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OUT OF THE CAMPAIGN

By Joseph E. Cohen

Election day ends one campaign and starts another. However badly beaten the reactionary elements, they are all too glad to be over the headache from the many blows they have received. But for the aggressive forces of progress, there is only regret over the little lull until the people are again ready to listen to what should concern them most.

Up to this time Labor took a very hesitating part in politics. It always waited to see whom the old parties selected for house-keepers; then it went in. Too often the door was slammed in its face, and it was left out in the cold. But until this day it never dared set up house for itself. Now it has done so.

From this election on there will be a labor bloc in Congress and in every state legislature and city council. Not only will bona fide workingmen and women be selected for office, but they will run on a labor platform. Too often heretofore they were permitted to climb on behind an old party platform. When they won, Labor often lost.

Representation in elective bodies will more nearly respond to the makeup of the population. A large number of lawyers will return to the practice of law, while their places are taken by those closer to the flesh and pulse of the masses. There will be plenty of farmers, miners, railroad men, machinists, printers, needle workers, mill and factory operatives, educators and engineers administering the affairs of government. Instead of being a snuggery for politicians, office-holding will be-

come the seat of administration for the people's business.

That is the brightest sign of the times.

It may take a little while for the old parties to realize that this is the principal fruit of the election. But it will be easier to discover that something has hit both of them where the hitting was good. They have been hurt in their most vulnerable spot—by loss of votes.

In truth, when they pick themselves up and take an inventory of the wreckage, they will find that like the two derelicts in "The Workhouse Ward," they are able to count only when they put themselves together to make one.

For the conservative and reactionary fractions in the two parties to get together under one flag will be difficult. The Democratic Party must keep its name in the South. The Republican Party name is too close to many hide-bound voters to relinquish it. Expediency will not have such an easy time.

But it is certain that some covert way will be found whereby the tory crowd will vote for the same candidates. For from now on there are only two parties: Labor and anti-Labor.

The issue has been made. The two armies have come to grips. Labor stands for majority rule and democracy in industry. Capital stands for tyrannical rule by despotic judges over the people and autocracy in industry. There is no doubt what the outcome will be. Cap talism is doomed.

* * * *

Not all in the plutocracy will be of one mind. To be sure the most assertive expression will be that of the American junkers who would oppress the workers with an iron heel. They would like to create their puny "Hell and Maria" open shop drives to crush the labor unions and reduce the wage-workers to servi-They imagine in their bloated veins flows the blue blood of royalty. They have only contempt for the Constitutional rights, laws and authorities of the land, and would ruthlessly stamp out opposition. They are nearest kin to czars and kaisers and, if left to themselves, would readily bring forth the turbulent upheaval which would make them lose their heads altogether.

They are the most plutocratic of the capitalists, the giants of industry and titans of finance. They would be king. But they do not exhaust the capitalist class. There are others of quite

another point of view.

There is a more moderate section. In this element they are just as desirous of ruling, just as hungry for pelf and power as the more embittered. But they have picked up a hint or two from history, especially the revolutionary history made with the collapse of the war.

They believe discretion is the better part of valor. They would soften the antagonism toward Labor. They would tolerate the trades unions, and kill off the leaders with the kindness of personal attention. They would permit the passage of a lot of petty social legislation. They would share a small slice of their

profits and sell a remnant of stock. They would declare themselves "Socialists also."

According to their varying fortunes, one or the other element in the capitalist class will predominate.

Labor must be prepared to meet the opposition of both kinds. It must be organized better than ever politically and industrially. It must go in for extensive and intensive labor education to fit itself to cope with every tremendous economic and social problem. It must build up its own press and carry on endless publicity. It must give all its energies free play.

Sure enough the war demolished the European house of cards. But American capitalism is the scavenger. After its first charity, it extends help with a long string attached. It is making loans at the rate of a billion and a half dollars a year. It will demand interest and principal. Europe may kill itself trying to pay. Or it may revolt against the yoke.

In either case, Labor alone can save the domestic situation and the white man's civilization by international fraternity. The blood of humanity must be thicker than the grease of dirty dollars. The intelligent co-operation of the people must rise above the selfish ambitions of money-mad plunderers. That is the imperative demand.

The campaign just made is indeed historic. But it only opens a period. The great words are still to be written.

THE NEW PARTY

By Judge Jacob Panken

The next two months are in my judgment to be the most momentous in the life of the Socialist Party.

It is quite evident now that a third party will be organized. I stress the fact that it will be a third party. It was my hope that my deductions were wrong and a Labor party will come out of this LaFollette movement. It seems, however, that my conclusions were well grounded.

An attempt will undoubtedly be made by some of the comrades to link up the Socialist Party with this third party regardless of its character, or as to program and psychology in the hope that eventually it will turn into a Labor Party. My opinion is as it has been for a long time, that a reform movement committed to the support of the present system cannot be expected to be anything but a means to divert the attention of the workers to the need of class, or maybe I should use the other

term "independent," political action. Hence it is not to be hoped that out of this third party a Labor Party will come.

I have prayed all along that I may be wrong, and instead of a third party a Labor Party will be formed in January, 1925. I continue to do Assume, however, that the inevitable does happen, what are we of the Socialist Party to do? If we go with the third party it means that we must abandon the idea that the capitalist system is maintained because of class interests. We must discard our conviction that the working class has especial interests and must fight as a class. We must accept the theory of reform—that is, patching up the system so that it may work. We must accept the idea that the worker is entitled to a fair day's wage for a fair day's work-nothing more. We must subscribe to the theory that profits are justifiable, and permissible, and interest a proper charge against society. I don't know how many in the Socialist Party are ready to do that. I hope that they are few.

