

SOCIALIST WORLD

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FOR ALL THE WORLD

By Joseph E. Cohen

With the coming of May, the blossom and flower time of eternal aspirations, the back is turned to the dreary and bleak winter of inaction and reaction, and the thoughts burst open to new hopes and new strivings. It is spring again the world over.

There is no time like the spring. Then nature is at fresh endeavor. The frost has thawed, the sap has risen, the soil is eager for seed and sunshine and shower, the song of labor and love fills the air. It required only a transfer of kindly simplicity to make May Day the token of fellowship and fraternity across all lands.

Such a day for reckoning up what is best there must be. It is so soft to fall into routine, even when ideals beckon and call; it is so difficult to do the immediate and yet reserve a sense of proportion for the ultimate. Always the road bends up, weariness oppresses and it seems so far to the horizon beyond.

Especially will this be so as the labor movement steps out of the rut of negation into the highway of accomplishment. Gains that are trifling measure so well against the dark past that it becomes a test of endurance to kindle the flame that means more light instead of heat. Already that hour has struck in many lands, where Socialists have come into office, sometimes even to power.

The immediate task requires so much marrow and sounds such deeps of energy. The ultimate looms ever so much more remote. It is so tempting to sell the heritage for a mess of pottage when hunger is ever keen.

But they who are enlisted for the long campaign will go on.

There will be faltering and fainting, the losing of many who have served well and the gaining of some

who have their price. The main army will move forward.

Only the procession of the years can mark the unfolding of the bud of the workers' dreams until the happier social order has come to flower. Social change is not nicked by days or months, but by decades and generations. Only labor as a whole can bring it forth.

Here a little and there a little the men and women with the plow and hoe and rake and seed and cultivator stoop over the stirred soil. Always it is better pulverized to feed the welcome particle that touches it to the quick and starts over the cycle and span of throbbing existence. For that makes for the culmination of living.

Not in one clime, but in all lands, the perennial processes go on. However different the loam, however mixed with the clay, by dint of persistence, devotion and loyalty, response comes and progress is made. Sooner or later the pulse of each stirs in unison, and allowances of past experience, present circumstances, industrial development and racial temper blend in the seed bed of common duties and equal ideals.

The mixture blossoms into international programs of peace and well-being and civilization.

Altogether labor and Socialism have come through in the test. It could not be expected that selfish individualism, with its inherent menace to solidarity and social service, could be brushed aside for the mere asking. Quite naturally should it be assumed that among the first who would be tempted would be enough who would fall. But the delinquents have not been sufficient to cause shame or despair.

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THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA
BERTHA HALE WHITE Bus. Mgr.

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

Of The Socialist World published Monthly at Chicago, Illinois. for April 1, 1924

State of Illinois
County of Cook
ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Bertha Hale White, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of 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, 1912, 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 managers are:

Publisher: Socialist Party of the United States, 2653 Washington Blvd.

Editor: Bertha Hale White, 2653 Washington Blvd.

Managing Editor: Bertha Hale White.

Business Managers: Bertha Hale White.

2. That the owner is: (if the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than

one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given).

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Indiana.

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

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

Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York, N. Y.

Edmund T. Melms, 528 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

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

Birch Wilson, 616 Genesee St., Buffalo, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other security are: NONE.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustee, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

BERTHA HALE WHITE Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March 1924.

(SEAL)

SWAN JOHNSON

Notary Public.

(My commission expires April 29, 1927).

TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

February 15, 1924

Dear Comrades:

Under the authority conferred by Section 2 of Article 7 of the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls the National Convention for 1924 to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, at the Hotel Winton, Sunday, 10 A. M., July 6.

The National Convention shall be composed of 200 delegates apportioned among the states—one from each state, and the remainder in proportion to the average national dues paid by the organizations of such states during the preceding year. They shall be elected by referendum vote of the members.

The National Convention shall have power to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, to adopt a National Platform and to transact such other business as the convention may see fit.

State Secretaries are notified to proceed with the election of delegates in accordance with the apportionment made. The election of delegates to the National Convention shall, wherever possible, be completed not later than thirty days preceding the convention, and the respective State Secretaries shall furnish the Executive Secretary with a list of accredited delegates immediately after said election.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary

Delegates to the July 4th convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action from the National Socialist Party.

Morris Hillquit, Bertha Hale White and Victor L. Berger.

Alternates: Seymour Stedman and George R. Kirkpatrick.

FOR ALL THE WORLD

(Continued from page 1)

The movement has hardly been hindered, even by the defection of those who went under as in the French government, or who yielded to militarism or the blandishments of prestige before labor as a whole came into its reward. Against that is so much genuine worth in all countries.

Moreover, there is ground for rejoicing in that labor has not been found wanting when ability was needed. Notably has this been so in England. Here the Liberal Party, swollen with all the powers seized during wartime, has failed to cope with the critical difficulties the elder statesmen inflicted upon a sad people. Succeeding to their estate, the Conservative Party could find no escape but in the hopeless retreat to a forgotten nostrum. Called to the helm of the Ship of State with fear and trembling, the Labor Party has taken firm hold and has already brought confidence where there was panic and security where there was storm.

Better than all, it has merited the support of its fellow citizens, while seeking the way to international amity, understanding and good will.

Out of the day's work, out of pressing necessity, out of home connections and national ties, is coming the far look to the philosophy which embraces these in detail, yet reaches around to a wholesome welcome to other deeds, other members of human society, other possibilities of development into a finer, richer, more bounteous future. Soon comes the tingle of blood that makes the whole world kin.

For this alone, when the sums of endeavor and one's achievement have been cast up, remains as the total to be checked against what has been spent in the daily grind or the yearly yield. To look out for self and only that is but a pace ahead of stupid self-interest. But to let oneself open up with the spring, so that the mind's eye rambles over the hills to the sunrise and the inner sentiment expands to the throb of kith that is mankind—that is the essence of the cause which is deserving of the best and which bestows most in return.

And as a harbinger of the good times coming, when renewal of wishes and research for the ever blossoming fill the hours with promise, May Day reminds us that only can we come into our own as our own is for all the world.

THE ABSURDITY OF OUR PRICE SYSTEM

By Alfred Baker Lewis

The planlessness and utter lack of foresight which characterize industry under capitalism are very vividly shown in the way in which society leaves to chance the important function of determining what should be produced and how much of each important thing.

We gayly assume that if there is an unusual need for, or an unusual shortage of, any particular thing, the price of it will go up higher in proportion to its cost of production than the price of things which are less needed or less important in satisfying human needs, and that this higher price, with the resulting higher profits, in turn will stimulate production of the needed article. The supporters of capitalism would indeed slyly have us accept the baseless assumption that in deciding the important question as to whether the foolishly useless or the seriously useful things shall be produced, prices and profits are a safe and sufficient guide.

But prices do not form a good guide for production. In the first place, prices are constantly fluctuating, and often fluctuate widely within a short time, without any change taking place in the needs and requirements of the community. For example, the price to the producer for all grades of cotton during 1920 averaged 32 cents a pound. In February 1921, it was 11.8 cents a pound, and two months later 9½ cents, or less than a third of its

price a year before. In October, 1921, the price was 19.8, or more than twice what it had been eight months before. In February 1922, it was 15½ cents and in February 1923, 26 cents. Yet no one could reasonably suppose that the community's need for cotton more than doubled between April and October 1921, or fell off to one-third what it had been between 1920 and April 1921.

