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From The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention at Detroit Assembled, to

WARREN G. HARDING,
President of the United States

and
HARRY DAUGHERTY
Attorney General of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

In conformity with our belief in free and frank discussion and in exercise of our privileges as American citizens, we, the direct representatives of upwards of a million Socialists and the indirect representatives of many other millions of workers who believe in the right of free expression for others as well as for themselves, desire to call emphatic attention to what seems to us outrageous delay in consideration and action in the case of Eugene V. Debs, Joseph Coldwell and others at this moment incarcerated in federal penitentiaries for daring to exercise their constitutional right of opinion concerning the purpose and conduct of the war.

Officially or semi-officially, and in any event undoubtedly by inspiration from your offices, we and the citizens of the United States were led to believe your administration intended to deal promptly with these cases. Many months have passed and these men and women still languish in prison, separated from their families, in all the stifling, sultry heat of midsummer.

In all courtesy we demand from you a definite decision. Will you by refusal to free these prisoners or by masterly inactivity, concur in and endorse the damnable suppression by the late administration of all the rights for which the American flag and the Constitution were supposed to stand, or will you stamp your administration as not afraid of open and free discussion of all questions affecting the collective welfare?

That is the issue involved in the immediate definite reply to this question which we ask of you.

Attest,

CAMERON KING, Chairman
MILO C. JONES, Secretary

Adopted and sent by order of the convention, June 29, 1921.

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

THE SUSTAINING FUND

The action of the Convention in voting to raise twenty thousand dollars for the relief of the National Office should receive the support of every party member and sympathizer.

The situation is critical. As stated in the letter sent to the membership by the convention, the question of whether the National Office will be able to keep its doors open and continue to function depends upon the response to this call. This is a cold statement of fact.

A proposition to consider selling the headquarters' property as a means of paying our indebtedness was indignantly voted down by the convention and all mention of it expunged from the minutes. We are not going to sell our "home." Instead, we are going to raise Twenty Thousand Dollars within thirty days from July 15th, and continue doing business at the old stand.

You will want to do your share in the raising of this fund. You **MUST** do your part, or there will be no national office at the end of that period. This is how you can help most effectively:

1. In the better organized states the State Organizations will appoint a special committee to raise the quota in those states. You will hear from them either directly or through your secretary or the press. Fall into line. Accept their plan of campaign and co-operate with them wholeheartedly.

2. In the unorganized and poorly organized states, the campaign will be conducted by the National Office. We are asking you to do these things, and do them **NOW**.

1. Make a contribution yourself—give as much as you can.

2. Make up your mind to raise as much as possible, as quickly as possible, from friends and sympathizers in your community.

3. In every community there are a few members or sympathizers who are a little better situated financially than the average run of our supporters. Make a personal visit to such parties, explain the seriousness of the situation and urge a substantial contribution from them. Do not be modest, you are not asking for yourself, but for the **SOCIALIST PARTY**.

4. See that your local or branch takes this matter up at its next meeting. Elect some capable comrade with an advisory committee, to take charge of this work and canvass every member, ex-member, friend or sympathizer and every sympathetic labor or liberal organization.

5. Give something of **YOURSELF** to the movement. The raising of this fund is vitally important, but the necessity of making more Socialists, getting more party members and making your local a live, aggressive unit of Socialist propaganda and organization is equally so. **RAISE THE FUND AND FOLLOW IT UP WITH ACTIVE EARNEST WORK IN AND FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.**

Comrades in unorganized and poorly organized states should send their contributions and collections direct to the National Office, 220 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago. In those states which appoint Finance Committees to conduct the drive the comrades will send their contributions to the State Secretary or to whoever the Finance Committee directs. All contributions received at National Headquarters will be credited on the quota of the state from which it is received.

Remember the Task
TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS

Remember the Time
WITHIN THIRTY DAYS

Remember the Purpose
TO KEEP THE NATIONAL OFFICE OPEN.

MOTION ON INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION TO BE SUBMITTED TO REFERENDUM

We, the undersigned delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, held at Detroit, June 25—29, 1921, in accordance with the provisions of Art. VIII Sec. 10 of the national constitution, hereby request that the following resolution on international relations, known as Agenda Motion No. 2, be submitted to referendum of the membership as an alternative proposition to the Motion No. 4 adopted by this convention. The resolution follows:—

"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 mainly of domestic concern."

Signatures:

Wm. F. Kruse, Ill., Henry Fieldman, Mass., Peter Marcuss, R. I., Birch Wilson, Pa. Rose M. Coleman, Pa., J. Louis Engdahl, Ill., F. W. Wenschhoff, Ill., L. A. Stanwood, Okla., H. L. Flanagan, Sc. Eastern District, C. W. Kirkendall, W. Va., S. M. Neistadt, Md., Fred Feuchter, Iowa, Otto Newman, N. W. District.

In accordance with the above request the two motions on international affiliations will be submitted to the membership as Referendum B, 1921. The ballots will be shipped to the State Secretaries on July 20th and should be received by the local organizations about August 1.

**SUBSCRIBE TO THE SUSTAINING FUND
SAVE THE PARTY**

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Dear Comrades:

As a result of an Executive session of the Convention it was decided that the movement must raise, within thirty days, the sum of not less than twenty thousand dollars for the immediate relief of the National Office.

This action was taken after Comrade Branstetter, our National Executive Secretary, demonstrated conclusively to the delegates that not only was the National Office twenty-one thousand dollars in debt and its credit absolutely exhausted, but also that unless relief was had promptly, there was no other way except to abandon the National Office. This, of course, was utterly unthinkable to the delegates, especially in the face of the unprecedented opportunities for Socialist Party growth, and their conviction that if the organization was given a brief breathing spell it would quickly recuperate to enter upon a career of unparalleled achievement and general prosperity.

We need not tell you that the unemployment situation, the open shop drive, the continued incarceration of Comrade Debs and other political prisoners and the growing attack on civil liberties, together with the general and increasing disillusionment of masses of the people, contribute to make a situation favorable to the Socialist Party beyond anything that has heretofore existed and out of all proportion to our ability to exploit. Our task is to build up the instrument with which to gather the rich harvest that waits. With that situation before us, this statement is being addressed to you.

It was decided to raise the minimum—twenty thousand dollars—by apportioning totals to the various states and by appointing, through the National Executive Committee, special committees of comrades in these States to be charged with the responsibility of getting the money.

Some comrades were for raising a larger sum. In fact, the proposals ran as high as eighty thousand dollars. But while we knew that even this sum could be raised, we were confronted with the

problem of providing immediate relief and that in not less than thirty days to save the National Office.

This is a plain, unvarnished statement of what actually happened in our executive session and a literally true picture of the financial situation of the party.

Bluntly, it means this—we raise this minimum of twenty thousand dollars within not more than thirty days or the National Office quits its activities and closes its doors. There is no middle course. This must be understood.

Now, we feel you know exactly the way we stand financially and the rest is therefore directly up to you.

Remember, it is not less than twenty thousand dollars in not more than thirty days to keep the doors of the National Office open and to enable us to take advantage of the altogether extraordinary opportunities to build a powerful Socialist Party in America.

