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JOIN THE ARMY

By George R. Kirkpatrick

We need a new cannon.

Rouse! Times have changed. We plan war.
Fight we must. Enlist—and redden your blood.

One war worthwhile now calls for volunteers—
in the new struggles for freedom in the western
world.

THE AMERICAN APPEAL salutes and
calls for soldiers.

We need a new cannon—a long-range cannon.

Since the old Appeal to Reason so powerfully,
so successfully moved American public opinion and
won magnificent battles because of its manner, meth-
ods and matter (and then died of *private* owner-
ship, cursed with private profits as its *later* motive)
—since those thrilling days the American Socialist
movement has had no powerful, NATIONAL
PROPAGANDA paper. But:

Without a powerful, *national propaganda* paper
we shall, as a *national* movement, mark time, move
nothing, attract nobody, convince none and kid our-
selves; we shall foolishly threaten the powerful and
invite their laughter, attempt 'high-brow' and court
defeat, coax for subsidies and invite despair, fear
the few and forget the many, deny our failure and
fuddle along; and we shall finally break the hearts
and cool the courage of the brave men and women

who want a big thing done in a popular way, in
a way that pounds and thunders at the door of the
nation's conscience, rouses the sweating farmers in
the field, rouses the sweating mechanics at the bench,
rouses the sweating miners down in the earth, and
steadily unites the hearts and hopes of these sweating
millions who face the wolves of want, and of millions
of others too who are compelled to admit the farce
of their uncertain and petty success won by petty
tricks with petty motives.

Without a powerful, *national propaganda* paper,
willing to address primarily the forty-three million
unschooled or half-schooled sweating workers in-
stead of a few hundred intelligentsia, we shall mill
round and round in a stupid circle, innocently won-
dering why the working people don't wake up and
fight for freedom and justice.

Without a powerful, *national propaganda* paper
we are nearly nothing and really powerless.

We should be convinced of that by what the old
Appeal *did* do as a powerful, *national propaganda*
paper.

We should be convinced of that also by what we
have *not* been able to do without a such a powerful,
national propaganda paper.

Six or eight years of failure should be a sufficient
kick-and-a-hint for merciless self-examination, for
merciless examination of our long-tried, unproductive
manner, methods and matter.

We need a new cannon.

The Appeal to Reason army of former days, with
headquarters in Girard, Kansas, was one of the most

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remarkable co-operating groups of brave men and women that ever fought in the real war for real freedom. Five thousand men and women in that old Appeal army were rapidly rousing this nation of more than a hundred million people. *Every soldier carried ammunition every day everywhere*;—that is, subscription cards to the Appeal to Reason, and helped build up the most powerful radical weekly in the western world. All were men and women of loyalty, vision and relentless determination to have a cannon of their own to fight the capitalist system. That army built the powerful Appeal to Reason but did not control their own creation—alas! Thousands of these men and women wept, bitterly, when the Appeal to Reason, a *privately* owned, *privately* controlled paper, joined the Wall Street chorus of hideous howling to boost the World War, the most vast and terrible crime ever committed under the black flag of capitalism,—the soldier-editor being promptly and cunningly assigned to “detached service” far from the trenches and the roar of bursting shells.

The old Appeal is dead. It deserted its own Army, threw down the red flag of freedom and ran up the flag of plutocracy—committed suicide in broad day-light before its heart-stung army and an astonished nation. That’s history. A bitter chapter. We “forget it.” But we learn, however, and march on.

Let every brave man and woman of our movement now take an honorable place in a new army—under the old colors in the old cause—to build a new weapon, a new cannon, to be *owned and controlled by the army that builds* the new cannon, **THE AMERICAN APPEAL.**

We must have a powerful, *national propaganda* paper.

The American Appeal, a weekly propaganda Socialist paper, with Eugene V. Debs as editor-in-chief, is a major enterprise in the present awakening and rapid upbuilding of the American Socialist movement.

The purpose of The American Appeal is propaganda and organization. That’s all. But that’s a lot—and plenty—if well done.

Get the idea.

A powerful, *national propaganda* paper.

The American Appeal will make no attempt to be a ten-page daily, a twenty-page weekly and a

pretentious monthly all in one, covering the earth, sea and sky; philosophy, science and art; the drama, belles-lettres and the esoteric mysteries of the metaphysical what-is-it. The American Appeal will—appeal. The American Appeal will appeal to the men and women who need a wide way cut thru the mountain of brass called capitalism, under which capitalist system the whip-marks on the back of Labor are viciously explained as natural and the shackles on Labor’s wrists are piously referred to as mysteries and gifts of God.

The American Appeal will strip wrongs naked to be seen for what they are by those who are wronged; it will lash mercilessly, explain simply, credit promptly, appeal powerfully, organize always and place its fate, its future, its power and its control frankly in the hands of the army that builds it, to be used by the brave men and women who never surrender in the war worth while and are now eager to be on the march.

The American Appeal appeals right now for your co-operation. This new cannon—built and burnished—must be ready—loaded with one hundred thousand rounds,—100,000 subscribers,—for the first broad-side on January 1, 1926. Get the date. Enlist. The fight begins now. Battles really begin with preparations for battles. *We must* have a powerful, *national propaganda* paper.

Here is what is needed, wanted, urgently called for now by your National Executive Committee, your National Executive Secretary and the Editor-in-Chief, Eugene V. Debs:

1. Five thousand American Appeal soldiers to enlist in this real Appeal Army—at once,—and begin to build our new weapon, The American Appeal, with all speed with the following plan of operation:

2. Adopt the financing method known as the “revolving fund”;—that is, invest from \$1 to \$100 in American Appeal subscription cards; sell these cards. And repeat. Keep the money *revolving*. You do not contribute this money as a gift at all. You invest it and keep it going rolling. When you *must* use the money for other purposes you can sell the last cards purchased—and have your money for use.

Every soldier should carry in his pockets—always—from one to a half-dozen sub-cards;—and swiftly build The American Appeal.

It is pressingly important that this American Appeal Army ‘get going’ immediately. A vast work must be done before January 1, 1926, the date of the first issue, the first broadside.

A *pledge*: All money received for subscription cards will be banked in a separate fund to be used exclusively in publishing The American Appeal.

The National Office policy in this enterprise will be an absolutely *square deal* for every man and woman in this army. This money will *not* be touched for any other use than *The American Appeal*.

The yearly subscription is \$1.00; six months, 50 cents. "Sub" cards can now be had—they are *ready for you*—at the National Office of the Socialist party.

Leo M. Harkins of Camden, N. J., pledged to operate a revolving fund till he had purchased and sold 1,000 subscription cards. Pittsburgh comrades have pledged to "revolve" an investment over and over rapidly till at least 1,000 cards are sold in Pittsburgh. The National Executive Committee have subscribed, the first receipt going to Eugene V. Debs.

Adopt the "revolving fund" plan, and *roll 'em over* every week till January 1, 1926—for a powerful national propaganda paper. Surely you can spare a few dollars rolling over for a while.