Constant fluctuations in prices such as we now have constitute a highly disconcerting element of risk and uncertainty under which production must be carried on to-day. Those in control of industry never know with any certainty, when they spend money for their raw material, what the price of their finished product will be.

And, of course, the owners of industry in turn take their revenge on the community in the form of a constantly fluctuating output. At one time, tempted by unusually high prices, they produce far more than the community's normal requirements. The result of course is that the price falls again, according to the operations of the law of supply and demand. Then the capitalist class in control of the government proceeds to embark the nation on all sorts of imperialist ventures and a great armament program in an endeavor to win control of foreign markets in which to sell their surplus goods. At another time, dis-

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“WAIT A WHILE?” IMPOSSIBLE!

By Bertha Hale White

In discussion of the campaign just ahead, frequently fears are expressed that the delay in holding our convention will be disastrous. It is pointed out that a national campaign covers a tremendous area; that our campaign workers cannot be enlisted and put to work in a week or several weeks; that it takes many days of preparation and promotion to provide a campaign fund, and that beginning two months late will be a fatal obstacle to the attainment of the results which the amazing industrial and political conditions of 1924 entitle us to expect.

All of which is only too true. It does take time, much time, to get the wheels turning in a national campaign. The national office cannot wait until the middle of July before beginning to build the campaign machinery. The argument against the late convention is well founded, if we must wait until after it is held before preparing at all for the work ahead.

Must we wait? Why should we? To “see what will happen at Cleveland”? But is there a possibility that we shall put forth less than our supreme best after that convention is held? If there should be a Labor Party which we can support, shall not we make that a support of utmost importance in the united campaign? Shall not we make our political experience and training an indispensable factor?

And—if there is NO Labor Party! If the decisions at Cleveland on July Fourth are such that we must withdraw, nominate our candidates upon our own platform, was there ever a campaign that was so important to us?

It makes no difference what happens at Cleveland so far as our preliminary work is concerned. It lies before us, definite, imperative, admitting of no postponement. The machinery must be builded in advance, whether it is to be used for a united, Labor Party campaign or for an independent campaign of the Socialist Party. It is equally important in either event. It must be made ready, prepared to work smoothly and efficiently, and it takes time to do this.

On May first, the National Office will issue a call for the formation of *local* national campaign committees. Every local and branch that expects to participate in the national and state campaign work must respond, and every member of the party is urged to see that his local acts at the first meeting held after the call is issued.

The work of the committees?

Campaign work naturally falls into three divisions. The speakers, the literature, the funds.

In every active local, there are members who are especially trained in the work of arranging success-

ful meetings. Such members must be on the committees. In every local there are those who are expert in handling the distribution of literature. They must serve. There are those who are willing to give time and effort toward financing the campaign — they are indispensable. They must all be drafted in advance, ready for the July declaration of war on capitalism and prepared to provide the ammunition for the campaign.

As fast as committees are selected and reported to the National Office the names will be forwarded to the respective state offices. The same committees will function for state and national. This will mean harmony throughout the organization in the campaign activities. The chairman will be national and state correspondent. He will be informed of speakers, of new literature, will have credentials for the solicitation of campaign funds.

This must be a literature campaign to a large extent. Plans are under way for a weekly leaflet—a new and attractive leaflet, one that will catch the eye and hold the attention, that our workers will handle with confidence in its effectiveness. The committees should be ready for it, have advance orders for it on file in the National Office so that shipment need not be delayed longer than is necessary for the printing after the convention.

Even if the convention were to be held in May, it would be necessary to perfect these arrangements. It would take until the first of August to get the committees thoroughly at work. If we elect our committees before July we have gained instead of lost ground.

Let's have team work in this necessary preparation. It is expensive to send a letter to every local and branch of the party—just one letter means work and money. If it gets results both are well expended. One letter should be sufficient. Will it be? Shall it be necessary to send follow-up letters, thus doubling the expense? Or will every secretary respond to the May first letter? Let us see how nearly 100% effective we can make that letter and thus conserve our resources for other purposes.

You should read Congressman Berger's recent speech in Congress, and you should get a bundle for your neighbors to read, and you should be mighty glad we have at least one good strong voice in Congress, and you should quit 'dreaming' and get busy scheming. For example, it would be a fine scheme to use as many as possible of Berger's speech—for Uncle Samuel has to pay most of the bills; and it is a good speech and Sam doesn't need the money. Why not work Sam and Victor a little?

THE PRICELESS REMNANT

By George R. Kirkpatrick

Matthew Arnold, long ago, wrote a classic essay entitled "The Remnant," in which he discussed the significance of a certain sacred minority to be found in every forward movement, a never-surrender regiment in the army of progress—those workers for social progress who for courage and service can always—always—be relied upon, the superb few who never admit defeat, who never "lie down," who always know that there is always something somewhere they can do and they *keep doing it*—those workers who never forlornly whine, "What's the use?"—who never waste their energies and please their enemies with the deadly drivel of spineless complaining, the gallant regiment in the army of progress whose rich spiritual natures are never—never—exhausted but on the contrary steadily yield the soul's fine wine of priceless valor in and for every crisis, whose fadeless courage, whose unconquerable will, whose sublime and beautiful loyalty constitute the sacredly precious reserve force for *new attacks* after even the most exhausting battles and after long years of cruel persecution.

In actual practical worth in the world's social-progress work these extraordinary men and women (even the least of them) compare favorably, very favorably, with the greatest artists, the greatest scientists, the greatest philosophers and with the kings and queens of literature. Each hundred years billions of men and women come into this world, the biological spawning of the human species; but among all these billions of human creatures there are (or have been) only a comparative few, oh, so few, the remnant, whose spiritual courage has been absolutely dauntless, quenchless, indestructible—who, tho their flesh has been scorched in the flames of persecution, have ever been ready—eager—to seize the battered banner of their movement and march on—onward again—scarred but smiling, grasping every opportunity to do anything anywhere, not weakly waiting for an opportunity but finding, creating opportunity to do *something*.

In every great forward movement, especially in seasons of depression and crisis, these heroic few, these golden-hearted heroes and heroines, these who are the deathless remnant—these, these are carried with grateful affection in the very heart's-core of those who plan new battles, new advances, and sweat over the problems of ways and means and general management. Naturally. Inevitably. Because advances to further victories are simply impossible without these noble souls who never "lie down" and wait for "the others" to take up the banner and carry on. And now, comrade, when you read this, kindly

meditate somewhat—and with all the seriousness you are capable of—and with severe frankness ask of yourself: *Am I or am I not a member of the glorious special grand division of the American Socialist movement, ever unfailingly ready to do something, something MORE than simply being "TRUE TO THE MOVEMENT."*

True to the movement?

