

SOCIALIST WORLD

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NUMBER 1

IN THIS ISSUE

A CALL FOR A WORLD CONGRESS
THE ALLEGED DISLOYALTY OF
SOCIALISM
AS TO THE SUPREME COURT
THE PRICE WE PAY

FORWARD TO INDEPENDENT POLITICAL
ACTION
WHY AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY
By W. R. Snow
WHY AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY
By James Oneal

A SOCIALIST LABOR WORLD CONGRESS

Call Issued by the Executives of the Vienna and 2nd Internationals
To the Labor and Socialist Parties of All Countries

The Socialist International was destroyed by the war. There are now only international groups of worker's parties none of which is entitled to call itself a true International. Besides, there are quite a number of parties to-day without any international ties.

This disorganization has had the gravest results; it has hindered the effectiveness of the workers and deepened the differences of opinion as to the conditions and possibilities of action in the immediate future.

In the present condition of the world this splitting of International forces constitutes a grave danger, and the irresistible power of events has caused the workers to demand with growing force an understanding not only in ideas, but in action, of all the bodies which are conscious of the true interests of the workers. It is obvious that a Socialist Labour International realizing both the ideal of all-inclusiveness and unity in principles is not to be attained immediately, it can only be reached by long and indefatigable efforts.

The last years of the world war, and the years following the armistice showed how profound were the differences of opinion which existed as to methods of action and the possibilities of revolutionary methods for the emancipation of the workers.

To-day we are in quite a different phase of development. Reaction becomes more aggressive from day to day both in the political and the economic fields. The general attack of the possessing classes is shown in the most striking way by the sanguinary regime of Horthy in Hungary, the

victory of fascism in Italy and the "Hakenkreuzler" in Germany. But it is being pursued in all countries. Under these conditions the essential duty of the workers is to concentrate all their forces to present a solid and fighting front to the attack of the capitalist parties. The last few years have been marked by differences, the present calls for the unification of the working class. These two phases have been shown in the most striking way by the history of the German Socialists. But in almost all other countries where revolutionary fermentation has caused division, re-union has been achieved or is on the point of realization.

Only those parties or groups of parties which call themselves communist deliberately thwart the efforts for unity of the workers. They are not desirous of settling the differences of opinion amongst the workers but are ready to split up effective organizations for the sake of an advantage, however slight, to their group or the policy of the Moscow Government. This spirit on the part of the principal Moscow bolsheviks was responsible for the abandonment of the idea of a world Congress of the workers to be called by the Executives of London, Vienna and Moscow. Since then, the difficulties in the way of coming to an agreement with the Moscow Executive have constantly increased owing to the barbarous and incessant persecutions of Russian Socialists. It would be useless to prophesy to-day whether a Congress of all the workers will be possible when the communists

(Continued Page 2 column 2)

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

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

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For Oct. 1, 1922.

State of Illinois
County of Cook

ss. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Otto F. Branstetter who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the "The Socialist World" and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1920, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

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OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Editor
Sworn to and subscribed before me this Sept. 30, 1922.
(SEAL) SWAN JOHNSON

(My commission expires April 29, 1923),
Notary Public.

(Continued from page 1)

have ceased their evil tactics towards the Labor and Socialist parties, or when, as is the case now in many countries, the communist groups have died out. In any case the possibility to convoke a Congress together with the Moscow Executive has disappeared for a long time.

After the experience of the Berlin Conference in May 1922, there is no other way possible but the calling of an International Labor and Socialist Congress to achieve effective action.

This being the state of things the International Executives of London and Vienna have appointed the undersigned Committee with instructions to arrange an

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST PARTIES

to be held in

HAMBURG, ON MAY 21st, 1923

opening at ten o'clock A. M. in the Trade Union Hall, Besenbinderhof 57 (close to the Hauptbahnhof-Central station).

The Committee exhaustively discussed the organization of this Congress in Cologne on January 5th and 6th. It proposes the following

PROVISIONAL AGENDA:

- (1) The imperialist Peace and the policy of the organized Labor and Socialist movement.
- (2) International Action against International Reaction.
- (3) The efforts of the Labor and Socialist parties for the eight hour day and international social reform legislation.
- (4) The organization of the International working class.

The Committee will send out at the end of March its propositions on the points of the agenda and all motions sent in by the different parties up to the 10th of March, 1923. These propositions may be sent either to

Tom Shaw 25 Victoria St., London SW 1, or to Friedrich Adler, Wien V, Rechte Wienzeile 97.

The approximate number of delegates should also be sent to the same addresses by March 10th. The Committee decided one delegate should be allowed for each 3000 members but no party may send more than 50 representatives.

The reconstruction of the International cannot be realized by the order of a committee or any group of parties. It must be the result of mutual understanding between the different Labor and Socialist parties. This understanding can only be arrived at by comparison of ideas and that will need time.

The International organization of the working class, therefore, at the moment of its formation cannot be the result of an agreement on principles by all affiliated parties but it is one of the most important steps to realize such an agreement. By exchanging experiences, by active cooperation, and by constant effort to reach an agreement on methods and aims the International workers' movement will gradually form the necessary basis of joint action which will unite all the workers' movements of the world in common action.

Having regard to all this it cannot be the task of the Committee organizing the Congress to anticipate the work of the future International organization, rather they must be content to mark those points of view which sharply define the parties willing to unite themselves in a cooperation promising positive results. The Committee, therefore, invites all Socialist Labor Parties to attend the Congress in Hamburg which accept

(1) the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination as their object, and the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organizations as the means of realizing that object;

(2) the unity of the International Trade Union movement of Amsterdam;

(3) the resolution of the Hague World Peace Conference (1922) on "The Mission of organized Labor in the Movement of World Peace" as the present basis in all action when there is imminent danger of war, and recognize the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy to be pursued by the workers' movement in case of war;

(4) recognition of the Labor and Socialist International not only as an effective instrument in peace but as absolutely essential during war;

(5) a pledge, after the formation of a Labor and Socialist International, not to affiliate with any other political International.

We hope to see represented at the Congress in Hamburg all parties which are ready to collaborate in the hard and indefatigable work which is necessary to prepare the workers for joint international action.

Abramowitsch (Russia), Adler (Austria), Bracke (France), Crispin (Germany), Henderson (England), Shaw (England), Stauning (Denmark), Vandervelde, (Belgium), Wallhead (England), Wels (Germany).

The Alleged Disloyalty of Socialism

By Alfred Baker Lewis

Is it true that Socialists are unAmerican, unpatriotic, and disloyal as the self-styled 100% patriotic Americans are so constantly saying? If this charge is true it is a very serious one, for we all feel instinctively that a disloyal man is one of the meanest creatures in the world, and so Socialists should meet the charge squarely.