In the on-coming collapse of capitalism, in the crisis and crash, and rush and roar of swift events, be able to say: "In 1925 I served seven months in *The American Appeal* army to prepare a weapon of light for the workers for the climax days in the dawn of industrial freedom."

Fall in! For the great war worth while. The forming army now gratefully—oh, so gratefully—greet *you*. Together we fight—and thus we are worthy to live.

"ON TO CLEVELAND!"

Everything is now in readiness for the greatest Socialist celebration ever held in the city of Cleveland, where the first regional convention and mass meeting under the auspices of the Socialist party national organization will be held on May 30 and 31.

On Decoration day at 10 A. M., Eugene V. Debs, national chairman of the Socialist Party, will call the convention to order at Carpenters Hall, 2219 East 55th Street. This convention will be a mass meeting of red card members of the party for the district comprising Ohio, Michigan, Western New York, Western Pennsylvania and Kentucky. The convention will be in session all day and will consider and pass upon concrete methods of organization and party building, promotion of the Socialist press, methods of propaganda, etc.

At the conclusion of the convention a banquet will be held at the Winton Hotel, Prospect Avenue near East 9th Street, which will be attended by the delegates and public. Among the speakers will be Comrade Debs and a number of active Socialists in the district represented.

The big public event in connection with the celebration will be a monster mass meeting to be held in the Cleveland City Auditorium, one of the largest halls in the world. This will be held on Sunday, May 31, at 2 P. M., and will be presided over by Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton. Preceding the first speaker, an organ recital will be given which will be one of the features of the gathering. Addresses will be made by Chairman Sharts, George R. Kirkpatrick and Eugene V. Debs.

More than 10,000 admission tickets to the mass meeting have been distributed to Socialist locals and

labor unions in Cleveland and vicinity, and the largest gathering of workers in the history of the city is looked forward to. A general admission of 50 cents will be charged, the tickets being good for any seat in the Auditorium. Those who wish to buy tickets in advance will be accommodated by ordering them from the Debs Meeting Committee, Room 314, Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

Banquet reservations may be made at the convention during the day, or in advance by sending orders to the above address.

The convention, banquet and mass meeting arrangements are in charge of Leo M. Harkins, regional manager, assisted by an active committee of local Socialists and prominent representatives of organized labor. Their work is being supplemented by the National Office, the Ohio State Office and several organizers at work in the district.

Other regional conventions and mass meetings to be held by the party are as follows: Minneapolis, June 20-21; St. Louis, July 4-5; Los Angeles, July 25-26; San Francisco, August 1-2; Chicago, August 29-30; New York, September 19-20.

ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR REGIONAL CONVENTIONS

Morning Session

- 1.—Convention to be called to order at 10 A. M. by National Chairman Eugene V. Debs.
- 2.—Introduction by the chairman of local comrade to deliver the Address of Welcome.
- 3.—Roll call of delegates.
- 4.—Address to the convention by Chairman Debs.

- 5.—Appointment of an Agenda Committee of three members.
- 6.—Reading of the Agenda.
- 7.—Short addresses by delegates on matters pertaining to organization and propaganda in the district.
- 8.—Recess for lunch from 12 o'clock until 1 P. M.

Afternoon Session

- 9.—Call to order at 1 P. M.
- 10.—Report of the Agenda Committee.
- 11.—Reading of the Agenda seriatim; discussion and action on the several topics thereon.
- 12.—Closing remarks by the chairman.
- 13.—Adjournment sine die.

AGENDA

The four chief themes for discussion and development in the conventions will be:

Organization,

Propaganda,

The American Appeal, and

Finances.

It is earnestly hoped that every delegate will come prepared to contribute definite suggestions and discussion, and be greatly benefited—strengthened in many ways—for the work that now challenges our courage, our loyalty and our intelligence—a work that offers certain progress, power and achievement for our movement. You are challenged, first of all, to think—and think hard—to help make the conventions productive councils of men and women who accept the call to the colors. Altho these conventions are *not* oratorical contests the best speaker will be the man or woman who can make a point-every-minute; the man or woman who can be eloquently definite and eloquently brief.

Teachers' Union Demands Citizenship For Debs

Whereas in all countries except the United States all political prisoners who were sentenced during the war have not only been released, but have had all civil rights restored; and

Whereas our own government, founded in the spirit of political liberty, is assumed to be conducted for the extension and defense of freedom,—as manifested, for example, by our national govern-

ment even toward the Confederate leaders following the Civil War; and

Whereas in Eugene V. Debs the American people have a man whose strength of character, brilliant gifts, high idealism, and unselfish and commanding devotion to the cause of freedom and human progress for a full half century, give this country cause to be sincerely proud of him, and mark him for unique and enviable distinction for centuries to come;

Therefore be it Resolved: that the Federation of Women High School Teachers of Chicago presents these facts to the attention of President Coolidge, and urges that, acting with the fairness that characterized the Republican Party in the days of Abraham Lincoln, he restore to Eugene V. Debs his full civil rights, and thus protect our country against the condemnation of future generations;

And be it further Resolved that our delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor be instructed to present these resolutions to that body and ask that these or similar resolutions be adopted;

And be it further Resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to President Coolidge, to Eugene V. Debs, and to the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor.

(Unanimously Adopted by the Women High School Teachers' Union of Chicago, April 17, 1925.)

Kirkpatrick Elected Organizing Director

George R. Kirkpatrick, who for the past year has served the party as Publicity Director, has been elected by the National Executive Committee to fill the office of Organizing Director, with headquarters in the National Office.

Comrade Kirkpatrick, in his new capacity, will direct the organization work of the party under the new plan recently adopted by the N. E. C. He will have charge of the District Organizers and will outline their methods of procedure in carrying on the work in the field.

The new Organizing Director is now busy working out the details of the great organization drive to be launched with the holding of the first regional convention at Cleveland; and with the assistance of the District Organizers, State Offices and Locals, and backed by the hearty co-operation of the entire membership, the new plan to build the party is bound to meet with unqualified success.

The party is fortunate in being able to command the services of one as capable, enthusiastic and devoted as Comrade Kirkpatrick for this important position. He will do his part—and more. Let all of us support him to the limit!

AN OBLIGATION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

By James D. Graham

An effort is being made to create a sustaining fund for the National Office of the Socialist Party.

Every progressive member of organized labor should subscribe to this fund, which will enable the Socialist Party to carry on the educational work to a greater degree than ever before.

The membership of the American Federation of Labor, according to reports, has fallen off over one million in the past four years, or a drop of nearly twenty-five per cent. Not only has the membership decreased, but in the great stretch of territory west of the Mississippi the labor movement has been whipped or reduced to insignificance, and the open shop is a near reality.

The farmers are being instructed to hate union men, having it continually preached to them that organized labor and high wages are the cause of all their ills.

Farm papers and periodicals carry large advertisements from the largest corporations in America telling how the unions are skinning the farmer; week after week the little country weekly newspaper harps on the evils of unionism. Merchants, bankers and representatives of the chambers of commerce send speakers out to the country school houses where the community socials are held and give the farmers a talk against organized labor.

Lawyers at the bar never overlook an opportunity to take a fall out of the labor movement.