Well, if by being "true to the movement" you mean no more than unwillingness to betray our cause to our enemies and your willingness to dig up less than two cents a day for the movement (called "membership dues")—if that is what you mean and all you mean by being "true to the movement," then, tho we are glad you are not wholly imprisoned in the tombs of deadly gloom, you are *not* a member of the special and incomparable reserve-force remnant just now needed more than at any other time since the Unity Convention in 1901. If you are "true to the movement" but are incurably damned with the disease called the "blues", we shall miss your old-time *larger* service and the sweet good cheer of your voice in the battles just ahead. But, dear comrade, think further, won't you? We do so sorely need your larger service, your heroic cooperation and the dear good cheer of your hearty voice of battle courage in the struggles of this campaign. You may indeed be "true to the movement"—but if you are lazy or careless or sour, you are far short of 100 percent, and a whole million of you would not seriously impress the capitalist class as formidable in this campaign. Why, comrade, you could not and you would not even get your million votes, nor a quarter of your million votes, counted! What the capitalists dread most are the watchful, tirelessly active Socialists.

Now, the whole situation in American politics is such as to furnish an extraordinary opportunity to build up our American movement and be vastly significant as an inspiration, as a safe-guard, and as a safe-guide in the sublime struggles of the American working-class, not only for more wages and somewhat improved working conditions, but also and especially for the industrial emancipation of the American working class. The whole civilized world is seething, changing right before our eyes; and here in the United States politics is confessed to be simply a part of an insane and brutal struggle for power, place and plunder, called capitalism. Millions of voters are ready to "chuck" the whole mess and establish new and clean party connections. And what, now, are you willing to help do, actively, energetically—right now while capitalism rots more

rapidly and shamelessly than ever before, thus affording our movement really special opportunity?

Let me suggest, or even urge this: Begin at once to do something—something—no matter how little, each day, every day. The glorious spirit of pride and joy will revive and grow in you, and you will rapidly increase in desire and power to spread our propaganda and build up our movement, and before mid-summer we, the clear-visioned grand division of America's restless, rousing proletariat—we shall be again ready in courage and in numbers for a truly inspiring campaign; and we shall go right on growing into power far greater than ever before. You are not going to hang back for months with whining indecision, only passively "true to the movement." You are going to give the comrades the blessed stimulus of your courageous, smiling activity and hearty co-operation. Can't you be counted upon to become at once part of the golden-hearted remnant to furnish the fire of courage and tireless, dauntless activity—one of the RED-BANNER TERRORS OF THE TYRANTS OF THE

WORLD? If you are waiting for "the others" to begin before you begin, I must remind you that a good many of "the others" have been busy all these recent years of brutal persecution, and that now, even now, battered and scarred—and smiling—they are ready again (they are always ready) for another battle. They, the noble remnant, have saved the organization *for you*. They refused to sour and "quit." And now they are holding out their warm hands to you in hearty comradeship, pleading with you to "get busy," to resume the battle. And the only way to resume is to—resume. On the day you read this and the next day—and the next—test your soul, test your power of persuasion, test your knowledge of Socialism and your skill in explaining it and your skill in presenting the Party's need of increasing regular membership, test your power to take a subscription to a Socialist paper, test your power to win a new member for the Party, test your power to do SOMETHING.

And do this daily.

Refuse to sour—and die!

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

(Numerous letters reaching the National Office and much current Socialist and labor discussion and news indicate great interest in the British Labor Party, its composition, structure, methods and purposes. The following brief paragraphs, taken from the British Labour Year Book of 1924, will, it is hoped, be instructive to the extent of amply justifying their use in the Socialist World).

President: J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

Secretary: Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P.

33, Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

The Labour Party is the political expression of organised Labour and Socialism in Great Britain. It is composed of 102 Trade Unions, with a political membership of 3,279,276; five National Socialist Societies, with a membership of 31,760; and 482 Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils, federated for the promotion of National, Inter-Dominion and International objects, as follows:

National

(a) To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party, and to ensure the establishment of a Local Labour Party in every County Constituency and every Parliamentary Borough, with suitable divisional organisation in the separate constituencies of Divided Boroughs;

(b) To co-operate with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders;

(c) To give effect as far as may be practi-

able to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference;

(d) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

(e) Generally to promote the Political, Social and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Inter-Dominion

(f) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in the Dominions and the Dependencies with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

International

(g) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in other countries and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of Freedom and Peace, for the establishment of suitable machinery for the adjustment and settlement of International Disputes by Conciliation or Judicial Arbitration, and for such International Legislation as may be practicable.

The Socialist organisations affiliated to the Party

are the Independent Labour Party (I. L. P.), the Fabian Society, and the Social Democratic Federation, the two first-named having had a continuous connection with the Party since its inception in 1900.

Repeated applications for affiliation have been made by the Communist Party during recent years, but on every occasion that the Party Conference has considered the proposal it has been defeated by heavy majorities: in 1922 by 3,086,000 votes to 261,000, and in 1923 by 2,880,000 to 366,000. Considerable discussion has taken place on the right of individual Communists to act on behalf of their respective Trade Unions as party candidates and as delegates to local parties and national and local conferences. It has been agreed that so long as such individuals accept the constitution and principles of the Party they are entitled to represent their Unions in either capacity.

The administration of the Labour Party is under the authority of a National Executive Committee, composed of 23 members, elected by each Annual Conference on a federal basis. The following constitute the Executive elected at the London Conference in June, 1923, when Mr. Sidney Webb, M. P., presided over an attendance of 920 delegates:

Chairman and Treasurer:
Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.
(Independent Labour Party).

NATIONAL SOCIETIES' SECTION.

Vice-Chairman:
Mr. C. T. Cramp,
(National Union of Railwaymen).
Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M. P., Miners' Federation of Great Britain.
Mr. A. G. Cameron, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.
Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M. P., National Union of General Workers.
Mr. Edward Duxbury, United Textile Factory Workers' Association.
Mr. Frank Hodges, Miners' Federation of Great Britain.
Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, Amalgamated Engineering Union.
Mr. Jack Jones, M. P., Social Democratic Federation.
Mr. F. W. Jowett, M. P., Independent Labour Party.
Mr. F. O. Roberts, M. P., Typographical Association.
Mr. W. R. Smith, J. P., National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.
Mr. Sidney Webb, M. P., Fabian Society.
Mr. Robert Williams, Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union.

LOCAL CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZATION SECTION

Mr. R. J. Davies, M. P., Manchester Borough Labour Party.
Mr. T. I. Mardy Jones, M. P., Pontypridd Divisional Labour Party.
Mr. George Lansbury, M. P., Poplar Trades Council and Borough Labour Party.
Mr. W. Lawther, Blaydon Divisional Labour Party.
Mr. Herbert Morrison, L. C. C., London Labour Party.

WOMEN MEMBERS.

Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, National Amalgamated Union of Labour.
Dr. Ethel Bentham, Islington (East) Labour Party.
Mrs. Agnes Dollan, Independent Labour Party.
Miss A. Susan Lawrence, L. C. C., Fabian Society.

The party is financed by an annual affiliation fee of 3d. per member from national organisations and 2d. per member from local parties, with a minimum of 30s. per year, the membership of the former being those contributing to the political funds of the Unions under the provisions of the Trade Union Act, 1913.

The Party programme is determined by the decisions of the Party conference from time to time, and it rests with the Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Party to define the principal issues forming the special Party programme prior to a General Election.

