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LABOR DAY, 1924

By Eugene V. Debs

The first Monday in September is the one day set apart as a national holiday and dedicated to the working class of the United States.

The first of May is the one day set apart as an international holiday and dedicated to the working class of all the world.

The national labor day celebrated by the American workers was granted to them and made legal by their economic masters, who join largely in the celebration of the day.

The international labor day, celebrated by all the workers of the world, was appropriated by the workers themselves, a fact of revolutionary significance which accounts for the universal ruling class dread of international labor day.

Each of these days has its own significance, and each its special message to the workers of America and of the world.

The intelligent observance of our national labor day leads inevitably to the larger observance of our international labor day, in which we join hands and hearts with all the workers of the world.

The capitalists, it will be observed, have no capital day, national or international, to celebrate, and it would be in order to set such a day apart for them had they not wisely provided that all the days of the round year are theirs to celebrate and enjoy.

Labor Day this year of 1924 presents themes of the most vital interest and opportunities unprecedented to the workers of the United States.

The one vital demand that confronts them now as in the past, and will in the future, sternly exacting unqualified compliance as a condition of advance, is *Unity*, class-conscious *Solidarity*—economic, political and co-operative—without which all hope is vain and all effort fruitless.

Paradoxical as it appears, nothing in the labor movement is so easy, so obvious, so essential and inevitable, and nothing so difficult and defiant of accomplishment.

We know that unity, which means power, has made some progress among workers, and that all we have to do is to stand staunch and hammer away until finally sufficient solidarity has been achieved to put an end to capitalism and wage-slavery and give freedom to the workers of the world.

For twenty-seven years, the entire span of its existence, the Socialist Party has stood for the industrial and political solidarity of the workers, in accordance with the fundamental demand of the international Socialist movement, as the means and the only means of overthrowing the despotic and despoiling capitalist system and emancipating the workers from wage-slavery.

During this entire period the Socialist Party has stood uncompromisingly upon its own platform, nominated its own candidates, managed its own campaigns, and carried forward its own propaganda to arouse, educate and organize the American work-

ers to achieve their industrial freedom, to abolish class rule, and to secure to themselves and to all others the blessings of peace and social justice by establishing the Socialist Commonwealth and ushering in the reign of the people.

But notwithstanding the courage and consistency with which the party has maintained its uncompromising attitude and its loyalty to the workers, which subjected it to the vilest misrepresentation and the bitterest and most relentless persecution, only a limited degree of progress was made in attracting the workers, especially those organized in the various trade unions who had been taught to regard Socialism as a vicious "foreign importation" and to treat the party accordingly by condemning it to ostracism and isolation.

The masses of the workers, in a word, did not and would not, for obvious reasons, come to the Socialist Party, and it is a fortunate fate that has made it imperative this year for the Socialist Party to go to the masses of the workers.

The peculiar situation arising from the fact that millions of workers had been jarred loose from the old capitalist parties in consequence of the shocking exposure of their appalling corruption, (which we had tried in vain for years to have them see), and had determined upon a policy of independent political action and upon the organization of a new party representing their interests and expressing their aims, made it absolutely necessary for the Socialist Party, unless it preferred to add impotency to isolation, to go to these millions of rebellious and progressive workers, make common cause with them in their struggle, enlist their sympathy, their confidence and their co-operation, and by fighting side by side with them, *on their ground*, joining them to us and ourselves to them, making possible not only the basis of a vastly greater solidarity, but opening the door so long closed, giving us access to the organized workers and enabling us to carry forward our propaganda and our work of organization upon a far greater and more effective scale than ever before.

To carry out this purpose and achieve success for this policy, we have this year endorsed the presidential candidate of these independent and progressive elements and we shall in good faith give them our unqualified support; but in doing so we shall maintain the absolute autonomy of the Socialist Party and adhere rigidly to its revolutionary principles. In point of tactics alone do we depart from our usual course and in this we shall be triumphantly justified before the year is over.

Following the campaign we shall stand prepared to do our share to organize and make permanent the American Labor Party to which the temporary movement is pledged. We do not expect the party

to be organized by political candidates but *by the workers themselves*, and we are persuaded that the time has come when they are equal to the formidable task. In this new and greater party of labor the Socialist Party will have its place, *but it will remain and function as the Socialist Party*, and in that relation to the masses of workers it will have ten-fold the influence and power for revolutionary propaganda it ever had before.

We have every reason this year to take heart of hope, and to enter the campaign with all the vigor and enthusiasm we possess and achieve such a victory as will startle the nation and send a thrill of joy around the world.

We rejoice in the militant hosts we have with us in this great battle and we likewise glory in the powers of corruption and reaction arrayed against us to challenge our advance.

We shall make this year historic in the annals of the American Labor Movement and we shall also make it a banner year for the Socialist Party.

In our celebration of Labor Day we do not forget our comrades who are still held captive in capitalist dungeons for their unflinching courage in serving the labor movement. Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti and more than a hundred other labor heroes still lie buried in foul prison cells for having stood up for the American workers against their capitalist exploiters, and every day they spend there is to the shame of the working class and to the disgrace of our vaunted free (?) institutions.

It matters not what organization these class war prisoners belong to, they are our comrades, they fought for our class, for you and for me, and they are in prison today to keep us from going there tomorrow, and it is our duty to demand their liberation in a united and commanding voice and to persevere in the demand and make it more and more emphatic until it is heeded and the last of them is given his freedom. Every Socialist and labor speaker should lend his voice to this tragic feature of the campaign and every platform should resound with the cry of the assembled workers for the release of their imprisoned comrades.

On this Labor Day, so fraught with significance and so rich and fruitful in its possibilities, we join hands and hearts with the Socialists and workers of all nations and our greeting of fellowship and good cheer to them goes circling through all the zones that girdle the globe.

Standing erect and unafraid, touching shoulders, and hearts attuned to unity and solidarity, we march forward together as the conquering host of Labor to world-wide Victory and Emancipation.

CAMPAIGN DEPARTMENT

The Socialist Party is in its sixth presidential election campaign. The field is mapped, plans are made, ammunition is ready, parts are assigned, orders issued, officers busy, the battle is on—the firing has begun.