All over the west it is a common occurrence in the court rooms where juries are composed mostly of farmers for lawyers to make a target of organized labor. Should a witness be known to the opposing lawyer to be a member of a labor union, then the witness is in for an unmerciful grueling. Under cross-examination the witness is asked if he is a member of organized labor, if he is an officer in the union, and usually is asked if he is the walking delegate, and what committee he acts on, how often he has been on strike, if he believes in the shorter work day. Should the witness be active in the union his whole union activity is bared to the jury.

Then when the lawyer makes his plea to the farmer jury the facts of the case are laid aside and the witness who is a union man is tried. The jurymen are told to look at the calibre of the man who testified, a union man who does not believe in working over eight hours a day if he believes in working at all, while the poor farmer must toil from daylight to dark in the hot summer, sixteen and eighteen hours a day. The farmers are told in the talk

to the jury that it is the union men who throw monkey wrenches into the threshing machine, when the eight-hour day has been worked, in order to cause a break-down of the machine so that the eight hours day may be enforced, and that it is the union men who set fire to the farmers' hay stacks if the help are worked over-time. Would a farmer believe a union man under oath? Would a farmer believe these lawbreakers? Let the farmer leave the farm and go to work in the city and if he did not give up his free born rights of an American citizen and join the union he would wake up some day to find himself in the hospital; the union men would fix him good and plenty.

This kind of talk by a lawyer to a jury of farmers brings him the verdict, and if it were not for the rules of the court, the lawyer would receive vigorous applause from the farmer jurors.

The foregoing is not over estimated. The writer has had to listen many times to such tirades against union men in more than one courtroom and in more than one state.

The formation of a Labor Party will not help matters. The farmer is, as yet, biased against organized labor.

All the talk made by progressives and liberals about the farmer and labor getting together is ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent bunk, and made by people who know little of the conditions in the west as they exist today.

It is estimated that the places of fifty thousand railway shopmen were taken in 1922 by farmers who do not understand the class struggle and the need of organization and class loyalty by all labor. These farmers came from the farms in old Ford cars, some of the 1914 model and each had a rifle or double-barrel shot-gun with him; and they manned the shops and round houses. True they were inefficient, and the casualties among them were six and seven hundred per cent greater than among the men who operated the shops and roundhouses before the strike, but they broke the strike and smashed the shopmen's union.

Not only the shopmen's strike was smashed by hordes that left the farms of the west, but all classes of unions and strikes have suffered thru these men from the farms who have been so viciously misinformed and prejudiced.

The carpenters' union and in fact all the building trades in the west are feeling the effect of the in-

roads of the unorganized farmer, and the work-day is being lengthened.

This state of affairs will be felt east of the Mississippi before long; the vast masses of bankrupt farmers will sweep eastward as employment in the west decreases.

It is from among the farmers that the fascisti, the black-hundred, or the black-and-tans can be recruited in America. Do not think for a moment that such organizations cannot be easily formed in this country. In the present state of mind the western farmer is easy picking for the labor haters.

Union organizers cannot get a hearing among farmers, but Socialists can. *That is important.* The farmer is sympathetic towards Socialism but not to the doctrine of trade unionism. Let organized labor take notice.

If the members of organized labor desire to batter down the prejudice that exists among the farmers toward trade unionism, the best way to do it is to contribute to the sustaining fund of the Socialist Party—contribute largely in order that Socialist speakers may be sent into every school district and to every precinct to carry the message of the class struggle—the message of freedom from exploitation to the tillers of the soil.

Organized labor in America has been on its back more than once during the past twenty-five years and received the hearty, vigorous and unstinted support of the Socialist party in getting on its feet.

Twenty odd years ago the anthracite miners went on strike with a poor organization and they would have been whipped to a standstill had it not been for the Socialist party.

The Socialist press, Socialist speakers, and the late William Mailly, national secretary of the Socialist party, did magnificent work, everywhere and continually, in creating public sentiment favorable to the miners and in urging financial support to the strikers. So vigorous was the work done by the Socialists that President Roosevelt was forced to step in and end the strike.

John Mitchell got all the praise and little thanks the Socialist party received from Mitchell and crew; but the Socialist party was true to the working class and helped give victory to the coal diggers in a struggle that put the United Mine Workers of America on its feet.

When the Citizens Alliance carried on their lawlessness and reign of terror in Colorado, dynamiting union halls and co-operative stores, deporting union men in an attempt to destroy organized labor, the Socialist party and press took up the fight, published the truth to the world and saved the day for organized labor.

It was the Socialist party and press that put an end to the bull pens of Idaho.

Everywhere in the past twenty-five years, when organized labor was on its back, and at the mercy of the capitalists, it was the Socialist party and press that helped labor to get back on its feet.

It was the great free advertising given by the Socialist press, including—at that time—over two hundred and fifty newspapers in the English language alone, urging the Socialists and other workers to join the unions of their calling that gave the big boost in membership to the A. F. of L.

At present the powerful Socialist press has almost disappeared. The Appeal to Reason with its immense circulation is no more; the Socialist party is weak; active Socialists have been persecuted.

At present organized labor west of the Mississippi is on its back overwhelmed by five years of continual fighting, and try as they may the labor leaders of the country cannot reorganize their forces or stave off the wave that is overwhelming the unions.

The labor unions need the help of the Socialist party and press to get back on their feet and fight the encroachments that are being made on the conditions that organized labor had secured for the workers.

The Socialist party can, by a vigorous campaign, relieve the situation for organized labor, but to do this the Socialist party must have a sustaining fund and it is up to every member of organized labor to contribute liberally and get his fellow union members to do likewise.

The Socialist party has been and will continue to be a strong ally to organized labor.

CLASSES, CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS, AND PROPERTY

In the interesting days that are ahead of us in the United States, we may have occasion to make use of testimony like the following; we may even now find it interesting, perhaps instructive. Readers would be doing a fine kindness to send similar quotations to the Socialist World. Why not let the high and mighty speak for us occasionally?

“The fact is that private property in the United States in spite of all the dangers of unintelligent legislation is *constitutionally* in a stronger position as against the government and governmental authority, than is the case in any country in Europe..... In the United States..... property in the modern sense represents the basis on which the whole social order was established..... It so happened that they (the delegates in the Constitutional Convention, 1787) incorporated into the Constitution itself certain *very extraordinary immunities to the property holders as a body.*” *Hadley: New York Independent, April, 1908.*

INCENTIVE IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

By Warren Atkinson

The Problem: 1. To provide men of selfish motives as well as men of high ideals with the right incentives and the right opportunities to make them most useful to society.

2. To provide that efficient organization of industry and efficient direction of labor, with full justice in remuneration to the individual, which is impossible while private ownership remains in the means of collective or social production.

3. To stimulate private enterprise by freeing it from risks and burdens artificially created and from exploitation by monopolies and money lenders.

4. To retain all of the advantages which have been discovered in the capitalistic mode of production where these are not part or consequence of the exploitation of the workers which it is our supreme purpose to abolish.