The various affiliated societies select from their membership men and women whom it is desired to put forward as candidates for constituencies. These are selected by ballot vote in most instances where the Trade Unions are concerned, but are nominated by the executive bodies of other organisations. These individuals, with other members of the Party who are prepared to consider the possibility of contesting a constituency, are available for selection by specially-convened Labour Party Conferences. Such selections have to secure the sanction of the National Executive, and one or more affiliated organizations, national or local, has to accept financial responsibility for the contest, as the Party has no centralized Head Office fund for the promotion of candidatures.

ORGANIZATION

In addition to a considerable Head Office staff, the Party sustains nine men and nine women organisers, under the direction of the National Agent (Mr. Egerton P. Wake), and the Chief Woman Officer (Dr. Marion Phillips, J. P.) respectively. It also has four propagandists who conduct continuous campaigns in the constituencies. In many of the constituencies full time Party Agents are employed by the Local Parties, in many cases in conjunction with the affiliated National Organizations

responsible for the candidature of the sitting Labour Member or the prospective candidate. These are assisted financially from the Head Office funds by grants not exceeding £. 40 per annum each.

The widening of the Party Constitution in 1918, when the membership of Local Parties was open to individual supporters (previously they were in the main confined to delegates representing local Trade Union and Socialist Branches), has led to an enormous growth of Party strength in the constituencies. The list of Local Parties which appears in the Directory section of the Labour Year Book consists only of Divisional Parties and does not include some 2,000 Local Parties which exist in boroughs other than Parliamentary, urban districts and rural districts, the greater proportion of which possess individual members' sections.

The initiation of this department of the Party's activities coincided with the widening of the franchise in 1918, and in the intervening years strenuous efforts have been made to organize the

new women voters in special Women's Sections. So successful has this work been that at the London Conference in June, 1923, it was reported that there were at that date over 1,000 such Sections, with an estimated membership of 120,000. In addition to the organizations of these Women's Sections into Central Committees in the various constituencies, they have also been combined into Labour Women's advisory Councils, the list of which appears in the Directory section. Speakers' Classes among women are being developed and special dates are set apart in the early summer of each year for the holding of a Woman's Day, when special campaigns, demonstrations and meetings are held in the various localities with the view to the promotion of interest in questions affecting women and children generally.

The Labour Woman, a monthly journal dealing with the interests of Labour women, is published by the Party in addition to a mass of general propaganda, leaflets, pamphlets etc., lists of which can be obtained post free on application.

PROSPERITY AND HARD TIMES

By August Claessens

Article No. 5

Economic Order Instead of Chaos

There are times when every thinking person is tempted to agree with William Jennings Bryan and the Rev. Billy Sunday in their attacks upon the theory of evolution. The Darwinian concept that man is related to the animal kingdom, and more closely, to the highest apes, is an apparently preposterous notion.

No ape or monkey ever starved in the midst of abundance. Cattle do not famish in rich pastures nor do horses or donkeys want before bales of hay. The only creature on this earth that suffers in the face of plenty is the two-legged, short-eared variety of asses that make up the bulk of civilization's population. In this country they are fairly numerous.

With this prelude we return to the contention we agreed upon in the first article. No ingenious reasoning can ever endanger the truth of the statement, that in this country there is no good reason why poverty, want and destitution should be suffered to exist. A survey of our natural resources, our immense capacity and varied facilities for the production of an abundance of the necessaries of life and a fair degree of things the world still considers luxuries, proves beyond contradiction that economic order, stability and security can be established permanently in these United States and for our whole population. Our natural wealth, industrial equipment and labor reserves confirm this prediction. Only our social and political short-sightedness denies it.

Economic order must displace chaos. The first important step forward is to abolish the gambling and speculation with food, clothing and shelter and the other prime needs of our existence. This cannot be accomplished unless we decisively end the private ownership, control and manipulation of our natural resources, the mines, oil wells, quarries, forests and water-power; of transportation and distributing agencies—the railroads, steamship lines, power plants, banks, storage facilities, and the important manufacturing industries of the land. We must transfer these properties, their control, management and operation to the commonwealth, the people of the United States.

The less important and smaller industries, retail stores, peanut, popcorn, bootblack and news stands can be expediently ignored for some time. The average farmer, likewise, has little to fear in the program of Socialism. Certainly, he is more of a hard-working and much exploited producer than an exploiter. His average farm and equipment will surely not admit the process of socialization for a long time to come.

Collective ownership of the principal resources and industries of the land is imperative if we desire to end the chaos inherent in the present system. These enormous properties confer great power upon the few who generally use it recklessly, despotically, inefficiently and for the exploitation of the many.

The question of how these huge transfers of

private property to the commonweal are to be made is not of immediate or serious importance. The great task just ahead of us is to create the appetite and arouse the demand for the transference, to awaken public opinion for it and to appeal to the conscience of all decent folks against the abominable profit system. The exact methods, plans and procedures by which the nation is to reclaim its natural resources and secure the railroads, industries, etc., can be discussed by the citizenship, devised by experts and acted upon by Congress. We repeat, the question—*How* can we do it?—is not as pressing or serious as is the question—*Shall* we do it?

Nor is the problem of efficient collective management one grievously to arouse our apprehensions. It is a very poor quality of patriotism that proclaims that a small and powerful group of gamblers, speculators and profit-mongers, interested in their own immediate welfare vastly more than in the nation as a whole, are to be preferred in the control of our resources and industries. There is little that these gentry can do that a government can not do. There are no highly specialized brains a nation cannot hire. This matter was brought to public attention, more or less clearly, during the late war in spite of the misrepresenting capitalist propaganda. In time of war, governments generally seize and operate the important industries to insure maximum productivity and efficiency.

And it surely is an unworthy assumption to insist that the profit motive is the only, or at least the dominant, incentive to human achievement. All history, all the inestimable contributions of genius, all the elements of man's nobility proclaim the contrary. So corrupted is the viewpoint of many under the present pernicious business system that the elements of trustworthiness, mutual aid and co-operation are often considered to be totally lacking in the average man's nature. What a calumny upon Christian teaching and all these ages of moral training! To the contrary, it is the sincere belief of sociologists and students of human nature that a "dog eat dog" environment caters to the base instincts. A social system that encourages co-operation, right-dealing and brotherliness must, eventually, develop a higher social conscience and a nobler public spirit. All these elements lie dormant in the average man and woman, and under a system of collectivism the finer incentives to human progress must ultimately reign supreme and bring forth a more glorious epoch!

When our resources and industries pass through the transition from private to public ownership, control and operation, and the exploitation of the toilers is abolished, the motives in wealth production then will be social service and welfare instead of individual profit. Stability in industry ought to be attained by estimating the reasonable needs of the

people and the capacity of our resources and tools to meet these requirements. The desire for a higher standard of living for all must necessarily call forth greater efforts, ingenuity and technical means. In turn more machinery and greater industrial efficiency must progressively reduce the hours of toil and hence the problem of unemployment can be conquered by regulating the forces of production to the demands of consumption and distributing the labor time saved by ever newer methods to the leisure of all. Better educational advantages should follow and forthwith the fair share of leisure enjoyed by all men can be transmuted into athletic, artistic and cultural pursuits instead of idleness and parasitical extravagances.