THE CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT

Comrades everywhere will be happy to learn that our campaign manager is J. Mahlon Barnes, long time National Secretary of the Socialist Party,—general manager of two former national campaigns, the man who conceived and 'put over' the brilliant campaign plans of 1908—with the ever-to-be remembered Red Special feature. Comrade Barnes has very high aptitude for large outlines and for perfect attention to details.

Thus the campaign has this invigorating guarantee of success—right at the start.

The general manager has a Campaign Committee of ten co-operating with him in frequent general councils held in Chicago. The general manager and the Committee of Ten are already busy, each member being fully aware that the extraordinary importance of the present unusual campaign places upon him a heavy obligation indeed to bring his best thought to the council meetings.

The members of the committee are:

Thomas M. Duncan, a man of experience as a campaign manager in victorious Milwaukee campaigns.

Swan Johnson, a well-known Chicago attorney, and vice-chairman of the Cook County LaFollette Campaign Committee.

William Coleman, State Secretary of the Socialist Party in Wisconsin—a man of experience in management.

Samuel Levin, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Chicago, surely a man of valuable managerial experience.

Dr. John T. Whitlock, of Chicago, whose demonstrated efficiency as a business manager and whose eagerness for a truly great campaign make him a significant addition to the committee.

Seymour Stedman, Vice-Presidential candidate in 1920, well-known for his brilliant work in many courts defending political prisoners, and in the New York Assembly ouster proceedings.

Birch Wilson, long time State Secretary of the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania, the best organized state in the union. Comrade Wilson has successfully conducted rousing campaigns.

Charles Pogorelec, enthusiastic and efficient Sec-

retary of the Jugo-Slav Federation of the Socialist Party, a man of real managerial experience.

Benjamin Schlesinger, former president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. For intellectual energy, industry, managerial efficiency, intense devotion to labor's cause, and for successes in big labor battles, Comrade Schlesinger stands distinguished even among the very greatest labor leaders in this country. He will give special attention to the matter of raising funds for the campaign.

J. Mahlon Barnes, general manager of the campaign, a host in himself, is also a member of the committee.

George R. Kirkpatrick, author of "War—What For?" and nationally-known lecturer on the Socialist platform, is working in conjunction with the Committee as Publicity Manager.

The comrades can feel confident that everything possible is being done by the General Manager, the Campaign Committee, Publicity Director and the National Office in hearty co-operation with them, for a really great campaign.

The first regular meeting of the National Campaign Committee was held on August 14. Comrade William Coleman was elected chairman, and Comrade Birch Wilson secretary. Meetings of the Committee are held weekly.

A survey of the situation has been made, as far as practicable, with thoro discussion of methods of raising funds and plans for propaganda and organization. Campaign fund lists have been sent out to every organization of the Party and to every member-at-large. From some locals, thus supplied, requests have already come in for still more lists in order that the local co-operation in fund-raising may be just as complete and rapid as possible. And that indicates precisely the right spirit.

Comrades everywhere will distinctly understand that our campaign is a party-building campaign. Money received will be used to the limit to send out workers for the upbuilding of the party, and for literature to the same end. When you collect money keep in mind that the campaign manager and campaign committee intend, of course, sincere co-operation with the C. P. A. as decided upon at Cleveland; but our party is sacredly important for *great work yet to be done*, and it is to be strengthened with all resources and energy available, not only for present work but for future work. This is

the big thing in the purposes and plans of the Campaign Committee.

True—the LaFollette-Wheeler platform and candidates were endorsed by the Socialist Party. It is also true that our party is co-operating sincerely with LaFollette organizations in campaign work.

But, comrades, in no sense did the party efface itself or surrender its identity. Our party has simply entered upon a *new phase of activity*,—new in America, not new in England. We have adopted for this campaign a plan of co-operation with a great forward movement which is rousing the whole nation, commanding the attention and respect of many millions of the victims of plutocracy—a movement to result in a great Labor Party such as they have in England—where the workers are now, *at last, able to face their lords and masters with demands instead of requests.*

Our party as a distinct organization is to be protected, promoted and built still stronger—so that our analysis of the present industrial society, our diagnosis of what is wrong, and 'how to right it', and our goal, the Great Emancipation—may be kept before the people.

To carry thru our work now and hereafter, our party organization—every local unit of it, every branch of it—must be kept in good health, going and growing and doing things. Thus it is most important that right thru the campaign excitement you should attend all meetings of the local, keep your dues paid up, get new members—*stay on the job.* In this manner, with the local as a local doing things in an organized manner, our party will finish the campaign far stronger for future work.

If you neglect your local, you please the plutocrat, for he dreads your clear-headed understanding of his legalized plundering and your local's power to teach the workers. If you neglect your local and weaken the state and national organizations, you please the scornful enemies of the working class. If you neglect your local you reduce the vigor of the great business of creating a Labor Party in America. If you neglect your local you are blind to the danger that threatens. If you neglect your local you play right into the hands of those who hate the great goal of freedom for the workers of the world—held high before the world by the Socialists.

The Socialist Party has a vast work to do in the years just ahead—years of incomparable importance to you and your children and your class.

Stick to the local. Build up the local. And help build new ones. Be a thousand times too 'wise', too alert, too cunning to let your local weaken. Beware! Be ready for a great and comradely part in constructing an American Labor Party in January.

THE CAMPAIGN MONEY LISTS

Comrades, if your Campaign Committee should undertake a campaign and make no plans for getting in the necessary money for the expenses of the campaign, you would very probably make a protest loud, long and harsh. And you would be justified in doing so. Absolutely nothing can be done—not a step taken—without funds. In the matter of financing the campaign as in all other phases of the Party's life, the great dependence is upon the general membership: What will the comrades do in co-operation themselves and in securing co-operation from others?—always that is the main question.

You are depending upon the Campaign Committee and Campaign Manager to plan and put their plans into operation. *And they must depend upon you.* Hence the money must be raised among the members and by the members of the Party. The Campaign Lists for your use in getting money have been sent to you. They are numbered. This gives us a record of each list. Please circulate them among the workers, keeping a record showing who contributes to the campaign.

Co-operate! Every list should be used. Blanks returned would be most discouraging. They have a sick look. Fill the lists, comrades. *Remit as fast as possible.* But cover the ground. The success of the campaign is in your hands when you have the lists in your hands. That should be clearly realized by every one of you—and make it clear to all who are asked to contribute.