Signed—

Cameron H. King, Calif.; M. F. Plunkett, Conn.; J. W. Richman, Dist. of Col.; J. L. Engdahl, Ill.; Wm. F. Kruse, Ill.; W. F. Wenschoff, Ill.; John C. Lewis, Ind.; Fred Feuchter, Iowa; Ross Magill, Kansas; W. A. Sandefur, Kentucky; S. M. Neistadt, Md.; G. E. Roewer, Jr., Mass.; Henry Puranen, Mass.; Harry Fieldman, Mass.; Lazarus Davidow, Mich.; G. A. Hoehn, Mo.; George Cheatham, N. Hamp.; M. C. Jones, N. J.; H. F. Flanagan, So. Distr.; H. D. Wilcox, N. Y.; Chas. Noonan, New York; Samuel Orr, New York; Chas. Solomon, N. Y.; Morris Hillquit, N. Y.; Algernon Lee, N. Y.; John G. Willert, Ohio; Jacob Ojala, Ohio; L. A. Stanwood, Oklahoma; Rose Coleman, Penn.; Birch Wilson, Penn.; Joseph E. Cohen, Pa.; P. Marcus, Rhode Island; O. A. Kennedy, Utah; C. W. Kirkendall, W. Va.; Daniel W. Hoan, Wis.; Victor L. Berger, Wis.; William Coleman, Wis.; C. A. Boorman, Wis.; Otto Newman, N. W. Dist.; G. Valenti, Ital. Fed.; F. Petrich, Jugo-Slav Fed.; C. Kolarik, Boh. Fed.; A. Dreifuss, Germ. Fed.; G. Makela, Finnish Fed. Morris Novik, Y. P. S. L.

APPORTIONMENT RAISE YOUR QUOTA IN THIRTY DAYS

Alabama \$ 172.00	Nebraska . . . \$ 171.00	Iowa 408.00	So. Carolina . 107.00
Arizona 46.00	Nevada 26.00	Kansas 270.00	So. Dakota . . 62.00
Arkansas . . . 172.00	New Hampshire 82.00	Kentucky . . . 235.00	Texas 377.00
California . . . 798.00	New Jersey . . 739.00	Louisiana . . . 152.00	Tennessee . . . 168.00
Colorado . . . 118.00	New Mexico . . 30.00	Maine 93.00	Utah 88.00
Connecticut . . 270.00	New York . . . 3,213.00	Maryland . . . 246.00	Vermont 52.00
Delaware 31.00	No. Carolina . 171.00	Massachusetts 1,215.00	Virginia 157.00
Dist. of Col. . . 92.00	No. Dakota . . 104.00	Michigan 520.00	Washington . . 154.00
Florida 119.00	Ohio 1,169.00	Minnesota . . . 575.00	W. Virginia . . 142.00
Georgia 221.00	Oklahoma . . . 369.00	Mississippi . . 127.00	Wisconsin . . . 1,749.00
Idaho 66.00	Oregon 130.00	Missouri 489.00	Wyoming 34.00
Illinois 1,622.00	Pennsylvania 1,916.00	Montana 85.00	Total . . \$20,000.00
Indiana 577.00	Rhode Island . 71.00		

IMPORTANT ACTIONS OF THE CONVENTION

International Relations

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. Adopted by a vote of 31 to 8.

By request of the necessary number of delegates, this motion is to be submitted to referendum along with Motion No. 2 on the Agenda which was defeated by a vote of 26 to 13.

Membership Dues

The dues of members of the Socialist Party shall be fifty cents per month which shall be divided as follows: to the National organization 10 cents, to the state organization 15 cents, to the county or city organization 10 cents, to the branch organization 15 cents. In counties or cities where there is no central organization the county dues shall be paid to the state organization. Adopted by a vote of 22 to 15.

General Strike

The Socialist Party regards the general strike as a powerful weapon of the working class—a weapon that may be used with great effectiveness for political and economic purposes. However, considering that it requires high degree of organization, discipline and solidarity, it is evident that the advocacy of a general strike in the United States under present conditions is folly. Years of education and organization may lie before the American working class before the general strike can pass from theory to reality.

Furthermore, the general strike involves so many people in a given struggle that it is likely to be a failure unless it is a last resort in some grave crisis which has aroused great masses of workers. It is a weapon that cannot be used for minor grievances, nor could it be employed frequently with success. Its justification and its success both require wide organization and an emergency so grave that no other organized effort would meet the emergency. To make a fetish of the general strike as a normal method of obtaining redress of grievances, would be to encourage illusions that only lead to disappointment, failure and general reaction. Adopted by a vote of 25 to 14.

Co-operation With Radical and Liberal Organizations

The reconquering and maintaining of our civil rights and liberties and the securing of substantial measures of economic relief, can only be attained through the united and concerted action of all progressive militant and class conscious workers, industrial and agricultural, in the United States.

Be is therefore resolved, that the incoming National Executive Committee be instructed to make a careful survey of all radical and labor organizations in the country, with a view of ascertaining their strength, disposition and readiness to cooperate with the Socialist movement upon a platform not inconsistent with that of the party, and on a plan which will preserve the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party.

Resolved that the National Executive Committee report its findings with recommendations to the next annual convention of the Socialist Party. Adopted by vote of 37 to 2.

Military Appropriations

No elected representative of the Socialist Party shall be permitted to vote for military or naval appropriations. Adopted unanimously.

Co-Operatives

The Socialist Party favors the co-operative movement as a means of defense in the every day struggle of the working class and as a training school to teach methods of administration of industry. While favoring the establishment of co-operative institutions, we urge a serious consideration of the local circumstances in each case to the end that such organizations may be inaugurated only when conditions would reasonably insure their success. Adopted.

Daily Newspapers

Motion—That this convention elect a committee of nine members for the purpose of studying the feasibility of establishing a chain of daily Socialist papers and of making a report with recommendations to the next national convention of the Party. Adopted.

The committee elected consists of James Oneal, N. Y., Victor Berger, Wis., Oscar Ameringer, Okla., George H. Goebel, N. J., Joe Rhoden, Ga., Chas. Erwin, N. Y., J. Louis Engdahl, Ill., Ida Crouch Hazlett, N. Y.

Propaganda Among Women

Whereas, a large number of women citizens have been recently enfranchised and

Whereas, the women of the working class are generally less conscious of their political class interests and more backward in making use of the ballot to further such interests than the women of the capitalist classes,

Therefore be it resolved, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to make special efforts to extend the propaganda among women in order that the women of the working class may be educated and organized to use their franchise in support and defense of their class interest. Adopted.

Organization & Lecture Circuits

Resolved that the National Office be empowered to create Organization and Lecture Districts regardless of State boundaries; that such districts be organized as follows:

1. Organizers to be sent to organize in contiguous territory lecture circuits of approximately 25 locals each. Such circuits to include some strong locals and the balance to be organized or strengthened by the Organizer.

2. These locals to be signed up and pledged to take one lecture a month from the National Office on such a day and in such rotation as the National Office may assign so that each lecturer may proceed from point to point without backtracking and wasting time.

3. Lecturers to be given contracts for long terms; Locals to pay a certain minimum in proportion to their strength and above that a percentage of receipts.

4. The organization of six such circuits would obviate the necessity of the lecturer visiting the same place more than twice a year. The more circuits the more speakers and the greater the variety for each local.

5. Organizers to be kept in District, strengthening weak points in circuits and arranging for new circuits in between using stronger points that could use speakers twice a month as basis and putting other weak points on the second circuit. Adopted.

Immigration

We favor the unrestricted right of the workers of all countries to enter freely the United States except when immigration is artificially stimulated for the purpose of flooding the labor market or of breaking strikes. It is the duty of the economic organizations to organize immigrants without delay in order that they may become an integral part of the organized labor movement of the United States. Adopted.

The Franchise

The Socialist Party is conscious of the limitations placed upon the franchise by the laws of the states and the economic conditions of many workers. It favors the removal of all the onerous residence qualifications that encumber the State statutes and which disfranchise masses of workers. It also favors abolition of all tax qualifications for the suffrage and the enforcement of the amendments of the federal constitution to insure the franchise to the Negro. All rules, regulations, ordinances, statutes or other barriers to complete adult suffrage should be energetically attacked by the Socialist Party and the co-operation of other working class organizations should be enlisted for this purpose. Adopted.

REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN MEYER LONDON

Mr. Otto Bränstetter, Nat'l Sec'y.,
Socialist Party Convention,
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Comrade Branstetter:

I doubt whether I shall be able to come to the convention. No doubt the delegates will want to hear about my work in congress.

It is unfortunate that a political party with nearly 1,000,000 votes should have but one representative in Congress. It is utterly impossible for one man, at this time, when everything in the world, including the Socialist movement, is in a state of flux, to adequately fulfill the mission of a representative.

The 64th Congress, the first Congress of my service, was disturbed by the shadow of the European war. The 65th Congress was a war Congress. This Congress is confronted with and confused by all the pre-war problems having become more complex and more distressing.

We have no peace, nor is the world at peace. There is again talk of preparedness. We are supposed to be getting ready for other mysterious wars.

The revolutionary movements of Europe have scared the vested interests of America so badly that they have lost all sense of proportion. In spite of the flexibility of America's political institutions, in spite of our system of frequent elections which gives the people an opportunity to accomplish by legislation the most radical changes, in spite of the absence of violence on the part of the common people, the ruling interests seem to believe that a violent revolution is imminent, and they shape their policies accord-

ingly.

This fear particularly strong among those elements which have fattened on the war. They know the methods by which they have become enriched and they are frightened over the possibility that the people may some day get the truth.

The reaction is not as noisy as it was sometime ago, but it is not a bit less dangerous.

The reaction is now organized. It seeks to annihilate everyone that has a change to suggest. It detests bitterly the most extreme Communist who, disregarding the limitations of time and space, is carried away by the glamor of distant revolutions. It would suppress the Socialist, who lays his emphasis on education and the enlightenment of the masses. It would stifle the Non-Partisan League, crush the Farmer-Labor party and would lay its cruel hand not only on the I. W. W., but on the most conservative union in the A. F. of L.

It sees a menace in every organization of the producers. With every manifestation of discontent by the European people with rulers who have wrecked Europe grows the scare of plutocracy in America, grows its determination to prevent the expression of the people's will in this country.

State after state has enacted laws which threaten freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and the right to organize. Similar measures have been introduced in this Congress.

This is a businessmen's Congress, and it is ultra-conservative. Revision of taxation and the

revision of the tariff are the two principal issues in this special session. It is needless to say that the ruling party in Congress is in a hopeless muddle. What the people expected is a reduction of taxation, and no matter which way they turn, the Republicans cannot hope to reduce taxation with more than four-fifths of the revenue going to the military and naval establishments and to cover the burdens created by the war. Nor does the tariff, particularly in view of the chaotic conditions of European countries, which cannot produce enough to export and which cannot afford to import, promise any relief.

But while neither taxation nor the tariff hold out any hope for the people, these two subjects will prevent the serious consideration of any other subject by the special session of congress.

It is hard for a Socialist not to become cynical or indifferent to one's task in the present atmosphere. Conscious, however, of the fact that, limited as the opportunities are, I must not permit myself to become despondent, I have stuck to my work.

Since the opening of the special session I have introduced five bills and resolutions. The first is the amnesty resolution which is identical with that introduced by Senator France and upon which hearings have been held. Another resolution deals in a very broad way with the problem of unemployment. It suggests a series of public undertakings, the construction of houses, and the adoption of a system of unemployment insurance as some of the steps by which the solution of the problem may be approached. Another resolution is calculated to remedy a defect in the bankruptcy law and is of comparatively minor importance.

Two resolutions deal with the international situation: one demands the recognition of the

now existing government of Russia, the other the establishment of an international parliament as a substitute for the League of Nations. The last two resolutions carry out the program of the Socialist Party on international relations as outlined in the last national platform of the Socialist Party.

I have delivered several talks. The amusing thing about my work here is that all the faults, actual and alleged, of the Soviet Government are being laid at my door by my Republican and Democratic friends in Congress, while the wisecracks of the Soviet Government anathematize me and would excommunicate me from all contact with bona fide Socialists.

I wish I could report some substantial accomplishments. But in a sense I am in the same situation in which the entire party finds itself. With the onslaught made upon us by the powers of darkness, it is a miracle that we are alive.

I hope the convention will find a way of again making clear to the world that we have nothing in common with those who would accept dictation from abroad as to methods and policies to be followed in America by an American Socialist movement.

It is just possible that the five years of slaughter and of its heritage of national and race hatreds may push the world back for centuries. But if the world is not to go backward it must take the road illumined by the philosophy of Socialism.

I enclose herewith copies of my resolutions and bills.

With Comradely greetings and with best wishes for the success of the convention, I am

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) MEYER LONDON

THEY ANSWERED THE CALL

Three of the old reliable organizers and party workers have already responded to the call for volunteers to carry the message of Socialism to the masses without guarantee of wages, or even expenses.

They are W. R. Snow, Ida Crouch Hazlett and Esther Friedman. These comrades and their ability as speakers and organizers are well known to the membership. Comrades Snow and Hazlett have been in the field for the party for years and have spoken in practically every state in the Union. Comrade Friedman's work has been mostly in the east but her recent tour to the Pacific Coast for the National Office has made her as popular in the west as she is in her own state.

Comrade Friedman is enroute through Nevada, Utah and Idaho for a months work in Montana under direction of Comrade James D. Graham who is directing reorganization work in that state.

Comrade Snow is working in Indiana and Ohio under direction of the National Office and Comrade Haslett has been assigned to Illinois

and Iowa under direction of the state secretaries. Comrades should make every effort to see that successful meetings are arranged for all these speakers and that the collections taken are at least sufficient to pay their expenses. Their ability to stay in the field where their work is so badly needed and where splendid educational and organization work can be done at present, depends upon their ability to meet expenses.

These comrades are going out in the old crusading, party-building spirit that gets results and builds an organization. Every comrade in every town they visit should meet them in the same spirit and co-operate in making their meetings a success.

Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes, Business Manager of the New Day, and other comrades attending the A. F. of L. convention in Denver held propaganda meetings in that city and reorganized the local there with 18 members. They report a revival of interest and enthusiasm for the party and expect to have a hundred active members within a few weeks.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATIONS

Wherever the Socialist Party is in control of a municipal or other local administration they should be guided by the following rules with regard to public employment of labor and to the filling of appointive offices:

1. In the matter of wages, hours, and conditions of labor, they should maintain standards equal to or better than those which prevail in private employment.

2. They should establish suitable agencies for the statement and redress of grievances and also for enlisting the active co-operation of the public employees in improving methods and developing the highest degree of efficiency.

3. They should apply the civil service system as far as possible, for the purpose both of getting efficient work and of discouraging office-seeking and political trading for jobs.

4. Where the civil service system is not applicable, the appointments should be made by the executive by and with the advice of the caucus or conference of all the Socialist elected officials within the unit in question.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The mission of the Socialist movement is not merely to overthrow an existing system, but at the same time to build a new one in its place. The accomplishment of this mission will require not only the consent, but the active and intelligent collaboration of the great mass of the people.

The Socialist Party has therefore a great educational task to perform—in the first place to educate the working-class majority to the necessity for political and economic power and the means of obtaining it; secondly, in proportion as power is won, to educate them in the methods of using such power to reconstruct society and to administer all its affairs with democratic efficiency.

While all our work of popular propaganda is of an educational nature, it is necessarily more or less superficial, and must be supplemented by thorough and systematic teaching.

Wherever possible, party locals should conduct or support study classes as well as lecture courses. Their aim should be not merely to impart theoretical knowledge and cultivate habits of study and clear thinking, but also to train and equip speakers, organizers, secretaries, managers, writers, and teachers for service in the party, the unions, and other working-class organizations.

Such classes and courses should be carefully planned in advance, with the aid of the best obtainable advice as to subjects and teaching methods. Locals should co-operate with one another, and with the various special educational institutions of the Socialist and Labor movement, in order to get the most competent teachers and make the fullest use of their time. The National Office and State offices should aid in organizing such co-operation.

