

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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Two Important Dates

N. E. C. CALLS FOR MASS MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

NOVEMBER 7th, FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

In addition to the difficulties natural to their attempt to build a worker's government, the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution finds the Russian workers face to face with Famine.

The famine area covers a territory three hundred miles wide by eight hundred miles long with a population of twenty millions. It is about equal in area and population to the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri.

Unless the Famine is checked, it will be followed immediately by an outbreak of cholera, typhus, scurvy and other famine diseases of an epidemic character which will spread beyond the boundaries of the famine district and add additional millions to the death list.

The National Executive Committee has previously issued a call for contributions for RUSSIAN RELIEF which we now renew and call attention to the fact that winter is almost here and that relief contributions, to be most effective, should be made within the next few weeks.

The seventh of November offers a particularly favorable opportunity to combine propaganda for Socialism in this country with a celebration of the Revolution and the raising of funds for relief work.

The committee therefore calls upon all branches of the Socialist Party to arrange mass meetings on November 7th in celebration of the Russian Revolution and for the purpose of raising funds for starving Russia. The collectons at these meetings should be sent to the National Office immediately for the Russian Relief Fund.

In the name of Socialism which unites the workers of all races and all lands in the spirit of Brotherhood, every party member and sympathizer is called upon to contribute for the relief of our starving brothers in stricken Russia. . . .

Dedicate November 7th to the work of Russian Relief.

NOVEMBER 11th, THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE ARMISTICE.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon the Local organizations to hold mass meetings on November 11th to voice their opposition to war and to armaments.

The delegates to the Limitation of Armaments Conference which meets in Washington on that date represent the capitalists, the armament manufacturers, the profiteers, the professional soldiers and professional diplomats who have brought the world to the verge of ruin.

They do not come to prevent future wars. They come to advance the interest of their ruling classes. If their present interests can be advanced by a limitation of armaments, they will favor such limitation for the present. If, in another year their interests will be advanced by plunging the world into just such another war as was ended by the armistice, they will be in favor of the plunge.

They are not opposed on principle to armaments or to war. They are seeking temporary relief from the unbearable burdens which their principles and policies have created, without in any way abandoning those principles.

The common peoples of the world will not be represented. The common people of the United States will not be represented. Our only means of voicing our opinions is through mass meetings of protest and demand.

We are opposed to war. We are opposed to armaments as a means of war. We are opposed to armaments as a cause of war.

We demand that the American government abandon its imperialistic military and naval programs with or without the consent of other nations. We demand that it abandon its policy of imperialism which makes future wars a certainty and armaments a necessity.

We want no more wars for democracy. We want no more wars to end war. We want no more armaments and no more war.

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST PARTY.**

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

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

Of The Socialist World, published monthly, at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1, 1921.
State of Illinois
County of Cook

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

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher: Socialist Party of the United States, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.
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2. That the owners are:
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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: NONE.

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

OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Editor
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1921.

(SEAL) SWAN M. JOHNSON,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires April 29th, 1923.)

A LIVELY CORPSE.

Replying to the title of the article by Comrade Martin of the Automobile Workers, "Is the Socialist Party Dead" we'll tell the world that it is not.

It is true that the party has been sick unto death from the poison of sabotage and treachery insidiously administered by the traitors within our own household. In our weakened condition it was a difficult task to throw them out even when the full extent of their treachery was known, and the exertion still further taxed our waning strength. To counteract the poison and rebuild the live and healthy tissues of a militant organization is necessarily a slow and painful process.

Nevertheless our recovery has commenced, we are convalescent and a few more months will

see us back to normal health and the normal activities of a revolutionary, socialist party.

Our illness was an acute case of the Infantile Sickness of Leftism and was caused by the poison injected by the communist members and sympathizers within the party. The crisis was reached at the Detroit convention and left us out of danger but in a terribly weakened condition for the month of July immediately following. Then the recovery commenced, it has been a slow but steady improvement from week to week and month to month and the party is to be congratulated upon the fact that it is on the road to complete recovery of its health and powers.

The dues-paying membership and the sale of propaganda literature by the national office is the best index of the party's condition and the record for the past six months shows the progress of our disease to its crisis in July and the commencement of our recovery.

	MEMBERSHIP	LITERATURE SALE
April	18,300	\$284.85
May	9,969	115.22
June	11,855	431.74
July	5,996	151.55
August	11,418	228.80
September	13,096	380.15

The receipts for the first half of this month indicate that both the membership and literature sales will show another decided increase for October.

As shown by the above table the increase in membership has been steady since July in spite of the much heralded secession of the Bohemian Federation in August and the Jewish Federation in September. The secession of the communist elements in the Jewish Federation shows the effect that getting rid of them has upon the organization.

The loyal branches of the Federation were reorganized as the Jewish Socialist Alliance on September 6th but the new officials were not installed and furnished with dues-stamps and other necessary supplies until the 15th. Despite the fact that there were only two weeks remaining, the dues stamps sold by the Alliance in September numbered more than had been sold by the Federation in any month since May. The record follows:

	JEWISH MEMBERSHIP
	Federation Alliance
June	377
July	150
August	335
Sept. 1/2 month —	551

That is what the loss of the "salary" in the Jewish Federation meant to the Socialist Party.

When every Federation, state, county and branch organization rids itself of any communist sympathizers who may still retain their membership, the recovery of the party will be still more rapid and complete.

In the meantime we are glad to announce to the Department of Justice, the American Legion, the Chambers of Commerce, the Workers' Council and all other agencies of American Capitalism that the Socialist Party is not dead.

Meyer London Continues Fight for Unemployed

Washington, Oct. 20. — Warning the American Congress that the existence of an unemployed army of 6,000,000 is a menace which the old political parties would do well to ponder over, Socialist Representative Meyer London, for the fifth time conducted a single fight to get Congress to take up the unemployment problem when he broke into a tariff discussion in the House today.

Neither protection nor free trade, but the misery and suffering which 6,000,000 idle workers and their dependents are suffering, are the things with which Congress ought to concern itself, the Socialist Congressman declared, in the course of his appeal that either his suggestions or any other suggestions that the old party representative can make be taken up in the hope of coping with the unemployment problem.

"We can and must take up the problem," London declared, "whether by reducing hours of labor, whether it be by extending loans to cooperative societies and labor organizations, whether it be by forming government corporations in which workers will have a voice in the management, but something must be done. I have suggested remedies in my previous addresses and resolutions dealing with the subject. I am suggesting no panacea. I ask you to help solve the problem. Have you anything better to offer? Come out with it."

London portrayed the suffering being visited upon 25,000,000 people who are affected by the unemployment situation. He told of deaths due to starvation, of the starvation of the ex-service men, some of them had been decorated a half dozen times for valor in the recent world war.