The principal reason why loyalty is a great virtue is because it unites men and gives them confidence in each other. It thus enables them to count on the willing cooperation of each other in an emergency, for instance, with certainty. Clearly the best form of loyalty is the one that can unite the largest number of men. That is, the best and morally highest form of loyalty is the one that is most all inclusive for it will then tend to reduce to a minimum the derisions and hatreds that cause strife and fighting among men. Loyalty to abstract principles such as truth, justice, democracy, or freedom is, therefore, generally thought to be among the best and morally highest kinds of loyalty, because, at least in theory, all men can agree on loyalty of this sort.

Patriotism is loyalty to the government and in-

stitutions of a nation which claims jurisdiction over a particular area of the earth's surface. Patriots maintain that patriotism is one of the highest forms of loyalty, so high that if the government of his nation so orders a patriot must leave wife and family and go to kill other men, even though he may have no personal quarrel with them whatever. But as a matter of fact patriotism, or loyalty to the government of one's country, is only one of many different kinds of loyalty. There are other loyalties, as has already been pointed out, such as loyalty to the ideals of truth, justice, democracy, or freedom, and in addition, loyalty to one's family, one's religion, one's school or college or home town or state, or one's economic class. Very often one or more of these loyalties come directly into conflict with patriotism. In such a case it is clear that loyalty to such smaller groups as one's school or college or one's home town or state should yield to the larger and more inclusive form of loyalty, namely loyalty to one's country.

But loyalty to one's country often comes into conflict also with loyalty to the higher ideals of truth, justice, freedom, or democracy. Patriots in

every country are always willing to admit that the policy of every other country has at times run counter to these ideals, but always sturdily insist that the present policy of their own country, whichever one it may happen to be, is in thorough harmony with these great ideals. Yet unfortunately for the patriot, the government of his own country is seldom if ever an exception to the general rule. Take the case of the government of the United States for instance. Our Government has invaded the two little republics of Haiti and San Domingo, overthrown their governments, and is now governing their people against their will by our military forces. We cannot, therefore, on account of these actions of our government, be loyal to our government and at the same time loyal to the ideals of freedom and justice among nations. The government and institutions of our country permit the will of the people, as expressed in laws duly passed by Congress and signed by the President, to be set aside by the will of a majority of nine justices of the Supreme Court, who hold their job for life and are not elected by the people. No other great nation in the world permits the will of its legislative and executive to be coolly set aside in this way. Clearly, therefore, we cannot be loyal to the ideal of Democracy, which means that the duly expressed will of the people should rule and not that of nine irresponsible judges, and at the same time loyal to the government and institutions of the United States. Our country each year permits some fifty of its citizens to be lynched and murdered by irresponsible mobs having no judicial authority, but who are able successfully to defy the law because no government official ever proceeds against them. Sometimes a typical American crowd has stood around approvingly while one of their black fellow citizens was being burned to death for a crime of which he had never legally been proved to be guilty. So long as there is such a blot on our record we cannot praise America and be wholeheartedly loyal to its government, and at the same time loyal to justice and decency.

Our government together with our Allies during the war deliberately tried to deceive the German people by telling them that not they but only their government were regarded as responsible for the war, and by repeatedly promising them equality of right in the peace treaty. The German people overthrew their government, established a democracy, and laid down their arms in reliance on these repeated promises. Yet despite these promises our government has allowed terms to be imposed on them that they have driven the infant deathrate in Germany from 135 per 1000 births before the war to 205 in 1920. We have similarly raised the general

death rate in Germany so much higher that, taking the present population of Germany as 60,000,000, we are causing the death each year of 213,000 more people than would have died had we allowed the death rate to remain at its pre-war level. This does not look as though "we have no quarrel with the German people" as our government stated. At the same time the peace treaty discriminates against the Germans in countless ways in direct breach of our solemn promises. We cannot, therefore, be loyal to our government and at the same time loyal to the ideals of truth and honesty. An Englishman or Frenchman would similarly find it impossible to be loyal to his government without being disloyal to justice, for the British and French governments have been guilty of oppression of weaker peoples and seizures of the territory of weaker nations all over the globe.

When we found that President Wilson campaigned for re-election in 1916 on the strength of the slogan "he kept us out of war," and a month after his second term began got us into war, to be loyal to the government in such circumstances would be to be loyal to a lie. When we found during the war that the richest and most powerful men in the country were strongly for the war as "a war for democracy," although they had in the past opposed every attempt to get more democracy in this country, to be loyal to the government would have been to be loyal to hypocrites. We found that democracy was constantly being suppressed during the war by denial of free speech and free press. To be loyal to a government which while doing all this yet claimed that the war was a war for democracy, would have been to be disloyal to truth and honesty.

If in such times Socialists are unpatriotic and disloyal to the government it is only because they have to be so in order to continue to be loyal to the ideals of truth, freedom, and justice. That is, Socialists are no more disloyal than the patriots. Instead of being blindly loyal to the government of their country as are the patriots, they remain loyal to the higher ideals of truth, justice, freedom, and democracy whenever loyalty to the government and loyalty to these ideals comes into conflict. To be blindly patriotic means at times to be disloyal to some of the highest moral ideals. We all admit this, for we must remember that the Germans in supporting their government were patriotic. Too often patriotism has been merely a cloak for the crassest kind of national selfishness, and the most brutal disregard of the rights of other nations and weaker peoples. Too often patriotism has been a mere camouflage for the class interests of the capitalists, especially such patriotism as that of the Chamber of Commerce, or the self-styled "100% Americans" in this

country, and the advocates of the "American plan" for smashing union labor.

There is an even greater objection to setting up patriotism as the moral test of all political actions as the patriots insist on doing. That is, that patriotism have proved in actual practice to be a form of loyalty which causes more divisions among mankind than unity. This is a serious objection to the claim of patriotism to be regarded as a morally very high form of loyalty, because it is the very nature and purpose of all loyalty, the reason why it is regarded as a great virtue, to unite men in a bond of mutual trust and confidence rather than to divide them, with antagonism, hatred, strife, and fighting. To be loyal to one's country has meant all too often to be antagonistic to the inhabitants of other countries, even to the point of being willing to fight and kill men from other countries although they personally never did us any harm. In the last great war—so far—both Germans and Allies were patriotic. Two groups of men, one on each side of the trenches, were determined to kill as many of each other as possible, *just because both groups were patriotic*. Surely when patriotism produces so much strife and fighting, so much of what would be called murdering were it not done in the name of patriotism, it cannot rightly claim to be a morally high form of loyalty.