LOOKING FORWARD

By Bertha Hale White

American Socialists in this campaign have just concluded a great part in the first act of a great drama. With the election on November 4th, the stage is cleared for the second, the marshalling of forces which will precede the convention in January. That convention will have a tremendous audience. The eyes of the world will be turned toward the city where the Conference for Progressive Political Action will assemble delegates representing all the liberal forces, all the radical organizations, all the forward looking elements in this nation for the definite purpose of forming a new political organization.

In the struggle of the past four months the Socialists have kept the faith. They have in no particular violated the sanctity of the contract they made when they joined forces with the C. P. P. A. The first great test of the Socialists came at Cleveland and only the members of the Socialist Party realized how great the sacrifice was which circumstances demanded of them at that time. They met the test—and met it without striking any heroic attitudes over it. They knew they were inevitably placing the very existence of the Socialist Party in jeopardy, that only clear understanding and approval by the rank and file would save the party from disintegration.

But the logic of the decision reached in the National Convention of the Socialist Party on July 7, 1924, was quite clear to the members who had been following developments up to the time of the convention.

The delegates to the Socialist Party conven-

tion remembered the contract long since made with the other groups in the Conference. They could not refuse at Cleveland to work politically with the Conference because it was not committed to the full program of Socialism, and, having set their hand to that plowing, the Socialists wasted no time in looking backward nor did they shadow the fine generosity of their decision by attempting to impose any conditions. There was no bargaining, no reservation.

The Socialists went into the campaign for LaFollette and Wheeler. They gave to the limit of their resources in trained workers, in funds, in political experience gained in many a hard-fought battle. In the majority of states, the Socialist Party nominated its own ticket for county and state elections and while actively campaigning for its candidates, meticulously refrained from capitalizing the endorsement of Senator LaFollette. Socialists made no attempt to commit the candidature of LaFollette and Wheeler to the Socialist Party campaign, but at the same time they worked early and late to strengthen the national ticket.

There have been difficulties enough. Many elements combined in the support of Senator LaFollette and the term "progressive" is very The results of the campaign are definitely less than they should have been. If it had been limited to the election of the President and Vice-President of the United States the voters of this nation would have redeemed the control of the government from the wasteful, lawless and corrupt influences which have written a disgraceful chapter into the history of America. But millions of voters, progressive, radical or Socialist at heart, are nominally Democratic or Republican and by habit and association supporters of state and local campaigns of those parties.

The man or woman who worked for the election of the Progressive LaFollette for President and the Democrat Jones for Governor and Independent Smith for State's Attorney was at times a confusing element in the campaign. Seeking votes for LaFollette such campaigners also sought to obtain all possible support for the state ticket of his or her choice. The Conference for Progressive Political Action committed its constituent groups to the national ticket only. It assumed no authority or control over endorsements of candidates in the state and county elections. And sometimes an influential "progressive" would announce the support of his group for a candidate who was offensive to some other influential progressive. It was a mistaken policy and in some places the source of disaffection.

We believe results to the Socialist movement will thoroughly justify the sacrifice the party risked when it refrained from nominating its own candidates. We have reached people through this association we were unable to approach before. Much of the old antagonism, due to lack of understanding, has been effaced. Many of the old slanders against the meaning and purpose of Socialism have been refuted for all time. The new policy of the Socialist Party is in fact a new door to the

heretofore closed and barricaded understanding of countless thousands who should be in fullest accord with the purpose of Socialism.

There are many groups and organizations and societies in the United States opposed to the present despotic control of the nation's finance and industry that are not ready or prepared to accept the program of Socialism. We have a situation similar to that which confronted J. Keir Hardie more than a score of years ago when he set about the task of forming a federation of the British workers. that initial year, the British Labor Party had fifteen candidates in the general election and elected two of them. The total vote was 62,698. In every succeeding election the number of Labor members was increased until the election held on October 29th. The capitalist press of this country immediately announced that British Labor had met a crushing defeat because it did not secure a majority in the House of Commons. But British Labor received between five and six million votes, a million more than in any previous election.

The British Labor Party is not a political party of individuals but a federation of groups and organizations of the wage-earners and producers primarily for political purposes. It is the political expression not only of British Labor but of British Socialism. At the close of last year, 102 Trade Unions with, politically, 3,279,276 members, 5 National Socialist Societies with a membership of 31,760, and 482 Local Labor Parties and Trade Councils belonged to the British Labor Party. That is, all these groups and organizations were federated together for national and international purposes.

Among the Socialist organizations are the

Independent Labor Party, by far the strongest, comprising the bulk of Socialist membership and corresponding to the Socialist Party of the United States, and the Fabian Society, both of which have been constituent parts of the federation since its organization in 1900. The control of the British Labor Party is vested in a National Executive Committee composed of 23 members elected upon a federal basis at the annual conferences. It is financed by a per capita tax, just as the American Federation of Labor is maintained and supported.

We are looking forward to the January Convention and we frequently speak of the new party we hope to see formed "along the lines of the British Labor Party." The general discussion on the subject; however, indicates that very few people have any definite idea of its structure. The belief is general that the British workers have solved the great problem of combining the exploited classes into a harmonious working force with a minimum program comprising a few great immediate issues and measures calculated to strengthen these classes in their economic struggle. To form such a working force in American politics is the problem which will confront the delegates in the January convention.