The Republican Administration was held responsible for the situation by the Socialist Congressman. The accomplishment of the special session of Congress, he said, was to increase the number of unemployed from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000.

The President's unemployment conference failed to accomplish anything of value to the idle, London said.

"The President's unemployment conference," he said, "at which he got together the leaders of industry and of helpless labor, under the clever management of that great diplomat, Hoover, has brought no results. His diplomacy consisted in reaching an unanimous agreement on unessential things and adjourning the conference when important and vital matters came up. All decisions were unanimous. They all agreed that this was the year 1921; that it was October; they all agreed that the weather was rather fine, and then adjourned. Not a thing of value has been done for the great mass of workers.

"Where is Congress?" London asked. "I have heard during the last four hours of this tariff debate talk about twelve cents, 18 cents, 87 cents for cattle, wheat, for peanuts, money, dollars, cents. You are evidently occupying your minds with developing trade and getting certain

prices for certain articles for certain of your constituents.

"What about the problem of getting a living wage for millions who work; what about that? What about helping to increase the opportunities of employment for the jobless?"

"Oh, Congress has not been accustomed to deal with these problems. But, gentlemen, we are living in extraordinary times. The world today is not what it was 10 or 15 years ago. With the assertion by the great industrial masses of the right to live, with the assertion by the worker of his inherent right to live by work, a new interpretation of the principle of liberty has come into vogue. All freedom is worth nothing; all liberty is meaningless unless it means the liberty to earn a livelihood by honest toil, and where there is a denial of the right to work there is no liberty.

"Where millions of men are not allowed to work there is no democracy."

Referring to the discussion of protection and free trade, London pointed out that it is 100 years old, but that every student of economics and history knows that there is unemployment in countries highly protected and in countries where there is free trade.

"During the war I asked for the appointment of a commission to study the problem of unemployment," London declared. "I wanted the country to prepare for the contingency which would come with the demobilization of the Army, to prepare for the day when 4,000,000 men would be brought back from the trenches and the camps. But I was the only one that urged that. I happen to be a Socialist, and the voice of the Socialist is a voice in the wilderness. All my arguments were based upon incontrovertible facts and everything that has occurred since has justified my warning."

Replying to a question put to him by Representative Black of Texas, in which it was intimated that the workers profited, London quoted statistics recently made available showing that real wages, the wages that must be considered in connection with the cost of the necessities of life, had decreased instead of increased.

Two resolutions on unemployment introduced by Mr. London since the special session of Congress convened are now before the Rules Committee. One of them provides for an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to relieve distress caused by involuntary unemployment and another enumerates a series of proposals which a special commission would be called upon to consider and adopt as steps towards furnishing employment.

A hearing on the resolution appropriating \$500,000,000 was promised before the President issued his plan for an unemployment conference, but was not urged in the hope that concrete suggestions would emanate from the President's conference. Plans are now being formulated by Representative London for another effort to obtain a hearing on his resolution.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

From the National Socialist Weekly — The New Day.

Socialism stands for a new civilization.

It is a world wide movement of the working class and its sympathizers for better food, better clothing, better homes, more education and culture—in short, a more abundant life.

Socialism starts out with two terrific propositions, to wit:

1. All men are brothers, not merely brothers in name, but brothers in fact, with a common blood, common interests, common cause. **THE WELFARE OF ONE OF US IS THE BROTHERLY CONCERN OF ALL OF US**, and being brethren, all war and strife and hatred should cease.

2. The things that men need in common should be owned in common and supplied for the Common Good, not for private profit.

With these ideas in mind the Socialists make some very definite, constructive proposals:

In the political field we demand the rule of the people, i. e., democracy.

In the economic field we demand the public ownership and operation of public utilities.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS

Broadly speaking it means:

First: That the means of production and distribution of wealth which are social and public in nature should be publicly owned. This would include the coal, oil and iron lands, the rivers, forests and other natural resources. It would also include all the great public utilities such as railroads, telegraph, express companies, and, in short, all the great trusts and monopolies.

Second: That all social utilities, being collectively owned, shall be under democratic control for the benefit of all who work, in order that profit-making, whereby one person exploits another, shall be abolished.

Third: That all who are able shall be given opportunity to labor in the collectively owned industries and each shall receive the full product of his toil.

Fourth: That each shall have for his own private property all that his labor earns of food and clothing, shelter, house and home—books, music, education, recreation and culture.

Fifth: That the government, municipal, state and national, shall be made truly democratic so that the will and wish of the people may be the law of the land. This will be accomplished by means of the initiative, referendum, recall and other measures making for popular government.

WHAT THE AUTHORITIES SAY

Against these simple, straightforward proposals of Socialism there has been let loose a flood of misrepresentation. It is said to be anarchy, atheism, free love, "divide up" and a lot of other stupid and impossible things.

No intelligent person holds these views; and any one who would take the pains to turn to an

ordinary dictionary or encyclopedia would soon learn differently.

We quote a few of the recognized authorities:

1. "Socialism: A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations than that which has hitherto prevailed." — Webster's Dictionary.

2. "A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry."—Worcester's Dictionary.

3. The Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of Socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them."

4. The Standard Dictionary defines Socialism as: "A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries."

5. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his power. It is applied Christianity—the golden rule applied to every day life."—Prof. Richard E. Ely.

You are often told that Socialism would destroy property, abolish private ownership or divide up the wealth of the world. As a matter of fact Socialists have no more idea of abolishing property than they do of abolishing life. They have no more idea of dividing up the world's wealth and sharing it than they have of cutting up their own bodies. Our idea is that private monopoly in the great resources of life means wealth for the few—and toil, hardship and misery for the many. We propose therefore that the public utilities shall be owned by all in order that all may be secured in the possession of the private property which their labor earns.

WHAT PRIVATE MONOPOLY DOES TO US

We shall observe how the trusts are constantly advancing the cost of living.

The owners of these trusts and monopolies virtually decide how much we shall pay for our bread and our meat, how much for our kerosene and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our food, clothing, houses, etc.

They also decide what wages we shall receive and the conditions of our labor. In other words, the trusts decide how well or how poorly we are to live, or whether we live at all or not.

WAGE WORKERS NOT THE ONLY SUFFERERS

And the wage workers are by no means the only ones who suffer from these conditions.

With every increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class

is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist. Our teachers, professors, speakers, newspaper editors, and writers, and even ministers, doctors, and all professional men are more and more at the mercy of the capitalist system, and brought into dependence to it.

OTHER PARTIES OFFER NO REMEDY

These conditions are before our eyes.

And what remedy do the political parties bring the people?

Parties, like individuals, act from motives of self-interest.

Now the old parties are owned by the capitalists. The Republican party by the big capitalists; the Democratic party by the small capitalists, and the Progressive party by the "reform" capitalists who are dissatisfied with the way the other capitalists are managing capitalism.