5. To make individual liberty and equality of opportunity real.

It is the aim of the Socialist Party to *conserve* our individual, political, and religious liberties established by the American revolution. Political rights and liberties without economic security are a delusion and a sham. That the powers of government should be used to defend an economic system which denies our right to access to the natural resources and industrial equipment and denies thousands their opportunity and their right to earn a decent and honest living is an outrage upon American ideals and traditions.

It is the aim of the Socialist Party to *conserve* all the good that has been gained in the institutions established under the capitalist system, and to accomplish the transition with the least commotion and the least hardship to individuals, including the capitalists, which is consistent with a due recognition of the injustice the present system inflicts upon the workers.

The socialist program is therefore a thoroughly conservative program. It is moreover the only constructive plan which has been suggested. Ask the self-appointed guardians of public morals and the spokesmen of the other political parties what hope they have in the future and what vision of a better social order; and they will answer nothing at all, retreating adroitly under a cloud of words. For the evils of the present system, which they all eloquently denounce, they have no alternative. Their vision of the future is a magnified capitalism in which they will be industrial dukes; the workers will be factory slaves reduced to the dead level of mediocrity and

monotony varied occasionally by wars and industrial depression.

The socialist program is the most conservative proposition imaginable: that the workers themselves shall provide the performance of the functions now wholly left to the capitalists and used by the capitalists to exploit the workers. Meanwhile laws written to restrain the capitalists are mere scraps of paper. The Socialist Party urges the workers to organize themselves to retain or regain their ownership of their industrial equipment and to use the existing political institutions for the purpose for which they were intended, namely, the business of all of the people.

The reader will find it impossible to point to any declaration by a socialist party dealing with a method of determining remuneration under socialism. There is no suggestion of any change whatever in the principle or method of determining the pay for different kinds of work. In fact, there is no declaration of any kind relating to the subject which has any sort of official sanction. Yet the reader's mind probably retains a very positive impression that the socialists aim at serious and revolutionary experiments in the methods of remuneration and of distribution of goods. If he can still trace them to their origin, the reader will find that they are from two sources. There were mis-statements propagated by persons who are willing to believe socialism impracticable, because they have a very real material interest in making it so. They understand that nothing else could more surely make socialism impracticable than the attempt to give equal pay for all kinds of work. They are willing to help others believe that or any other nonsense about socialism. The other source of this mental impression was the unsound speculations of generous idealists who were recognized champions of the socialist movement. Some of these idealists readily mistook their dreams to be consistent with and a part of the logical future development of socialism, and they naturally lead others to think so. They began with agreeable speculations about what might be possible in an indefinitely distant utopia and passed imperceptibly to proposition for immediate application in the wholly different conditions of our every-day life. In so doing they create a very real doubt of the practicability of our whole program.

We are not here concerned with the problem of providing Earnest Shackleton with an incentive to explore the South Pole, or Shakespeare with an in-

centive to write his plays, or Faraday with an incentive to teach us the wonders of modern science, or Eugene Debs with an incentive to agitate for a better industrial order. These men have tasted by experience the meaning of the admonition, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." There will be such men in any industrial system. They present no special problem. Without ostentatious professions they will remain, in practice, Christian communists, giving to the community from the abundance with which they have been endowed and reckoning no reward. Besides these there are millions of ordinary men and women imbued with the same spirit of service. Some of them are likewise gifted but denied by an insane economic system the opportunities to develop and display their gifts. They would be too proud to accept from society the value of a penny which they do not earn. To a community of such individuals the practice of communism is conceivably possible.

On remuneration and private enterprise in an industrial democracy, the Socialist Party takes a perfectly conservative position. To the question, how could the pay for different kinds of work be determined, the answer is simply *just as it is determined now*, by the ordinary action of supply and demand. This cannot be opposed on the ground that it is impracticable; but it must meet the very earnest opposition of communists and people who believe that the cause of our monstrous social inequalities is in competition and the action of the law of supply and demand. They assume that if the method of fixing the remuneration remains the same, the pay and the conditions of work will remain the same. The action of supply and demand is the social process by which the pay for every kind of work is finally adjusted; but it is not the cause of low pay and the exploitation of the workers. The law of supply and demand will continue in operation in any system, though it may be temporarily ignored or set aside; observe Russia in the first years of communist rule. It is not the basis of the power to exploit, nor is it the cause of low wages and hard times. The power to exploit the workers is inherent in the private ownership of their industrial equipment, in private monopoly of the business organization, tools, and resources without which they cannot work. This enables the owners to stop production at the point where it ceases to be profitable to them and thus artificially to diminish the demand for labor. Under this system the demand for labor can never be more than a small fraction of what the demand would be if the workers had the price to purchase and could consume what they earn.

When collective ownership is substituted for private ownership of the means of collective pro-

duction, employment will no longer be limited to the opportunities for private profit. Every commodity devised to gratify human desires will be produced in greatly increased quantity, if people want it enough to do the labor equivalent to its production. Then the demand for labor will be just as great as our desires for the good things that labor produces. By this greatly increased demand for labor the pay of every worker will be adjusted upward automatically until he can purchase a share of the whole product of labor the same as his share of the labor. But this cannot be until those who take no part in the labor claim no share of the product. To cut off the incomes paid to the owners of the resources and machinery for production, that is, their power to exploit labor by restricting the opportunities of employment, will certainly not be possible so long as they maintain their private ownership of them.

Socialism does not involve equality of pay, nor does it aim at an arbitrarily enforced social equality. Through equality of opportunity and the development of cooperative industry, with machinery under collective control, our monstrous social inequalities will be outgrown. Socialists are the only consistent defenders of private property. Socialism does not attack private enterprise. It is our only concern to abolish exploitation of labor. By purchasing labor-power in an artificially restricted market where the supply must always be greatly in excess of the demand for labor, the capitalist accomplishes his purely selfish purpose of getting the surplus value labor creates in excess of its wages. Private enterprise of individuals or societies, under conditions that would safeguard us against exploitation, could be safely encouraged even in the development of natural resources outside the collective control. There should be no compulsion upon individuals to submit to government employ if they are not induced to do so by the greater reward due to the increased efficiency of cooperative over individual labor. The problem of remuneration under socialism is easily disposed of. The relative pay for different kinds of work must be determined, just as it is now, automatically by the action of supply and demand. But the remuneration determined in this way cannot be just so long as capitalists retain any power to check production and restrict the demand for labor. The remuneration determined in this way will not be just until everyone is free to choose any occupation in which he can fulfill the requirements, and the conditions of all occupations are made public. Accordingly the largest pay would be offered in those occupations which are most needed and hardest to attain to. At the same time one would be free to choose any occupation for the pleasure or improvement of it without regard to his services to the com-

munity if he accepts the pay that represents the value of his work. Under the action of the greatly increased demand for labor, each worker would receive greatly increased compensation representing a share of the whole product of labor the same as his share of the labor. If in the industrial republic, there shall be a decline in the demand for labor,

it will be because the desires of the laborers, being appeased by plenty, their demands decrease in the same proportion; being satisfied, they will rest in contentment from their labors, when new and greater desires will be born in the human imagination, opening new fields to conquer and tempting us to the greater and nobler attainments.