Socialists of course have no desire to harm their country. We have as little desire to harm our country as have the most ardent patriots. But we insist that the interests of the country should not be identified with the interests of the capitalist class, as the patrioteers try to do, for the interests of the

capitalist class are usually opposed to those of the workers, and it is the workers who make up the greater part of the inhabitants of any country. We also refuse to carry our loyalty to our country so far as to let it compel us to do harm to the inhabitants of the other lands, and even go out to kill them. We Socialists are not so much blindly loyal to the government of our country as we are loyal to the ideal of the international brotherhood of the working class. "Workmen of the world, unite", is one of our oldest slogans. As this ideal, in proportion as it was realized, would tend to unite the workers even across national boundaries, it is morally a much higher form of loyalty than patriotism, for it is a much more nearly all-inclusive loyalty and one that would, if carried out, end the dividing influence on mankind that patriotism as an ideal has always in practice exerted, and put a stop to wars. In thus being loyal to the ideal of working class internationalism, we Socialists can claim to be loyal in a truer and higher sense than the patriots, who are loyal merely to that political division of the earth in which they happen permanently to live. While Socialists are, therefore, sometimes unpatriotic, especially in time of war when patriotism means in practice to be eager to kill one's fellow-men, we are not disloyal, for we are loyal to something ethically higher than patriotism because it is more nearly all-inclusive, namely the international brotherhood of the working class. In this respect Socialists follow the teachings of Jesus, who insisted that all men were brothers, but who would not let a rich man join the Christian brotherhood so long as he retained his wealth, even though the rich man was otherwise blameless.

AS TO THE SUPREME COURT

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

About every so often it is necessary to mention that the Supreme Court is not God Almighty. Why there should be any confusion about this matter of this instance of mistaken identity.

To accuse our justices of arrogating to themselves such implied omnipotence would be to indict them for usurpation such as the most ingrained of reactionaries would be hard to put to it to act as their counsel. So the attitude assumed toward the court of last resort is usually modified.

It is that the Supreme Court bench is a sort of eider-down couch where the exquisitely few elders who are most learned in the law may take their case until called by their maker to

fill a vacancy beside him on the celestial tribunal. One must be a hoary if not altogether gone patriarch to slip gracefully out of mortal vestments which border upon the divine to divinity itself. If the calendar were not so overcrowded with proposed constitutional amendments, it might be considered more advisable to suggest that, as there is an age limit below which none may aspire to be president, senator or congressman, the nation might be spared the tampering of infant prodigies with our sacred covenant by inserting a qualification for appointment to the Supreme Court that the nominee must have attained three score years and ten.

It may be that would precipitate a conflict

of authority between the celestial and terrestrial. As unbecoming as it may seem to crowd God Almighty with more or less unwelcome judicial guests. It certainly is not ethically sound to deprive the throne of glory of what might serve as shining lights by offering the aspirants something advertised as just as good, and offering it to them here and now. Yet the divinity which hedges the highest court in the land must be kept impeccable by all means.

To be sure that divinity is somewhat soiled if not spoiled by suggesting for a place at the holy of holies such entirely corporal beings as Mr. Butler of American Railways Limited. In his rather slow and fearfully unsteady tread to that borne where all valuables are checked at the door, he has found time to help others gain as much of the whole world as well might be. To certify that they and he have not lost their soul, what is required is but to make of the scriptures another scrap of paper to add to the growing pile. Mr. Butler would bring the railroads into the Supreme Court, obeying the mandate to "hitch your wagon to a star."

Mr. Butler would bring the bench down to earth. But to make a good job of it, he should have the assistance of others of his fibre. Why should the railroads take the inside track as it were? There is the steel trust. Why not draft Judge Gary for the bench? What is the use of calling him a judge if he does not work at it?

Cast about for more judicially-minded persons to make the court the supreme thought of great business, why should not a seat be reserved for John D. Rockefeller, Jr. At once some of his enemies will contend that his father is nearer the ripe old age of our justices. But age is not the only qualification. Who so well as the younger man has put it that if the twelve-hour day is doomed he is in favor of letting it go, even though it reduces the issue of 600 per cent stock dividends by as much as an imperceptible iota? Must virtue go unrewarded forever?

Where to locate the equals of Messrs Butler, Gary and Rockefeller it would be hard to say. To reduce the Supreme Court to a triumverate would be a short cut for disposing of the problem. But what would leave out of the triangle such hated rivals as the house of Morgan, our gorged insurance companies and the packing trust, to say nothing of a whole raft of gigantic corporations which attend the big monopolies in restraint of trade. Should they altogether be neglected or consigned merely to the lesser glow of the inferior courts?

Worse and more of it, some designing radical is always about to take the joy out of the standpatter's life. In no country as in this is the common crowd ready to knock the crown off one whose nose is too high in the air. Where the divine right of succession was once recognized on the other side of the ocean, there might be a revolution at odd intervals and some potentate lose his head over it and be too much of a dead one to see the joke. Here the idea of political revolution has become a biennial habit. Practically every two years our government is overturned and a new crowd ushered into face the guillotine.

Sooner or later one of the prying radicals is going to discover that the provision in our fundamental law covering the Supreme Court is the joker in the pack of shacks and balances. He is going to peer into the historical document and find it reads as follows:

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme Court and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior," etc.

First crack out of the box a heterodox Congress can define good behavior so as to impeach such justices as Butler, Gary and Rockefeller and send them trooping back to the corporations from which they sprang. Worse than that, the Constitution nowhere says how many shall be judges. See what a radical President can do!

To the nine wise men and feeble who are at the time the supreme spokesmen for things as they are, a dozen could be found who would produce ancient saws and modern instances to rule for things as they should be. Then what a shakeup there would be of the eiderdown couch!

Some day a radical will discover the Constitution of the United States. Until that discovery is made it should be kept a secret.

LABOR AND THE NEXT WAR

By James Oneal

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SOCIALIST PARTY

2418 Madison St. — Chicago, Ill.

THE PRICE WE PAY

(As published by National Office of the Socialist Party in June, 1917)

By IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

I.

Conscription is upon us, the draft law is a fact!

Into your homes the recruiting officers are coming. They will take your sons of military age and impress them into the army;

Stand them up in long rows, break them into squads and platoons, teach them to deploy and wheel;

Guns will be put into their hands; they will be taught not to think, only to obey without questioning.

Then they will be shipped thru the submarine zone by the hundreds of thousands to the bloody quagmire of Europe.

Into that seething, heaving swamp of torn flesh and floating entrails they will be plunged, in regiments, divisions and armies, screaming as they go.

Agonies of torture will rend their flesh from their sinews, will crack their bones and dissolve their lungs; and every pang will be multiplied in its passage to you.

Black death will be a guest at every American fireside; mothers and fathers and sisters, wives and sweethearts will know the weight of that awful vacancy left by the bullet which finds its mark.

And still the recruiting officers will come; seizing age after age, mounting up to the elder ones and taking the younger ones as they grow to soldier size;

And still the toll of death will grow.