Recent years have brought a promising of educational work under the auspices of several of the more progressive unions. Socialists who are members of unions should promote such activities in their respective organizations and, where practical, should strive to bring them into mutually helpful co-operation with the educational work of the Socialist movement.

TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE COLORED RACE

The Socialist Party, in National Convention assembled, sends cordial greetings to the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race, and wishes it all success in its efforts to combat race prejudice, to put an end to the shameful outrages to which the Negro population of this country is subjected, and to win for them the equal political, economic, and social rights which are their due.

The disfranchisement of negroes in many states, the many forms of discrimination against them, whether embodied in law or only in custom, the propaganda of race hatred which leads up to lynchings and race riots—all these are disastrous to the mass of the working people, white and colored alike.

We pledge the Socialist Party, through its national, state and local organizations, through its press, and through the work of its individual members, to do all in its power to abolish these evils and to cultivate an active solidarity in the whole body of the workers, regardless of race, creed or color.

RESOLUTION ON THE NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS

The Socialist Party in National Convention assembled, rejoices in the success achieved by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in upholding their standards against the organized employers in the midst of the intense depression which has prevailed throughout the past year.

The defeat of the open-shop drive in the needle industry will be an inspiration and a source of strength to the workers in all other fields of production. We attribute the success of these unions chiefly to the strong feeling of solidarity and the intelligent understanding of the class struggle which have been developed among their rank and file through years of persistent organization work and educational activity, in which their own press and the Socialist papers which they have helped to maintain have played a very large part.

We are confident that the same spirit and power can be developed among the workers in all other industries, and that the working-class movement on the economic field can thus be rendered invincible even under the most critical circumstances.

RESOLUTION ON THE IRISH QUESTION

The Ninth Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States in session in Detroit, Mich., June 29th, 1921, joins with Comrades of the British labor movement in condemning the organized murder and other atrocities committed by British militarism in Ireland.

We call upon the American workers to urge the government at Washington to recognize the Irish Republic and to bring every possible pressure to bear upon the British government, pointing out that further measures of coercion and the continuation of military rule will aggravate rather than remedy the present dangerous situation.

We call upon the workers of America to join their British comrades in condemning the outrages and the reprisals which are ruining Ireland, supporting them in demand for the restoration of Civil Law, for the withdrawal of all troops and auxiliaries, for the release of all political prisoners and the demand for the application of the principle of self-determination without qualification to the Republic of Ireland.

We congratulate our comrades of the British Independent Labor Party on their call to the workers of Great Britain to use the power they displayed last August in preventing war with Soviet Russia to compel the British government to leave the Irish people free to establish their own government on lines such as satisfy the desires and aspirations of their own race, even if that means granting to the Irish people recognition of an Independent Republic.

RESOLUTIONS ON SOVIET RUSSIA

The Socialist Party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, congratulates the Soviet Government of Russia upon its success in maintaining itself against reactionary insurrection, conspiracy, and sabotage at home, combined with invasion, blockade and economic boycott by the capitalist governments of other nations.

The participation of the United States in the military and naval attack upon Soviet Russia during the Wilson administration and the partial continuance of the boycott under the Harding administration constitute a foul blot upon the history of this country.

In the interest of freedom for Soviet Russia, in the interest of industrial revival and employment for the workers of the United States, in the interest of peace among nations and of workingclass progress all over the world, we demand that the Government at Washington recognize the Government which the people of Russia have now maintained for nearly four years, and establish complete freedom of trade, travel, and communication between the two countries, we urge all progressive organizations to join in this demand and to redouble their efforts for its fulfilment.

We denounce the campaign of slander and vilification against Soviet Russia which is being conducted in this country, through the press and other channels, by the same elements that slander and vilify our own labor movement.

If, in face of armed invasion and civil war, harsh measures have been used by the Soviet Government, criticism of such acts come with ill grace from those who, in the United States, with no such conditions to excuse them, have instigated mob violence against the spokesmen of radical ideas, have applauded the lynching of labor organizers, have imprisoned hundreds of men and women for expression of opinion, and who are even now advocating still more drastic infringements of the rights of free speech, press and organization.

If, in Soviet Russia, after seven years of foreign and domestic war and three years of boycott and blockade, economic life is imperfectly organized and production of wealth is inadequate to the people's needs, criticism of this condition comes with ill grace from the defenders of a system which in the United States, in time of peace, restricts production and causes untold misery by throwing more than one fourth of all our wage-workers into involuntary idleness.

For the evils which exist in Russia to-day, the guilt can be wholly or largely brought home to the rulers of the United States and other capitalist countries who have sought and still seek to starve and strangle the world's first Socialist Republic. The enemies of Soviet Russia are everywhere the enemies of Socialism and of the working class.

By their heroic struggle to abolish class rule and exploitation, the Russian people have given inspiration and incalculable aid to the working class movement in all lands. Their defeat would mean disaster to us. Their victory will be a victory for us as well.

RESOLUTIONS ON ANTI-SEMITISM AND JEWISH MASSACRES

The Socialist Party of the United States, in Convention Assembled, raises its voice in protest against the frightful persecution of the Jews in various parts of the Old World, in which hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have been slaughtered and other hideous outrages perpetrated.

We denounce also the campaign of forgery and slander by which certain reactionary elements in this country seek to create prejudice and hatred against the Jewish people. Those who thus propagate anti-Semitism in the United States thereby make themselves accomplices in the bloody massacres in the Old World.

This revival of race antagonism in its worst forms is very largely a direct result of the world war which glorified violence and set loose every brutal passion; and in every case it has been used to support the rule of capitalists, aristocrats and militarists and to divide and weaken the forces of the working-class democracy.

We further call attention to the fact that the imperialist League of Nations, while ever ready to use armed force to decide territorial disputes in the interest of high finance, has cynically looked on at the mass murder of Jews in Poland, Ukraine, and elsewhere and even in some cases given positive support to the murderers.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Adopted by the National Convention at Detroit.

The following constitutional amendments, adopted by the convention, will not be submitted to referendum unless such referendum is initiated by the local organizations within sixty days. In case no such referendum are initiated the amendments will be in effect on and after September 1st, as provided in Sec. II, Art. VIII of the present constitution.

MANAGEMENT

Amend. Art. IV (Duties of the N. E. C.) so as to make Sec. I (d) read as follows

(d) To strengthen the organization, promote propaganda and to establish regular organization and lecture circuits.

And by adding to Section I a new sub-section as follows:—

(1) To supervise the activity of elected legislative representatives and party owned newspapers.

CONVENTIONS

Amend. Art VIII so as to make the second paragraph of Sec. 6 read as follows:—

Dual Convention Stamps and Exempt Convention Stamps shall be issued under the same conditions as Dual and Exempt Dues Stamps as provided in Sec. 7, Art. IX of this constitution.

ORGANIZATION and LECTURE CIRCUITS

Amend. Art. IX, Section 4 by adding after the word "party" which closes the first sentence, the following proviso:—

Provided also that the National Office may route organizers and lectures direct through any state as a part of a regular organization and lecture circuit if the co-operation of the State Organization cannot be secured.

MEMBERSHIP DUES

Amend Art. IX by striking out the present Sec. 6 (a) and substituting the following:—

Sec. 6 (a) The dues of members of the Socialist Party shall be 50 cents per month which shall be divided as follows: to the National organization 10 cents, to the state organization 15 cents, to the county or city organization 10 cents, to the branch organization 15 cents. In counties or cities where there is no central organization the county dues shall be paid to the state organization.

This amendment does not change the amount or distribution of the dues now paid. It is only a rewording of the present section, making it plainer and more easily understood.

LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

Amend Art. XI (Foreign Speaking Organizations) by adding a new sub-section to Sec. 3 as follows:—

Sec. 3 (b) The headquarters of the Language

Federations shall be the National Office of the Socialist Party, and no Federation shall be permitted to have offices anywhere else.

Amend Sec. 4 so as to make the first sentence read:—

Sec. 4. When such National Language Federation shall have at least 1,000 members, their Translator-Secretary shall be entitled to necessary office room in the National Headquarters, and to such salary from the National Office as may be decided by the National Executive Committee of the party. Etc.

Amend Sec. 5 by adding 2 new sub-sections as follows:—

Sec. 5 (c) Language Federations failing to remit dues for any state or local organization for three months is subject to suspension by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 5 (d) The National Executive Committee shall have power to audit the accounts of the Language Federations and furnish reports to the State Organizations.

Amend Sec. 6 (a) first paragraph, to read as follows:—

Sec. 6(a) Branches of Language Federations shall be an integral part of the county and state organizations and shall be governed by the constitution and by-laws of the respective state and local organizations.

Amend Sec 6 (a) by adding the words "or the party" after the "Federation" in the fourth line of the second paragraph.

Amend Sec. 6 (b) by adding the words "with the approval of the National Executive Committee" after the word "it" in the fourth line of the first paragraph, and by striking out all of the third paragraph.

SUSPENDING CONVENTIONS.

Amend Art. XII by adding a new section as follows:—

Sec 7. No motion for referendum on suspension of national conventions will be permitted within six months preceding the conventions.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Strike out all of the present Art. XIII and substitute the following:—

Section 1. The work among the young, between the ages of 14 and 25, in the national field shall be under the control and direction of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Section 2. The organization work of the Y. P. S. L. shall be under the supervision of the various State Organizations of the Socialist Party.

Section 3. The National Executive Committee shall issue a voluntary assessment stamp which shall be sold for twenty-five cents.

Section 4. The National Office of the Socialist Party shall receive five cents of the above, which

shall be used for the issuance of a bulletin or any other means to help the organizations of the various states.

Section 5. The State Organization of the Socialist Party shall receive twenty cents which shall be used for organization and educational work among the young.

Section 6. The various State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall be chosen by the Y. P. S. L. and approved by the Socialist Party.

Section 7. The various State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall elect one of their members to represent them at all National affairs and Conventions of the Party.

Section 8. Members of the Y. P. S. L. under twenty-one years of age must upon attaining the age of twenty-one become members of the Socialist Party or withdraw from membership in the League. No applicant for membership in the Y. P. S. L. between the age of twenty-one and twenty-five shall be admitted unless a member of the Party.

Section 9. The branches of the Y. P. S. L. shall be under the jurisdiction of the City, County, or State Organizations of the Socialist Party, and must in all cases work in harmony with the constitution and platform of the City, County, or State Organization of the Party.

Section 10. Every State, City and County organization of the Party shall elect at least one member to represent the Socialist Party in the re-

spective State, City and County organization of the Y. P. S. L. Such Party representative to have a voice and vote in all affairs concerning the Y. P. S. L.

Section 11. Every State, City and County Organization of the Y. P. S. L. shall elect at least one member to represent the Y. P. S. L. in the respective State, County and City Organizations of the Socialist Party. Such representatives to have a voice and vote in all affairs concerning the Y. P. S. L.

Section 12. The Y. P. S. L. shall pay monthly to the National Office a sum equal to five cents for each member in good standing within their respective states, for which they shall receive dues stamps or other valid receipt for dues. Only dues stamps issued by the National Office shall be considered as a valid receipt for dues.

Section 13. The State Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. shall issue a quarterly report to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party concerning the membership, financial condition and general standing of the Y. P. S. L. Said reports to be published in Party or Y. P. S. L. bulletin.

Section 14. The Y. P. S. L. shall be entitled to one Delegate, having a voice but no vote, to the National Convention of the Socialist Party. Said delegate shall receive railroad fare and per diem from the Party the same as regular delegates.

REPLY TO THE DISABLED WAR VETERANS

By Delegate King-Chairman of the Convention

"Mr. Horr, and Committee from the Disabled Veterans of the World War—We are glad to state the position of the Socialist Party on the question you have raised. We understand the motives which impelled you to participate in the world war and for which you have suffered so grievously. The Socialist Party was opposed to this war which disabled and crippled so many of you and caused the death of others. We acted as a political party exercising our prerogative to influence the destiny of this nation, just as the Republican and Democratic parties follow their respective policies.

"In 1914 there was only one organization in the world which attempted to stop the war which has caused you and millions like you such suffering. That was the International Socialist movement. We are proud of our Internationalism. We only regret that we were too weak to stop the war. Our force was insufficient to prevent the workers of the various nations being hurled into a conflict out of which they got only wounds, disabilities and death.

"You have suffered. But we also have suffered. Our comrades have been imprisoned for exercis-

ing the right of free speech and free assemblage. Their only crime was an endeavor to prevent the war in which you have been sacrificed. We stand upon our right to free speech and free assemblage. These are our rights under the Constitution. And these we will maintain.

"Having said so much, the Chair will recognize one of our national leaders, Comrade Algernon Lee, an elected Alderman of New York, who has been kept out of his office by those who boast of one-hundred per cent Americanism, while they defy the foundations of popular liberty, the People's vote."

Delegate Lee of New York:

"Comrade Chairman—I think it is unnecessary for me to add anything to what you have so well said. You have expressed my thoughts, and I believe you have expressed the thoughts of every delegate in this convention. I therefore move that the remarks from the Chair stand as the reply of this convention to the address made by the spokesman of the Disabled Veterans of the World War, and that the convention pass to the regular order of business."

Report of the National Executive Committee to the National Convention, Detroit, Michigan

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The actions of your committee in relation to International affairs is covered in a report prepared by the Executive Secretary and published in the May number of the Socialist World which you have before you. Two matters not dealt with in that report are the case of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Schwartz and the Socialist and Labor Mission to Soviet Russia.

The Schwartz case is covered in a statement in the Socialist World for January. As stated therein, comrade Martens of the Soviet Bureau agreed to secure a report on this case from Russia but up to the present no word has been received concerning it.

At the last National Convention the following motion was adopted:

"That this convention of the Socialist Party instruct the National Executive Committee to provide for the sending of a mission of three members, who may be selected from among the International Delegates and International Secretary, to carry our fraternal greetings to Soviet Russia and to investigate and report on the conditions in the world's first working class republic."

This matter was taken up at the meeting in Detroit on July 10th and it was decided to invite the participation of a number of labor organizations in the formation of a joint Socialist and Labor Mission to Russia. Comrades Oneal, Lee, Cohen and Trachtenberg were selected as the Socialist Party members of such mission.

Letters were immediately sent out to labor organizations but the replies were necessarily delayed as in most instances it was necessary for the officials to lay the matter before their Executive Boards who, in some cases, did not meet for weeks after the receipt of the invitation.

When the committee met at Pittsburg on August 21st, it took the following action:

Motion by Mailly—That the Socialist members of the Mission apply for passports immediately and that the co-operating organizations be notified. Carried.

In accordance with the above instructions, the delegates applied for passports about August 25th and a communication was sent to the State Department urging that the passports be granted.

August 27, 1920

Honorable Bainbridge Colby,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The Socialist Party, in co-operation with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the National Co-operative Association and other organizations, is

organizing an American Socialist and Labor Mission to Russia for the purpose of studying industrial and political conditions in Russia and the neighboring states.

The Socialist Party representatives on this Mission are Algeron Lee, James Oneal and Alexander Trachtenberg, of New York, and Joseph E. Cohen of Philadelphia. These delegates have made application for passports and I sincerely hope that same will be granted.