HOW MUCH SHALL BE DONE?

We shall be able to go far and go fast in the upbuilding of the Socialist party with the Organization Funds from the Jewish Daily *Forward*. But there must be a strategic use of this organization fund. To use it up without planning for the future work would be hopelessly inefficient management, and the consequent disappointment would be disastrous. This fund must be built larger, steadily and rapidly larger as an Organization Maintenance Fund. You have a right to expect that this will be done. And have we not a right to expect that you will help in doing this? Think it over and let's stand together.

The new organization plans have already produced confidence, not only confidence but co-operation in courage and cash. One local branch in Milwaukee sends \$20.00 for this Organization Maintenance Fund and a lively expression of enthusiasm for the new plans. Local Bronx, New York City, delightedly pledges "to raise at least \$100.00 to be added to the Organization Maintenance Fund.

The New Jersey State Committee, a live-wire bunch, has sent in \$200.00 in cash for this Fund—and comradely good wishes. They have the vision and the loyalty.

West Hoboken, New Jersey, English Branch sends \$15.00 out of a total treasury fund of \$25.00; and Secretary Robert Leeman adds: "A special meeting has been called at which the matter of personal contributions from comrades and sympathisers will be taken up. I should like to have you inform me in about two weeks what the response has been from New Jersey, so that I can shake up the delinquent branches.....".

When you read this consider the matter of contributing and having your organization contribute to this Organization Maintenance Fund.

How much shall be done? How far shall we go?

Here is the pledge of the National Office: Every dollar sent as contribution to the organization fund will be kept in a strictly separate fund and this fund will be used for no other work whatever than the upbuilding of the Socialist organization according to the plans adopted recently by the National Ex-

ecutive Committee and explained in the press,—exclusively and carefully for Organization.

How much such work do you want done? If you say so, we can keep the new organization work going for years, with rapidly multiplying strength every month. It is important to do now what you want others to do—so that we may all feel the tremendous advantage of rapidly increasing power of confidence that *this work is sure to go forward long and vigorously*.

Comrades, come across with the right sort of spirit and practical co-operation, and we shall have fifteen District Organizers in the field before January. What do you say?

A CALL FOR ORGANIZERS

The National Executive Secretary must immediately place before the National Executive Committee the names of comrades who wish to be considered as candidates for employment as District Organizers on the new organization program. The new organization plans call for the continuous activity of several District Organizers. It is hoped that with the new force of organizers in the field the Organization Maintenance Fund will be rapidly supplemented with additional funds, making it practicable to increase the number of District Organizers in the field.

Candidates submitting their names, to be considered for appointment, will please send their applications immediately with credentials, summary of experience and references, to the National Office. Full information as to the plan of work, nature of District Organizer's work, and remuneration, will be sent immediately on request. There is need of quick action.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF YOUTH IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

By George R. Kirkpatrick

When youth loses interest for us we begin to die. Our blood thins and fades. Our brain, so to speak, begins to turn to bone.

When the play, hopes, plans, joys, zest and thrilling enthusiasms of youth seem foolishness to us, a paralysis is creeping over us. Many years may pass before we are tearfully or cheerfully "laid away," but already our soul's vision is blurred, life is losing its edge for us; we are dying really. Quietly we are creeping into our intellectual coffins to curl up and quit—quit growing.

We are then approaching our old bone age. The flowers of May are gone and the winds of bleak December sweep thru our souls.

You have of course heard and read the phrase, "the Old Stone Age." On his way up from the jungle to civilization man long ago reached a stage called the Old Stone Age, in which he used the crudest stone implements of work and war. This Old Stone Age has had almost too much attention by all of us in the Socialist movement who are not already hopelessly set in our own old bone age, too stiffened to change our minds, too thoughtless to greet with glad gratitude the youths of our Young People's Socialist League.

The rushing readiness of youth, the high courage of red-blooded youth, the open-mindedness of youth, youth's high eagerness to know, to learn, do, achieve, help, and take up the lofty tasks of life as a beautiful adventure—all these charge youth with power as co-operators in the great concerted activities for revolutionary social change; and it is almost fatal to forget, neglect or overlook this matter.

Here let us set down some facts suggestive of the vast importance of our Young People's League, facts, scientific findings taken from a truly remarkable book, a book upon which the profound and brilliant author worked much for seventeen years, *The Principles of Sociology*, by Professor Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Ross:

"At my suggestion Dr. E. B. Gowin now professor in New York University reviewed modern history in order to compare epochs of reform and epochs of quiet with respect to their leaders. He found that in ten historical periods of reform or revolution the average age of the dozen leading men in each varied from 32 to 46 years. On the other hand, the average age of their chief opponents or of the leaders in the quiet periods varied from 54 to

66 years. In general the champions of change were from 15 to 20 years younger than the champions of opposition to change.

"The long established becomes the Ark of the Covenant we fear to lay hands on lest we meet the fate of Uzzah. Perhaps our forefathers fought and bled for it. It has inspired heroic deeds, noble poetry and eloquence. We can not imagine that a thing so cherished has become a stumbling block and a nuisance..... The assumption that what once worked well continues to work well implies a static notion of society.

"What can be done to save society from burdensome accumulations of effete customs and institutions?

"For one thing retire the old earlier and commit the helm to younger men. How foolish it is to suppose that only the gray-heads can preserve society whereas the young would run it on the rocks. A group of 55 persons averaging less than 30 years of age abolished the shogunate of Japan in 1867 and turned the face of Nippon toward the rising sun. We should be better off, no doubt, were the majority of those in society's key positions below fifty rather than above it.....

"Most of us are mentally lazy..... In truth very few care enough for social progress to embrace it in their plans or to make sacrifices for it. They are glad to have it if it can be had at somebody else's expense. The true attitude of these shouters for progress is revealed when one proposes concrete change affecting their religion, politics or customs. From their shocked resistance one will perceive that all the time they have been conservatives without realizing it.

"Even strong minds, highly educated men, tend to abide in their earlier judgments or to retain the emotional attitude of their youth. If then the control of affairs is in the hands of the old, the effete thing will longer escape notice and be longer tolerated than if young men be at the helm. If education falls out of step with life, if knowledge grows beyond the creeds, if laws fail to keep up with the development of social relations, the unprejudiced young will realize it first and will demand changes which the old can see no reason for.

"In general, after a social practice or institution has existed for a generation or two, it is off its original basis of sound reason and will be retained even in a situation so changed that it has no justification

whatever. The first users scanning with cold and critical eye will modify or abandon it if it does not suit their purpose. But after it has been taken over and worked by a later generation which has feelings about it, it loses its plasticity, turns to bone, as it were. The process then by which social institutions and arrangements lose adaptability and harden into rigid forms may be called ossification."

Can you change your mind—easily—on a matter of great importance, and long familiar to you? You are fortunate and exceptional if you can.

In religion most people do not want facts that will enable them to review and revise their conclusions. They much prefer to find data that support and re-enforce what they already believe. It is just so in politics and economics, especially with people past 35 and 40 years of age. There are glorious exceptions. But the psychological law here applying is the law of habit. A habit is an increasing tendency and power to repeat an intellectual or physical act with a diminishing amount of conscious direction.