Public control of transportation and storage facilities and other channels of distribution will eventually expedite the handling of the abundance of our farms by banishing the hordes of gambling middlemen and brokers. The social service these gentlemen render is vastly inferior to the great harm they inflict. The chaos they take advantage of they also help further to aggravate. And finally, our present system of distribution is woefully stupid and immoral.

There is no earthly reason why some men should raise cattle and milk cows and other men should be permitted to "milk" the milkers and the consumers of milk. Or for some of us to produce hides and then buy back leather goods, paying an enormous tribute to a few other men. Nor to suffer a housing shortage when all the materials and means are within our power for the construction of enough decent homes for all—and so on to the end of distraction. Ours is the responsibility. It's up to us. And when we, the vast majority of exploited of this country, desire to end this capitalist game, it can be abolished.

This is the greatest issue in the coming campaign—and it will continue to be the great issue in campaigns to come until it is settled. All other questions are of minor importance or else just red-herrings drawn across the trail. Economic security is and always will be the first concern of every society and when enough people perceive this clearly and distinctly they must act more intelligently.

No sensible person, in this late day, will seriously question the fact that vastly greater economic and social security is attained in co-operation and collectivism than in the loose reign of individualism and competition. Furthermore, all the tendencies in social evolution indicate a decided move in the direction of ever greater and more extensive socialization. We can and must accelerate these tendencies.

The remarkable progress of the co-operative movement among the farmers and organized workers of this country during the last decade is a significant sign of the times. Every effort should be

made to promote and encourage its success. These co-operatives may not all prove progressive nor idealistic in their aims, but as a whole they are preparing the ground, propagating the idea, strengthening the morale and schooling the masses for the greater co-operative commonwealth that is ahead of us.

The labor movement, also, has an important task to prepare for. Many of its short-sighted leaders and their as yet benighted rank and file do not see what the near future will demand of them. The destiny of the labor movement is intimately involved with the building of the new social structure. Class conflicts and strikes, the demands for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions and job control are the immediate preoccupations of the trade unions. Soon, however, the question of nationalization of the railroads, mines and other industries will impress upon the minds of all clear thinking and far-sighted workers that the labor movement must prepare for larger aims and totally different achievements. It must train and educate its membership for participation in the operation and management of the industries as soon as these come into social ownership. The enlightened portion of the trade union movement is fully conscious of this destiny, and labor press, colleges and schools are forging the instruments and developing the new leadership for it.

Industrial and social problems are the substance of most political questions. Unfortunately, this fact

is generally overlooked in our campaigns. The attitude of many people in this country toward politics is one of utter carelessness or distrust. Platforms and principles are generally considered deceptive devices and promises to be sweetly forgotten after election day. Professional politicians shamelessly solicit personal votes for a "job" or patronage, and to obtain this they will promise favors and barter away their very souls. To our national disgrace, this prostitution of public office reaches its lowest level in the United States.

No rational being can condone this condition, and only a cynic or an anarchist will maintain that these evils are inherent in the nature of democratic government. Socialists do not hold this view. They are endeavoring to introduce into our political contests a discussion of principles and programs instead of personalities.

Of the three major political parties in these United States, the Socialist Party alone presents a practical program, a plan for economic order and social stability and a promise of a better and more equitable social system. It solicits the vote of every wide-awake and intelligent citizen. And even more important, the Socialist Party asks you to join its membership just as it asks all those men and women who are desirous of doing their share, using their talents and contributing their services to the greatest cause in the history of the human race. *We will get you unless the undertaker gets ahead of us.*

The End.

KANSAS CITY FREE SPEECH CASE

The first of the two cases against Esther Friedman—that of disturbing the peace at an open-air meeting in Kansas City, Mo., on August 30, 1923—was tried March 31st and resulted in conviction and a fine of \$400.00 and costs. It was necessary to furnish a \$1,000.00 bond to keep Mrs. Friedman from being sent to jail immediately. After a conference of the local members, it was decided to file a plea for a new trial, and this was done on April 5th. This will very likely be denied, in which event it will be taken to the Court of Appeals where the case may be thrown out, dismissed, returned for new trial, or judgment confirmed. In the event the fine is upheld, the local must be in a position to pay it, with accrued costs.

The most intense prejudice was shown against Mrs. Friedman in the trial, and her conviction was predetermined. Throughout, the official attitude was to make conditions as difficult as possible. The second case, in which Mrs. Friedman is charged with obstructing the highway in the meeting held last August, was set for April 14th. A similar verdict is predicted.

A more decent attitude was shown the eight local

members of the Socialist Party who were jointly charged with Mrs. Friedman. All were discharged with the exception of the local secretary, and his fines were finally reduced to one dollar and costs in each case. The fact that Mrs. Friedman was a national representative of the Socialist Party seems to have aroused a bitter antagonism in the court which was shown toward her throughout the trial in the most amazing manner.

The members of Local Kansas City call upon the state and National offices of the Socialist Party to assist them in carrying this case to the higher court. Already a large sum has been expended. The resources of the members have been taxed to the utmost to raise the necessary cash bond. They must have help, and those who are interested in preserving civil liberties should respond to the appeal of the comrades in Kansas City.

Contribute to this cause and at once. Send your money to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill., and it will be forwarded immediately to those who are conducting the defense in Kansas City.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

ILLINOIS

At the primaries April 8th, a full state ticket of the Socialist Party was nominated. Congressmen were also nominated in 22 districts in the state, and a full county ticket nominated in Cook County.

At the recent general membership meeting of Local Cook County, plans were taken up for the coming campaign and candidates nominated for delegates to the National Convention which meets in Cleveland on July 6th. Eleven delegates will be selected from Illinois by referendum vote of the membership. Two delegates to attend the Conference for Progressive Political Action will be elected by the incoming State Central Committee.

State Secretary W. R. Snow made a trip recently downstate, and reports a fair attendance at his meetings at Canton, Farmington, Galva and other places.

Several downstate branches and individual members-at-large have made donations to the State Campaign Fund recently, and others have written that they will do so in the near future.

Preparations are being made for the routing of a number of speakers through the state as soon as weather conditions will permit of street meetings.

KENTUCKY TO REORGANIZE

Word comes that in Western Kentucky, one time a stronghold of the Socialist Party but of late years in a disorganized condition, the war hysteria has abated and the Ku Kluxers are on the wane. John L. Wrather, an old time hustler, has agreed to go into the field for the next six months and get that part of the state again in line.

WEST VIRGINIA

A state convention has been called in West Virginia on May 4th, and plans are under way for having an active campaign in the state this year.

OHIO

In a recent state election Oscar K. Edelman was re-elected, without opposition, to the office of State Secretary. Joseph W. Sharts was elected as delegate to the National Convention. The election of the full Ohio delegation has not yet been reported.

The Ohio comrades are preparing for a vigorous campaign and will tour their candidate for Governor, Comrade Sharts, over the state in a "Red Special" automobile. The work of getting signatures to their petition in order to get on the ballot this year will be pushed as rapidly as possible.