Let them come! Let death and desolation make barren every home! Let the agony of war crack every parent's heart! Let the horrors and the miseries of the world-downfall swamp the happiness of every hearthstone!

Then perhaps you will believe what we have been telling you! For war is the price of your stupidity, you who have rejected Socialism!

* * *

II.

Yesterday I saw moving pictures of the Battle of the Somme. A company of Highlanders was shown, young and handsome in their kilts and brass helmets and bright plaids.

They laughed and joked as they stood on the screen in their ranks at ease, waiting the command to advance.

The camera showed rank after rank, standing strong and erect, smoking and chaffing one with another;

Then it showed a sign: "Less than 20 per cent of these soldiers were alive at the close of the day."

Only one in five remained of all those laddies, when sunset came; the rest were crumpled masses of carrion, wrapped in their plaids,

Many a Highland home will wail and croon for many a year, because of these crumpled masses of carrion, wrapped in their plaids, upon a far French hillside.

I saw regiments of Germans charging downhill against gunfire. They melted away like snowflakes falling into hot water.

The hospital camps were shown, with hundreds and thousands of wounded men in all stages of pain and suffering, herded like animals, milling round like cattle in the slaughter pens.

All the horror and agony of war were exhibited; and at the end a flag was thrown on the screen, and a proclamation said:

"Enlist for your country!" The applause was very thin and scattering; and as we went out, most of the men shook their heads and said:

"That's a hell of a poor recruiting scheme!"

For the men of this land have been fed full with horror during the past three years; and tho the call for volunteers has become wild, frantic, desperate; tho the posters scream from every billboard, and tho parades and red fire inflame the atmosphere in every town;

The manhood of America gazes at that seething, heaving swamp of bloody carrion in Europe, and says "Must we—be that!"

You cannot avoid it; you are being dragged, whipped, lashed, hurled into it; your flesh and brains and entrails must be crushed out of you and poured into the mass of festering decay.

It is the price you pay for your stupidity—you who have rejected Socialism!

* * *

III.

Food prices go up like skyrocket; and show no sign of bursting and coming down.

Wheat, potatoes, corn, are far above the Civil War mark; eggs, butter, meat—all these things are almost beyond a poor family's reach.

The Attorney General of the United States is so busy sending to prison men who do not stand up when the Star Spangled Banner is played, that he has no time to protect the food supply from gamblers.

Starvation begins to stare us in the face—and we, people of the richest and most productive land on earth are told to starve ourselves yet further because our allies must be fed.

Submarines are steadily sending to the fishes millions of tons of food stuffs; and still we build more ships, and send more food; and more and more is sunk;

Frantically we grub in the earth and sow and tend and reap; and then as frantically load the food in ships, and then as frantically sink with them—

We, the "civilized nations" of the world!

While the children of the poor clamor for bread, and the well to do shake their heads and wonder what on earth the poor folks are doing;

The poor folks are growling and muttering with savage sidelong glances, and are rolling up their sleeves.

For the price they pay for their stupidity is getting beyond their power to pay!

* * *

IV.

Frightful reports are being made of the ravages of venereal diseases in the army training camps, and in the barracks where the girl munition workers live.

One of the great nations lost more men thru loathesome immoral diseases than on the firing line, during the first 18 months of the war.

Back from the Mexican border our boys come, spreading the curse of the great Black Plague among hundreds of thousands of homes; blasting the lives of innocent women and unborn babes.

Over in Europe ten millions of women are deprived of their husbands, and fifty millions of babies can never be;

Of these women who will have their mates given back to them, there are twenty millions who will have ruined wrecks of men; mentally deranged, physically broken, morally rotten;

Future generations of families are made impossible; blackness and desolation instead of happiness and love will reign where the homes of the future should be;

And all because you believed the silly lie, that "Socialism would destroy the home!"

Pound on, guns of the embattled hosts; wreck yet more homes, kill yet more husbands and fathers, rob yet more maidens of their

sweethearts, yet more babies of their fathers;

That is the price the world pays for believing the monstrous, damnable, outrageous lie that Socialism would destroy the home!

Now the homes of the world are being destroyed; every one of them would have been saved by Socialism. But you would not believe. **Now pay the price!**

* * *

V.

This War, you say, is all caused by the Kaiser; and we are fighting for democracy against autocracy. Once dethrone the Kaiser and there will be permanent peace.

That is what they said about Napoleon. And in the century since Napoleon was overthrown there have been more and greater wars than the world ever saw before.

There were wars before Germany existed; before Rome ruled; before Egypt dominated the ages.

War has been universal; and the cause of war is always the same. Somebody wanted something somebody else possessed, and they fought over the ownership of it.

This war began over commercial routes and ports and rights; and underneath all the talk about democracy versus autocracy, you hear a continual note, an undercurrent, a subdued refrain: "Get ready for the commercial war that will follow this war."

Commercial war preceded this war; it gave rise to this war; it now gives point and meaning to this war;

And as soon as the guns are stilled and the dead are buried, commercial forces will prepare for the next bloody struggle over routes and ports and rights, coal mines and railroads;

For these are the essence of this, as of all other wars!

This, you say, is a war for the rights of small nations;—and the first land sighted when you sail across the Atlantic is the nation of Ireland, which has suffered from England for three centuries more than what Germany has inflicted upon Belgium for three years.

But go to it! Believe everything you are told—you always have, and doubtless always will, believe them.

Only do retain this much reason; when you have paid the price, the last and uttermost price; and have not received what you were told you were fighting for—namely Democracy—

Then remember that the price you paid

was not the purchase price for justice, but the penalty price for your stupidity!

* * *

VI.

We are beholding the spectacle of whole nations working as one person for the accomplishment of a single end—namely, killing.

Every man, every woman, every child, must “do his bit” in the service of destruction.

We have been telling you all for, lo, these many years that the whole nation could be mobilized and every man, woman and child induced to do his bit for the service of humanity; but you laughed at us.

Now you call every person traitor, slacker, pro-enemy, who will not go crazy on the subject of killing; and you have turned the whole energy of all the nations of the world into the service of their kings for the purpose of killing—killing—killing.

Why would you not believe us when we told you that it was possible to cooperate for the saving of life?

Why were you not interested when we begged you to work all together to build, instead of to murder?

Why did you ridicule us and call us impractical dreamers when we prophesied a world-state of fellow-workers, each man creating for the benefit of all the world, and the whole world creating for the benefit of each man?

Those idle taunts, those thoughtless jeers, that refusal to listen, to be fair-minded—you are paying for them now.

—Lo, the price you pay! Lo, the price your children will pay. Lo, the agony, the death, the blood, the unforgettable sorrow,—

The price of your stupidity!

* * *

VII.