But they are all capitalist parties. They all stand for capitalism—for the private ownership and operation of the monopolies and the trusts.

There is only one party that offers a real remedy; that stands against capitalism and for the public ownership and democratic control of the great industries of the nation.

That is the Socialist party.

WHAT IT WOULD MEAN

Let us consider what the changes proposed by Socialism would mean:

1. First of all it would mean that the wages of the workers would be progressively increased until they received, as nearly as possible, the full products of their toil.

2. It would reduce the cost of living for every one. The trusts being publicly owned and operated at cost and without profit the cost of the necessities of life would be reduced.

3. Exploitation—or the power of one man or set of men to live off the product of another man or set of men—would be at an end.

4. No one being able to live off the labor of another, all would be compelled to work—to render some useful service. All who are able to work and refused to do so, if there should be such under Socialism, would receive what they produce—nothing if they produce nothing. The Bible says: "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

5. There would be no unemployment—no hungry, weary, hopeless, disheartened men—tramping the city streets and country roads begging for work and unable to find it. The state, controlling all natural resources and public utilities, would find work for all.

6. Every young man and woman being able easily to earn a living, marriage would be promoted, the home will be saved, and prostitution and vice will be robbed of their victims.

7. Every adult receiving the full product of their toil there would be need of child labor, which forthwith would cease.

8. The fear of want and poverty would be removed; all children would be given an equal

opportunity for an education; and the aged and disabled would be pensioned and protected.

9. The workers receiving their full and just due, strikes and lockouts would end. Henceforth industrial peace would prevail.

10. Socialism would establish International peace upon the earth. There would be no need to fight for foreign markets. The economic reason for wars would be removed.

And finally many of the most devoted believers in the golden rule, the brotherhood of man and the spiritual ideals of religion have discovered that in Socialism is the program by which their hopes may be realized.

THE GREATEST MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD TODAY

No wonder then that Socialism grows. No wonder it has become already the greatest political movement in the world today:

And the membership and the vote both grow rapidly every year.

THE MOST PRACTICAL THING IN THE WORLD

Socialism is the most practical thing in the world.

Our nation already owns its postal system, its public schools; we built the Panama canal and carry out vast enterprises. Our cities own their water plants, lighting plants and are beginning to take over street car lines.

In the last few years a very large number of European cities have taken over and are now operating street railroads, gas, water, and electric light plants and other public utilities. Every such acquisition is a step toward Socialism. Almost all the railroads of the world outside of the United States are now owned by the various governments. Every time a government acquires a railroad it takes a step toward Socialism.

Everywhere the tendency is in that direction.

From this time on Socialism is bound to come rapidly.

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

The Socialist party stands squarely upon the principles of international Socialism. It relies upon the education of the people and upon development of the industrial forces. Both of these factors make for Socialism.

The Socialist party, while it is revolutionary in its final aim, is none the less distinctly evolutionary and constructive in its method.

Every measure that improves conditions is welcome and supported by Socialists for many reasons.

In the first place, by such measures we can stop the increasing pauperization, and consequently also the enervation of the masses of people.

But the main reason for our favoring such measures is because, if logically carried out, they offer the possibility of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society.

OUR FINAL AIM

Our aim is: The free democracy with equal economic and political rights; the free society with associative labor. The welfare of all is for us the one end of the state and society.

We seek justice and fight injustice.

We seek the prosperity of all and struggle against misery.

We seek the education of all and fight ignorance and barbarism.

We seek peace and order and combat the murder of people, the class war and social anarchy.

We seek the Socialist people's state and attack the despotic class state.

Whoever desires these things, and struggles for them, let him unite with us and work with all his strength for the cause—for the cause of Socialism—for the cause of humanity, whose victory will soon be gained.

IS THE SOCIALIST PARTY DEAD?

By JOHN S. MARTIN,
in the Auto Worker

Official Organ of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America.

Whether the Socialist party is dead or not is a question that is agitating many minds. For, perhaps, the first time in American history workers, as well as capitalists, are hoping that the party is dead. These workers who hope that the Socialist Party is a thing of the past are those who have been over-emotionalized by the Communist and Third International hotheads.

A group of working class fanatics was born in America with the first news of the Russian revolution. The radicals, sickened by the trials of a war-torn world, suppressed almost to the point of extinction, and driven to the very brink of despair by the desertions from their ranks, were suddenly shown the glittering rainbow of a successful revolution.

Just as one may become blinded when brought from a dark room into the blazing light of the mid-day sun, so these workers were dazzled by the flame of the Red Russia. The glorious fact was before them. The workers of Russia had established a dictatorship of the proletariat. With one grand, sweeping gesture a great nation had been changed from the headquarters of darkness and reaction to the home of light and freedom.

As the storm tossed sailor might welcome the golden beam from a light-house, so the workers of the world hailed the shining star of hope seen in the Russian revolution. All of which was but natural, the emotional reaction following a period of dismay and despair. But in the host of greeters was a group of human geese, who knew nothing of scientific economics and even less of evolutionary social progress. A group which soon learned to call themselves "realists", and who adopted the Russian revolution as their own.

This group of "realists", considering fact as a refutation of theory instead of understanding it as a proof, proceeded to scramble their effervescent economics with personal egotism, and cry for facts. "We want facts," they cried; "be-gone with your faint light of theory and your dim ray of philosophy, they are but bourgeois blinders, we have the real revolutionary sun of fact."

Led by a few, hitherto armyless leaders, this group soon launched an attack on the Socialist party. At first the party was merely called foolish for not following in the footsteps of Russia, then it was accused of checking the onward march of labor by refusing to change its tactics, and finally it was charged with being an actual menace to working class progress.

"Comrades" whose entire lives recorded no single hour of real service to the workers, boldly hurled the charge of "traitor" at heads grown gray in the cause. Of course such conduct split the party. One split followed another, splits formed among splitters. Left wings developed winglets, and each feather soon quarreled with its quill.

Thus, battered from without by the blows of reaction, and torn from within by the knife of dissension, the Socialist party called for a show-down. A convention was called, and by some freak of fate the convention was held in Detroit, the very heart of America's industrial slave district. When the dust of battle settled, after the first fight in the convention, the Socialist party stood triumphant. The Communist nuts and stool pigeons had failed in their effort to outlaw and destroy the Socialist party.

Then it was that the hurry call was sent for the alibi shock troops and the revolutionary flame throwers. The "masters minds" of the dick agencies put their heads together, the Communist tacticians were called into conference and the neo-nuts assembled. Out of this super-powwow was born the gospel of death. "The Socialist party is dead" became the new "order from Moscow." This magic charm was to be chanted by the faithful before and after every meal. The "master minds" were going to demonstrate their mental power. The Socialist party was to be killed by hypnotic suggestion.