The special concern of Socialists at this time is to insure a clearcut separation of the future alignment of workers and producers of America from all parties of capitalism. The program may be a limited one, but the crucial test of its value is whether it serves to sever the entanglements of Labor with the political agents of industrial despotism. National and State organizations of the Socialist Party will have voice and vote in the January convention. Their representation must be complete.

LITERATURE TO LIGHT THE WAY

The campaign was enlightening to millions. Those who have light want more light. Here is the literature to light the way leading to the January Convention:

LEAFLETS: What Is Socialism; The A. B. C. of Socialism; and The Story of the British Labor Party.

These leaflets are 25 cents per 100; \$2.00 per 1,000; 5,000 or more at \$1.75 per 1,000.

THE HILLQUIT-KEATING DEBATE is a 32-page pamphlet, beautifully printed on perfect paper. This is the best thing in print for the education of workers now ready to study both sides of the all-absorbing question: Shall a Labor Party be Formed in America? With one copy you could reach and enlighten ten people—by lending and relending the pamphlet. Do it now. Twenty-five cents per copy; \$2.00 per dozen; \$15.00 per 100. All literature is sent carriage prepaid.

ADDRESS: The Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

OUR CHARTER OF LIBERTIES

By George R. Kirkpatrick

The World War rocked the world, severely strained the very foundation of capitalist The French Revolution of the society. eighteenth century was indeed a vast upheaving influence even yet stirring portions of mankind. But the World War was a worldrousing influence far surpassing all other events in the history of mankind-and chiefly because of its influence on the workers of the civilized world. In consequence of the World War many hundreds of millions of workers are bitterly sneering at the parading pomp of kings and queens, are daily more scornful of strutting statesmen and swaggering politicians, and are increasingly contemptuous of certain "sacred" customs and "divine-gift" constitutions. The meekness of the multitude is passing. The workers increasingly challenge what, heretofore, they have dully accepted without

All this the ruling class at tor.

take warning of samzations are constructed
The special work of "doping" the waking workers—especially their children—to counteract as far as possible the rousing effects of the World War on the working class. In the United States we have numerous organizations of this sort, but of very special interest to us in the National Security League. This smug and cunning organization is powerful both in membership and in funds. Its chief reliance is in printed material, especially booklets and leaflets; and its general program-andpurpose, as announced by itself, is "Patriotism through an Education-Constitution Series." Millions of such leaflets and booklets are provided for free distribution. Material for these publications has been furnished by some of the ablest men and women in the land. Learning, skill and power have been enlisted to furnish the literary mixtures for smothering the rousing workers' inclination to challenge the Constitution, to challenge the purpose of the men who made the Constitution and to challenge the purpose of the employer-profiteers who are incessantly praising the Constitution.

Now one of the mighty men who furnished the material for the largest of the small books issued to glorify the Constitution was one James M. Beck. Mr. Beck evidently made a profound impression upon himself, while yet a very young man, and he does not seem to have recovered. Beck is pretentious as a scholar, dis-

tinguished as a statesman pompously pulmonary as an orator, and is a real joy to the National Security League as a distributor of the necessary social chloroform. This fellow. Beck, sometimes so intexicates himself with the musical thunder of his own oratory that he becomes unwary and inadvertently tells the truth with attractive naivete. This mighty man, Beck, prepared Chapter Six of the small book just referred to and called the chapter. "The Six Fundamental Principles of the Constitution." in preparing this chapter, Mr. Beck becarie unwary, slipped, bungled-told the truth-"spilt the beans" for the National Security League; and the stupid editor of the League's literature let the bean-enter printed fession get by him and air read by millions of forn to be read, or the tollowing are a few American prior Six, and these lines are urged for your very careful-consideration and even prayerful meditation:

"......Human institutions gather no strength from pieces of parchment or red seals...... The American commonwealth is something more than the mere machinery of government. The Constitution is not static. It changes from generation to generation, sometimes by formal amendment, more frequently by judicial interpretation..... Closely allied...... is the fourth principle of an independent judiciary. It is the balance wheel of the Constitution, and, to function, it must be beyond the possibility of attack or destruction."

Now nothing could be clearer than that: The Supreme Court can amend the Constitution, the Supreme Court does amend the Constitution—and has actually amended the Constitution far more frequently than amendments have been effected in the regular constitutional way. And the National Securities League of legalized looters are perfectly happy to have the Constitution easily amended for their class by their arrogant crew of Supreme Court Justices who are never in any case the choice of the people and are always complacently safe from the political clutches of the people.

Think it over—and have your children discuss the matter at school. A small group of prominent politicians are boosted into the Supreme Court by another politician who happens to be President of the Republic. And these Supreme Court politicians become sud-

denly possessed of power to amend the Constitution more easily and frequently than is possessed by scores of millions of American citizens. With vast labor and expense for propaganda nineteen amendments have been made to the Constitution by the people in nearly one hundred and forty years, but so difficult is the Constitution of amendment in the regular way that many hundreds of attempts by the people to amend the Constitution have failed. Yet here are nine men, fa-

vorites of the steel trust, pets of the coal barons, favorites of the cotton manufacturers, personal friends of the railway emperors, familiars of the world's mightiest bankers and the rest of the ruling class,—these nine eminent flunkies, even a small majority of them, have more power to amend the Constitution than 115,000,000 people have to alter the political foundation of this nation, the document soothingly called the "very best constitution in the world."