For this war—as every one who thinks or knows anything will say, whenever truth telling becomes safe and possible again,—This war is to determine the question, whether the chambers of commerce of the allied nations or of the Central Empires have the superior right to exploit undeveloped countries.

It is to determine whether interest, dividends and profits, shall be paid to investors speaking German or to those speaking English and French.

Our entry into it was determined by the certainty that if the allies do not win, J. P. Morgan's loans to the allies will be repudiated, and those American investors who bit on his promises would be hooked.

Socialism would have settled that question; it would determine that to every producer shall be given all the value of what he produces; so that nothing would be left over for exploiters or investors.

With that great question settled there would be no cause for war.

Until the question of surplus profits is settled that way, wars will continue; each war being the prelude to a still vaster and greater outburst of hell;

Until the world becomes weary of paying the stupendous price for its own folly;

Until those who are sent out to maim and murder one another for the profit of bankers and investors determine to have and to hold what they have fought for;

Until money is no more sacred than human blood;

Until human life refuses to sacrifice itself for private gain;

Until by the explosion of millions of tons of dynamite, the stupidity of the human race is blown away, and Socialism is known for what it is, the salvation of the human race;

Until then — **You will keep on paying the price!**

THE PRICE WE PAY

The above is another of the historic documents of 1917 — Irwin St. John Tucker's “The Price We Pay.”

It is good propaganda at the present time. Almost any Dubb will recognize now the truth of this prophesy;

“For this war—as every one who thinks or knows anything will say, whenever truth telling becomes safe and possible again.—This war is to determine the question, whether the chambers of commerce of the allied nations or of the Central Empires have the superior right to exploit undeveloped countries.”

And this might reach some of those who were blind and deaf to reason when it was written;

“Only do retain this much reason; when you have paid the price, the last and uttermost price, and have not received what you were told you were fighting for—namely democracy—

“Then remember that the price you paid was not the purchase price for justice, but the penalty price for your stupidity!

Forward To Independent Political Action

By Emil Herman

Because of the failure of the Cleveland conference for Independent Political Action to develop a third party which would federate all labor groups and political organizations into one party for united action at the polls the Minneapolis Trades And Labor Assembly has elected a committee to formulate a program for independent political action by the producers of wealth in this state. Undoubtedly other Labor Bodies in other Cities and States will take like action.

This is significant because of the progress shown. It is a long step in advance of the official policy of the A. F. of L., as indulged in by Brother Gompers and many other Labor Leaders, of dividing the forces of labor between the politicians of the Republican and Democratic Parties on the plea that we should reward our friends and punish our enemies—as though we can have any friends, no matter how honest they may be, among the candidates of the Parties organized, supported, and controlled by the exploiters of labor.

In consideration of this important question it is well to bear in mind the fact that there already is a third party in the field which has at all times been truly representative of the interests of the working-class, has supported and does support every struggle of labor—whether organized or unorganized—in its conflict with the capitalist class or any part thereof and, while always keeping in mind the immediate needs of those who work, presents a definite, clear cut and scientific program for our emancipation from wage-slavery. This Party is the Socialist Party and it solicits your membership if you are sincere in your desire for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

The Socialist Party has been in the field for twenty-one years and during all of that time it has not once — as an organization — violated the interests of the working-class. Certainly an enviable record and worthy of careful consideration by those who have the best interest of the masses in mind and at heart.

During and prior to these twenty-one years several reform movements have developed into third parties and passed into history. Among these are the Peoples Party, from 1890 to 1896, The Progressive Party from 1912 to 1916 and more recently the Non-Partisan League. The reason for the failure of these movements is obvious to the student and thinker—they represented no definite

economic class interest, had no well defined program for the abolition of the capitalist system.

True, they embodied in their platform some of the immediate demands advocated by the Socialist Party—but they made these demands their ultimate aim and for the purpose of reforming and perpetuating capitalism, whereas the Socialist Party offers these immediate demands not as an end in themselves but as means to an end, as stepping stones, as propositions to develop the fighting capacity of the masses in their struggle for emancipation.

Some may raise the objection that the Socialist Party is not as strong numerically today as it has been in the past. This is true but not because of any fundamental unsoundness of principle or betrayal of labor's interests but rather because we stood loyally by them during a time of great stress when all the forces of capitalism were unleashed to break the backbone of all organizations of workers and farmers.

There are several reasons for the decline in numbers of the Socialist Party. Among these the most important are; At the time of entry the U. S. in to the world war the Socialist Party issued an anti-war proclamation which pointed out the real cause of the war, of our Government's reason for hurling us into it and what evils would result therefrom for the common people of this country—in the light of subsequent event I think that it will be agreed to by all honest thinkers that our position was sound and correct. Nevertheless the adoption of the proclamation caused many prominent members to withdraw—it seems they had more regard for the interests of Allied Capitalism than for the cause of the working-class. Another reason is that many members became impatient for results and began to clamor for a radical and impossible change in our program and failing in that created internal dissensions which greatly depleted our membership,—and on top of all that was the ruthless and relentless persecution by the Republican and Democratic politicians of the capitalist-class which resulted in the suppression of our public meetings and of our press, the raiding of our offices and halls and the imprisonment, for long terms, of many of our ablest and most active members.

The fact that the Socialist Party has survived these internal dissensions and the persecution from without proves the correctness of our principles, our loyalty to the interests of the common people and our right to expect the support of all those who are

earnest and sincere in their desire for a third party which shall unite the masses for independent political action.

Even though we succeed in uniting all the forces of labor for united political action the Socialist Party will be necessary (perhaps more so then ever)

to give vision and definiteness of purpose to the Federated Party. So we must continue our separate identity and work to build up the Socialist Party as we never did before. The first duty of a Socialist is to join the Party—that is the test of sincerity.

WHY AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

By W. R. Snow

State Secretary of The Socialist Party of Illinois

There have been many splits, resplits, counter splits, duplicate splits and other splits in the Socialist movement of America in the past five years, or in the various factions that once made up the Socialist Movement. There seems to be as many ideas of how not to do things, as the middle age exponents of religion had of how to get to heaven or hell. These ideas are all products of conflicting opinions, and the stress of emotionalism growing out of the world war; regrettable but inevitable at the present stage of human understanding. This article is not written with the idea of holding a post mortem over the mistakes of the past, but to point out what seems to the writer to be an immediate danger ahead.