Make a *first remittance very soon.* Money is much needed *at once.* Hold the lists and fill them up, keeping account of what you have sent from time to time, and send the balance due when the lists are finally returned after you have covered the field. *Weekly remittances would help immensely.*

HUNDREDS OF SPEECHES

Thru the National Office the Campaign Committee is prepared to co-operate in two ways:

FIRST—WITH SPEAKERS—plenty of them. A partial list of the available speakers is here given. *The demand is the limit.*

EMIL HERMAN will continue during the entire campaign in the Northwest District. Special dates may be arranged upon application.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS will continue within the New England States. Special dates within that territory may be arranged upon application.

ALBERT WEISBORD, National Director of the Y. P. S. L., will continue in New England under the direction of Helena Turitz, District Secretary.

(Continued on page six)

VERY SPECIAL FEATURE

The very special feature of this campaign is our *Short Message Leaflet*. Get this *Short Message Leaflet* clearly in mind. In the center of this page is a sample page of one of the leaflets. Each 2-page leaflet carries *two* messages. The message is brief, intentionally so. Except for his faithful devotion to the funny page and the sporting news the average reader reads little, and if we plan to reach him we must do it with a piece of literature that takes account of the low intensity of his interest in any thing serious. It is to be noted also that men and women far above the average in intellectual appetite and intensity usually prefer to have the *point made quickly*.

These messages are on topics always important, or particularly important in the present campaign. There are thirty-two topics, giving such a wide variety that it is practicable to select one or more for almost any type of person you may care to reach.

We all know very well that if a speaker clearly drives home one strong point, long-to-be-remembered—to say 400 listeners—he is doing splendidly. And, of course, no matter what the expense of the speaker may be, *meetings must be held. But think of 400 clear messages in attractive form for nearly nothing!*

The Short Message plan—with *nearly-nothing* prices—puts it right up to you to co-operate for the greatest campaign we have ever had. (For prices see advertisement elsewhere in this issue).

HOW TO USE THESE SHORT MESSAGES:

Use them anywhere, everywhere, all the time—till six o'clock Election Day. Get at least 2,000 leaflets (4,000 messages) divide them into ten lots, and supply each of ten comrades—or live, liberal outsiders—with 200 leaflets.

Then urge each distributor to enclose leaflets in all his ordinary letters, to send an urgent letter to some special friends enclosing from 10 to 20 leaflets for further distribution; *urge* that the leaflets be carried to the factories and mills and tacked up, handed around at noon-time or quitting time, distributed at fraternal meetings, banquets, picnics, parties, sales, excursions on trains, street cars, in farmers' wagons and automobiles—and *at all political meetings*, providing every person present with one leaflet—and giving a dozen more to each person willing to help—a little.

HOW MANY SHORT MESSAGE LEAFLETS CAN WE REALLY MAKE USE OF?

12,000,000 (that is, 24,000,000 Messages).

"How can we get away with it?" Easy. All we need is 1200—only 1200—militant Socialists who can fire this little literary gatling gun in their own home town. As soon as you 1200 never-dead ones get this announcement, prepare for battle. Send for 10,000 leaflets (20,000 Messages). PICK YOUR CO-WORKERS AT ONCE,—and set 6 o'clock November 4th quitting time—and the thing's done!

SAFE AT SUNDOWN

Federal injunction judges receiving from \$7,500 to \$15,000 a year are carefully protected with liberal retirement pensions—to make sure that their last years may be absolutely secured against toil and worry and humiliation and the social damnation of poverty. Now if these well-paid men, receiving fat incomes for many years,—if these and their dear ones should be carefully protected against want and worry in their gray old age, then why should not the useful industrial workers who serve long and well in the mills and mines and on the farms and railways, their lives often subjected to much risk, *why should not these also be made absolutely safe* when the sunset of life draws near? Why not?

Think of Chief Justice Taft (cruel destroyer of the child-labor amendment) with a 15,000-dollar salary, and a 10,000-dollar Carnegie Steel Trust annual pension—with a fat government pension *waiting for him!*—while wage-earners and farmers approach old age unprotected.

You men and women of the working class, wouldn't it give you a feeling of peace and comfort to know—as the well-paid judges know—that when in your lives the sun sinks low you will be safe,—safe from the wolves of want, safe from humiliation, the humiliation of poverty?

When labor has a Labor Party labor will protect labor.

(OVER)

SAMPLE SHORT MESSAGE LEAFLET

Here are some of the thirty-two Short-Message leaflets:

An Unfair Race, Something's Wrong, LaFollette For Farmers, Greed or Service, The Red-Tailed Hawk, Let's Go To It, Poverty, "Doing Us Good", Bryan's "Crow", The Limit, A Poor Man's Outlook, Becoming Millionaires, Do You Agree?, The "Seed" Of War, Safe At Sundown, Women's Power, What Socialists Want, You And Your Job, Don't Bite, Parable Of The Monkey, Coolidge Knew, etc., etc.,

You are urged to study the literature advertisement elsewhere in this issue. Note how many leaflets you can supply your helpers—for almost nothing. And many of them would come across with ten cents if you will explain how many Messages he can have for his use among friends, neighbors and shop-mates. *It is almost unbelievable—till you study the advertisement.*

OTHER NEW LEAFLETS

First of all for this campaign—*The Story of the British Labor Party*, by Morris Hillquit. This leaflet, now revised and brought up to date, is an inspiring story for the workers of this country.

"*Why Farmers and Industrial Workers Should Unite*", by W. W. Passage. Just the thing for use among the farmers. It is most instructive.

"*The Ku Klux Klan*", a calm statement carefully prepared in accordance with instructions of the Convention.

"*Out of Work*", by George R. Kirkpatrick; a new attractively illustrated double-size leaflet on unemployment, covers the 'right to work', cause of unemployment, the solution, our reconstruction program and five 'unanswerable propositions' on work. One of the big campaign broadsides; four pages each 9 by 12 inches.

"*Silence!*" by Kirkpatrick, revised and improved; also a big double-size leaflet, containing invaluable information and very convincing.

"*The A B C of Socialism*", (our "Declaration of Principles") a thoroly clear statement of 'where we stand and why',—by the National Convention. Very important.

"*The Platform*"—the C. P. P. A. platform, endorsed by the Socialists in Convention at Cleveland.

"*The Parable of the Water Tank*", by Edward Bellamy; our best propaganda leaflet for ministers and church people. New edition, 6-page leaflet on white book paper.