WHY SHOULD SURPLUS PRODUCTION BE A CURSE?

By John M. Work

Foreign markets do not come with sefficient less they pay the workers, the bigger their they are not going to come, since the say countries will produce more themselves as then purchasing power increases.

If their purchasing power could be stimulated, it undoubtedly would help to move American farm products, but in the long run we shall have to depend upon building up the home market-and upon building up social conditions which will make surplus a blessing instead of a curse.

If you and Bill Jones were the only people on the face of the earth, and you found that you could produce more than you could consume, would you be terribly wrought up over that fact? Would you bewail your tough luck in not having anyone to sell your surplus to? Or would you and Bill, after accumulating whatever surplus you cared to keep for future use, quit producing so much, and proceed to thoroughly enjoy the spare time which this would give you?

Well, if you, under those circumstances. would find a surplus to be a blessing instead of a curse, why should not the whole of society find it the same? The whole of society in America is only you and Bill Jones multiplied, and the same easy solution ought to fit.

It undoubtedly would fit were it not for one thing—the private ownership of the great industries.

Because these industries are privately owned, the products legally belong to the private owners, instead of belonging to the men and women who do the useful work. The private owners use the industries for private profit, not for the general good. The

profits are. As the workers only get part of the value of their labor, they can buy only part of the product. And this, too, makes it im-

rible for them to purchase all of the farm-We need a ...

collective ownership and com-a change to industries, so that they can be run ivereat benefit of all the people—for use and not for profit—so that the useful men and women will get what is coming to them and be able to buy the products of industry and farm.

When that condition comes about, it will be just as it would be with you and Bill Jones in the hypothetical case above imagined—that is, if there were more produced than could be consumed, a reasonable quantity of products could be stored up for the future, and then reduce the hours of labor and give everybody more spare time. This would automatically cut down production to the proper point without throwing anybody out of employment. In short, the surplus, now a curse, would be turned into a blessing. Would not that be a wise thing to do?

NOTICE

The call for the convention of the Socialist Party to be held (probably) in January will not be issued until after the meeting of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Washington. The date of the meeting has been changed from November 29 to December 12. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet immediately following.

The Weak Spot of the La Follette Campaign

By Alfred Baker Lewis

The weak spot of the La Follette campaign has become clearly apparent. It was the lack of local candidates for Congress, the State Legislatures, and the smaller offices, and the lack of an organized party instead of a mere presidential movement.

The lack of an organized Farmer Labor Party seriously hurt the campaign because it prevented many Progressives who had been or were candidates on the Democratic and Republican tickets with the active support of organized labor from openly declaring themselves for and campaigning for LaFollette. As it was, they simply remained silent; and by running for office on the Democratic or Republican tickets they tacitly endorsed the strike-breaker, Coolidge, or the Wall Street Attorney, Davis.

One of the things I did as organizer for the Socialist Party of New England was to visit men who were or had been candidates for office on the Democratic or Republican tickets with the support of organized labor, and urge them to come out openly for La Follette and if possible take the stump for him. At times, I was told by the man so approached, that he intended to vote for La Follette; once or twice I even received a donation—to be credited anonymously—for the LaFollette campaign, but not once was I able to get anyone in such a position to make a public statement in support of LaFollette. Why not?

The answer given me by a candidate for office in Maine who commands the almost unanimous support of organized labor throughout the state and has always fought for the demands of the State Branch of the A. F. of L. there, is typical.

"How can I openly support LaFollette?" he asked. "I am a candidate on the ______ ticket. If I declare for LaFollette I cut myself off from my own party and I cannot join the LaFollette party because you have not got any. I am in sympathy with the LaFollette movement but I cannot run as your candidate because the LaFollette group has no local candidates. Both I, personally, and organized labor for whose measures I have always worked, have everything to lose and nothing to gain by my doing so."

There was no answer to this argument; nothing I could say in reply; for it was obviously true. And his statement was typical.

I feel pretty confident that this man would have joined a new party had there been one in existence; and would have taken the stump actively for LaFollette. But, as he truly said, if he left his own party by denouncing its presidential candidate, there was nothing for him to join.

The other glaring weakness in the LaFollette campaign was the almost total lack of local candidates for local offices from assessor to Congress. In carrying on any active political campaign, by far the larger part of the organization work and of the personal persuasive appeals to voters has to be done by these local candidates.

In the LaFollette campaign a small part of this work was done by volunteers from the ranks of organized labor, mostly the railroad men; another part was done by volunteers from the ranks of the Socialists, since the Socialists are used to both doing the work of a campaign and paying for it without any hope of reward. But volunteers are a notoriously weak reed to rely on. So most of the organization work that is vital to an active campaign was not done at all, due to the lack of local candidates.

Local candidates would have helped enormously in getting this organization work started, for they would have been interested in making as good a showing as possible even if they could not have been elected. Even if not personally as popular as LaFollette they would have helped the LaFollette vote by organizing a campaign. Their personal canvassing among the voters would have helped to answer the more obvious campaign lies of the Democrats and Republicans, such as, for instance, the lie that curbing the Supreme Court would destroy our liberties.