There seems to be an idea among many, who were the most severe critics of our left wing communist comrades for their efforts to copy the Russian Revolution, and introduce the tactics of the Russian movement in this country, that we must go to the other extreme of modeling a Labor Party, after the Independent Labor Party of England. For the past two years this idea threshed about and numerous articles from some of our leading Socialists have been printed in support of it. The writer of this article accepts neither the left wingism of the Communists, and their impossible tactics, nor the right wingism of the Laborites who would make the class struggle respectable, by presenting its political manifestation under another name. One of the strangest things of all is to see the former extreme radicals, to whom the Socialist movement was anathema because of its yellow hue, joining with those of the extreme right in demanding, a respectable - middle - of - the - road - get - together - get - something - rightaway - just - as - good - milk - and - water - reform - party. Robert Minor lets out a screech in the December Liberator for a Labor Party, Seymour Stedman seems to be strongly in favor of a Labor Party. Well anyway there is going to be peace and harmony on earth and good will among men when these two estimable Comrades can meet on the same political plat-

form, for they represent the opposite extremes of thought found in the radical Labor Movement of America.

What is the excuse or necessity for organizing an Independent Labor Party? This question I am directing at the Socialist, and especially at those of the socialist party who have been in favor of this move. There seems to be a lurking suspicion in the minds of many that we can make ourselves more respectable and acceptable by changing our name to get away from that dreadful word SOCIALISM. That if we were masquerading the political expression of the class struggle under another name, large bunches of the working class would come flocking to us. That our uniting under another name would quell the factional differences in our movement, and we would have one grand get-together political love feast. Will any of these contentions, and others that have been put forward bear investigation and analysis?

Are the Socialist principles and fundamental philosophy unsound? If so we have been on the wrong tack all the time. If the fundamental principles of Socialism are sound, then why try to build another movement on a false foundation? If we can't build a Labor Party out of the Socialist Party, we can't build it out of anything, for some generations to come. We have two generations of socialist teachings and propaganda behind us, and almost a generation of actual political experience. No movement in the world's history has produced such an abundant literature, in so short a time, covering every phase of economic, political and social life, as has the socialist movement. It is founded on broad fundamental principles that have been worked out by thousands of painstaking students and investigators. Shall we abandon all this for the sake of a few immediate election gains?

Any movement worth while, no matter what name it is given will have to be founded on the three cardinal principles of the socialist philosophy, viz, that Socialist is divided into classes, with conflicting economic interest; that Economic Determina-

ism is the mainspring of human action; that Surplus Values are wrested from the working class, through the private ownership and monopoly of the jobs. When a political or economic movement under any name threatens the interest of the privileged class, they will get out the paint pots and paint it red enough to suit any Bolsheviki.

I fail to see much consistency in criticizing communists for trying to ape Russia, and reproduce out of hand the Russia Revolution here, and then turn round and try to ape England by founding an Independent Labor Party. We live in neither Russia nor England, and certainly haven't the material or conditions to build a labor party here, such as exists in England. I for one am proud of the name of the Socialist Party, proud of its traditions and of the enemies it has made. As for its mistakes, any other party under any name will make just as many in 21 years. It will take any other party many years to gain the prestige and experience the Socialist Party has. And I am sure that the change of a name is not going to make the working class more wise, or the capitalist class less opposed to us.

We can make a real Labor Party out of the Socialist Party within the next fifteen or twenty years, or we can, like the Children of Israel, wander in the wilderness for the next forty. Some of our eminent Socialists seem to be headed for the jungle. Shall we side track the real thing for a counterfeit? The recent meeting in Cleveland, I hope, has proved to some of our Labor Party fans the barren intellectual bankruptcy of the leadership of our trade union movement in this country. They are as void of social vision as the leaders of the democrat and republican parties. There are a few exceptions, also there are a few exceptions in the old parties.

Political parties do not grow up, get bald-headed, and loose their teeth quite as soon as we do as individuals. A political party that is only 21 years old is scarcely in its teething stage. The Democratic party has long since passed the century mark, and is able to hobble around without crutches, can even dance political jazz and flirt with the flappers. The Republican party is nearing its biblical three score and ten, and seems to be a pretty robust specimen in fact still young enough to spank occasionally. When the Socialist party cuts enough teeth to take solid nourishment without getting a stomach ache, we may feel proud of the kid, who knows?

I am not saying we will not try out a labor party, but I am contending it is not a step forward. But as the human race seems destined to try out every possible foolish thing that can be thought of, there is a possibility that we may waste fifteen or twenty years chasing rainbows of respectability. As we have an eternity ahead of us as well as an eternity behind us, I am not going to waste much sleep over the matter, but go hammering away in an effort to rebuild the shattered forces of the socialist movement. My recent experience in field and organization work convinces me that a large number of our former Comrades, who have been discouraged and inactive for some time are now ready to join us in the great task. We have the making of the only Labor Party worth while in our hands, the only one based on sound scientific principles, and that is the rebuilding of the Socialist movement. We can delay this with reform bunk for the next twenty years, or we can start the work of reorganization now; the material is ready and the time ripe for the work.

WHY AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

By James Oneal.

Comrade W. R. Snow writes a critical article in The Call under the above caption and presents what he considers important reasons why the present policy of the Socialist party is wrong.

His argument may be summed up under the following heads: 1. Those favoring an independent labor party with the Socialist party an affiliated section "would make the class struggle respectable by presenting its political manifestation under another name". We believe that under another name "crowds of the working class would come flocking to us." 3. An inference that those who favor the independent labor party fear that "Socialist principles and fundamental philosophy" are unsound.

4. Shall we abandon these principles and this philosophy? 5. Should such a movement become powerful the ruling classes will "get out the paint pots and paint it red enough to suit any Bolshevik." The change of name "is not going to make the working class more wise, or the capitalist class less opposed to us." 7. The Cleveland Conference shows that there is no hope from the trade union leaders who dominate it. The organization of an independent labor party with trade unions, co-operatives, and working farmers affiliated with it "is not a step forward." 9. The proposal means an attempt to imitate the British Labor party.

1. There may be some who may think that the

new federated party would make the "class struggle more respectable." If so they will be disappointed when it is organized. The class struggle is not a matter of intellectual conviction. It is a matter of economic relationship in capitalist society and the labor party will meet with the same attacks as the Socialist party has. At any rate, the criticism is not an argument against the organization of such a party but a criticism of the view which Comrade Snow ascribes to some of its advocates.

2. The very fact of the organization of the party will bring masses into it. Its success means that many political and economic organizations will directly federate with the national labor party organization. This very affiliation would constitute the "flocking to us." For example, if the miners adhere as an affiliated section this would bring several hundred thousand workers of the organization alone into the political federation of the workers. Add to the miners' organization the other trade unions that would likely affiliate, and there certainly would be "crowds of the working class flocking to us." If enough trade unions do not decide to enter such a political federation, we simply go on as a Socialist party, just as we do now.