You are fortunate, if you are past 40 and are still perfectly willing to revise your views, eager to revise your conclusions in the light of the latest reliable findings. You have found the fountain of youth; that is, you have found the advantage and pleasure of continuous intellectual growth right on thru the years.

Thinking new thoughts is hard work. That probably is why there is so little thinking done. It is easier to think an old thought than it is to think a new one; easier to rehash an old argument than it is to build up a strong new one; easier to bend to a custom than to attack it. It is thus especially with most of us who are past 40 years of age. It is easier to keep up an old alliance than to break up an old one and form a new one. This surely is true of us who are past 40 years of age.

But youth does not thus suffer from the 'old bone' inhibition of habit. Each generation of youth comes upon the stage of life with fresh enthusiasm, no stiffly formulated views and rigid beliefs—open-minded, facing a world now every year vastly enriched by the swift-rushing progress of science.

However, as Dr. Ross points out, the sincere, suitable and willing workers for a new movement are scarce, till the movement is powerful and popular. Courage is a rare jewel in human progress.

Now, no more mountainous rock of rigid custom and stony institutionalism ever reared its long, high ridges of flint across the path of human progress, than the thing called capitalism. Few there be who are prepared, willing and eager — even asking for opportunity — to help clear away this huge obstruction in the way of advancing man-

kind. In these circumstances the Young People's Socialist League is a real comfort, a genuine inspiration, to those of us now growing old in the Socialist movement.

Comrades, we should seek opportunities and make opportunities to meet and greet and help our Young People's Socialist Leaguers. Heaven preserve us from the dull cynicism of ungenerous criticism of our Y.P.S.L. Rather, let us generously co-operate with them to fill their ranks and gladly welcome them to our ranks as the enthusiastic, warm-blooded, energetic, invaluable co-operators that they are.

The National Secretary is Arne J. Parker, 23 Townsend Street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Let us write him in grateful recognition of the work he and his gallant helpers strive to do. Write him, offering help in your community. Stretch forth your right hand of comradeship to the beautiful fellowship of sacred youth,—youth mentally uninhibited by the heavy crusts of capitalist thought and custom, youth unsoured and unsullied, youth with high zeal and holy intentions, youth charming with intellectual generosity, youth fascinating because of the songs it will sing and the loves and joys it will have in the New Time, coming when our flesh is dust and our voices are forever stilled.

We salute our Young People, our loyal co-operators, who are happy in the thought of service in a world of cheated, blinded slaves. Radiant they are, our Young People, in their love of mankind, ennobled thru their sublime vision of a world set free; truly splendid they are in the beautiful courage of their conviction unhindered by the paralysis of indifference and prejudice,—our proud Young People fearlessly claiming their right to lives worth while in a world redeemed from the galling yoke of tyranny.

On Party Building

By Judge Jacob Panken

The Socialist movement is confronted with important problems and with very fine opportunities. The abandonment on the part of Labor, at least for the time being, of the idea of an independent Labor party places the Socialist Party in the position of going forward as the only political expression of Labor's cause. It will not serve any purpose, in this article, to discuss the whys and wherefores of the policies of the party in the recent few months.

The enthusiasm upon which our party lived must be revived. The apparent swing to more radical political views by Labor needs crystalization and organization.

It is peculiar, but true, that in any attempt to

solve a problem, the most circuitous road is usually sought and employed. The open road ahead is not seen; the obvious is overlooked. Put a searching mind to solve any question, and it will go in quest of something that others cannot see. I believe that most people will attempt to find their solutions of problems in the unstaked and unfrequented road.

What we really need is a simple plan of action. The Socialist Party, to perform its duties to the Cause, carry on propaganda, education, political campaigns and organization work, needs a large membership.

Two Kinds of Recruits

There are two general sources from which the party can recruit its membership: the Trades Unionists and the enrolled Socialist voters. The most likely source is the body of enrolled Socialist voters. There are upward of 50,000 such enrolled Socialists in the city of New York alone.

In outlining my plan let me take a concrete case. In New York County there are a little more than 14,000 enrolled Socialist voters. They are not potential Socialists; they actually are Socialists. They have so declared themselves. Of course, a Socialist is not one in the true sense of the word until he is an active member of the organized Socialist movement. But these thousands have openly avowed their adherence to the Socialist cause.

Many thousands of the enrolled voters, I am sure, can be drawn into the party organization. The only question is, how? The simplest method, it seems to me, is the best.

There are, I am told, in New York County at least 1,000 in good standing in the party. These are scattered all over the county. Divide the 14,000 enrolled Socialists among the 1,000 Socialist Party members and you will find that there are fourteen enrolled Socialists to each party member. Every party member should be willing to have assigned to him fourteen enrolled Socialist voters. It should be obligatory with membership to take the assignment. That means that each party member will look after fourteen enrolled Socialists, get acquainted with them, make friends of them if possible, get on a personal basis with them. In a word, be answerable to the party for the enrolled Socialists assigned to him.

Classifying Prospects

A card index would indicate the progress made and act as a check on the efforts necessary to bring these enrolled Socialists into close contact with the Socialist movement.

It would be quite easy for each of us to prepare our index cards, if the county office were unable to do that. These index cards may be for each en-

rolled Socialist or for each member as the plan in its working out requires. With reports on the work made at stated times, plans for the ultimate recruiting of these enrolled Socialists could be evolved and brought to fruition.

The branch and the city organizers should keep in touch with the members on this question and call for these reports if there be any lagging.

It seems to me that this plan is not only simple but absolutely workable with little effort. It will distribute the duties among all. What is more, it gives each of us a job, a job that none of us cannot perform or should escape.

Course Lectures Necessary

In connection with this plan the following should be considered. Instead of the haphazard lectures, unrelated to one another, planless, as they are being carried on now, courses should be organized and given consecutively by one lecturer.

These courses may be repeated in different parts of the city. In a city like New York it is quite possible to run several courses. We would need several lecturers. That can be done in cooperation with the Rand School.

I believe that these lecture courses can be made to be self-sustaining. Even if the price is put as low as one dollar for a course of eight lectures, they can be made to pay, if the enrolled voters, through the efforts of the comrades, are drawn to the lectures. If only a few of the fourteen in charge are induced to attend our finances are taken care of.

The work must dovetail. It must be systematized. Every effort must coordinate with other efforts.

A plan such as this will have a double purpose. It will add members to the Socialist Party and fit them for the Socialist activities they are gifted for.

Winter Forums

I realize there are other and better suggestions, but they involve financial burdens that are at this moment beyond the party. This plan will help the party financially with no outlay. It is a work that each man can and ought to undertake.

In addition we ought to plan for the winter public forums. In New York we should have at least four such forums centrally located. While the speakers should come from all walks of life, the forums should be stamped as Socialist institutions.

These few suggestions are not very ambitious, but I think they have the merit of not being involved. They are workable and can be carried out immediately. They give us our next job, definite and possible.