"*What Is Socialism?*" A clear exposition of the principles and aims of the Socialist Party.

BOOKS

Comrades are acquainted with our regular stock resources in books and booklets. They will however be glad to know that we have a new edition of a most popular booklet by Claessens, and a brilliant debate, now most timely. They are:

The Hillquit-Keating Debate—on the question: "Shall a Labor Party be formed in America?" This book covers every point in the whole problem now uppermost in Labor and Socialist circles in this country—the problem of a Labor Party in this country as our fellow-workers have in England. This debate was delivered in Brooklyn, New York. It was a truly wonderful debate. Congressman

Keating is a strong man before an audience. His part of the debate is valuable. As for Comrade Hillquit's performance, his constructive presentation was perfect and his rebuttals swept away opposition like a keen scythe in lush young grass. The book is an arsenal of pungent, interesting arguments.

The Trinity of Plunder, by August Claessens, has been sold by the thousands. Its popularity and great usefulness abundantly justify the printing of a new edition. Claessens uncovers the three great forms of rake-off, Rent, Interest and Profit, and does it in a way that makes these three forms of income easily understood to be just what they are, unearned, high polished plunder. Humor runs smiling thru every page. The non-Socialist reader soon finds himself growing wise to the smooth game of Capitalism.

CAMPAIGN DEPARTMENT

(Continued from page four)

LILITH WILSON has been engaged since the Convention in Illinois and Indiana and reports better success and more enthusiasm than for years past. She will spend most of September in Indiana and continue until the end of the campaign in neighboring states.

LENA MORROW LEWIS will start west September the 6th through Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Nevada.

AUGUST CLAESSENS is engaged for the month of September in Pennsylvania, beginning a week's engagement in Pittsburgh on Labor Day. The latter part of the campaign he will spend in New York state.

ROSS D. BROWN (colored) has been working in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and went from there to Buffalo, New York, for a ten days' engagement. Locals wanting to engage this capable orator and effective organizer should wire the National Office.

W. A. TOOLE, the well-known campaigner of Baltimore, is available for single engagements or a tour in that vicinity. Applications are solicited.

RYAN WALKER, cartoonist, with his chalk-talks can be secured for a few engagements in the Eastern States.

OTHER REGULAR SPEAKERS will be engaged and started, to continue through the campaign as soon as the applications are received sufficient to make up tours.

SPEAKERS FOR SPECIAL ENGAGEMENTS

All of the following Comrades can be engaged for one or two meetings at different times, and some of them will give from seven to ten consecutive

dates, making possible a short tour covering some of the larger cities:—

Harriet Stanton Blatch, New York.
 Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee.
 Joseph D. Cannon, New York.
 Abraham Cahan, New York.
 Wm. A. Cunnea, Chicago.
 Thomas M. Duncan, Milwaukee.
 Morris Hillquit, New York.
 Daniel Hoan, Milwaukee.
 Wm. Karlin, New York.
 Cameron H. King, San Francisco
 Algernon Lee, New York.
 Leo Krzycki, Milwaukee.
 Meyer London, New York.
 James Oneal, New York.
 Charles Solomon, New York.
 Jacob Panken, New York.
 Louis Waldman, New York.
 Seymour Stedman, Chicago.
 Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio.
 B. C. Vladeck, New York.
 John M. Collins, Chicago.
 Leo M. Harkins, Philadelphia.
 May Harris Mainland, New York.
 W. R. Snow, Chicago.
 Patrick L. Quinlan, Chicago.
 George Koop, Chicago.
 George R. Kirkpatrick, Chicago.

The speakers in the list above are all now busy in one way or another in the general campaign helping in every way possible. Some of them are speaking regularly and continuously. All of them are eager to speak in the Socialist campaign just as often as the nature of their business will permit them to speak. Local campaign committees in addressing the National Office for speakers should state their

preferences as to speakers and also make clear whether or not they will accept substitutes,—understanding that, of course, the National Office will be most careful to do just what is desired so far as speakers are available to meet the particular request or demand.

Get in early with your requests. There will, no doubt, be more meetings held during this campaign than ever before.

All applications for assignments should be directed to the National Office of the Socialist Party.

Wanted: A FLIVVER SQUAD.

Are you going on an automobile trip?

Are you going far?

Would you like to take free literature for distribution—or literature for sale enroute? Can you make speeches? Do you want meetings arranged for you? Could you take a speaker with you, if provided?

If you would like to co-operate in any of these ways with the Party, write at once to the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

* * *

MANY MILLIONS OF MESSAGES

SECOND— WITH LITERATURE—

The special feature of this campaign is literature. The modern printing press—with freedom of the press—is the most effective weapon that ever blessed a people with power to right their wrongs. There is life in light; there is salvation thru information. Subtract the printed page from the possessions of the human race and we are swiftly plunged into darkness. In the sublime struggle for freedom our main dependence must be the printing press.

SOCIALIST LITERATURE IS THE NEED OF THE HOUR!

Every local and every member of the Socialist Party should distribute it in as large quantities as possible at all public meetings, union and lodge gatherings, and at regular intervals from house to house from now until the election in November. *This is the cheapest and most effective method of reaching large masses of people at our command.*

The National Office can supply leaflets for free distribution at very reasonable prices. Write for samples to the

Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

**SPECIAL!—16 small, 2-page leaflets, at 50c per 1,000.
 Send for sample set!**

THE CAMPAIGN THIS YEAR

By Eugene V. Debs

There has never been a political campaign of such commanding interest and importance to the working class as the one now in progress in the United States. For the first time in American politics millions of workers, industrial and agricultural, have broken away from the two old capitalist parties, renounced their allegiance to these parties, denouncing them as hopelessly corrupt and inimical to the interests of the toilers and producers, and determined upon independent political action in this campaign, with a view of marshalling their progressive forces in a new party of their own in which to fight their future battles for emancipation.

For this reason and for the results inevitably to follow, this presidential contest of 1924 marks an epoch and a turning point in American history.

But this breaking away of these masses of workers from the parties of their masters is only the beginning of the new era in our political evolution, and everything depends upon this auspicious movement being directed in the proper channels that it may develop the power necessary to fulfill its fruitful expectations.

And this, let us all understand, is a mighty task and will require all the ability, energy, patience, tact and sound judgement at the command of the forward-looking workers to successfully accomplish it.

