whatever may be the policies, programs and procedures appropriately called statesmanship, it is surely true that working-class statesmanship of today is real and soundly progressive—and safe—precisely in the degree that it is guided, fundamentally guided, by the largest facts, the unqualifiedly dominant facts, of capitalist society and by a clear and worth-while goal, *a goal revealed and made necessary by the dominant facts of capitalist society*, and characterized too by a readiness for common-sense concession but never by a readiness for fundamental compromise. To be guided by anything less than the facts of first-rank importance and by our real goal and the practical requirements of a great situation, is the piffle of second-rate "politics," and the tactics of place-hunting or place-holding politicians,—and is not statesmanship.

The Discussions and the Platforms:—should they not clearly indicate that names and numbers are deceptive sometimes? Do we not remember that a certain political party in 1912 was called a "Progressive" party and that that party was also a "third" party—and that it stole 18 planks from the Socialist platform—and was still a true 'capitalist', employers' party? And would we not do well to recall that that particular "Progressive" party instinctively and carefully did not steal or even remotely hint at just those parts of the Socialist Party platform that made it then and make it now a party of the working class and safe for the working class? Is our goal to be even slightly obscured by brevity or subordination to or covered up by relatively minor matters? Very many things that can be and should be placed in the platform can be most confusingly and cunningly imitated in other platforms—can they not? As to the Candidates:—to be regarded as sincere and worthy of consideration should they not make perfectly clear what *they* conceive to be the dominant facts of capitalist society and what *they* conceive to be the proper goal of working-class statesmanship *in the light of these facts*, and should they not be perfectly clear also on the profound difference between what is com-

monly called "political reform" or noisy, ancient and tiresome opposition to "monopoly control,"—and the first great principles of necessary industrial reconstruction? Even Mr. Bryan was fiery and noisy as a "friend of labor" and wildly opposed to "monopoly control" thirty years ago. Now, if working class statesmanship in the present circumstances soundly requires to be guided by the great outstanding facts of present-day industrial society and by a new and worth-while goal for the workers and also by the reasonable requirements of a basis of unity for the groups now eager to discontinue the ridiculous goose-stepping round and round in a circle but wishing rather to stride forward to a goal worth while, then what are the search-light facts of capitalist society?—what is the true goal of a working class party?—and what is the basis of unity? In view of the immediate—and later—practical importance of the approaching Conference and of the Convention, it behooves all of us to be intellectually modest enough at least to consider and perhaps reconsider these questions.

We shall be safe—and helpful—if we hold high the banner bearing the major facts of capitalism and the flaming goal of industrial emancipation, a goal never to be reached with mere patchwork, but reached rather thru the industrial reconstruction of capitalist society now frigid with selfishness, vulgar with hatreds, dulled with arrogance, disgusting with parasitism, loathsome with corruption, brutal with robbery, damned with wars, and cruelly contemptuous of the growing and decaying army of unemployed now increasingly threatened with rifles and machine guns if they cry out for justice.

The economic and militaristic pressure upon the working class of the United States (if not right now sufficient to accomplish it) will undoubtedly in the near-future years politically and industrially affiliate the groups of workers who now perhaps somewhat misunderstand one another; and in the future years (as now in England) they will courageously, fraternally and unitedly march forward together toward an ever clearer goal. With all our hearts we can, in affiliation, co-operate with an American Labor Party as soon as we find such a party with a platform and candidates clearly, boldly declaring for the defense of the working class—as a class—now, and for the swift coming of industrial emancipation for the working class. For that is our goal. And that is our business in Cleveland.

Official Business

May 2, 1924

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:

The following resolution has been received with the request that it be submitted to your committee immediately:

"Whereas, the Socialist Party is, primarily, an *educational* movement for the propagation and organization of *revolutionary* working class principles based upon the absolute overthrow of the profit system of production and distribution; and

"Whereas, any merging of the identity of the Socialist Party with those of other organizations *not* of a clearly revolutionary character but serves to cloud the issue and confuse the minds of those whom we are seeking to educate—thereby minimizing the value of the organization to the working class; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we *condemn* the tendency evinced by the party in some sections to compromise our revolutionary program by forming coalitions with other political and semi-political organizations; and be it further

"Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be mailed to the National Executive Committee with request that they be presented to the National Convention on July 6th and that copies be given the press.

Adopted unanimously by the State Committee of Washington at its initial meeting in Seattle, on April 20, 1924.

(Signed) *Ruby Herman*,
Secretary for the Committee."

To All State Secretaries of the Socialist Party

Dear Comrade:

Will you kindly notify us at the earliest possible moment of any action taken by your state organization relative to the convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action on July 4 in Cleveland?

It seems imperatively necessary that we adopt a plan of action, and for that purpose we are requesting all State and National delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to meet in Cleveland on July 3. I am confident that our delegates will meet with open minds and adopt a harmonious program for united action, and we ask your co-operation to secure a full attendance in such a *preliminary* conference.

Thanking you for any assistance you may give toward making the preliminary

Roll up your sleeves, comrade, and bring in at least two party members.

If you want to learn how to back an objector to Socialism clear off the map and do it handsomely, get Work's "What's So and What Isn't."

"Socialism Summed Up" by Morris Hillquit is a brilliant lawyer's masterly summing up of our case. Just the thing for students in high school and college and for professional people. Clothbound, 75c.