I admit they are not extraordinary. Add to these few suggestions the distribution of properly prepared

leaflets, including literature for trade unionists, or where possible personal contact, and we have a comprehensive plan that is workable.

I have taken New York as an example for this suggested work. With some modifications to suit local conditions it can be made effective everywhere.

MINUTES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Breslin Hotel, New York City,
April 28-29, 1925

Present: Victor L. Berger, Wis.; Leo M. Harkins, N. J.; Morris Hillquit, N. Y.; James H. Maurer, Pa.; George E. Roewer, Jr., Mass.; Joseph W. Sharts, Ohio; and Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman; Bertha Hale White, National Executive Secretary; George R. Kirkpatrick, Publicity Director.

Absent: John M. Collins, Ill., who had reported his inability to attend.

Meeting called to order by Comrade Debs at 10 o'clock.

It was moved and carried that Comrade Debs be requested to prepare and submit draft of a memorial to Marguerite Prevey.

Motion by Roewer: That Comrade Kirkpatrick be requested to prepare a May Day message and submit for approval of the committee. *Carried.*

Hillquit reported that as a result of the conference on April 23rd between Comrade Debs and the Board of Directors of the Forward Association a committee from the Forward would appear at the following day's session.

The Executive Secretary announced, as a special order of business, a conference between the National Executive Committee and the State Committee of New York for 10 o'clock Wednesday morning.

The following agenda was submitted by the Executive Secretary: Organization and Finance, Regional Conventions and Program, Publications, National Weekly, International Congress and election of delegates, Y.P.S.L., Communications.

Discussion of proposed plans for revising methods of field work.

Motion by Hillquit: That for organization purposes the territory be divided into districts and that the following comprise the first districts for consideration:

- District No. 1—New England States
- " " 2—New York, New Jersey
- " " 3—Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia

- " " 4—Ohio, Michigan
- " " 5—Wisconsin, Minnesota
- " " 6—Illinois, Indiana
- " " 7—Missouri, Iowa
- " " 8—California
- " " 9—Washington, Oregon
- " " 10—Oklahoma, Texas.

Adopted.

Motion by Hillquit: (1) That an organizing director be chosen, with headquarters in the National Office, whose duty it shall be to direct and co-ordinate the work of the district organizers and to take care of organization work within the states not included in the above list.

(2) The organizing director shall be elected by the National Executive Committee and shall work under the direction of the National Executive Secretary. *Carried.*

The following draft of a memorial to Marguerite Prevey was submitted by Chairman Debs:

"The sad and untimely death of our dearly beloved comrade, Marguerite Prevey, has brought profound sorrow to the many thousands of her comrades and admirers, and her passing is indeed an irreparable loss to the labor and Socialist movement. For many years this brave and dauntless comrade, though herself economically safe and comfortable, stood as champion of the working class and fought their battles in and out of season with a courage and fortitude never excelled in any struggle for human emancipation.

"Marguerite Prevey was by nature designed and fitted for leadership, richly dowered with all the qualities of head and heart, of soul and conscience for the commanding position she achieved in the labor movement, and which she held with unflinching fidelity and unflinching courage to the hour of her death.

"There is something touchingly pathetic and profoundly tragic in the taking off of this splendid woman, this loyal and intrepid leader, this valiant warrior in the social revolution, in the very prime of her beautiful, useful and inspiring life, and in common with the countless thousands who were moved

by her eloquence, thrilled by her heroic courage, and lifted up and inspired by her noble example, we mourn deeply at her sorrowful passing. We shall sadly miss her majestic personality, her glowing countenance, her cheering presence and her loving ministrations, and we shall forever cherish in all tenderness of affection and devotion the beautiful and inspiring memory she has left to the world.

"Marguerite Prevey had the rare vision, the lofty ideals, and the soulful, selfless spirit of the true Socialist.

"She delighted in service as heartily as she detested servility.

"There was no task, however impossible or forbidding to others, from which she would shrink in her sublime devotion to the cause. She was simple, sweet and unaffected as a child, yet had the high courage of the Spartan mother, and when danger threatened, whatever its nature, she was at the front to face it in the defense of the weak and oppressed, the exploited and helpless whose cause was her cause, whose sufferings she shared with all her great, tender heart, and for whom she lived and labored, dreamed and dared, and for whose sake she was reviled and persecuted, through all of which she smiled serenely without shadow of turning, to the last hour of her consecrated mission and her noble life.

"Marguerite Prevey was the very soul of honor and self-respect. No base or unworthy motive ever cast its shadow upon her lofty mind or her loving, tender heart. She was in very truth a grand woman, a commanding personality, and a notable figure in the historic struggle of her day for the liberation of the world's toilers from the ignorance, poverty and servitude of the ages, and for the lifting up of all mankind to a higher plane of freedom and happiness, to a nobler and diviner civilization.

"The beautiful, hospitable home of Marguerite Prevey will be lovingly and gratefully remembered as the unfailling refuge affording shelter and security to the weary and heavy-laden, the friendless and discouraged, the helpless and despairing, regardless of their creed or color, their race or nationality, for in her universal spirit she knew only human beings.

"Every mortal creature from the saintliest soul to the most wretched and abandoned sinner was sacred to her, and most of all she loved and ministered to those hapless, helpless victims—the flotsam and jetsam of the social sea—that needed her most of all.

"A great-hearted, high-souled woman, a most loyal and devoted friend, a staunch and ever-faithful comrade has gone to her rest and reward.

"We shall see no more her majestic figure, her radiant features, her eyes now flashing with celestial

fire and again beaming with the gentleness of a mother fondly caressing her first-born, but her lofty, triumphant spirit will abide with us for she was of the immortal few who were not born to die.

"Brave, beautiful, high-souled Comrade Marguerite, we pay to you the richly-deserved tribute of our love and our gratitude, our memory and our tears, and as we follow your trail of light up to the stars we join in voices tremulous with emotion, in everlasting Hail and Farewell!"

Memorial approved.

Adjourned at 1.00 P. M.

Afternoon Session, Tuesday, April 28, 1925.

Committee convened at 2:00 o'clock.

Present as before.

Motion by Hillquit: That the activity of the district organizers within their respective districts be arranged between the National Office and the respective state committees of the party. *Carried.*

Motion by Maurer: That the order in which the district organizers shall be appointed shall be determined by the National Executive Secretary in conjunction with the organizing director, with due regard to the available funds and the needs and promises of the districts. The factor that will determine the starting of this work shall be the spirit of the organization that shows the most disposition and ability to make good. *Carried.*

Regional Conventions

Motion by Hillquit: The primary purpose of the Regional Convention is to bring the members into vital touch with each other for the purpose of securing the expression of the rank and file of the party membership on the needs of the movement in their respective districts, and affording the membership an opportunity to consider and pass upon concrete methods of organization and party building.

"The National Office shall submit uniform plans and suggestions for the consideration of the district conventions.

"The Regional Convention shall discuss and act upon concrete methods of organization and party building within their respective territories on the basis of uniform plans to be prepared by the National Office. The respective district organizers shall take active part in the conventions and follow up and assist in carrying out the plans adopted at the conventions.