* * *

But the Socialist party refused to play dead. In fact, it demonstrated very active signs of life by proceeding to collect \$20,000 in cash donations from its friends. If you think that it doesn't take a live organization to do that just try to

gather up \$20 for any other movement. Next, it sent out invitations for a conference of all radical organizations to bring about united political action along the lines of the British Labor party.

The Socialist party is far from being dead. It is true that the party has been sick, but Pluto water was cheap at Detroit, and the party is now purged of the sickening influences. True, the party has made mistakes; it is human, and the most human mistake it ever made was in trying to practice what it preached.

The Socialist party preached "free speech" and pleaded for toleration, but it took its own medicine. That was a mistake, but a very human one. Because of its toleration the party became the center of all the miscellaneous "reformers" in the land. "Nutty" individuals, with sure-fire plans for substituting green trading stamps for our present monetary system, came to the party because there they found toleration groups, who were sure that birth control was the open sesame to the new world; flocked into the party because they found a forum where free speech was a fact instead of a fraud. And so things developed until it was said there were 57 kinds of Socialists, when it was just a case of 57 kinds of Socialist card holders.

The war scare drove most of the silly "nuts" out of the party, and the action at the recent convention has driven the malicious "nuts" underground. Once again the Socialist party starts moving forward, freed from the destructive sabotage of the stool pigeon and the calumnious contact of the cataleptic.

At this point I imagine some reader is say-

ing, "What do I care about the Socialist party? I believe in keeping politics out of the union." Just so, my friend; that is, exactly what your boss would want you to say, and it is just the thing that the corporation-controlled press would encourage you to say.

* * *

But whether you realize it or not, the life or death of the Socialist party is a subject of concern to you. It is a subject of interest to every one who works for a living. For the Socialist party is more than a mere political party, it is a movement. A movement of the workers toward a better day. It is an educational institution, and stands as the very keystone in the arch of the working class progress.

Every democrat, who worships at the shrine of Jefferson, owes thanks to the Socialist party for keeping alight the sacred fires of memory at the feet of their idol. Every Republican, who reveres Lincoln and who abhors autocracy, must acknowledge the debt due the Socialist party for keeping alive the issues of freedom, justice and equality. Yes, and every Farmer-Laborite must give the Socialist party the homage owing the trail blazer, and the honor due a tutor.

Every worker in America should feel glad that the Socialist party fills a need and finds a place in the lives of the people; a need that is more than ever present, and a place that cannot be filled by proxy. Out of the present welter of capitalistic ruin and economic darkness the Socialist party rises as a monument of hope and a beacon light of salvation. Its message is "Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

SYNDICALISM

By John M. Work

There are some people who think that syndicalism is the solution of the social problem.

The syndicalist is decidedly in earnest. And he has ideas that are meritorious. He believes that all workers in a given industry should be organized in one union—which the Socialists also believe.

But his methods are untenable—and he adheres to them with a sort of frenzy.

After listening to an address by a well known syndicalist, I threw his speech into a syllogism, so as to examine it in the test tube of logic. He spoke about an hour and a half. His speech, reduced to a syllogism, was as follows:

Major premise—The working class ought only to use tactics by which it is benefited.

Minor premise—The working class has never been benefited by political action.

Conclusion—Therefore, the working class ought not to use political action.

Most of his address was devoted to an attempt to prove the minor premise—that the working class has never been benefited by political action.

As there are great categories of facts which prove conclusively that this minor premise is false, he was under the necessity of artfully evading those facts and distracting attention from them. He did so by laying stress upon matters which seemed to have something to do with the question, but which, in reality, did not have anything to do with it.

Yet I believe that he was sincere. I believe that he thought he was telling the truth. He was so obsessed with the syndicalist idea that it blinded him to the truth.

Syndicalism, in its methods, is closely related to anarchism. Both repudiate political action.

But the anarchists can hardly stomach the syndicalist's economic organization. Or if he does, he does it with a wry face. He tries to keep it as nebulous as possible.

The syndicalist believes that there is no need whatever for the political state or government. He does not believe in voting, or electing people to office. He will have nothing to do with the political government except to defy or evade it.

He looks upon it as surplusage. He looks upon it as an excrescence. He looks upon it as an unnatural growth which will pass away when the economic organization comes into its own.

He scorns the capitalist.

But he also scorns the Socialist.

He knows that the Socialist proposes to make the exploiting industries collective property by legal, orderly means. This is anathema to him. He contemptuously refers to the Socialist as a politician. He imagines that the Socialist is conservative and that he himself is radical.

He talks much about solidarity. The word Solidarity is his stock in trade.

But he does not have much real solidarity in his makeup. He is too belligerent for that. He criticises friend and foe, right and left. Yet he constantly advocates solidarity and berates others for having it.

He is not particular about his methods.

He has no standard. He believes that the end justifies the means. Whatever will gain his end

is right. Whatever will retard his end is wrong. He does not hesitate to use sabotage. He uses it on his enemies. Sometimes he uses it on his friends. In its turn, sabotage reacts upon him. It creates distrust. It undermines character.

He says that none but economic organization is necessary.

He expects to build up the economic organization until it is invincible. Then he expects to just elbow the capitalists out and take possession. He proposes that the workers in each industry shall run the industry. He expects to have a federation of the various industries. Some of him expect to have a very loose federation. Others of him expect to have a rather centralized federation. He does not agree with himself very well on that matter—probably because some of him are anarchists and others are not.

Granite boulders of fact lie in his way. He bumps his head against them continually, and still he does not see them, or, at least, many of him do not.

Detroit Convention's Resolution On International Relations Approved by large majority. Report of Vote.

NATIONAL REFERENDUM "B" 1921

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Majority Report adopted by National Convention, June 26, 1921, and Minority Report, submitted to membership in accordance with Article VIII, Section 10, Sub-Sec. 2, of the National Constitution

MAJORITY REPORT

The Socialist Party of the United States considers that its paramount duty is to build a powerful, revolutionary, Socialist organization in this country. It is, therefore, resolved to devote all of its energy and resources to this task, believing it to be the most valuable service it can render to the cause of international Socialism. Until this task is accomplished, or until a different decision is reached by a succeeding national convention, it is resolved to remain without international affiliations.

MINORITY REPORT

That the Socialist Party of the United States renew its application for membership in the Communist International with the reservation that we accept no binding formula for the attainment or organization of the Socialist society; and retain complete autonomy in matters of membership, organization and tactics and in regard to our program and declarations regarding questions which are primarily of domestic concern.

FOR MAJORITY REPORT 2517

FOR MINORITY REPORT 676

TABULATION OF VOTE REFERENDUM "B", 1921

Submitted Aug. 10th, Vote Closed October 9th.