CONNECTICUT

State Secretary Martin F. Plunkett sends out a splendid report of party activities in his state during the month of March. New locals have been organized in Hartford, Waterbury and Derby, and these organizations are already busy with party work and in taking subscriptions for Socialist papers.

Locals New Haven and Hamden have co-operated in their efforts and have successfully conducted an open forum throughout the winter months. During March the open forum speakers were Edwin H. Borchard of Yale, ex-Congressman Meyer London, Philip Troup, editor of the New Haven Union, Robert Fechner and Geo. H. Goebel. A full program has been arranged for April.

Local Bridgeport is also active and is holding successful meetings each Saturday evening with August Claessens as lecturer. These meetings are well attended and are financially successful. The big event of the season was the meeting held April 4th with Frau Adele Schreiber as the speaker.

Local New London has also been conducting an Open Forum. At a recent meeting the speaker was Dr. John W. Miller, of the Connecticut College for Women. The sale of voluntary assessment stamps is being pushed and good reports are sent to the National Office. Comrade Wm. James Morgan, who has served so successfully as secretary, has temporarily resigned his office in order to take a trip to England to learn how the workers put it over there. Comrade G. H. George is in charge of local affairs.

Arrangements have been made for August Claessens to tour the state during May. The annual state picnic is to be held at New Haven in June. Following the work in Connecticut, Comrade Claessens will tour Massachusetts and the New England States Organization District.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Alfred Baker Lewis and Albert Weisbord have been secured as organizers for the New England District from May until election.

The General District Committee of the New England Organization District has elected an executive-literature committee to see that proper literature is secured for the campaign. George E. Roewer, Jr., is chairman.

ESTHER FRIEDMAN DATES IN MONTANA

Billings, April 12; Red Lodge, April 13; Bear Creek, April 15; Roundup and vicinity, April 17 to 19, inclusive; Great Falls and vicinity, including Belt, Stockett, Sand Coulee and Fort Shaw, April 20 to 25, inclusive; Whitefish, April 26; Kalispell and vicinity, April 27 to 29.

WILLIAM H. HENRY WILL TOUR THE WEST

William H. Henry, who has been a member of the National Executive Committee for several terms and has had extensive organization experience, particularly in the western states, will follow Esther Friedman in Montana, Colorado, Wyoming and

Utah. Enroute, he will be the principal speaker at a big May Day meeting in Kansas City, Mo.

James D. Graham, state secretary of Montana, writes: "Have received an application for charter from Florence, Montana, twenty-six members, including duals and members-at-large. Florence is a farming community in the Bitter Root Valley in the western part of the state. No Farmer-Labor Party for them—straight Socialist.

"The organizing of a local at Florence is the result of Emil Herman's work, so he will have to stand the blame for it. Emil is a good worker.

"Have good prospects for a few more locals—expect to re-organize Roundup.

"Great Falls will arrange two meetings for Esther Friedman, one in the afternoon for women and then a regular night meeting.

"Expect Kallispell and Whitefish to arrange afternoon meetings also, as well as evening meetings.

"Things are looking brighter for the party in the state and will file our petitions for our Presidential electors soon."

CAMPAIGN PROSPECTS IN THE MOUNTAIN STATES DISTRICT

In reorganized Colorado we have fifteen locals and a list of members at large. District Secretary Kennedy reports that the Debs meetings at Pueblo and Denver did great work in strengthening the morale of the members. Late in January Denver held a mass meeting, the principal purpose of which was to organize for the campaign. The general response from the state is good. Comrade Kennedy is confident we will have national and state tickets in Colorado on the official ballot and also a large number of county tickets.

Recently we received application for charter from Durango, Colorado, with Allen Peeler as Secretary. Comrade Peeler and Comrade Gilbert are working to establish a county organization. In view of the excellent reports sent the National Office as a result of their work, the following, quoted from a letter from Comrade Gilbert is, illuminating:

"You are surprised, perhaps, that I have failed to answer your letters. Let me explain, I am now, and have been for over three years, under the doctor's care for paralysis. During three months of that time I could scarcely move. . . but of late I have improved wonderfully.

"I wish I could take up the fight again. . . I long indeed to be in the fight with you and the noble comrades. That is denied me and I must see the grand work go on with what little aid I can give it. I have received The Socialist World and how I have cherished it! May God grant that none may leave the field until we see the emancipation of the toilers."

The State Committee of Idaho with C. H. Felton, Chairman, C. H. Cammans, Secretary, and W. R. Lane, State Organizer, directing the work, are putting up a splendid fight to secure the 6,000 names necessary for their petition to re-establish the official position of the Socialist Party.

New Mexico will be on the official ticket in 1924. Thomas B. Smith is state organizer. Almost unaided, in 1922 he called a state convention and secured nomination of a state ticket. He is still directing the party work from his home in Estancia and will be able to enlist considerable support from labor unions in preparation for the campaign.

Secretary Kennedy reports we will have state and national tickets in Utah and Wyoming. The Socialist Party has legal standing in both states. The Debs meetings there, as in all other western states, gave new life to party activities. The liveliest spot on the Socialist map in the west during the campaign will be in Wyoming—"home of the Tea Pot Dome."

In Carbon County, Utah, D. C. Grundvig reports a letter campaign is under way. The members in different towns are active in supplying lists of voters as fast as they can be made up. Several thousand letters will be sent out together with the party platform and other literature.

The American Labor Year Book for 1923-24 is off the press. This is the fifth volume of the series begun in 1916. The present edition, edited by Solon De Leon, contains fourteen chapters covering in an objective manner the American labor and political movements, labor organization and labor politics abroad, labor legislation, workers' education, labor banking, cooperatives here and abroad, and an exhaustive study of labor disputes. A new feature of the book is a carefully compiled labor directory giving names and addresses of every international, national and state labor organization in the United States, and a complete list of labor, Socialist and Communist papers.

Speakers, writers, teachers have found the Year Book invaluable in the past. It is to be found in the libraries of trade unions, banks and commercial institutions. Much of the material it contains is unavailable in any other form.

The book is published by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

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How to reach 5,000 people with 500 cents. We are sitting up nights on this beautifully interesting question.

## THE ABSURDITY OF OUR PRICE SYSTEM

(Continued from page 3)

couraged by low prices, the owners of industry throw their men out of work and shut down on production. The result is that the decrease in production sends prices up again, so that the consumers have high prices and a shortage both, while many workers are out of a job.

These constant and wide fluctuations in prices make the assumption that prices are a satisfactory guide for production entirely unsound.

Even if prices were stable, they would not be a satisfactory index for production to follow. A high price for a thing in proportion to its cost of production has nothing whatever to do with the degree to which that thing is needed or wanted to satisfy some important human need. A big demand for a thing in proportion to its supply is what tends to make the price of it high in proportion to its cost of production. Demand in this connection does not mean desire, want, or need, but need backed up by purchasing power. It is really the purchasing power, therefore, that counts, and not the desire or need. The need for bread of a whole army of starving men does not constitute economic demand unless those men have money.

Incomes under capitalism are grossly unequal. Therefore, the spending of the same amount of money by different persons does not satisfy equally important needs. If a rich man offers \$50 for a warm suit of clothing, and a poor man can afford to offer only \$45 for it, those in control of production will let the rich man have it, even though he may have numerous other suits and the poor man only one other suit which is practically in rags.