There were very many places as shown by the election where sentiment was so strong that a local candidate on a Progressive ticket would have had a good chance of election. By endorsing alleged Progressives on the old party tickets in such places instead of making their own nominations, the LaFoilette forces wasted the good that would have come from the active work of their own candidates in organizing a LaFoilette campaign, since in almost no case would the old party "progressives" actively take the stump or openly declare for LaFoilette. The case of Senator Brookhart in Iowa and of Senator David I. Walsh in

Massachusetts, both of whom campaigned independently of the campaign of the presidential nominee, but neither of whom openly campaigned for LaFollette, is typical of what old party "progressives" will do as long as there is no farmer-labor party organized for them to join.

Finally, everyone in politics knows that elections are won or lost by canvassing the voters to find out who your supporters are, checking up the voting list on election day an hour or so before the polls close, and then going out to bring in the supporters who have not voted. This work is done for the Democratic and Republican parties by the local

candidates and their personal friends, candidates for the small ward or town offices, or even the precinct offices like assessor and judge of election. If the LaFollette forces had only had local candidates, who would have been interested at least in making a good showing, even when they could not be elected, they could have relied on them to do most of this work. As it was, they had to rely entirely on volunteers, so that most of the work was not done at all.

The experience of this campaign shows that you cannot make the most out of a great popular movement such as this one without a political party and a full list of local candidates.

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Chicago, September 27-28, 1924

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met at 10:30 A. M., Saturday, September 27, at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago.

Present: Victor L. Berger, Wis., John M. Collins, Ill., Morris Hillquit, N. Y., James H. Maurer, Pa., George E. Roewer, Jr., Mass., Joseph W. Sharts, Ohio, and Executive Secretary Bertha Hale White.

Absent: Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman, Ind., Leo M. Harkins, New Jersey.

Campaign Manager J. Mahlon Barnes and Comrade John T. Whitlock, member of the National Campaign Committee, in attendance.

Roewer elected chairman for the day.

Report of Executive Secretary on: Membership; new state organizations; field workers; finance; campaign; office management and personnel; Socialist World; Kansas City Free Speech case.

Campaign Manager Barnes asked to read report of National Campaign Committee before Membership and Organization report was taken up. Request granted.

Report on status of Kansas City Free Speech case.

Motion by Hillquit: That Comrade Sharts communicate with Mr. Julian, who is handling the Kansas City case, and secure all papers in connection with it, and that Comrade Sharts be authorized to make final disposition of the case at his discretion. Carried.

Discussion on effect of campaign on membership.

Motion by Sharts: That the Executive Secretary be instructed to furnish cards, as described below, at her discretion, to all organizers that are sent out from the National Office,

and that a system be devised for collecting names and addresses of the persons at all meetings in order that a mailing list may be obtained for follow-up letters and literature and members obtained as the ultimate result—these cards to be in such form that they can be distributed and collected at LaFollette meetings without any offense as being Socialist cards. Carried.

Motion by Hillquit: That Socialist Party state and local organizations be supplied with membership application cards to be used at Socialist Party meetings during the campaign, with a special letter of instructions. Carried.

Motion by Hillquit: That an official communication be sent to all state and local secretaries, national organizers, and so on, on point of objective of the Socialist Party as such in this campaign and the part the Socialist Party has to play in the progressive movement. Carried.

Executive Secretary submitted plan for a national convention as proposed by Comrade Debs.

Motion by Sharts: That Comrade Debs' suggestion be concurred in, with the proviso that such a mass convention be called immediately following the convention for the organization of a labor party, and at the same place. Carried.

Convention call as prepared by National Chairman Éugene V. Debs to be issued November 5th.

Adjourned to reconvene at 2:00 P. M.

Afternoon Session, Saturday, September 27 Meeting called to order at 2:30 P. M.

Debs' Tour

Motion by Sharts: The National Office is authorized to arrange a tour for Comrade Debs, provided his health will permit, at any time that will suit him. Carried.

Campaign

Hillquit reported that Executive Secretary White was requested to go to Oklahoma immediately as representative of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action to adjust matters with regard to the state ticket.

Motion by Maurer: That Comrade White be authorized to go to Oklahoma. Carried.

Resolution submitted by Hillquit to be sent to Thomas Devine, Toledo, Socialist candidate for member of the House of Representatives:

"The National Executive Committee considers that the maintenance of cordial relations with the organized workers in the C. P. P. A. is of superior importance to the party than any

political advantage in this campaign.

"For this reason, the committee requests Comrade Thomas Devine, to submit the question as to whether he is to continue running as candidate for member of the House of Representatives from the Toledo District against General Isaac R. Sherwood to the Central Labor Union of Toledo and to be guided by the decision of that body."

Approved.

Motion made and carried that Comrade Collins act as representative of the National Executive Committee to lay this resolution before the comrades of Toledo.

Motion by Sharts: That the report of the Campaign Manager be received and approved. Carried.

Roewer submitted correspondence from Mrs. G. J. Whitten of Maine.

Motion made and carried that the National Office notify Mrs. Whitten that the office of Woman's State Correspondent was abolished some years ago.

Socialist World

Motion by Hillquit: That the method of handling the mailing list of the Socialist World be left to the discretion of the Executive Secretary.

Communication from Emil Herman was read asking for assistance in the matter of filing fees in Washington and Oregon.

Motion by Sharts: That the state organization be requested to put up the necessary filing fees. Carried.

Request from Emil Herman for monthly appropriation.

Motion by Collins: That the Executive Secretary write explaining the financial state of the National Organization and advising him that it is impossible to grant his request. Carried.