In this stupendous task the Socialist Party has chosen to have its part, and it has taken its stand with these workers with the determination to lend all the assistance in its power not only in fighting their daily battle for bread and for better conditions, but in educating and organizing them and their class, industrially and politically, on a class-conscious basis, for their complete emancipation from wage-slavery.

In taking its stand with these awakening workers, few of whom are Socialists, but all of whom are in revolt against the capitalist parties with which they have been affiliated, the Socialist party makes no apology to those who condemn it for such action. It was not foolish enough to expect that its tactical new departure would meet with universal favor. It reckoned on being criticized by certain elements and condemned by others, and it has not been disappointed. Some object because it is the Socialist Party, as thousands of those with whom it has cast its lot in this campaign are not Socialists, while others pour out the vials of their wrath because it has

"betrayed" the workers by espousing their cause, thereby "degenerating" into a "petty bourgeois reform party."

The Socialist Party stands serene and content on its own ground between these two elements, the justification and approval of its course being confirmed by their criticism and condemnation.

Many of the so-called "progressives" know but little about Socialism and are averse to any contact with the Socialist Party, but that is to be expected. Calm and patient consideration will remove many of these difficulties and others will be overcome as we come to know each other better in the campaign.

In the various states in which a joint ticket or the same set of candidates is mutually satisfactory, that policy will be pursued, and where this is not possible the Socialist Party will, as heretofore, nominate its own candidates and conduct its own campaign.

The main thing is that the Socialist Party shall rigidly maintain its autonomy and adhere uncompromisingly to its fundamental principles.

The next two months will be to the Socialist Party the most pregnant and promising period in all its history. Will our members realize their supreme opportunity and *work together* as they never have before to make the most of it?

Every member is now needed and expected to do his duty until the campaign is over and millions of votes have been piled up for independent political action and for an American Labor Party.

When the campaign is over the real work of building a labor party will confront us and the Socialist Party must then be in a position to take a leading part in that great work.

Now is the time to build the Socialist Party and make it strong for its future service to the working class.

At National Headquarters Comrade White, Comrade Kirkpatrick and their assistants are working day and night to build up the greater Socialist Party, and every loyal comrade is bound to give them enthusiastic co-operation and support.

Build up your local, build up your press, and build up the party in general for the fulfillment of its supreme historic mission!

WHAT IS OUR SOCIALIST DUTY?

By James O Neal

It need surprise no one that the bourgeois press is surprised over the Socialist decision at Cleveland to unite with powerful trade unions in support of independent candidates for President and Vice-President. The Tribune observes that we have "furled the Marxian standard for 1924" in an editorial that bears the significant caption, "The Socialist Abdication." The Times claims that we have "come close to filing a petition in voluntary bankruptcy."

These editorials are typical of the daily press. But even Mr. Villard of The Nation writes that the delegates to the Cleveland Conference "realized the significance of the sacrifice which the Socialists were making" and that "there were many ardent Socialists who felt that this was abandoning their party and its principles." Here and there may be found an occasional Socialist who expresses the same sentiments but for a different reason.

But we are really not entitled to this sympathy for the very good reason that we have not furled our banner but have induced others to raise one of their own. We have not filed a petition in bankruptcy but have enlarged our business by taking in a partner whom we have solicited for more than a generation. We have not sacrificed anything but have gained much that we have sought for many decades. We have not abandoned our party or our principles, any more than the Independent Labor Party of England did by being an important section of the Labor Party.

Then why all these lamentations? Because some are not sincere while others lack information as to one of the purposes of the Socialist movement in all countries. That one purpose has been forgotten even by some Socialists because of the isolation to which the Socialist movement has been condemned in this country since its origin. That is, isolation from the organized working class. Historical causes have made for a chasm between the Socialist movement and the trade union movement regarding political action. This breach has become so old that even some of our party members have come to consider it natural.

AN ABNORMAL SITUATION

As a matter of fact it is abnormal. In no other country of the world does it exist, not even in Mexico, the latest arrival with a modern Labor movement. So long as the trade union movement confined its activities within the parties of capitalism we were compelled to carry the independent banner

alone. When big sections of the trade union movement pick up the independent banner it is our duty to encourage them, to join with them when the break with the past is sufficient to give a fair guarantee that it will be a permanent break. This, we believe, happened in Cleveland. Had the break come ten or fifteen years ago we would have been faced with the same situation that we face today and we would have had to answer the question: Shall we go along with the organized working class, or a big section of it, or shall we constitute a sect guarding ourselves from contamination with the very class to whom we have always appealed?

But, it may be said, the program and the candidate are not Socialist. Granted. But when we have urged the organized workers to unite with us during all the weary years that we have waged the independent struggle, is there any comrade who really believed that the program in its beginning would be thoroughly Socialist or that all the candidates would be such? If so, all our striving was certain to be fruitless. *A fully developed working class is not a sudden achievement. It is the fruit of years of intelligent and sympathetic cooperation in political struggles. That sympathetic cooperation is only possible by stepping back a pace of two, uniting with the main army, and marching forward together under a common banner.*

THE QUESTION OF MARXISM

This we Socialists have done. Have we "furled the Marxian standard"? A very important question, to be sure. I do not like to appeal to those who are dead but for some no other appeal will answer. They want to know what Marx and Engels have to say on this question. Their conception of Socialist duty does not differ from that of the Socialist delegates at Cleveland. They both wrote in the famous Manifesto of 1848 regarding what relation we bear to the workers as a whole and they answered that we "do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties." They added that we "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole" and that we "do not set up any sectarian principles" of our own. We merely regard our Socialist parties of all countries as "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others."

It may be objected that if we are to reconcile the above quotations with our decisions at Cleveland it would be in order to find either Marx or Engels

applying them to certain situations. It so happens that Engels did apply them to the United States in a preface to the 1887 edition of his "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844." He quoted the passages in full from which the above excerpts are taken and proceeded to interpret them in advice to American Socialists. He wrote that the American Socialists cannot expect the American organized workers to "come to them; they, the minority and the immigrants, must go to the Americans, who are the vast majority of the natives."