If a rich man offers \$50 for a useless trinket, and a poor man offers \$45 for a warm suit of clothing, the capitalist class who are in control of production

### INDIANA LOSES ONE OF ITS LOYAL MEMBERS

The Socialist Party of Indiana has lost one of its staunch supporters and workers by the death of Russell Wyttenbach, who departed from this life on Monday April 14th at his home in Evansville. Comrade Wyttenbach has been an active worker in the Party for many years, and was a member of the State Executive committee at the time of his death. The Party has lost one of its most loyal Comrades, and he will be missed in the work, and especially will the comrades of Evansville miss his counsel and cooperation in the local work. He had been in ill health for more than two years, and his one desire to the end was to regain his health, so he would be able to assist in getting the message of Socialism before the workers. Comrade Wyttenbach is survived by a wife and several children.

will set labor to work to produce the trinket rather than the clothes. The poor man might need the suit of clothes to prevent his catching pneumonia, but that would make no difference. Private profits-seeking industry would satisfy the demand for the trinket rather than that for the suit of clothes.

If a poor man offered \$2,500 for a home, or a rich man offered \$3,000 for a hot-house to grow orchids to show his friends, private profit-seeking industry would satisfy the demand of the rich man rather than that of the poor one. It might be shown conclusively that the poor man, unless he could get a decent house at that price, would be compelled to live in an unsanitary hovel where he would be likely to get consumption so that he would become a public charge instead of a self-supporting member of society. That fact would make no difference. As there would be more profit for the capitalist class, who own and control industry, in producing the more expensive article, the hot-house for orchids and not the home for human beings would be produced.

As a result of the inequality of income and the system of production for profit that exists under capitalism, we are constantly producing dress suits and evening gowns when there is not enough warm clothing produced, or producing mansions for wealthy persons who already have another spacious home, when there are overcrowded and unsanitary "homes" for the poor.

There is no real remedy for this sort of thing but Socialism, which will secure a more just and equal division of income among the population. The absurdity of producing useless luxuries when there are not enough necessities is the direct and necessary result of unjust inequality in wealth and income. This is the real issue and the only real issue, namely the issue between the haves and the have-nots, between the profiteers, landlords, bankers and capitalists on the one hand, and the consumers, tenants, farmers and workers on the other.

By careful and prayerful arrangement our national Constitution gives precisely the same amount of power in the United States Senate to Nevada and New York,—tho New York has 135 times as large a population as Nevada and will are long have 250 times as large a population as Nevada. Now there is something truly remarkable about this arrangement as between Nevada and New York in the upper house of our National Legislature, most remarkable, for it so clearly shows us that the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 was personally conducted by the Almighty. Nothing less than Infinite Wisdom could devise anything so exquisitely reasonable. Truly, if the Almighty did guide that Convention, as we have been piously and persistently taught in the public schools, we perhaps can more easily account for the source and inspiration of a lot of the phony stuff pulled off in American politics.

## The Socialist Party

BERTHA HALE WHITE

Executive Secretary

2653 WASHINGTON BLVD.

Chicago

National Executive Committee:

Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Official Business

Chicago, March 20, 1924

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:

Attached herewith please find summary of receipts and expenditures for the month of February. This has been delayed overlong, a delay due to the press of other work which has been greatly stimulated and increased during the past weeks, and for which we crave your kindly indulgence.

There are certain necessities of the work which I believe should be brought to your attention. It is not our purpose to harrass the committee about matters that must be met by the National Office, which have to do principally with the problems of finance. Some preparatory work in anticipation of the national campaign, however, should be undertaken without delay.

The fatal defect in all national work is the lack of time to make your plans successful. Last year, had the plan of special committees, which you endorsed at the July meeting, been worked out two months earlier I believe the results of the fund drive would have been doubled at least. In July a large proportion of our locals, particularly the smaller ones, do not hold weekly meetings. The more active ones have already work under way which must be partially abandoned if the national drives are to be made successful. Few, if any, of them will consent to that.

I sent out the first call for special membership campaign committees on June 9th. It took two months follow-up work to get the two hundred committees organized. Before the drive was more than started, the membership campaign, announced for September 1st, demanded the full time and efforts of the National Office. The two drives reacted against each other with consequent lessening of results.

Of course we are all burning with eagerness as to the Cleveland Convention.

But don't you forget it! We must all go by the Assessment Stamp route.

This is fair warning.

If we "let up" we'll get "let down."

Therefore, Assessment Stamps.

How to reach 5,000 people thru 500 cents.

?

While the results of the drive under the committee plan were less than we had hoped for, they were far in excess of any other drive in recent years that was limited to correspondence. Not only was the amount raised greater, but many of the chairmen of these committees became regular correspondents of the National Office. It gave them an interest and a feeling of responsibility in the work here. That is true of many of the committee members and supplies to some extent that necessary contact between the local and the national, the lack of which has been so long a serious hindrance to us.

### For the Campaign

I believe a call should go out, not later than May 1st, for the formation of National Campaign Committees in every local in the country. There should be a list of such committees available to our delegates at the National Convention on July 6th. They should form our campaign machinery, handle speakers and literature purchases and distribution. Given sufficient time, the committees can and will be organized. But it will require not less than two months to effect this.

The dearth of nationally known speakers will force us to rely principally upon literature. I have been working on a plan for a weekly campaign leaflet which could be printed in large quantities for campaign purposes, and for general free distribution, but for which the second-class mailing privilege also should be secured. There may be, and very likely are, publishers of books on social questions from whom some advertising could be secured if a definite, fixed method of circulation and distribution could be shown. Subscriptions could be very low and secured at meetings and would create a valuable mailing list for us after the close of the campaign. Should this meet your approval a more detailed outline will be sent you later.

If the National Campaign Committee plan is accepted by your committee together with the weekly leaflet, these committees would serve as the organizers and managers of distribution. The first of the leaflets should be ready for shipping by August 1st and copy should be mailed to the members immediately after the convention. It will be impossible to do this unless the committees are secured prior to July 6th.

### Immediate Demands of the National Office

While we have sent out various letters urging the submission of articles on national events, nothing has been received so far that even touches upon questions now engaging the attention of the whole country. Our press service, often containing as it does excellent general articles, is fatally inadequate. There should be an article every week of such news value, written with such accuracy and force, that it would be the leader in every Socialist

paper and be used by labor papers, also. As it has become increasingly evident that some additional help must be had in the National Office, I have been looking for someone who could handle such matters. It is trained, special help we need. The force should not be increased permanently to meet such special demands as circularization which may easily be cared for by temporary employes.

While I know your committee expects me to provide whatever help is necessary for the transaction of the work here, I should like to have your formal approval—or rejection, as the case may be—of the plans we have tentatively prepared. I am therefore submitting the following:

*National Executive Committee  
Motion No. 27*

(Executive Question)

Shall a call be issued on May first for the election of local National Campaign Committees?

*National Executive Committee  
Motion No. 28*

(Executive Question)

Shall the plan of a weekly leaflet be adopted, subject to final approval by the National Convention?