The Executive Secretary was instructed to communicate with the State Secretaries and request that they report the LaFollette-Wheeler vote and that of the highest state candidates at the earliest possible moment.

Motion made to adjourn until 10:00 o'clock

Sunday morning. Carried.

Sunday Morning Session, September 28, 1924 Meeting called to order at 10:30 A. M.

Present as before.

Benjamin Schlesinger, member of the National Campaign Committee, in attendance.

Sharts elected chairman.

Comrade Barnes brought to the attention of the committee an Associated Press dispatch which went the rounds of the country August 3rd, which erroneously stated that he was manager of the LaFollette speakers bureau, and made clear the source of this false report.

Comrade Barnes also reported the protest lodged at the first meeting of the Campaign Committee by Comrade Snow, which had later been withdrawn.

Motion by Hillquit: That this committee express its thanks and appreciation to Comrade Barnes for volunteer service in this campaign and the committee's complete confidence in his ability and integrity. Carried.

Motion by Hillquit: That the payroll list of the National Office staff as read by Executive Secretary White be approved. Carried.

Hillquit submitted draft of letter to be sent to all State and Local Secretaries and National Organizers.

Motion by Sharts: That the draft of letter as submitted by Comrade Hillquit be approved and sent out by the National Office. Carried.

Motion by Roewer: That the committee reconsider motion with regard to mass convention. Carried.

Motion by Hillquit: That Comrade Debs' recommendation for calling a mass convention be concurred in in substance; that a special convention of the party, under the provisions of the constitution, be called to meet immediately after the proposed January convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and at the same place; that in conjunction with the convention a mass conference of party members be held to which all party members in good standing shall be admitted with

voice and consultative vote, whether they are elected by their organization or come of their own accord, with the understanding that the National Office does not pay expenses. The object of the conference shall be to consider and advise the party's policy with respect to the action to be taken by the C. P. P. A. convention, and discussion and action upon plans of organization and methods of procedure; that all actions of the conference shall be considered binding upon ratification by the duly constituted special convention. Carried.

Adjourned to meet in Washington, D. C.,

November 30, 1924.

BERTHA HALE WHITE, Secretary.

LOOKING AHEAD

By George R. Kirkpatrick.

Are you thinking—thinking ahead, thirty days, three months, a year ahead—on equipment, performance and results respecting our party? Some railway locomotives are equipped with headlights that enable the engineer to see ahead for two miles—and more. These headlights result in safer rail-roading, greater efficiency and protection to

property.

The industrial-political masters of your community are right now hoping that a few days hence your local will shut up shop, pull down the curtains—and plan to do nothing following the election. A great vote is going to be cast by eager forward-looking citizens on November 4th. We are going to see an interesting stage reached in the development of mass-activity. The present nation-wide enthusiasm will 'register'—significantly—next Tues-

But let us remind ourselves that most men and women wait for somebody else to "do something about it;" most men and women expect that the indefinite, unknown "they," the "others" will do whatever is to be done, if anything is to be done. Most men and women are planless so far as pertains to the necessary next steps following such a climax of activity as will take place on election day. It is also to be noted that some of the men and women who do plan-who will plan-respecting things to be done (or prevented) following the present election, are not at all enthusiastic about having the present national social urge of the exploited forged into a magnificent political organization to become increasingly scornful of the old "great parties" and of old big leaders with little plans, of loud and eminent people with short-range vision and policies and platforms ridiculously inadequate for the looted multitude's forward march. These influential people,

always carefully restraining enthusiasm for new big things—these will be perfectly willing to have the present social steam blow off November 4, pleased to have the people presently become absorbed in Thanksgiving—Christmas—and New Year emotions and activities,—and forget or neglect things to be done to the end that the now roused, looted hosts may not settle down and have an all-quietnothing-doing term of months running sleepily along at least till the spring municipal elections—perhaps even till the next Congressional election, two whole years hence.

If the fleeced multitude of victims of plutocracy are to realize on the present splendid campaign of agitation and education, and have it mean more than something like a characteristic American quadrennial spasm of political epilepsy, there is much to be done by all who have the vision for it and the

will to help do it.

There are many thousands of communities—great and small—in which something should be done to have as many people as possible continue thinking as much as possible,—to get interested, interested in things big with importance in our great enterprise, our supreme enterprise,—the visioning of the creation of—the upbuilding of an American Labor Party such as will bring heart, hope, courage, defiance, battle into the souls of this great nation's defrauded toilers on the farms, in the mines, shops and on the ralways. Under the circumstances it is up to you—up to everyone of us—to think—to dream creatively, if you please—on what should be done—could be done—and how it can be done.

Our National Executive Secretary has already made a really brilliant suggestion—has visioned a work that can be done-very easily indeed-a new line of activity that just fits the average American temperament and habit of thought. The average American loves a contest; hence the millions of baseball fans, foot-ball fans, and prize-fight fans wildly wild over these games—these contests. Our Executive Secretary, Comrade White, urges that tens of thousands of well-wishers of the Socialist Party and the American Labor Party enterprise do all possible everywhere in every way-and right away -to get up friendly debates in organized labor bodies, Socialist locals, country schools, high schools, colleges, self-improvement culture clubs, and farmers' organizations—and just as far as possible chain the attention of the American public to this issue, this thought, this great adventure. In last week's press service attention was briefly called to the ready-made arguments for and against the enterprise to be found in the inexpensive book, "The Hillquit-Keating Debate," on this very issue.