State	For Maj. Report	For Min. Report	Against Both	State	For Maj. Report	For Min. Report	Against Both
Arizona		6		Mississippi		2	
California	39	14		Missouri	93	19	
Colorado	4	1		New Hampshire	14	4	
Connecticut	27	3		New Jersey	98	39	2
District of Col.	9	5	2	New York	730	95	6
Illinois	123	119		Ohio	179	44	
Indiana	18	9	6	Pennsylvania	267	167	
Kansas	19	20		Texas	2	4	
Louisiana	4			Utah	7		
Maine	2			Washington	7		
Maryland	63	26		West Virginia	6	1	
Massachusetts	349	62		Wisconsin	436	33	
Michigan	21	3		Totals	2517	676	16

Immediate Demands

In the Spring of 1919, the Socialist Party of Michigan adopted an amendment to the state party constitution reading as follows:

"Any member, Local or Branch of a Local, advocating legislative reforms or supporting organizations formed for the purpose of advocating such reforms, shall be expelled from the Socialist Party. The State Executive Committee is authorized to revoke the charter of any local that does not conform to this amendment."

What is a "Legislative reform?" The repeal of an anti-syndicalist law would be a legislative reform. The passage by Congress of a resolution granting amnesty to political prisoners or recalling the American troops from Russia would have been a legislative reform. An act preventing the use of injunctions in industrial disputes or providing money or work for the unemployed would be a legislative reform.

The Socialist Party stands, and has always stood for such legislative reforms under the head of "immediate demands." The adoption of the amendment by the Michigan organization was in violation of the constitution and platform of the Socialist party and the N. E. C. quite properly revoked the charter of the Socialist Party of Michigan.

At that time the "Lefts" and the Communists were loud in their denunciation of "immediate demands," "legislative reforms" and "parliamentary activity." The N. E. C. was denounced as 'reactionary,' and the Socialist Party as a party of opportunists and reformers. Scheidemanns and Noskes, for its advocacy of immediate demands and the expulsion of the Michigan organization. But the expulsion stood.

The October issue of the Communist, Official Organ of the Communist Party of America, contains the following:

"We must have immediate demands. It is through the immediate demands that the Party can get contact with the masses and win them over to Communism. The only way through which we can actually become the vanguard of the proletarian movement is through participating in the everyday struggle of the workingman."

It is the same old story. After denouncing the Socialist party for advocating immediate demands, after almost destroying the only organization that could and did carry on nation-wide campaigns for the immediate interest of the working class, whether it was represented by a legislative measure or by a strike, the communists have finally discovered that "The masses do not struggle for general abstract ideals affecting their future. They fight only for immediate concrete, tangible needs" and that "We must have immediate demands."

That is exactly what the Socialist Party has

insisted from the beginning of the controversy. That was our position when the communists were swept off their feet by emotionalism and repudiated all immediate demands and legislative reforms in favor of an immediate armed uprising and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is still our position. We are glad that the communists have recovered this much of their sanity. The Socialist Party was right—as usual.

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS
To Be Published By The National Office.
Debs' Speech at Canton
For which he received 10 years in Prison
and
Are You A Socialist?
NOW RUNNING SERIALLY IN THE
SOCIALIST WORLD.

There is no better argument for the release of Debs than the speech for which he was convicted. Now that the passions and prejudices of the war have somewhat subsided, no fair minded man can read this speech without recognizing the injustice of Debs' prosecution and conviction.

YOU CAN DO NO MORE EFFECTIVE WORK FOR AMNESTY THAN TO CIRCULATE THIS PAMPHLET.

It is the first publication of the complete speech as introduced in evidence by the Department of Justice at the Cleveland Trial.

FOR YOUR WINTER MEETINGS YOU WILL NEED A NEW, UP-TO-DATE PROPAGANDA PAMPHLET.

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST? FILLS THE BILL.

These two pamphlets will be off the press on November 20th. We are asking advance orders to help meet the expense of their publication.

ORDER NOW.

DEBS' SPEECH AT CANTON

48 Pages, Price 15 cents each; \$1.50 per dozen; \$7.50 per hundred.

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

32 pages, Price 10 cents; \$1.00 per doz.; \$6.00 per hundred.

SOCIALIST PARTY
220 S. ASHLAND BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILL.

PROPOSED REFERENDUMS

By Local Berks Co., Pa.

Third publication. First publication in Socialist World, Aug. 15th.

Motion

Amend Article IX, Sec. 6 (a) of the National Constitution to read as follows:

Sec. 6 (a) The dues of members of the Socialist Party shall be 25 cents per month, which shall be divided as follows: To the National organization, 7 cents; to the State organization, 8 cents; to the County or City organization, 5 cents; and to Branch organization, 5 cents. In counties or cities where there is no central organization, the county dues shall be paid to the State organization.

Seconds

Previously reported 920; Local York, Pa., 20; Br. Irvington, Essex County, N. J., 10; Br. 3, Union Hill, N. J., 20; Dodge Co., Wis., 32; Green Lake Co., Wis., 6; Washington Co., Wis., 12; Waukesha Co., Wis., 21; Winnebago, Co., Wis., 23; Roseville Br., Newark, N. J., 9; Total 1,072.

By 10th Ward Branch, Local St. Louis

Second publication.

First publication in Socialist World of September 15th.

Motion

Amend Article 4, Section 10, and Article 9, Section 6 (a) of the National Constitution to read as follows:

Art. 4, Sec. 10. The National membership dues as provided in this constitution shall be \$1.00 per year, 60 cents of which is for one year's subscription to the monthly publication of the National Office, to be known as the Socialist World, and shall be so applied by the Executive Secretary.

Art. 9, Sec. 6 (a). The dues of the members to be paid to the Socialist Party shall be not less than one

dollar per quarter, and shall be divided as follows: To the National organization, 25 cents; to the State organization, 25 cents; to the County or City organization, 25 cents; to the Branch organization, 25 cents; in counties or cities where there is no central organization, the County dues shall be paid to the State organization. Members paying dues for less than three months—one quarter—shall be charged 35 cents per stamp. At least one dollar, 1 quarter's dues, must accompany each application for membership.

Seconds

10th Ward Br., St. Louis, 24; West Fork, Ark., 20; 23-25th Ward Br., St. Louis, Mo., 9; So. Br. 27th Ward, St. Louis, 80; North Br., 13th Ward, St. Louis, 7; 15 & 16th Ward, St. Louis, 11; Darby Hill Br., St. Louis 8; Total 159.

By Local Springfield, Mo.

Second publication.

First publication in Socialist World of Sep. 15th.

Motion

Amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party as follows:

By striking out Sec. 10, Art. 4 in its entirety and by striking out Sub-Sec. A, Sec. 6, Art. 9 and by inserting in its place the following, itself to be known as Sub-section A, Sec. 6, Art. 9:

"Membership dues of the Socialist Party shall be as follows:—One dollar upon application for membership, sixty cents of which shall apply in payment of a one year subscription of the national publication, fifteen cents shall go to the National Office as revenue for the use of the National Executive Committee and twenty-five cents to the Local Treasury for a regular monthly membership dues stamp; twenty-five cents per month thereafter (five cents of which shall go

to the National Office, ten cents to the State Office and ten cents to the Local Treasury), until this section shall have been changed or amended by a majority vote of the entire membership. Local organizations to determine the part of their income that shall go to branch organizations."