Ballots enclosed. Vote closes April 1st.  
Fraternally submitted,

*Bertha Hale White  
Executive Secretary.*

**REPORT OF MOTION NO. 27.**

*Voting Yes:* Brandt, Harkins, Hillquit, Melms, Snow, Wilson. (6)  
*Not Heard From:* Debs. (1)  
Motion carried.

*Comment by Snow.*

"I vote 'yes' on this question and trust that in view of the fact that our National Convention has been postponed beyond the time when we could reasonably expect to get up a worth-while campaign, that this motion will carry and be put into effect to the extent of our ability, for unless a campaign committee is organized in advance of the convention, we will have very little campaign to speak of."

**REPORT ON MOTION NO. 28**

*Voting Yes:* Brandt, Harkins, Hillquit, Melms, Snow, Wilson. (6)  
*Not Heard From:* Debs.  
Motion carried.

*Comment by Snow*

"One of the most worth-while things that the party could do would be to issue a series of leaflets printed on creditable paper, and something written with a punch that will drive the message home. I doubt the feasibility until about the first of September of being able to distribute a weekly leaflet. However, monthly leaflets for July and August could be gotten out as this is subject to the will of the convention. I therefore vote for this motion and give it my most hearty approval, for

225,000  
copies of  
Kirkpatrick's  
MENTAL  
DYNAMITE

(Little Lesson to Learn) were sold — a dozen years ago. The booklet was much praised — very much praised. The twenty chapters are very brief, less than one page each — and they hang together. Do you want this booklet revised a bit and republished? This is not a solicitation. Only this: If you want a reissue of *Mental Dynamite* — SAY SO SOON and say *how many*. See?

we should start the preparations of our leaflets at the earliest possible moment."

March 24, 1924.

To the National Executive Committee.  
Dear Comrades:

We received the following communication which we are submitting for your consideration:

Albany New York,  
March 18, 1924.

"Pursuant to instructions of the State Executive Committee, March 16, 1924, I beg to inform you that it was the sense of the committee that the three delegates from the National Organization of the Socialist Party to the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action should be selected at an early date, so that the State Organizations may be guided in the choice of their delegates to the convention of the Conference. The selection of delegates to represent our State Organization has been deferred till April 12th.

"Please advise if the National Organization has selected its three representatives, and if so, what comrades have been chosen.

"I also beg to inform you that the New York State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has adopted the following motion:

"We recommend the formation of National Campaign Committees in all cities in which no local functions effectively, and where it is probable our presidential candidates will be required to speak. We suggest that the state secretaries or district organizers be requested to form such committees immediately. These committees may consist of two or more members and will be responsible for hiring halls, announcing meetings and doing whatever can be done locally to insure the success of the campaign."

(Signed) *Herbert M. Merrill*,  
State Secretary, New York

*Resolution from Local Marion County, Indiana*

"Whereas, a convention is to be held in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, during the month of July, 1924, for the purpose of the formation of a workers' political party to participate in the coming general election, and

"Whereas, the Socialist Party's Executive organization has pl attendance to the said convention

"Whereas, a possibility exists nomination of such candidates by vention for the major political of voted on in the coming election cord and policies may be for principles of Socialism and th of the Socialist Party, and



"Whereas, on account of the short time between the holding of the said convention and the date of the election, therefore be it

"Resolved, That for the protection of the Socialist Party of America, and to enable the Socialist Party to organize and carry on an intensive campaign under the Socialist banner, should such action be necessary on account of any action of the Cleveland convention, that the members of the Marion County Branch (Indiana) of the Socialist Party, petition the National Executive Board and the membership of the Socialist Party to hold its regular National Socialist Party convention during the month of May, 1924, for the purpose of nominating a complete ticket for the 1924 election; and be it further

"Resolved, that we respectfully request that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for their immediate consideration and also that this resolution be published in the next issue of the Socialist World."

(Signed) Henry S. Newlund, Chairman

Ruth M. Robson, Secretary,  
Marion County Socialist Party,  
March 8, 1924:

Fraternally submitted,  
Bertha Hale White  
Executive Secretary.

April 9, 1924

To the National Executive Committee.  
Dear Comrades:

The following have been nominated as delegates to the Cleveland convention on July fourth of the Conference for Progressive Political Action:

Victor L. Berger: by Hillquit, Melms.  
Eugene V. Debs: by Brandt, Harkins,  
Hillquit, Snow, Wilson.  
Morris Hillquit: by Debs, Brandt,  
Harkins, Melms., Snow,  
Wilson.

James H. Maurer: by Debs.  
George R. Kirkpatrick: by Debs.  
Seymour Stedman: by Hillquit.

Bertha Hale White: by Brandt, Harkins, Melms, Snow, Wilson.

Comrade Debs and Comrade Maurer have declined.

Comrade Debs, through his brother Theodore, has sent the following explanation of the circumstances which pre-acceptance, and statement of his in the July 4th convention:

Get to say that Gene cannot be a delegate to the July 4th on at Cleveland. He will probably be in the sanitarium at that time. I told you before that he was to be as soon as he was able to take treatment he requires to receive and enable him to take up

He's a jolly good fellow, that man Claessens.

His "Trinity of Plunder" has amused and informed tens of Thousands.

Shall we print a new edition? It's up to YOU. Yes, up to you.

How to make five dollars' worth of serious Socialist message actually reach five thousand people—

THAT'S our problem — and (get this): We are going to solve that problem of reaching 5,000 people by means of 500 cents.

The May issue of the Socialist World will interest you. Get it! Get it!

his work again, and this will probably take two or three months..... He would have left here long before now had he been well enough to do so, and then besides the weather has been so fearfully ugly that he has been confined to his room all this time and able to pick up but little in the way of strength in such a situation. His case of nervous exhaustion has been the most stubborn he has yet had, and with its complications has kept him in a weak state from which he will recover more rapidly when he can get out in the air and sunshine again and undergo the course of scientific treatment he requires which can only be had at the right kind of a sanitarium. Under the circumstances, therefore, he cannot go to the Cleveland convention. You may be assured that he appreciates fully the kindly interest you have in him that prompts you to wish him a delegate..... Were he well enough he would gladly attend the July convention for he fully realizes its importance to the party and to the movement in general.

"As to his position with reference to the convention, you may say that he is in hearty accord therewith and with the program and progress thus far reported, and if the convention is sufficiently advanced in recognizing that there can be no traffic with the two old capitalist parties, that there must be a complete and final break and that the working-class must strike out boldly for independent political action along the lines of its class interests—if a majority of the delegates are sufficiently class conscious and courageous to take such a stand and to plan their campaign accordingly, then Gene is most heartily in favor of joining issue with them and making common cause, under a united banner in the coming campaign and in support of the same candidates while at the same time preserving strictly the identity and integrity of the Socialist Party as a revolutionary working-class party which stands uncompromisingly for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth.

"Should the convention, however, fail to take such advanced grounds and proclaim such a working-class political program, then Gene is opposed to unity or co-operation under any such circumstances and favors absolutely the party maintaining its former isolation and independence, adopting its own platform, nominating its own candidates and making its own campaign upon its own issue as it has done in all previous years."

Enclosed find ballot. Please vote at once.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White  
Executive Secretary