3. Fear that Socialist principles are unsound or belief that they are sound may be held by one supporting the idea of a political federation. I am convinced that our principles are sound, and because they are sound I want us to be brought into intimate contact with the organized workers. This can be accomplished through the political federation. It is difficult without this federation. The federation is not a matter of principles, but of policy. The union remains a union when it goes in. The co-operative remains a co-operative. The Socialist party remains the Socialist party. Each one formulates its own educational and organization work, just as it does now. But all of them federate in the political organization to represent the workers politically. The political program adopted by the federation will not be as advanced as the program of the Socialist party. But it will represent the claims and interests of the workers and will become more precise and clear with experience.

4. This question is merely a negative way of putting the issue considered under No. 3.

5. Certainly, the new movement will be "painted red" by its enemies. If its enemies would so regard it, that is one good reason for supporting it. The new movement would have to face what the Socialist party has faced. The British Labor party also had the same experience in the recent elections.

6. The change of name will not make the workers more wise but the form of organization will federate us with the organized workers and these

workers with us. I think it is Comrade Snow's belief that the more we come in contact with the workers on a sympathetic basis the more likely are we to make progress. This proposed federation gives us the one big opportunity that we should welcome. The name counts for nothing but the opportunity is valuable.

7. I am inclined to agree that the conference dominated by conservative leaders holds out little hope. But the conference has agreed to set up machinery in all the states this year by which we can test the membership as to whether they are ready for an independent party of the workers. The conference may be unpromising but the machinery set up is valuable. Is not this test of the membership of labor organizations worth while? It is another opportunity that we never had before and it would be folly to neglect it.

8. The organization of a political federation of big organizations of the workers is certainly "a step forward." Those who unite in the federation cut themselves adrift from the parties of capitalism. If that is not a big step forward I do not know what it is. Frederick Engels wrote of the movement in the United States a few years before he died that getting this "step forward" was the first and fundamental task of American Socialists. He added that it was even more important than the program adopted by the labor party. That would take care of itself, he said, and shape itself as a clear working class program as the movement acquired experience and education.

9. There is a similarity between the proposal as an organization and the British Labor party, but there is no analogy between the proposal and that of the Communists to import the Soviet system, the dogmas and the numerous, and long-winded "theses" of the Communist hierarchy. If it was proposed to import the British program, resolutions, forms of agitation and discipline, the analogy would be apt. As a matter of fact, the trade unions of the various countries have many marked similarities in organization, but this is not due to imitation, but to the class composition of capitalist society.

The whole question that faces us is shall we remain aloof while the radical workers drift toward political action or shall we unite with them on a basis that will preserve the integrity and autonomy of our own organization? Whether we like it or not, they have organized independent parties in three states already. We never had to face this question before. Had it appeared 10 or 15 years ago we would have had to face it and we would likely have taken the position which the party now takes.

We can stand aside and permit the independent movement to develop or we can join with it under certain safeguards and help to develop and guide it so that it will be a genuine party of workers. The first policy would mean isolation and drift of the party toward the status of a sect. The second

throws us into contact with millions of organized workers with an opportunity to serve them and advance our own ideals. It would be folly for us not to help, especially when we are not required to abandon our fundamental policy of no support of candidates nominated by the parties of capitalism.

Partial Minutes of the National Convention Young People's Socialist League

Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

First Session—Saturday afternoon, Dec. 30, 1922

The National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League was called to order at 3 P. M. by Comrade Savele Syrjala, State Secretary of Massachusetts and Chairman of the National Affairs Committee. Comrade Syrjala welcomed the delegates in behalf of the Fitchburg Circle and the State Organization of Massachusetts, saying in part: "Today we have the third Convention of the Young People's Socialist League of the United States of America. The first one was an emergency convention, and the second one was the convention at which our League was formed. At both of these conventions there was a feeling against the Socialist Party. The feeling of this Convention, in my opinion, seems to be that we are with the Party this time. We must re-organize a League that will be the strongest that we have ever had. After years of struggle, the remainder of our circles have gathered here, and I in behalf of the local committee, and of the Young People's Socialist League, wish to extend my hearty greetings and hope the Convention is a success."

Comrade Syrjala then introduced Comrade Weisbord who made the report for the Credentials Committee. The report follows: — the delegates who are officially recognized by the Committee are: New York: Joseph Cohen, George Fields, Bernard Friedman, George Hatanen, Jennie Himler, Sarah Levine, Emanuel Ewitkes, Abraham Zussman. Massachusetts: Fitchburg: Toivo Tikkala. Maynard: Aili Lindfors and Taina Linna. Chester: Waino Hakola. Quincy: Matthew Korpi. Gardner: Fanny Buranen. Worcester: Inquid Wanhala. State Organization: Sevele Syrjala. Wisconsin: Milwaukee: Max Wagner, Reinhold Bauman. Maryland: Baltimore, Eli Baer. Missouri: St. Louis, Oscar Albrecht. Vermont: Ludlow; Walter Kangas. The National Director, Albert Weisbord. The members of the National Affairs Committee were to be delegates with a voice and vote. The members present are:

Savele Syrjala, Morris Novik. Fraternal Delegates, New Hampshire: Newport; Vendla Hautaniemi. Junior Y.P.S.L., Irving Glass. Massachusetts Socialist Party; William M. Boyd. District Secretary and Organizer. Finnish Socialist Federation: William N. Reivo, Translator-Secretary. The New York Call and the New York Socialist Party: William M. Feigenbaum. It was also decided that until tomorrow, when the Committee would finally decide on their cases, the following were fraternal delegates from New York: Harry Bordman, William Cohen, Edward Schachat, Sanfrid Whittaker, Louis Dickstein. A motion was regularly made and seconded that the report of the Credentials Committee be accepted. Carried.

Comrade Weisbord, as National Director, gave his report. He said in part: "Many forces threatened to destroy the organization, but the determination of a few comrades kept alive the spirit of the old Y. P. S. L. movement. In June, 1921, several comrades in New York, after handing out questionnaires, decided the Yinsels had reorganized sufficiently to a point where they could co-ordinate and centralize the circles scattered throughout the country. Recommendations made to Comrade Branstetter by the New York City League that a national director be appointed by the the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and a national office formed whose function would be to co-ordinate the scattered circles, were acted upon. During the first year not very much could be accomplished, because although many letters were sent out, few were answered. Where circles were organized, secretaries had very little time to devote to outside circles as their own organizations were pretty badly shattered. Consequently, it was not until the summer of 1922 when the National Director was asked by the National Office of the Socialist Party to make a trip through the country, touching the cities of Boston, New York, Balti-

(Continued on page 16)

The Socialist Party

**Executive Secretary,
OTTO BRANSTETTER,
2418 West Madison Street
Chicago**

National Executive Committee:
Edmund T. Melms, 579 8th Avenue,
Milwaukee, Wis.
Wm. H. Henry, 709 East 13th St.,
Indianapolis, Ind.
James H. Maurer, Rooms 1, 2 and 3,
Commonwealth Trust Co. Building, Har-
risburg, Pa.
Morris Hillquit, 19 W. 44th St., New
York City.
B. Charney Vladeck, 175 E. Broadway,
New York City.
George E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton
Sq., Boston, Mass.
Victor L. Berger, 528 Chestnut St.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

Official Business

Jan. 11, 1923

**TO THE NATIONAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Dear Comrades:

I submit for vote of your committee
the following

*National Executive Committee Motion
No 7.*

By Hillquit

"That Comrade Berger be requested
to prepare and issue a statement on the
Ruhr Occupation in behalf of the Party."