"SILENCE" by George R. Kirkpatrick, is the first of the new big leaflets, just now off the press. 105,000 have already been shipped to the firing line.

conference fully representative, I am

Yours fraternally,
Bertha Hale White
Executive Secretary.

May 10, 1924.

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:

We are in receipt of a report from Comrade Harkins on the situation in the Southern states, of which he is District Secretary, reading in part as follows:

"I have written to the National Secretary of the Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circles) to send me a list of the Secretaries and members of the Circles in the Southern states; also the same request has been made to the Jewish Daily Forward for the purpose of getting moral and financial assistance in the different sections where the Workmen's Circles are organized and where the Forward has readers.

"I feel that this plan will enable us to send an organizer into at least several of the Southern states, and I feel sure new locals of the Party will be organized without expense and possibly be the means of financing some of the work of the National Office.

"I would suggest as one of the means to help expedite this work that I be allowed to sell stamps to the branches in the South at the price I receive them from the National Office, which would enable them to sell them to their members at 25 cents each, and that I be permitted to sell to members at large at 25 cents each.

"I feel that this would greatly increase Socialist activity and organization in the South, and feel at least that it is worth giving a trial.

"I am willing to finance the work in the Southern states from this office, waiving any share in the dues stamps sale, if the proposition I propose in reference to the price of stamps to the branches and members in the Southern states is satisfactory to the members of the N. E. C.

"The letters coming in asking for information about Socialism, asking for literature, and proffering assistance in doing organization work, are more encouraging to me than any experience I have had for some years back.

"So if my request is granted by the Forward and the Workmen's Circles in furnishing me the names of readers, members and secretaries, I may be able in a short time make a substantial and much needed donation to the National Office."

The National Constitution provides that members at large in unorganized states shall pay 50 cents per month, and State and National dues shall be not less than 25 cents. Comrade Harkins' pro-

posal is to handle the dues stamps without any income to his office.

Kindly vote on:

*National Executive Committee
Motion No. 30.*

(Executive Question)

"Shall Comrade Harkins be authorized to furnish locals and branches in his district dues stamps for 12½ cents per month, and members at large at 25 cents?"

(Vote reported May 20, with comment.)

Voting Yes: Brandt Harkins, Hillquit, Melms, Wilson. (5)

Voting No: Snow. (1)

Not Heard From: Debs (1)

Affirmative action.

Comment by Snow

"On Motion 30, I vote no. This would be setting a very dangerous precedent and showing favoritism in the payment of party dues with nothing to be gained by it except possibly the adding of a few score or so of members from that section to the disgruntlement of the comrades in other sections of the country who might feel that they should be favored likewise. Besides, I do not think it within the jurisdiction of the N. E. C. to take this step, as the dues are fixed by the National Constitution and the constitution adopted and amended by referendum vote of the membership.

"If organized states having a State Committee and a State Secretary desire to lower their dues to 25c or even to 12½c, that would be wholly their business, but for the N. E. C. to lower the dues in some sections of the country does not come within the jurisdiction of the Committee, if I can rightly interpret the spirit and letter of the constitution. When dues are raised or lowered, this should be done by referendum vote of the party as a whole. I therefore trust this proposition will be defeated."

Enclosed herewith please find communication from the Delegation Abroad of the Young Socialist Revolutionary of Russia received for publication in the Socialist World. In the December number of the World we printed a similar communication, received from the Labour and Socialist International. I would appreciate an expression of your wishes in regard to articles attacking the Soviet government sent to this office for publication from official sources.

In order to establish a precedent for future guidance, kindly vote on:

*National Executive Committee
Motion No. 31.*

(Executive Question)

"Shall the article from the Delegation

"Coming back" simply means getting busy.

The article in this issue by W. W. Passage on Why Farmers and Industrial Workers Should Unite is worth seven times its weight in gold. Read it. Hand it 'round. We hope to have a million readers for this message.

Do something next Sunday for the movement.

"Why Things Happen to Happen" by John M. Work is the best first-book in our literature for teaching the foundation of our Socialist Philosophy.

"The Trinity of Plunder," by August Claessens, is sure to make the new prospect read, laugh and learn. A very bright book. Get it. Lend it. Keep it going. 100 for \$6.

Abroad of the Young Socialist Revolutionary of Russia be published in the Socialist World?

Ballots enclosed. Vote closes May 19.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary.

(Vote reported May, 20 with comment.)

Voting Yes: Melms, Snow. (2)

Voting No: Brandt, Harkins, Hillquit, Wilson. (4)

Not Heard From: Debs (1)

Negative Action.

Comment by Harkins:

"To print articles attacking the Soviet government is to my mind not the most advisable thing to print.

"I feel that there is a tendency on the part of contributors on the Russian question to write or have printed articles that need to be verified on many points. This the National Office is not always in a position to do; therefore, there is a possibility that at times we may be led to print articles not founded on facts.

"To prevent such a situation arising, I am in favor of not printing any articles criticizing the Soviet government until the Executive Committee is able to draw up some plan that will safeguard the National Secretary from criticism."

Comment by Hillquit:

"I am opposed to the publication of the communication submitted by Comrade

Weisbord (1) because I have some doubts about the reliability of Evgheny Schreider, and (2) I do not favor the tendency of persistent attacks on the Soviet government which seems to be developing in some parts of the Socialist movement, just as I could not accept the former attitude of indiscriminate praise."

In accord with Motion No. 31, articles which attack the Soviet Government will not appear in the Socialist World.

The Socialist Party

BERTHA HALE WHITE

Executive Secretary

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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.