"The Regional Convention shall consist of members in good standing in the territory within their respective regions, each member being admitted as a delegate and having one vote in the convention; his membership card being the sole credential required and no charge of any kind shall be made for admission to such conventions. A member in good

standing is one who can produce a card bearing dues stamps showing he is in good standing.

"Every Regional Convention shall be followed by a mass demonstration at which reasonable admission fees shall be charged if possible.

"All expenses in connection with the preparation and arrangements of the conventions and mass demonstrations shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Secretary and shall be deducted from the income. The net proceeds of all income of the conventions, demonstrations or any other affairs held in connection with them shall be divided in equal parts between the National Office and the local organization and shall be used for organization purposes only." *Carried.*

The Executive Secretary reported work already done in the respective convention cities and the arrangements that had been made with local organizations.

National Weekly Paper

Motion by Hillquit: (1) That the National Office be instructed to make arrangements for the publication of the first issue of the National Socialist Weekly determined upon by the preceding party convention for the first day of January, 1926.

(2) That the paper shall consist of four pages devoted primarily to Socialist propaganda and organization work in behalf of the Socialist Party, with a subscription price of \$1.00 per year.

(3) That the National Office shall immediately print a sufficient supply of subscription cards, with the object of having the same sold at all the projected regional conventions and mass demonstrations, and at all other Socialist meetings and gatherings, and by all district and local organizers of the party, with the aim of securing 100,000 subscribers before the publication of the first issue.

(4) That Eugene V. Debs shall be the Editor-in-Chief of the paper.

(5) That the name of the weekly paper shall be *The American Appeal*. *Unanimously adopted.*

Each member of the committee paid for a year's subscription. Harkins of New Jersey pledged himself to secure 1,000 subscribers by January 1st, the date of first issue.

It was the sense of the committee that a separate fund must be established for all receipts on advance subscriptions, and the National Executive Secretary was instructed to establish such a separate fund, holding the receipts intact until actual publication shall be begun.

After careful consideration of organization expense, a budget was prepared providing for a monthly expenditure in the field of \$3,000 per month and an expenditure for staff and for rent for additional space at headquarters, literature, etc., of

\$1,000 per month, making a total for a year's work of 48,000.

Adjourned to meet at 9:30 A. M., Wednesday morning.

Morning Session, Wednesday, April 29, 1925

Meeting called to order by Chairman Debs.

Present as before.

The committee took up the financial report submitted by the Executive Secretary.

Motion by Roewer: That a provision be made for the purchase of inexpensive automobiles for the use of district organizers. *Carried.*

Motion by Hillquit: That the Executive Secretary be instructed to see what can be done to effect a settlement of the estate of John Blain of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and that the Secretary also be authorized to settle the claim with the contestants on any terms she may deem proper. *Carried.*

Minnesota

Motion by Sharts: Inasmuch as it is urgently necessary to build up the Socialist Party in Minnesota, and the Farmer-Labor Association has absorbed many individual Socialists, it is not deemed advisable to require applicants in order to join Socialist locals to sever their connection with the Farmer-Labor Association.

Motion by Roewer: To lay Minnesota question on the table until after the conference with the State Committee of New York. *Carried.*

Conference of National Executive Committee and State Committee of New York

Present: Herbert M. Merrill, State Secretary of New York; Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary of Connecticut; Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin, representing New Jersey; Joseph F. Viola, Local Kings County; Julius Gerber, Local New York; William Morris Feigenbaum.

General discussion on arrangements for the mass convention to be held in New York City, September 19-20.

Morris Hillquit was appointed as special representative of the Convention Arrangements Committee of Greater New York in all arrangements for the convention.

Special emphasis was placed upon the importance of getting names and addresses of all who attend the demonstration. It was suggested that admission tickets should have a coupon for this purpose.

New York committee withdraws.

Discussion on Sharts motion resumed. *Carried unanimously.*

Young People's Socialist League

The following recommendations were submitted

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman,
Terre Haute, Ind.

BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary,
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

MORRIS HILLQUIT, International Secretary,
19 West 44th St., New York City.

AARNE J. PARKER, National Director
Young People's Department,
23 Townsend St., Fitchburg, Mass.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Victor L. Berger, 980 First St., Milwaukee, Wis.
John M. Collins, 839 N. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Leo M. Harkins, 1325 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
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.

by Aarne J. Parker, National Director Young People's Department:

Recommendation A: That the National Executive Committee go on record as approving the location of the Young People's Department office in Fitchburg, Mass.

Motion by Roewer: To concur. *Carried.*

Recommendation B: That the National Executive Committee rule that the National Director of the Young People's Department shall represent the Youth movement of the Socialist Party of the United States in our international affiliations, such as corresponding secretary and delegate to the present Socialist Youth International.

Motion by Berger: To concur, with the understanding that no expense to the party be incurred by reason of such representation, unless specifically authorized by the National Executive Committee. *Carried.*

Recommendation C: That the N. E. C. submit an interpretation of the functions and structure of the Junior Y.P.S.L.

Motion by Berger: That the Executive Secretary be instructed to get full information from Comrade Novik of New York with regard to the functions and activities of the Junior section of the Y.P.S.L., and on the basis of such report submit recommendations to the National Executive Committee. *Carried.*

The committee approved publication of a pamphlet on the young people's work to be written by August Claessens.

Motion by Hillquit: That the Executive Secretary be authorized to make such terms as to compensation for services with Comrade Debs as she may deem just and reasonable. *Carried.*

Motion by Sharts: That the offer of Boni & Liveright be declined on the ground that Karsner's "Life of Debs" is not suitable for party purposes. *Carried.*

International Delegates

Motion made and carried that letters of introduction to European Socialists be issued by the Executive Secretary to well-known party members.

Hillquit read communications from European comrades for the information of the committee relative to exchange of speakers between the various countries.

Election of Delegates

Nominations: Berger, Hillquit, by Roewer; Maurer, Roewer, by Harkins.

The Executive Secretary submitted correspondence showing that Judge Jacob Panken will be in Europe at the time the Congress will be held.

Motion by Hillquit: That Comrade Panken be selected as an International delegate. *Carried.*

By motion, the five nominated were unanimously elected.

The expense to the National Organization of the Socialist Party for delegate expense was limited to two items totalling \$800.00.

Recess to confer with committee from the Daily Forward Association.

Hillquit submitted draft of plan and budget for organization work.

After expressing thorough approval of the plan and promising active co-operation in making it effective, B. Charney Vladeck, as spokesman for the committee, announced a cash appropriation from the Forward of \$15,000 and pledged that an additional \$10,000 would be raised by the Forward for putting the plan into effect.

Motion by Harkins: That the generous proposal by the Forward committee be unanimously accepted by the National Executive Committee. *Carried.*

Motion by Maurer: That the salary of the Executive Secretary from May 1st be \$300.00 per month. *Carried.*

The Executive Secretary was instructed to print an edition of 5,000 copies of Oneal's pamphlet, "Labor in England and America."

Communications referred to the Executive Secretary to be handled in accordance with decisions of this meeting.

Adjourned, subject to call.

Bertha Hale White, Secretary.