The social experiment being made by the Russian people is of the utmost concern to the whole civilized world. Either its success or failure will have the most far-reaching influence upon the future, not only of Russia, but of all other countries. Nothing of such stupendous importance as the Russian revolution and the succeeding organization of the Soviet government has occurred within the history of modern civilization. The workingclass of the United States, in common with that of all other countries, is vitally interested in this matter and is desirous of being fully informed regarding the actual conditions existing in Russia at the present time.

It is true that the daily press furnishes a vast amount of information and a large number of persons, many of whom have been in Russia, have given publicity to their views and impressions through books and magazine articles. However, such reports and publications have generally been biased and influenced by preconceived ideas, either favorable or unfavorable to the Soviets and there has been so much of censorship, so much mere rumor, so much of deliberate misrepresentation and so much of propaganda in the reports from and about Russia, that the public does not know what to believe and does not have reliable information upon which to base an intelligent opinion.

Under these circumstances, the Socialist Party and the co-operating labor organizations, desire to send official representatives in whose fairness, impartiality and honesty we have implicit confidence, for the purpose of gathering first-hand and reliable information and reporting same to our membership.

We cannot conceive of any just reason why our representatives should not be given passports for this purpose, but on the contrary, believe that in common fairness and justice, the government should give us an opportunity of securing information through sources that we consider honest and reliable.

Trusting that your Department will take this view of the matter and that the passports asked for by our representatives will be granted, I am

Very truly yours,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,
Executive Secretary.

No reply had been received to this communication or to the applications of the delegates for passports, when the committee met at Atlanta on October 2nd. In response to a large number of communications, it was decided at this meeting to add a woman comrade to the delegation. This was later done through correspondence, Comrade Meta Berger being selected.

On October 7th the delegates received their passports and the question as to time of departure, which had necessarily been held in abeyance until the passports were received, was immediately taken up. Comrade Joseph Cohen was in a position to start at any time on ten days notice. Comrade Oneal was unable to go at all (as he had informed the committee some time previously) and the other members for various reasons wished to postpone their departure until Spring. Comrades Lee and Trachtenberg being unable to leave the work they were engaged upon until that time. The objection was also advanced that the late fall or early winter was the very poorest time to go to Russia as the inclement weather would add to the difficulties known to exist.

It was therefore decided that the Mission should sail late in February or early in March and the delegates were so instructed.

Later, the invitation to send delegates to the Vienna Conference on February 22nd was received and the committee considered the advisability of sending the Russian Mission as delegates to Vienna, and having them proceed from there to Russia. However, we faced the same difficulty of our delegates, with the exception of Cohen, being unwilling and unable to sail in time to attend the Vienna Conference.

In addition to this difficulty, the financial condition of the National Office was such as to make it impossible for us to finance the delegation. The Unions in the clothing industry, in which we have a large number of members and from which we had expected substantial financial support for the Mission were locked out or on strike, and the wave of unemployment in all lines was already affecting the income of the party and making it extremely difficult to raise large sums for any purpose.

In the meantime, also, had been received the report of the actions of the Second Congress of the Communist International and its adoption of the "21 points", the reply of their Executive Committee to our application for affiliation and the reports of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. and Mrs. Schwartz, Albert Boni, and other investigators. With these facts in mind it was considered doubtful if our delegation would be admitted to Russia. That there was ground for such doubts has since been proven by the refusal to admit Senator France, Wm. H. Johnston of the Machinists and others who went on similar missions.

Under these circumstances, inability of our delegates to go before Spring, the shortage of funds, and the uncertainty of the reception and treatment which would be accorded our delegation, motions were submitted to the committee on January 8th by Melms, reconsidering the

decision to send the Mission to Russia and on January 10th by Oneal, reconsidering the decision to send delegates to Vienna. Both motions were adopted—Roewer and Maily voting "No" on the motion by Melms and Maily voting "No" on the motion by Oneal.

Since the adoption of these motions on January 20th and 22nd respectively, no further action has been taken by the committee regarding the Mission to Russia and the matter is referred back to this convention for such action as you deem advisable.

THE AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

The principal activity of the committee (aside from the Presidential Campaign last year the principal features and the results of which are well known to the delegates) has been in connection with the efforts to secure the release of our imprisoned comrades and of all political prisoners.

Following the demonstration at Washington last May, at the close of the New York Convention the committee attempted to keep alive the public interest in the question of Amnesty and to carry on as continuously and aggressively as possible, the agitation for their release.

In addition to continuous publicity in the National Office Press Service, as well as in the New Day and the Socialist World, the following communication was sent on June 18th:

Joseph P. Tumulty,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On May 15th a Committee from the National Convention of the Socialist Party headed by Mr. George E. Roewer, Jr. presented you with a memorial to the President requesting general amnesty for all persons convicted under war-time legislation for alleged offenses of a purely political nature.

We were assured at that time that you would call this to the personal attention of the President, and have been expecting some action or reply thereto on his part.

Will you kindly inform us whether this memorial was presented to the President and what action, if any, has been taken regarding the request contained therein?

Yours very truly,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,

Executive Secretary.

A reply was received to this communication saying that the memorial had been presented to the President.

On July 10th the committee met at Detroit, adopted resolutions for the release of political prisoners and elected another delegation to visit Washington and press for definite action on the part of the administration. The President pleaded ill health as a reason for not receiving this delegation and their visit was therefore postponed. At the same meeting a call was issued setting September 13th as a day of general protest in behalf of political prisoners.

Motion by Roewer:—That the 13th of September, the second anniversary of the commencement of Comrade Deb's trial, be set aside for nation-wide meetings of protest and demand for the release of all political prisoners; that the Executive Secretary be instructed to give proper publicity to this event and to urge every local in the United States to arrange a meeting for that day, and that the locals be requested to contribute the proceeds of such meetings to the National campaign fund. Carried.

In response to this call, meetings were held by many locals in all parts of the country on September 13th, and on the 14th a committee consisting of Comrades Roewer, Oneal, Maily and Baskin, interviewed Attorney General Palmer and again presented arguments for the immediate release of the political.

On January 6th, a committee consisting of Comrades Algernon Lee, Frances Witherspoon and Jacob Panken were given a hearing, as representatives of the Socialist Party, before the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in a public hearing on Senator France's amnesty resolution.

At the committee meeting held in Chicago on December 4th, 5th and 6th, it was decided to circulate a National Petition to Congress. The immediate launching of this campaign was delayed on account of the expectancy in many quarters that some and perhaps many of the prisoners would be released either on Christmas or New Year's day.

When these days passed without the hoped for releases, arrangements were made for the new campaign. It was evident that nothing could be expected from the Wilson administration and plans were therefore made to bring such influence as our campaign might develop to bear upon the incoming rather than the outgoing administration.

Petitions, resolutions and leaflets, as well as other forms and supplies were printed and the committee made final plans for the campaign at its meeting in Boston on March 5th. It was decided that a headquarters should be opened at Washington immediately and that the culmination of the campaign should occur at Washington on April 13th and 14th with the presentation of the petition to Congress and the appearance of various sub-committees and delegations before influential members of the administration.

One feature of the campaign, the picketing of Congress and the White House, was abandoned at the request of many comrades who feared that it might be detrimental to the success of the campaign.

Comrade Harriot Stanton Blatch was placed in charge of the work at Washington and opened headquarters there on March 14th, a month prior to our demonstration. A report of the work is printed in the April issue of the Socialist World which you have before you.

Following the demonstration, the Washington Headquarters was kept open until June 1st with Winnie Branstetter in charge. During this period, Comrade Branstetter presented a large number of petition signatures and resolutions adopted by labor unions and other bodies, which had been delayed in reaching Washington, to Mr. Christensen, Secretary to the President. She also had interviews with several members of the Cabinet and Department of Justice officials and with a large number of senators and congressmen. The headquarters there have been closed since June 1st but it is planned to re-open them on July 1st with Comrade Lilith Martin in charge.