There would be splendid forensic practic—mark that—for tens of thousands of workers and students

(Continued on page 15)

Contributions Received for the Campaign

			
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H. Pryweller, South Bend, Ind.	1.00	M. Lerner, New Castle, Pa.	1.00
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L. M. Rosenstein, Asbury Park, N. J.	1.00		,701.14
M. Helfand, Pittsburgh, Pa.	3.00	(Report Continued in next issue.)	
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Official Business

Chicago, October 16, 1924

To the National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

I submit herewith for vote of your committee

National Executive Committee

Motion No. 8 By Debs

That the National Executive Committee meet in Chicago on the first Saturday following the national election, November 8th, to consider:—

(First) Party possibilities in the light

of facts shown by the election;

(Second) Present and near-future financing of the Party and financial plans to be formulated for and realized by the Mass Convention;

(Third) Date and Call for Mass Convention;

(Fourth) Establishment of a Party paper.

Comment

Comrade Debs believes that it would be better to keep the proposed conventions separate, that the mass convention should not be held at the time or place of the C. P. P. A. Convention. He advises instead that the regular limited party convention be held at that time. Nearly every delegate would be a delegate to the C. P. P. A. in any event, as a delegate from the State Committee, and would have authority to act upon whatever evolved from the Conference.

Also, Comrade Debs is anxious to defer the Mass Convention until May Day. He believes that the weather conditions would be more favorable for motor traveling and thus a better convention assured. However, he desires to meet the committee in session and reach unanimous agreement upon every important point to be considered.

In order to give the local sufficient time to arrange and advertise the usual public meeting please vote by wire. Vote closes October 19.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary

Chicago, October 20, 1924.
To The National Executive Committee
Dear Comrades:

I submit the following for vote of your committee:

National Executive Committee
Motion No. 9.

(As an amendment to motion No. 8 by Debs for a meeting of the National Executive Committee on November 8th.) By Hillquit

That the meeting suggested by Comrade Debs be held Nov. 30th in Washington Practically all members of the Executive

The literature of light most helpful in this second stage leading to the second climax (the January Convention) is the leaflets, What is Socialism: The A. B.C. of Socialism: The Most Frequent Objections to Socialism Answered; The Story the British Labor Party and the wonderful pamphlet, the Hillquit - Keating Debate on the allabsorbing question: Shall a Labor Party be Formed in America?

Committee will be in Washington November 30th and the situation created by the election results will be clearer on that date than on the 8th. Besides the Party can hardly afford the expense of two meetings in one month.

Vote closes October 27th. Ballot enclosed.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary.

Chicago, October 21, 1924:

To the National Executive Committee. Dear Comrades:

The following is submitted for your information:

CONFEDERACION REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA

Comite Central
Mexico, D. F. Mex.,
October 6, 1924.

The Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington Blvd.,

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

THE CONFEDERACION RE-GIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA (The Mexican Federation of Labor), requests the pleasure of your presence at its sixth annual convention, to be held at Ciudad Juarez, State of Chihuahua, (opposite El Paso, Texas) during the week of November 17, 1924.

Following the convention the Executive Committee and delegates will proceed to Mexico City to witness, on November 30th, the ceremonies attending the inauguration of PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES as President of the Republic of Mexico, the first Chief Executive of a nation on this continent to be elected by organized labor.

We also extend you a cordial invitation to visit Mexico City, as our guest, to participate in this event, so significant to the organized workers of Mexico.

We trust that you will be present and thus help make even stronger the bonds of fraternity and loyalty that now unite the people of Mexico with those of the United States.

Salud & Revolucion Social.
Executive Committee.
Fraternally submitted,
Bertha Hale White
Executive Secretary.
Chicago, October 6, 1924.
To the National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

I beg to report that your committee has unanimously voted to revoke the charter of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma and to authorize Dan Hogan to represent your committee in any legal procedure which may be necessary to protect the La Follette-Wheeler candidacy in Oklahoma

My reasons for submitting these ques-

tions to you for action are as follows:

(1) That there is no organization in Oklahoma entitled to a charter as a Socialist Party. The charter of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma would have been revoked long ago, on the basis of a membership last year of 19 and a nonfunctioning State Office, but for the desire of the National Office to permit Socialists in the state some representation on the Conference for Progressive Political Action through a formally recognized State Committee.

That H. H. Gates, recognized (2) as the Chairman of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma, has refused to accede to the decisions of the National Executive Committee or to recognize the rules provided for the conduct of the Socialist Party in this campaign, and that through his influence and control over other members this attitude is maintained to the detriment

of the Socialist Party.

(3) That he has secured the filing of a Socialist Party electoral ticket, despite the fact that the Party had lost its standing as a legal political party; that nine of the ten candidates reside in Oklahoma City, where, according to his own admission, there are but four members in good standing; that one of the nine, at least, is known as a non-Socialist and is, in fact, a supporter of the Communist movement. Half of the remaining electors are Gates and three of his relatives.

(4) The representatives of the other groups in Oklahoma agreed to the fullest recognition of the Socialist Party, and accepted the representatives I selected for membership on the State Campaign

We have waited and worked twenty-five years for ten million workers to open their minds for our mes-They are sage. now ready. Are you ready?

Literature costs furleast. goes lasts thest. longest of all our means of prop-

aganda.