Seconds.

Local Springfield, Mo., 55; Morrelton, Mo., 5; Neosha, Mo., 10; Norwich, Conn., 14; Total 84.

By Local Springfield, Mo.

Second publication.

First publication, Socialist World, Sep. 15.

Motion

Amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party as follows:

By adding to Sec. 8, Art. 4, to be known as Sub-section (c), the following paragraph:

"The Committee shall incur no debts for any purpose whatever, but shall accumulate funds by the regular processes before any expenditures are made."

Seconds

Springfield, Mo., 55; Morreltown, Mo., 5; Neosha, Mo., 10; Iola, Ks., 21; Total 91.

IMPORTANT

Under the provisions of Sec. 1, Article XII of the National Constitution, City or County Central Committees or other delegate bodies can not propose or second motions for referendum. Where a city or county local is composed of two or more ward or language branches, these branches act independently in proposing or seconding referendums.

The provision is found in the first sentence, fifth paragraph, Sec. I, Art. XII, as follows:—

"The term local as herein used shall mean a local or branch of a local, but not a body composed of delegates from branches or locals."

The Socialist Party

Executive Secretary,
OTTO BRANSTETTER,
220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

National Executive Committee:
W. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave.,
S. Louis Mo.
Lilich Martin Wilson, Box 685,
Reading, Pa.

Wm. H. Henry, 709 East 13th St.,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th St.,
New York City.

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

James Oneal, 916 Madison St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

James H. Maurer, Rooms 1, 2 and
3, Commonwealth Trust Co. Building,
Harrisburg, Pa.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF APPEALS

Jacob Panken, Chairman.
156 Second Ave., N. Y. City.

S. John Block, Secretary.
198 Broadway, N. Y. City.

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING—AUG. 28-30th

Continued from Sept. Issue

Motion by Oneal: That the Secretary be authorized to expend \$50.00 per month for two months in experimental advertising in farm papers. **Adopted.**

Motion by Melms: That in issuing convention stamps for the 1922 convention, the Executive Secretary be instructed to advance stamps to the respective State Secretaries to an amount equal to thirty per cent of their average membership for the preceding year. **Adopted.**

Motion by Gerber: That the time and place of the holding of the convention next year be decided at the next meeting of the Committee. — **Adopted.**

The Executive Secretary is instructed to communicate with various locals desiring to have the convention held in their city.

The Secretary reported a misunderstanding regarding the delegate expense of Comrade Solomon of New York. On motion, he was instructed to allow him the account as rendered.

Committee adjourned to meet at 9 a. m. Tuesday morning.

Morning Session, Tuesday, Aug. 30
Comrade Melms elected Chairman for the Day.

Financial report of the Executive Secretary submitted.

Are You A Socialist?

By Otto Branstetter
CHAPTER VI

THE RIGHT TO WORK

In times of strikes we hear a great deal about "the right to work". In industrial conflicts and open-shop campaigns the capitalists grow quite eloquent in defense of this "right" and pour out a flood of tainted dollars and working class blood to protect a lot of scabs and strikebreakers in their "inherent and God-given right to labor"—and incidentally to fasten more firmly the grasp of the corporations on industry, politics and finance and to fasten more firmly the shackles of slavery on the workers and their families.

The capitalists and their retainers may be able to convince themselves that the American working men under capitalism, have the "right to work," but they cannot much longer persuade the working class to believe it.

Your child has a right to go to the public school, you have a right to walk in the public street, you have a right to worship God after the dictates of your own conscience, you have a right to marry and raise children, you have a right to vote, you have a right to send and receive mail, you have a great many RIGHTS under capitalism—but you have NO RIGHT TO WORK.

Such rights as you have are not inherent, natural, inalienable, or God-given. They are rights which society has given and which society protects. Such rights, granted and protected by society, are the only "rights" you have.

The right to do these things does not mean that the child can disturb the school, that you can walk the streets when you are drunk and disorderly, that you can use the mails for fraudulent purposes or vote when you are not qualified. You exercise these rights under certain conditions, under rules and regulations laid down by the society which granted them. As long as you observe those rules and regulations, as long as you do not violate any of the laws governing the exercise of those rights, society secures them to you and protects you in exercising them.

You do not have to get the consent of the teacher before you can send your child to school, or of the policeman before you can walk upon the street. You do not ask permission of the preacher to worship as you see fit or of the politician in order to vote, nor of the postmaster before you send mail.

You do not ask the consent or permission of any individual or class of individuals to do those things which you have a "right" to do. If you did it would not be a RIGHT. If the teacher or preacher or postmaster could arbitrarily prevent your doing those

The curtailment of expenses reported is approved. The Secretary is authorized to circularize the States of New Jersey, Ohio and Michigan in connection with the Sustaining Fund. The drive is to be continued until the full amount called for has been raised.

Report of the sub-committee to prepare an invitation to the labor organizations to participate in the Conference called by the National Convention, submitted. After discussion and amendment, the report was adopted as published on page seven of the September issue.

Comrade Oneal submitted statement on Amnesty, as published on page nine of the September issue.

Adopted.

Comrade Gerber submitted communication to the membership.

Adopted.

Sub-committee on Russian Relief submitted a resolution as published on page eight of the September issue.

Adopted.

Motion by Maurer: That the Executive Secretary be authorized to advance the necessary expense money to commence this work to the amount of one hundred dollars.—

Adopted.

Report of the Executive Secretary dealing with the Socialist World and literature. Attention is called to the free reading notices given the Rand School Extension Course and the pamphlet, "The Truth About the American Legion," published by the Nation.

Motion by Gerber: That the insertion of the notices be approved and that the Executive Secretary be instructed to communicate with the Rand School and inform them that while the National Executive Committee is glad to assist the school in extending their work, that we protest against the use of Comrade Glassberg as an Extension Course Lecturer. **Adopted.**

The publication of the pamphlet, "Are You a Socialist?" by Comrade Branstetter, is approved and the Secretary authorized to print an edition of 10,000.

Motion by Maurer: That the Secretary attempt to secure advance orders for the pamphlet by Comrade Claessens and that if a sufficient number of orders are received to warrant it, that an edition of 10,000 be published. **Adopted.**

Motion by Gerber: That a communication be sent to editors of all

things because they did not like your politics or religion or the color of your hair, or until you had paid them a certain amount of money, you would certainly not boast about being a free man and having a RIGHT to do those things.

You have a right to live in the house which you own but you have no right to live in a house which I own. Upon payment of rent or other consideration I may grant you permission to live in my house, but you would not have to get my permission if you had a RIGHT to do so.