Of course, this brings with it problems which Engels appreciated. He observed that the process of fusing all the various elements into a powerful political movement of the workers "will take some time and will not come off without a deal of friction." He went on to say that "the converging columns cross each other here and there; confusion, angry disputes, and even threats of conflict arise. *But the community of ultimate purpose in the end overcomes all minor troubles; ere long the straggling and squabbling battalions will be formed in a long line of battle array, presenting to the enemy a well-ordered front, ominously silent under the glittering arms, supported by bold skirmishers in front and by unshakeable reserves in the rear.*"

BRITISH LABOR

Here it may be remarked that the British Labor

party had this experience. Engels went on to consider the matter of a platform as a basis of unity for a party of the workers. This paragraph is significant:

"To bring about this result, the unification of the various independent bodies into one national Labor army *with no matter how inadequate a provisional platform*, provided it be a truly working class platform—that is the next step to be accomplished in America. To effect this end and to make that platform worthy of the cause, the Socialist Labor Party can contribute a great deal if they will only act in the same way as the European Socialists have acted at the time when they were but a small minority of the working class."

After this follows the complete paragraphs from which I have quoted above. Engels then concludes with the following observation: "That is the line of action which the great founder of Modern Socialism, Karl Marx, and with him I and other Socialists of all nations who worked along with us, have followed for more than forty years, with the result that it has led to victory everywhere."

Here is a positive application by Engels of the second section of the Manifesto to American conditions. The advice is as good today as when it was given. That advice was followed at Cleveland. At some stage in the development of the Socialist

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movement in all countries it has had to face the same situation that we face now. Socialists have always been pioneers in the matter of political organization by the workers. For a long time they are isolated from the organized army of workers. In time the problems of capitalism force them to timid ventures in politics. Almost without a single exception this has first taken the form of support of candidates of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

But experience always failed to reconcile the workers to this form of political action. They are forced to a more advanced position. Then comes a break with old political traditions and political policies. The break is not general. It is generally confined to a big section of the organized workers but they eventually pull others along. They re-

member also that Socialists have urged them to do the very thing that they now do. True, they do it hesitatingly and cautiously as a rule. But they do it.

What would be their chagrin and disappointment if in the hour when they reached out to us for unity of action we spurned their advance and went on alone? This break has come in the United States and it has taken some comrades by surprise. Others have welcomed it with joy, with a consciousness that we have reached a stage in the development of the American workers which the workers in all modern countries reached many years ago. The latter have no doubts of where our Socialist duty lies. Nor do they believe that we can lose any thing by intimate contact and cooperation with the organized working class.

WAR A BUSINESS NECESSITY

By W. W. Passage

*"Peace? Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here, or any woman—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? * * * This war (The World War in Europe) was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."*

Woodrow Wilson, President of the U. S. 1912-1920.

The "modern world" to which Mr. Wilson referred is the world whose economic system is by common consent called Capitalism. Capitalism divides human beings into two main classes, namely, the capitalist class, on the one hand, owning the major means of social production and deriving its income from the surplus value created by the working class which owns no means of production and has only its labor power to sell.

After viewing the several thousand caskets containing the bodies of American soldiers killed in the World War, President Harding, in an outburst of righteous feeling, exclaimed "It must not happen again!" But he had previously done what he could to render impossible the fulfillment of this magnificent oath by declaring for "An end to government experiments in business", entirely oblivious of the fact that privately-owned business *must* have war and that government-owned business is the only escape from it.

Privately-owned business, operating within national bounds, creates a surplus of commodities which the main body of producers cannot buy because their wages are only a fraction of the price at which these products are sold at retail. These retail prices at which products are sold have been in-

creased by the several profit, rent and interest charges that have been added by the various social parasites and middlemen who manage to get a rake-off at nearly every stage of the process of financing, manufacture and distribution. Neither the owners nor these financiers, speculators and middlemen are sufficient in number or physical capacity to consume the unsold surplus left in their hands, altho it must be admitted they make a strong effort to do so, for it is their fantastic extravagance that has made familiar incidents in high society of such fashionable events as monkey dinners, cat weddings and dog funerals, while millions of children lack food, clothing, shelter, medical attention and education. In spite of this cruel waste, there remains in the hands of the owners of the means of production a surplus of products for which they must find a market other than the home market composed mainly of industrial workers and farmers, especially since these two groups have been reduced to a condition of financial incompetence thru exploitation. The inability of the exploited industrial workers and farmers to buy the equivalent of what they have produced creates the necessity for business interests to seek world markets, and at the same time renders the employment by the owning class of the resulting surplus investment money in home industries impracticable and unprofitable, compared to the large returns afforded by its investment in foreign lands where there are undeveloped natural resources and cheap labor, as it is from exactly this combination that large dividends are derived. Herein, then, is the reason for the struggle for the "place in the sun" and for thawing out "frozen capital." Here also we have an outlet whereby the owners of surplus

products and surplus investment money may keep from smothering in their own fat.

Until this surplus of products is disposed of there must be industrial paralysis and unemployment, with its bitter train of poverty, disease and crime. Given a system of this kind, it must adopt imperialism to avoid economic suffocation, even tho the reaction of this means of relief eventually destroys the very system it rescues. Imperialism then is only the inevitable international manifestation of capitalism.

But right here difficulties arise, for it is found that the capitalists of all the other highly developed nations are looking for the same undeveloped resources and "backward peoples." It is found indeed that they already have been pretty well parcelled out under such designations as colonies, protectorates, or mandatories; for it has been learned by the capitalistic groups, thru experiences too costly to be overlooked (as for example in Mexico) that where their treasure is their banker-controlled government must be also. And right here we have the inevitable, constantly-operating economic cause for international, never-ending wars, for while capitalists operating within the nation usually combine to control a given industry, international capitalists compete with the capitalists of other nations. As said James R. Mann, one-time Republican floor leader of the House of Representatives, "I have no faith that nations can compete commercially without resorting to armed conflict." Ex-Senator Chauncey M. Depew once asked the question, "Why are the guns of the world powers thundering at the gates of Peking?" Answering his own question he said "Because of the two billions of surplus products of the world." International competition calls incessantly for larger armies and navies, more deadly guns and gases, more destructive bombs and germs. It avails nothing in the brutal working of this phase of capitalism that it involves the slaughter of ten million of the flower of the manhood of the world, the mutilation and ruined health of thirty-five million more, the terrorization and sorrow of all humanity, the destruction of democratic institutions, the financial bondage of the wealth producers unto the third and fourth generation that the payment of the interest and principal of the war debt means.