Please vote by wire.

Fraternally submitted,

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

January 25, 1923

To the National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

I beg to report on

*National Executive Committee Motion
No 7.*

By Hillquit

Submitted January 11th. Vote closed
January 16th.

"That Comrade Berger be requested
to prepare and issue a statement on the
Ruhr occupation in behalf of the Party."

*Voting Yes: Roewer, Vladeck, Hill-
quit (3)*

*Not Voting: Maurer, Melms, Henry,
Berger (4)*

No action.

I herewith submit

*National Executive Committee Motion
No. 8*

By Berger

"That the place of the next committee
meeting be changed from Chicago to New
York City, and that it be held in New
York City on Saturday and Sunday,
February 24th and 25th."

If you want
to continue
receiving the
Socialist
World
your Sec.'ry
must send a
revised list
of your
membership
to the
NATIONAL
OFFICE
not later
than

March 15th.

**COMMENT BY EXECUTIVE
SECRETARY**

Comrade Berger informs me that he
will have to be in New York City at this
time and it seems to me that we should
take advantage of the opportunity to hold
the meeting there at a considerable saving
of expense. The last committee meeting
cost us \$625.00 and we are in no position
to pay such amounts every three months.

This will be the last meeting of the
committee before the convention and no
business of importance is to be transacted
except the preparation of the agenda. A
subcommittee consisting of Berger, Melms
and myself has this matter in charge and
the only thing before the full committee
will be such changes and additions as
they may deem necessary and advisable.

I suggest that this motion be adopted
which will insure the presence of Berger,
Hillquit and Vladeck without expense
and that we have Roewer as the nearest
remaining member attend. This will
give us a quorum at an expense not to
exceed \$150.00 which means a saving
of between four and five hundred dollars
over a full meeting held in Chicago.

Vote closes February 4th. Ballots
enclosed.

Fraternally submitted,

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 6, 1923

To the National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

I beg to report on

*National Executive Committee Motion
No. 8*

By Berger

Submitted Jan. 25. Vote Closed, Feb. 4.

"That the place of the next commit-
tee meeting be changed from Chicago to
New York City, and that it be held in
New York City on Saturday and Sun-
day, February 24th and 25th."

*Voting Yes: Berger, Henry, Hillquit,
Maurer, Melms, Roewer. (6)*

Not Voting: Vladeck (1)

Motion carried.

Fraternally submitted,

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The mailing list of the Socialist
World will be revised on March 15th.
and all local secretaries are instructed to
forward a new and corrected list of all
members who are entitled to receive the
Socialist World so as to reach the
National Office on or before March 15th.

All names will be dropped from the
mailing list which are not included on
such lists received between January 1st
and March 15th.

If you want to continue receiving the

Socialist World, see that your secretary forwards a corrected list of your members by that date.

LOCAL OAKLAND SOCIALIST PARTY

Dec. 4, 1922

To the Members of the Nat'l Executive Committee, Socialist Party

Dear Comrades:

The following resolution passed by Local Oakland Socialist Party at its regular meeting Monday evening, Nov. 13, 1922, and reaffirmed at its regular meeting Monday evening, Dec. 4, 1922, against fusion in any form or political trading.

Whereas: The Socialist Party of the United States has by its uncompromising adherence to its principles won the respect of its enemies and the adherence of a million voters, and

Whereas: The recent elections have shown by the vote returned that where there was a clear cut program without fusion the results have been all that could be expected and more gratifying than in those sections where fusion was practiced, as stated by Comrade Algernon Lee with reference to losses in the elections in New York, in *The World* of November 24, 1922, and

Whereas: Those who have devoted years to the upbuilding of the Socialist Party protest the efforts of the few who desire success thru the sacrifice of principle, and

Whereas: The whole history of the Socialist movement in France is one of division and weakness produced by those who split the ranks by compromise with some phase of capitalism or some form of capitalistic labor organization, and furthermore, those elements of the Socialist organization in Germany, opposed to the slogan of the elder Liebknecht "No Compromise No Political Trading" failed us in the supreme crisis to the disruption

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of the International Socialist Movement, and again, the winning of official position in Australia by compromise with semi-capitalistic labor parties has resulted in the officials promoting programs little better than the reform program of the United States, and

Whereas: Every new party in the United States when on the eve of becoming a success and a power for good has been beguiled into and betrayed thru fusion by its leaders; has been utterly annihilated, the Socialist Party of the United States should heed the lesson of these failures and keep our party free from fusion or compromise, Therefore

Be It Resolved: That the Socialist Party of Local Oakland places itself unqualifiedly on record against any form of fusion or political trading and protests the action of three members of State Executive Committee in naming delegates to the Chicago Conference for Progressive Political Action and the set of instructions sent to said delegates advising the formation of an Independent American Labor Party and we further demand that this action be rescinded at the next meeting of the State Executive Committee Dec. 10, 1922, and

Be It Further Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the State Executive Committee and to the National Executive Committee and to the Socialist Press.

(Signed)

Elvina A. Beals.

Chairman Resolution Committee and member of the State Executive Board S. P. Calif.

W. C. Aylsworth

Organizer Local Oakland Socialist Party

Florence Logan Johnson

Member State Executive Committee S. P. Calif.

W. R. Edward

Secretary Local Oakland Socialist Party

L. E. Beals.

(Continued from page 14)

more, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and other cities, to discover where the lost circles were, and to see what the situation was among the Yipsels throughout the country, that the National Office of the Y. P. S. L. was able to report real progress in the co-ordination of the various circles. No circles were found in Detroit, Mich., as the membership there was too young and too small. In both Cleveland and Ashtabula, Ohio, charters had been granted, but these places could not support live circles, and their charters had therefore to be revoked to await further developments.

They had been connected with the Finnish Federation, but had received little support from the Party. At present there are 27 circles in the United States:

12 in New York City; 1 in Syracuse, N. Y.; 7 in Massachusetts, 1 in New Hampshire, 1 in Vermont, 2 in Wisconsin, 1 in Missouri, 1 in Maryland, and 1 in Pennsylvania. A large number of these circles were organized within the past year. Circles in New Hampshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Wisconsin, and Syracuse, N. Y., were formed or re-organized, and four new circles formed in New York City within the past year.