Committee. They agreed to make the electoral ticket a combination of the electors nominated by the Farmer-Labor and Socialist Parties, thus retiring half the candidates of each group. Gates, speaking for the Socialist Party, refused all overtures, rejected the rules provided for the conduct of the Socialist Party in this campaign and announced his support of ex-Governor Walton on the Democratic ticket for U. S. Senator in opposition to the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party and declared he would campaign actively for Walton.

That while we were trying to devise some means to protect the La Follette-Wheeler ticket from being excluded from the ballot by injunction proceedings, Gates declared to me, and to others as well, that he was the mover in the matter of the injunction and that he intended to prevent the Farmer-Labor Party electors, endorsed by La Follette, from appearing on the ballot. This action is made possible by the fact that the constitutionality of the special resolution passed by the Oklahoma legislature in recent

session, is questioned.

The attitude of Gates made it impossible for me to make any move toward combining the electoral tickets. If an injunction is issued it will be through Republican influence and the next step will be to remove the Socialists. The most effective and least questionable method would be to have them resign upon my request.

> Fraternally submitted, Bertha Hale White Executive Secretary.

(Continued from page 10)

and citizens generally in these debates. Millions of listeners would be vastly benefited thru these discussions-always-to-be friendly, courteous discussions. This great national debate would draw the attention of the press, the columns of hundreds of newspapers would open to both sides of the discussions, thousand of editorials would result from this burning national debate. Comrade White's contribution really deserves to be called a brilliant result of thinking ahead to see the lay of the land, to see things to be done, to see how they might be done. done soon, done well—thinking ahead to the end that this great American people may have its mind chained to a new big thing as it has been made to do in times gone by—chained to it—to study it, search it thru and thru and be moved forward-forward toward the realization of our mighty enterprisethe equipment of the workers with a first-class weapon for self-defense and for the inauguration of great new policies—to escape from the vile mire of dull inactivity, to escape from the clutches of betrayers,

to escape from industrial despotism.

Are you thinking—thinking ahead—thirty days, n nety days ahead? Try it. Send in suggestions to the National Office. Trim up your headlightand flash your best thought to the National Office for prompt consideration.

Also—PREPARE NOW to have those debates in your own community, your local, your club, your school, your labor organization. Come thru! You're next! Think something. Do something.

Have you vision sufficient to take in this opportunity—to see how the present national urge of the workers can be capitalized by the workers for the workers—if some quick, systematic work is done by you. How far can you think ahead?

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by the SOCIALIST PARTY OF A ERICA BERTHA HALE WHITE ___

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To All Locals and Branches of the Socialist Party

Dear Comrades:

The great campaign is over. We had hoped the Progressive ticket would poll a heavier vote, forgetting that it was practically at the mercy of the capitalist press. Lacking a labor or progressive press that could reach the people, the voters had to form their opinions from what they read in the capitalist papers of the country, all of them united in a campaign of misrepresentation, no matter whether they claimed to be Republican or Democratic.

The National Office wishes to congratulate the members of our active organizations. Holding fast to their loyalty to the principles of Socialism, they entered into the campaign with an efficiency and an enthusiasm which forced the recognition and admiration of all associated groups in the past four months. In many places the campaign work depended almost entirely upon our members. As Socialists, always as Socialists, they gave their unstinted cooperation to the general campaign organizations.

We are unable to give you any figures at this time on the vote for Socialist Party candidates. It will be some time before the vote can be secured, and we do not have time to wait for that before we, as members of the Socialist Party, turn our attention to the real business and obligation of Socialists—and that is strengthening and building up our own organization.

Many letters are coming to National Headquarters urging that a party-building campaign be started at once. We recognize that this is absolutely necessary. We know we would neglect the greatest opportunity we have had if such a campaign is not conducted. The barriers between Socialists and non-Socialist workers are down. That, at least, the campaign accomplished for us. But there are thousands who will be eager and prompt to build up those barriers again. We must prevent that by maintaining new contacts and preserving this new and splendid fraternalism between party members and those who are sympathetic to Socialism but have not held membership.

Sympathizers—there are thousands of them! And today there is only one thing which will prevent them from becoming members of the organization, which is, failure of the party to take advantage of the unparalleled opportunity that is ours—not that will be ours but that is actually here—all around us—today! There is not one of you, Comrades, who will not declare that the Party must now go into the field and gather the harvest of its planting.

If there is one outstanding fact in the correspondence of the National Office, it is that the local or branch that is growing—expanding—alive—has a Visiting Committee or a Canvassing Committee that is on the job! Very few people voluntarily apply for membership in any organization, no matter how much they may believe in what it stands for. Fraternal societies, the churches, the Red Cross—every organization of every kind finds it necessary to put on drives for new members. And they always work through canvassing committees by personal solicitation.

Comrade Secretary—bring this matter before your members immediately. Don't read this letter and then postpone action. Discuss the question thoroughly; ask each member to supply a list of "prospects"; appoint your canvassing committee of members who will actually canvass; give each committeeman a few names and urge a report on those names at the next meeting. If one member fails to get the desired results, do not give up a prospect as hopeless—give the name to another committeeman!

The distribution of literature on Socialism, the publication of Socialist papers and magazines, public meetings and lectures on Socialism—all these are necessary but merely prepare the way for organization. They are essential propaganda methods. But propaganda is one thing and organization another. Propaganda is the seed—but the Organizer gathers in the harvest.

Elect your Canvassing Committees and resume the long-delayed work of the Socialist Party. "The campaign" is over—but OUR campaign is on!

Fraternally yours,

Bertha Hale White Executive Secretary.