What has happened is a re-division of the unexploited lands and undeveloped peoples, new causes to create new jealousies and finally, new combinations of the unfavored nations, followed by more wars for another division of the "backward" nations with rich resources—another bloody orgy of imperialism, world without end!

It is in vain for men of good will to cry "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace, and can be none until the price is paid. Mr. Bryan chides the naughty nations and tells them they should always stop to

count one hundred before striking another nation. Many other good old bodies appeal for international limitation of armament, so that killing shall be done with little pistols and air rifles, instead of with poison gases and aeroplanes. Others again call for disarmament in the hope that the quarrels of the future will be settled by calling names and making faces, or possibly, in extreme cases, slapping each other on the wrist. Still others, even more fatuous than the rest, urge that war and other social crimes cannot be ended until the people are converted either to Christianity, according to the particular sectarian dogma these advocates have been born to, or to that religion to which they may happen to belong. Even tho an insignificant few of these sects refuse to participate in war, all of them stupidly acquiesce in the capitalist order, whose economic foundation is that same "industrial and commercial rivalry" which Mr. Wilson said is the "seed of war in the modern world." Further, and worse, it is rarely that even an individual member from these innumerable sects is sufficiently free from the sectarian fetish or sees thru the maze of misinformation and distortion regarding any vital change in the present industrial order shrewdly disseminated by the spokesmen of capitalism. Thus we have in the acquiescence or activities of those least suspecting themselves of their unconscious complicity, the fulfillment of that strange scriptural epigram that "The devil maketh his enemies to serve him."

Praiseworthy as their intentions doubtless are, the suggestions of these dreamers are too Utopian for practical Socialists or for any one who deduces his conclusions from careful study of underlying facts. For it is as true of wars as of disease that so long as the causes remain, we cannot escape the effects. Given private ownership of the means of employment, with its resulting surplus of commodities and investment money accumulated in the hands of the owners, war must come even if the combatants must wage it only by pulling each other's hair or by scratching with their finger nails. But, was there ever a time in history in which a nation observed the rules of civilized warfare when the self-determined exigencies of its own preservation called for their violation? If not, then why continue to delude ourselves with the foolish fancies that nations ever will be governed by such rules?

But, cries all humanity in dismay as it contemplates this horrible prospect, is there no alternative? Must our husbands and sons and brothers be constantly thrust into the bloody shambles? And the answer comes, clear and strong, from the despised apostles and prophets of modern times. Alas there is no escape as long as mankind allows itself to be deceived and despoiled by the oily words and deceptions of false patriots and religious hypocrites—

A GREAT VETERAN PASSES



OTTO F. BRANSTETTER

Once again Death reaches into the Socialist movement and seizes a leader for his victim. This time Otto F. Branstetter answered the relentless reaper's call,—at the age of 47. Comrade Branstetter died on August 2nd in the American Hospital in Chicago. In February of this year Comrade Branstetter slipped on the icy street, fell heavily and broke his left leg. The usual surgical treatment for such cases was of no avail. The bone refused to knit. As a last resort the leg was amputated. To supply him with needed increase of vitality for and following this operation several transfusions of blood were made, scores of willing comrades offering their blood.

Comrade Branstetter's funeral was held in the Graceland cemetery chapel, Chicago, August 5th. Every seat in the chapel was taken. The eloquent tributes of flowers, of heavy-hearted silence, of

trembling lips and of tears—were all paid. Comrades William R. Snow, Ralph Korngold, Seymour Stedman and Lena Morrow Lewis made short addresses in commemoration of our dead veteran's work and worth. Comrade Branstetter's request that he should be cremated was complied with.

Otto F. Branstetter was born in Kansas; most of his life was spent in Oklahoma. Twenty years ago Comrade Branstetter, a painter by trade, came into the Socialist movement. All these years he served faithfully and efficiently. The great Socialist movement in Oklahoma was in high measure his work. Frequent wide lecture trips made him known to many comrades in many states. His press work on party organization brought him much sincere praise thruout the country.

Comrade Branstetter became National Secretary of the Socialist Party in 1919. He resigned in February, 1924. The accident that finally resulted in his death occured within a week after he quit the party's service as National Secretary. Tens of thousands of comrades will recall his last earnest pleas for the upbuilding of the party when in 1923 he toured the country with Comrade Eugene V. Debs. That was his passion—the construction of a powerful national and international organization of the workers for the defense of the workers. A month ago, utterly helpless on his sick-bed, his heart was gladdened to the point of smiling content and tears with telegrams from the Cleveland Convention.

Otto's singleness of purpose, his courage, his sincerity and his service are now splendid memories. They are very real. They make many thousands of us glad and grateful that he lived. And they sustain his two daughters and his widow, Winnie Branstetter, well-known to a multitude of men, women and children thruout the country as one of the bravest, most efficient and tireless workers for the workers the American labor movement has ever known.

capitalist retainers in sheep's clothing, who sing the national anthem and wave the flag while they rob the poor; who "devour widows' houses and for a pretence, make long prayers."

However, there is an easily attainable alternative, provided humanity is willing to pay the price. That price is nothing less than a substitution of cooperation for the profit system. It is nothing less than the extirpation of the capitalists as such. It is nothing less than the dethronement of the kings and queens of industry, the repudiation of the men and women commonly regarded as the pillars of business. It is nothing less than the deliberate and conscious

acceptance of the new Messiah of industrial cooperation and the equally deliberate repudiation of the God of profit!

If, as Wodrow Wilson declared, "industrial and commercial rivalry" caused the war, then, hard as it may be to transfer our allegiance to its exact opposite, nevertheless it is the fixed, unalterable price of our escape from the sin and travail of "the next war," which the false statesmen we have trusted previously are already talking about and systematically preparing for!

Given a sane industrial order, in which the right of every human being to the use of the natural re-

sources and industrial equipment is safe-guarded by all the powers of society, and the value of the increased productivity resulting from improved machinery and methods is guaranteed to each according to the value of the service rendered, henceforth each worker will have the means wherewith to buy what he has produced, and there will be no surplus lodging in the hands of the owning, speculative class, forcing it into international conflicts for world markets.

Moreover the time has come to say that a half-way decent and intelligent society would inaugurate such an industrial order as a matter of simple justice, for who else, save the producer, has a moral right to the product?

Such an industrial order would be one in which those who used the sources and means of social production would be the owners of these things and as a consequence would own the products, for it is axiomatic that only those who own the sources and machinery of production own the product.