So far the only tangible result which can be attributed directly to the work of our committee is the release last June of Kate Richards O'Hare, but the publicity secured for our numerous demonstrations and delegations and the distribution of over five hundred thousand pieces of amnesty literature has done much to keep the question before the public and has educated a steadily increasing number of non-Socialist citizens in regard to political prisoners and the injustice of their conviction and continued imprisonment.

It goes without saying that the agitation for the release of all political prisoners must be continued and the question of the next step to be taken and the methods and means of continuing this work is referred to this convention and the incoming Executive Committee.

PRISON COMFORT CLUB.

In direct connection with the amnesty agitation is the work conducted by the Prison Comfort Club under the direction of this committee. The purpose of this club is furnish imprisoned comrades with such comforts as are allowed under the prison regulations and to extend relief to their families when necessary and to as great an extent as possible. From July 1st to December 31st \$1,868.25 was raised for this purpose, of which \$1,810.24 was expended—leaving a balance on hand of \$58.01.

Since the first of the year, the receipts for this fund have been negligible and the expenditures correspondingly small. This relief work is practically at a standstill and we have rendered no material relief to either the prisoners or their families since January 1st. This is due partly to the fact that there was a widespread belief that the release of the political prisoners might be expected at any time and the interest in the relief work was correspondingly lessened.

The membership and our sympathizers in all parts of the country must be made to realize that while the amnesty agitation must be kept up, that the relief work must not be neglected. The incoming Executive Committee should take prompt steps to renew relief work of the Prison Comfort Club and to see that it is not allowed to lapse again as it has during the past six months so long as a single comrade is behind prison walls.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The 1920 campaign was one of the most remarkable in the history of the Party. Handicapped by the weakness and disorganization engendered by three years of persecution and of internal dissension, the Party entered the campaign bankrupt, and without credit, and actually without sufficient money at times for the postage required to circularize our members and supporters with a request for funds.

The appeals were gotten out, however, and met with a surprising response as the campaign progressed. As shown on the attached auditor's report, a campaign fund amounting to \$55,804.60 was raised. Of this amount, \$50,024.50 was expended in the campaign and the remaining \$5,780.10 was applied on deficits in other departments.

During the progress of the campaign, thirty thousand books and pamphlets were sold and three million seven hundred and fifty thousand leaflets distributed. Twenty-four speakers were toured by the National Office covering all the more important sections of the country and speaking in hundreds of towns and villages in which no public socialist meetings had been held since 1917.

The most interesting and spectacular of these tours were those made by Comrade Seymour Stedman, our candidate for Vice-President, and Kate Richards O'Hare.

Comrade Stedman accompanied by Eugene Wood, made a tour extending from coast to coast and spoke to tremendous audiences in all the larger cities.

Despite the heavy expense of long jumps between dates, especially on the western tour, the meetings were so largely attended and the speeches so well received that the collections taken at the meetings exceeded the expenses by over three thousand dollars.

Comrade O'Hare was released from prison early in June and within less than two weeks hereafter, started on a campaign, under the direction of the National Office, that lasted until election day. What is said of Comrade Stedman's tour was equally true of Comrades O'Hare's. Record breaking audiences and record breaking collections were daily occurrences and in addition to the campaign value of her meetings, \$2,000.00 was netted for the campaign fund.

All the other speakers, in proportion to their ability or popularity met the same uniform success and our meetings were the biggest feature of the campaign.

An interesting situation developed at the National Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party when Comrade Eugene V. Debs name was placed before them as a nominee for their presidential candidate. Acting under instructions from the committee given in anticipation of such an event, Executive Secretary Branstetter announced that it would be impossible for Comrade Debs to accept the nomination and asked that his name be withdrawn. This action perhaps prevented a very embarrassing situation and received hearty

approval and commendation from Comrade Debs.

The result of the campaign in the number of votes counted by the old parties in control of the election machinery-914,947-while far below what had been hoped for, demonstrated conclusively that the Socialist Party was still a factor and potentially, a tremendous factor in the political life of our nation and that it was the only political party, right, left or center, claiming to represent the working class that had the actual support of any important number of them.

There is but one "Labor" party in America—that party is the Socialist Party.

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

The last national convention adopted an amendment to the party constitution providing that The Socialist World be sent to all party members and that a portion of the dues be applied to that purpose.

Publication of the Socialist World was commenced with the month of July 1920. The regulations of the Post Office Department governing the second class entry of official publications sent to members whose subscriptions are paid as a part of their dues are quite strict and difficult to comply with in an organization as loosely formed as our own.

However, we have been able to comply with all requirements and despite the necessary red tape have made satisfactory progress in getting the names of our members on the mailing list. At the present time the number receiving the Socialist World regularly is eleven thousand and new names are being added monthly.

Within a few more months we should be able to get the names of all members properly on the mailing list and thereafter have a means of direct communication between the National Office and the entire membership. When the organization gets back to normal conditions under which our energies are devoted to propaganda and organization work, the Socialist World should be of inestimable value to the organization in keeping the membership informed on party matters, and in creating a closer contact, and a better understanding and a greater degree of cooperation between the National Office and the membership as a whole.

The present cost to the party is approximately \$350.00 a month.

The committee feels that the prospective value of the Socialist World cannot be overestimated and that no matter what curtailment of expenses may be made necessary by the general industrial depression and the condition of the party, that the Socialist World should be continued under all circumstances.

THE NEW DAY

As shown on an attached financial statement, the deficit on the New Day was \$3,329.43 for the last six months of last year. The greater part of this deficit was created in November and

December after the close of the presidential campaign. During the summer months and the early fall when active locals were placing large numbers of subscribers on the mailing list for propaganda purposes, the monthly deficit was not large and offered no serious obstacle to the continuance of the publication.

Immediately after the close of the campaign, however, the receipts fell off so rapidly that a deficit was created of approximately \$800.00 in November and of \$1200.00 in December. Considering the financial condition of the National Office it was absolutely impossible for us to continue publication. It was not a question of the advisability of discontinuing publication or of continuing publication with a deficit and thus increasing the indebtedness of the National Office. The committee had no such choice of alternatives. Even though we had deemed it advisable to do so, we could not have continued publication at a loss without receiving additional credit from our printers, which they were unwilling and unable to extend. We were faced with the alternatives of discontinuing publication or of having our printers refuse to print additional issues without cash payments which we were unable to make.

It was therefore decided to discontinue publication, but in order to protect the subscribers and also to save the second class entry which was at that time still difficult for Socialist publications to secure, an effort was made to have some of the existing publications take over The New Day and fill its unexpired subscriptions, which represented a liability of about \$1500.00.

The matter was taken up with a number of the few remaining Socialist papers but none of them were in a position to take over the publication of the New Day with its inevitable deficit for sometime to come, except the Milwaukee Leader. The Leader, however, was under the ban of the Postal Department, denied access to the mails and any attempt on their part to take over the actual ownership and control of the New Day would undoubtedly have resulted in the loss of our second-class entry.

The Leader, however, was willing to make a considerable sacrifice in order to assist the Party Organization and prevent the death of the New Day with no arrangements for filling the unexpired subscriptions or compensating the subscribers. Arrangements were finally made whereby the Leader agreed to print the New Day for the National Office and to rebate whatever portion of their bill was necessary in order to cover the monthly deficit, the ownership and control of the paper being retained by the National Office.

It was evident, however, that such an arrangement could not be continued indefinitely and it was accordingly agreed that in case the Leader's second-class entry was restored and the stop order on its mail revoked, the National Office, if it was not able to resume the expense of the publication within a reasonable time, would transfer the ownership of the New Day to the Leader. This condition having arisen and the

National Office being in no position to resume payment of the monthly deficits, the ownership of the New Day has been transferred to the Milwaukee Leader.