You do not have a RIGHT to do anything which another person can legally and constitutionally prevent your doing.

As a working man you must work to live and yet you cannot work without the consent or permission of the master class who privately own the means of production. If you are a worker in a mill or factory which you do not own you have no right to work there. And you can not work there, even tho you and your family starve to death, without the permission of the capitalist who privately owns your job and the means of production which you must use in order to labor and produce wealth.

The fact that he may grant you permission to work, upon certain conditions, no more gives you a right to work than my granting permission, upon certain conditions to live in my house gives you a right to live there.

A farmer who doesn't own a farm is in the same condition as a mill worker who doesn't own a mill. He can not work and produce bread "in the sweat of his brow" without the consent of the landlord class who privately own the means of production, the land, which he must use in order to labor and produce wealth.

The tenant farmer secures his permission by giving the landlord from a fourth to a half of all he produces every year in the form of rent. The wage worker secures this permission by surrendering to the capitalist all that he produces and receiving back only a portion of its value in the form of wages.

Even on these terms of dividing up the workers are sometimes unable to secure a job, or in other words are unable to secure permission to work from the master class. They have no legal and constitutional RIGHT to work but the masters have a legal and constitutional right to prevent them from working.

The man who privately owns the industry in which you labor can close the door of the factory in your face whenever it suits his interests to do so. It matters not how honest and industrious you are, it matters not how eager and anxious and willing you may be to work, you have no right to work and whenever it suits his personal profit, or pleasure or con-

Socialist papers asking their co-operation and support for the Committee on Russian Relief. Adopted.

The Secretary is instructed to reply to Comrade Lipscomb reporting the actions of this meeting and the attitude of the Committee.

Communication read from State Secretary Coxe of Michigan regarding the denial of citizenship papers to applicants on the ground of their membership in the Socialist Party. The Communication was referred to Comrade Hillquit for a report and opinion.

Communication read from State Secretary Magill of Kansas. Referred to the Executive Secretary for reply.

Communication read from Alex Heisteramp of Hoboken, N. J. The Executive Secretary is instructed to interview Mr. Heisteramp while attending the Jewish Convention.

Communication read from the National Consumers League asking that the organization hold its conventions only in such cities where enlightened labor standards are guaranteed by law to the large number of women employed in the hotel and restaurant industry. The Executive Secretary is instructed to reply that the request will be considered in the selection of the convention city next year.

Communication from the Committee on Russian Relief of Local New York disposed of by previous action of the Committee.

Communication read from Comrade Berenberg and report by the Executive Secretary on the text book for Socialist Sunday Schools. The Secretary is instructed to confer with Comrade Berenberg while in New York.

Motion by Gerber: That the next meeting of the Committee be held on Sunday, Nov. 27, and that the Secretary be instructed to communicate with local organizations desiring the meeting held in their city. Adopted.

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Dear Comrades:

I herewith submit the following:
National Executive Committee

Motion No. 3.

(Executive Question)

"Shall the National Office publish an edition of ten thousand copies of Debs Canton speech?"

Vote closes Oct. 30. Ballot enclosed.

venience, for any reason, or for no reason if he sees fit, he can close the door of the factory in your face and deny you permission to work upon any terms or conditions whatsoever.

The master class exercises this right to prevent your working to a greater and greater extent all the time. In August, 1921, there were six million unemployed workers in America. Six million working men and women involuntarily idle, suffering poverty and destitution and want because the master class refused them permission and opportunity to labor and produce wealth.

The socialist party recognizes that these people did NOT have the RIGHT to work, but that they SHOULD have. That it is the duty of society to guarantee to every person an opportunity of doing useful labor sufficient to support himself and those dependent upon him. It is one of the immediate demands of the socialist party and one of the fundamental principles upon which the future organization of society will rest.

Socialism proposes to secure to the working class the same free use of the means of production, under proper rules and regulations adopted by themselves, that they now have of the streets and parks, and schools and postoffices. To make the opportunity to work free to every citizen upon the same terms and conditions, without the permission or consent of any individual or class of individuals.

Socialism is collective ownership, democratic management and co-operative use of the means of production which are used for exploitation; the operation of such collectively owned industries for use and not for profit, securing every adult person in the free RIGHT TO WORK.

THE FULL PRODUCT OF YOUR LABOR

Some years ago, when Mr. Bryan made his trip around the world, he wrote back syndicated letters about the countries which he visited. I remember reading an article regarding the conditions existing among the Peruvians at the time of the Spanish conquest in which he pointed to the collapse of their civilization as another evidence of the failure of Socialism.

The Peruvians were a semi-barbarous people who had made considerable progress toward civilization. They had developed agriculture to a high extent, they had great irrigating systems for irrigating their agricultural lands, they had a well developed architecture and the beginning of various arts and science. They had not failed. They were doing finely, progressing in the arts of peace and slowly but surely building up a civilization, when they were invaded by the Christian Spaniards in one of the most cruel and bloodthirsty conquests in the history of the world and their civilization was

Comment by Executive Secretary.

"The speech which Debs made at Canton, Ohio, and for which he was convicted, has never been published, although there has been an insistent demand for its publication. The National Office published an edition of this speech immediately following his conviction but owing to the fact that we were still at war, important portions were necessarily eliminated.

I have secured Comrade Debs' consent for the publication of the speech in full as it was in evidence at the Cleveland trial.

I believe there would be a good sale for this pamphlet and I know of no better amnesty propaganda than this speech for the delivery of which he was sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary. Now that the passions and prejudice of the war have somewhat subsided, no fair minded person can read this speech without recognizing the great injustice of Debs' conviction."

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

I herewith submit for vote of your committee the following:

National Executive Committee

Motion No. 4.

(Executive Question)

Vote closes Nov. 2nd. Ballot enclosed.

"Shall the National Office accept seconds to motions proposed for referendum from any local or state in excess of the number of members in good standing for the preceding year, as shown by the purchase of both dues and convention stamps?"

Comment.

The necessity of submitting this question to your committee grows out of a situation which has arisen in connection with motions now pending.

There are now four motions proposed for referendum by various branches of the party and a question has arisen as to the interpretation of the party constitution governing the seconds to such motions. Local Milwaukee County has forwarded me their second to the Berks County motion, claiming a membership of 841. I have refused to count the second for this number of members on the ground their average membership in good standing for the past year could not have been that many since the entire State has purchased only 658 convention stamps for this year.

crushed out in a sea of blood.

Even though it was Socialism, it was not a failure. It was simply overcome by superior military power. But even though it was a failure, it was not Socialism.

All the land and natural resources belonged to the government, even the flocks and herds were public property, and the great irrigating systems were governmentally owned and operated. To a large extent the working class co-operated in cultivating those publicly owned and publicly irrigated lands and every person, even the sick and aged and disabled was secured in the the occupancy of a home and in a certain share of the products. But they did not have Socialism.