It is this kind of an industrial order the Socialists mean to establish. If it would do no more than to

remove the economic causes of war, that alone would constitute an irresistible demand upon the human impulses and the moral consciousness of the world for its adoption. Not to do so must leave the burden of the responsibility for war and all its consequences upon every human being who refuses his aid to this holy cause!

But Socialism would do far more than abolish the economic and usual causes of wars, for in giving to every worker the multiplied product arising from cooperative labor, modern machinery and methods, and associated industry, mankind, for the first time in its history, will be emancipated from ignorance, discord and disease, and from all the train of misery and unhappiness which in all times past have resulted from a general condition of poverty. In industrial cooperation and economic independence, humanity will build the deep and lasting foundations of peace and for the first time make possible the practise of that brotherhood so freely professed in our religious and fraternal societies, only to be denied and thwarted the moment we enter into the present business world.

MINUTES OF THE N. E. C.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY,
JULY 22, 1924.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met at 10.00 A. M., Tuesday, July 22nd, at the People's House, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Present: Morris Hillquit, N. Y., Joseph W. Sharts, Ohio, John M. Colling, Ill., Leo M. Harkins, N. J., and Executive Secretary Bertha Hale White.

James H. Maurer, Pa., George E. Roewer, Jr., Mass., and Albert Weisbord, National Director Y.P.S.L., arrived later in the session. Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman, was prevented by illness from attending and Victor L. Berger, Wis., could not be present owing to important matters connected with the Wisconsin campaign which required his attention.

Hillquit elected Chairman for the session.

The Committee took up consideration of Agenda.

Organization of Committee: Action deferred pending arrival of other members.

Recommendations and Instructions of National Convention:

(1) To conduct an extensive campaign throughout the country. (2) State, County and Local organizations be directed to organize conferences for the purpose of carrying on the executive work of the presidential ticket.

It was agreed to issue a statement to the mem-

bership in which these points would be covered.

(3) National campaign lists be prepared and mailed to all constituent organizations, members and sympathizers. Division of funds: 50% to Local organization; 40% to National Office; 10% to State and District organizations. *Deferred.*

(4) Campaign manager to have charge of campaign.

(5) Campaign organizers sent into various unorganized fields; additional representatives be sent into such localities for purpose of raising funds and organizing Conferences. *Deferred.*

Motion by Collins: That the lists for the campaign fund be inclusive and the only ones circulated by the state, national and local organizations. *Adopted.*

It was the sense of the Committee that the leaflet on the Ku Klux Klan should begin with an analysis of what the Klan thinks it stands for; point out that the remedy proposed by the Klan is wrong and that proposed by the Socialists is right.

Motion by Harkins: That Norman Thomas and James Oneal both be requested to prepare the leaflet on the Ku Klux Klan. *Carried.*

LITERATURE

The National Office was instructed to issue a limited number of short leaflets, each dealing with some concrete phase of the campaign.

Suggestion that the first pamphlet be the "A.B. C. of Socialism." *Concurred.*

Subjects for leaflets suggested and approved:

1. The Heart of the Matter.
2. The Farmer and the Wage Workers.
3. British Labor and British Lords.
4. Coal and Oil.
5. LaFollette and the Socialists.

Hillquit reported that in accordance with the instructions of the National Convention, increased representation on the National Committee of the C. P. P. A. was requested and the following Socialists had been appointed: Mrs. Victor Berger, Bertha Hale White, Joseph W. Sharts, George E. Roewer, Jr., and Algernon Lee.

Motion by Collins: That the official representation of the party in the C. P. P. A. be paid their traveling expenses in attending the sessions the same as members of the N. E. C. *Carried.*

Secretary to notify all new members of the National Committee.

Motion by Sharts: That the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party concur in the action of the National Committee of the C. P. P. A. in nominating Senator Burton K. Wheeler as candidate for Vice-President. *Carried unanimously.*

Adjourned to reconvene at 2:00 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1924.

Committee called to order at 2:00 o'clock.

Comrade Bertha H. Maily was given the floor to outline a plan for an informal gathering of Socialists of the East to be held sometime during the month of September in Camp Tamiment for the purpose of discussing campaign plans and other matters of interest to the Socialist Party. *Plan approved.*

CAMPAIGN MANAGER

Members requested to submit, within a week, a list of suggested candidates for the office of National Campaign Manager, and that the Executive Secretary combine all names and submit to the committee upon a preferential ballot. *Carried.*

The Executive Secretary was authorized to see Thomas M. Duncan of Milwaukee and J. Mahlon Barnes of Chicago with reference to the position of Campaign Manager. *Carried.*

Bertha Hale White was re-elected National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party.

Rules of committee amended and adopted.

Motion by Hillquit: That Alexander Kahn be requested to interview prominent members of the British Labour Party with a view to arranging tours for them in this country. *Carried.*

Albert Weisbord discussed the special needs of

the Y.P.S.L. He was instructed to outline his recommendations for submission to and consideration by the Committee.

Motion made and carried that the Secretary be authorized to cancel the items in lists of liabilities under Building Fund and Convention Fund.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Moved and carried that Wm. M. Brandt and G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis be appointed an Editorial Committee to go over publications of the National Office before printing.

Motion: That in addition to the appointment of a Campaign Manager, someone be put in charge of a drive for funds by all manner of legitimate devices and appeal to radicals and liberals. *Carried.*

By agreement the selection was deferred pending interview with Benj. Schlesinger, who was to be urged to undertake the fund drive.

The following list of campaign speakers was approved, other names to be added later:

August Claessens, Ryan Walker, Birch Wilson, Lilith Wilson, Lena Morrow Lewis, Alfred Baker Lewis, Ross D. Brown, Esther Friedman, Marie McDonald, Joseph W. Sharts, Wm. H. Henry, May Harris Mainland, Judge Jacob Panken, George H. Goebel, Emil Herman, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Oscar Ameringer, John M. Collins, Chas. Solomon, Louis Waldman, Charles Sehl, Jos. Whitehorn, Norman Thomas, Leo M. Harkins, Wm. A. Toole, Chandler Owen, E. Philip Randolph, and Frank Crosswaith.

Adjourned, subject to call.

Bertha Hale White, Secretary.

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Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.
James H. Maurer, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.
Joseph W. Sharts, 805 Commercial Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY

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

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

Albert Weisbord, National Director,
64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

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