They had a king or an emperor whom they called the Inca. The Inca was an absolute despot. Not a bloody butcher like the kings and emperors of our Christian civilization, but a kind and benevolent ruler, and a despot nevertheless. The people had absolutely nothing to say in regard to the selection of their rulers or in the making or the execution of the laws. They had not even the beginning of democracy and so they did not have Socialism because Socialism implies the widest possible democracy, both industrial and political.

Another, and more important reason that they did not have Socialism was this: After the working people had co-operatively cultivated those publicly irrigated lands the Inca took for himself and the feudal nobility one-third of the product, then the priests of the state religion took a second third, and the remaining third was divided among the workers who had produced it all. THAT was not Socialism. Socialism does not mean that the working class shall receive one-third of what they produce.

Socialism implies that the working class shall receive ALL that they produce. That they shall not divide up with a parasitic master class. That no man and no class of men on account of hereditary nobility, or an ecclesiastical despotism, or the private ownership of the means of life, or through any means whatsoever shall have the power to take from the workers a single penny's worth of their products except by rendering service in return therefor.

It means not only the abolition of all those earlier forms of robbery by which the stronger appropriated the products of the weaker, but it means also the abolition of INTEREST and PROFIT and RENT and all that complicated financial and commercial mechanism by which the modern freebooters accumulate the wealth produced by the labor of other men.

Socialism is collective ownership, democratic management and co-operative use of the means of production which are used for exploitation; the

The difficulty arises over the interpretation of the word "membership" in the fifth paragraph of Section 1, Article 12 of the Party Constitution herewith enclosed. My contention is that the adoption of sections 5 and 6 of Article 8, providing for the issuing of convention stamps and containing the provision,—"no member of the party shall be considered in good standing in the party on and after the convention for which the stamp is issued, unless such stamp is attached to his or her membership book," automatically amends all sections having to do with membership or the standing of members.

When Article 12 provides for seconds representing at least eight per cent. of the membership and when it provides that "the term membership shall mean the entire membership on the basis of the dues paid for the preceding year," it means the membership in good standing; that since the adoption of Section 5 and 6 of Article 8, members are not in good standing who do not have a convention stamp in their membership book.

Since the entire state of Wisconsin has purchased only 658 convention stamps, including those sold through the language federations, and since we have already credited seconds from other points in Wisconsin to the number of 94, it is impossible that Milwaukee should have 841 members in good standing entitled to second this motion.

Comrade Seidel, State Secretary of Wisconsin, insists that the membership entitled to second motions is based entirely upon the purchase of dues stamps and not upon convention stamps. My contention is that since the adoption of Sections 5 and 6 of Article 8, the right of second, as well as the right to vote upon referendums, is limited to those who have purchased convention stamps.

Language Federations.

In accordance with the action taken by your committee at its last meeting, reference reports from the language federations, the federations were notified that they must make their reports and remittances promptly not only to the National Office, but to the State Organizations as well. You received the notice to this effect which was sent to the Translator-Secretaries at the end of last month.

In spite of our patience and re-

operation of such collectively owned industries for use and not for profit, securing every adult person in the free right to work and the FULL PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR.

SOCIAL VALUE

The expression "full product of his labor" is rather misleading. Upon one occasion a humorous individual arose in my audience and said he did not want the product of his labor, he dug holes for telephone poles.

The obvious reply to this, that the worker should receive, not the product but the full value of his product is not entirely satisfactory. The question immediately arises as to who will support the non-productive workers, the doctors and sanitary experts, the teachers and recreational directors and a host of other persons doing useful and necessary work but whose labor does not directly produce any tangible product?

Under Socialism, society will not only maintain such free public institutions as we now have but will undoubtedly extend them largely. The citizen will be furnished free with sidewalks, paving, sewerage and water, perhaps with free electricity and street car transportation. He will be furnished with public schools, libraries and other educational opportunities; with parks, playgrounds and recreations; with police, fire, flood and plague protection; with old age and maternity pensions, with accident, health and unemployment insurance and similar services of a social character which should be furnished by society for the social welfare, rather than by private enterprise for private profit.

The public service will necessarily require a large number of workers who must be paid and sinking funds which must be provided out of the wealth produced by those engaged in productive labor. The productive workers will necessarily pay, directly or indirectly, for the service rendered them by their fellow workers in non-productive occupations.

They will not expect to "get something for nothing" any more than they do now. They will pay with their labor for every benefit and every service they receive, just as they do at present. But while the workers will not "get something for nothing" neither will the host of capitalist parasites who now get a greater deal for nothing.

The incomes of the profiteers and exploiters who amass great fortunes through robbery of the workers will be cut off and their only income will be what they receive for service rendered. And those of them with real ability who do render useful service in technical, scientific or executive positions will not receive million dollar salaries while the productive workers receive a starvation wage.

peated warnings, the German and the Italian Federations have not remitted the State and County dues for September to the respective State Secretaries up to the 20th of this month. I have therefore withdrawn from these Federations the privilege of securing dues stamps on credit. Hereafter I shall require them to pay both the National, State and County dues at the time of the receipt of the dues stamps. At the end of the month the National Office will remit the State and County dues to the respective State secretaries.

This is going to be something of an annoyance to the National Office, as well as to the Federation, but it seems it is the only way to secure the payment of state and County dues from these Federations.

I estimate the Italian Federation is in arrears nearly a thousand dollars for State and County dues. They owe the State of New Jersey alone \$219.00. While it may be impossible for us to collect the dues held out by the Federations in the past, we can insist upon collecting the dues hereafter. My withdrawal of the privilege of securing dues stamps in advance appears to me the best method of enforcing the payment of these dues and I shall pursue this course, unless otherwise instructed by a motion of your committee.

Fraternally submitted,
OTTO BRANSTETTER,
 Executive Secretary.

The productive workers will pay for all the service rendered by the non-productive workers but they will not pay for useless labor, nor for an unnecessarily large number of non-productive workers, and most emphatically they will not pay one cent except for service actually rendered, nor will they pay salaries out of proportion to the value of such services.

The actual workers, the productive and necessary non-productive workers together, will receive directly or indirectly all the wealth that is produced and there will be nothing left for the parasites who now live in idleness and luxury off the labor of better people.

What is your value to society, the *social value* of your labor? It is the value of your labor less the cost of the services which society renders you. It is what you produce less your proportionate share of the necessary expense of the public service. That is what you will receive under Socialism.

Socialism is collective ownership, democratic management and co-operative use of the means of production which are used for exploitation; the operation of collectively owned industries for use and not for profit, securing to every adult person the free right to work and the FULL SOCIAL VALUE OF HIS LABOR.

THIS, AND NOTHING SHORT OF THIS, IS SOCIALISM.

(To be continued in November)

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