The Leader in the meantime has doubled the size of the New Day and agrees to continue its publication as a Socialist propaganda paper, to fill all unexpired subscriptions without charge to the National Office, and to assume all debts and liabilities incurred since we commenced printing the paper in their plant.

The committee wished to continue the New Day as a National Office publication and reluctantly agreed to giving it up only because the financial condition of the party made it absolutely impossible to continue it. By this means the paper is saved to the party and to its subscribers and supporters.

The committee feels that the Leader has rendered a valuable service to the party in this matter and that the party is to be congratulated that the continued publication of The New Day is assured.

LITERATURE

During the past year the committee has published the following books and pamphlets:

- A Nation Divided by Scott Nearing—paper—10c
2 editions—10,000 each.
- The New Slavery by Scott Nearing—paper—15c
2 editions—10,000 each.
- Now It Must Be Done by Irwin St. John Tucker—
paper—15c—2 editions—10,000 & 20,000
- The Campaign Primer by Art Young—paper—
10c—1 edition—25,000.
- The Salaried Man — paper—10c — 1 edition—
5,000
- 1920 Campaign Book — paper — 60c — 2
editions — 2,000 each.
- A History of Imperialism — by Irwin St. John
Tucker—cloth—\$2.25—1 edition—1,000.

The Campaign Book and A Political Primer were strictly campaign books but the remainder are publications of permanent value and are continued in stock.

The committee has approved for publication, a number of pamphlets which have not been published owing to the financial condition of the party and the comparatively light sales of literature at present.

Leaflets to the number of 4,250,000 comprising fifteen different titles were printed during the campaign last year.

Four hundred and fifty thousand leaflets of five different titles were printed in connection with the Amnesty campaign last winter and 500,000 copies of ten leaflets dealing principally with the Open Shop and Unemployment have been printed this year for general propaganda.

The Literature Department showed a profit of \$3,210.71 for the six months period ending December 31st and the inventory showed stock of literature and supplies on hand at that time to the value of \$9,928.11.

MEMBERSHIP and ORGANIZATION

The membership in good standing at the present time is approximately 17,000, a decrease of 10,000 from the average membership for the year 1920 and of 4,000 for the average for the year ending May 31st, 1921. Attached hereto is a tabulated statement showing the membership by months for both the English speaking branches and the Language Federations. The following is a summary of the tables:

	English Federa- tion	Federa- tion	Total
Average Membership for year 1920	14,329	12,437	26,766
Average Membership for year ending May 31	13,047	8,241	21,288
Average Membership 1st five months 1921	13,262	4,182	17,464

The English speaking membership has remained stationary since the last convention, while the Federation membership shows a decrease of a little less than 4,000. This loss represents the number of members lost by the withdrawal of the Finnish Federation as the membership in the remaining Federations has remained practically the same.

During the past two years an attempt was made to strengthen the organization in the weaker states through the establishment of Organization Districts in charge of a District Sec'y appointed and paid by this committee. Three such districts were formed—The Southern District, in April 1920, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana; the North Western District, in May 1920, including Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana; the Central District, including Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota.

The plan has failed to accomplish the results hoped for but is not an indication that it would not succeed under more favorable conditions. Owing to the financial condition the committee was unable to continue the appropriations necessary to maintain the districts and the North Western District Office was closed in March and the Southern District on May 31st. The Central District has been self-supporting from the start owing to the fact that it contains one fairly well organized state—Iowa—and is still continued.

The committee feels that these district organizations have failed not on account of any inherent defect in the plan for district organizations but on account of the general conditions which have affected the party as a whole. The organization districts, being those states and sections where the party was weakest, were less able to withstand and overcome the unfavorable conditions than the more strongly organized states.

The committee recommends that the plan of District Organization be not abandoned and succeeding Executive Committee re-establish such districts when the conditions are more favorable

for their success and the condition of the party will permit the expense of maintaining them until they are self-supporting.

Early in the year your committee undertook an extensive membership campaign, the features of which were a contest in the securing of new members during March and April with prizes for the individual members and the local and state organizations securing the largest number.

The committee regrets the necessity of reporting that the proposed drive was abandoned owing to the apathy and indifference of the membership and the lack of interest in and support of the proposed campaign.

In addition to the speakers and organizers routed during the presidential and amnesty campaigns, we have kept a number of speakers and organizers continually in the field. Ten locals have been organized in Montana since the first of the year and correspondence with other points in that state indicate that we will be able to organize as many more within the next few months and again form a state organization. Equally successful work can be done at the present time in quite a number of the unorganized states but it will entail a considerable expense which the committee is not in a position to meet at present.

The sentiment of the public is more favorable and the interference with our meetings by the police and by lawless groups is rapidly decreasing. Speakers are now using the streets without trouble in most parts of the country and the crowds are unusually large, interested and sympathetic. The vast number of unemployed and the general industrial depression, however, results in very small collections as well as a decrease in literature sales. Under these circumstances, while splendid work can be done by local organizations, it is almost impossible to route speakers into unorganized and poorly organized territory without a resulting deficit for wages and expenses.

In curtailing expenses to meet the decreasing income of the National Office, the committee has decreased the number of speakers and organizers in the field until but three remain—W. R. Snow, Lilith Martin and Mary McVicker. The routes of all these speakers expire the last of this month and they are being released at that time by the National Office. Comrade August Claessens will be the only speaker under our direction after June 30th. He is on a automobile tour with a party which includes three experienced speakers and organizers, August Claessens, Hilda G. Claessens and Norman Goldstein. The tour is to extend from New York to Colorado and return and they are averaging two meetings a night at points enroute. All these comrades are serving without wages, and charging the party only for necessary expenses. Up to the time they reached Chicago the receipts from their meetings were more than sufficient to defray the expenses. As with other speakers, Comrade Claessens reports very large and interested audiences but the collections and literature sales, while sufficient to cover expenses, are light and show the rapidly increasing impoverishment of the workers.

Local organizations and comrades should render every possible assistance to make the Claessens tour a success.

The importance of street meetings at the present time cannot be overestimated and local organizations are urged to resume such meetings as extensively as possible with local speakers. Every possible effort should be made by the incoming Executive Committee to resume this character of work by national organizers. In the present crisis the spirit that animated the pioneers of the movement should be aroused and a staff of organizers and field workers secured who are willing and able to do the work required without guarantee of regular wages. Twenty, fifteen and even ten years ago we mustered dozens of valiant comrades into service who took the field for the party and depended upon their collections and literature sales for compensation. When these were not sufficient to pay wages—they had no wages — when their receipts exceeded a reasonable wage they turned the surplus into the party treasury.

It was a hard life for those comrades, but they built the party. The same spirit of loyalty, devotion and sacrifice is needed in the present crisis and will get the same results.

The reaction from the hysteria of the war and the indifference and neglect of the powers that be—both political and industrial—to the widespread unemployment and suffering of the masses, is arousing millions of workers to a sympathetic interest in our party and its principles. These unemployed workers want our message, they greet our speakers eagerly and sympathetically, and the opportunity of reaching them should not and must not be neglected. To a large extent the future of our party depends upon our ability to take advantage of this opportunity to reach and educate and organize the great army of workers who are turning to Socialism as the only hope of escape from the misery of the Capitalist system.

THE Y. P. S. L.

The Young People's Socialist League was affected in the same manner as the party organization by both the internal controversies and the general industrial and political situation. Following the decision of the old Y. P. S. L. organization to sever its relations with the party and maintain an independent organization, a number of Circles in New York, Milwaukee, St. Louis and other points withdrew from the Independent Yipsels and were reorganized as the Y. P. S. L. affiliated with the party. For the past year we have been unable to bear the expense of maintaining a Young People's Department in the National Office and the existing Circles have been largely left to themselves to work out the rebuilding of their organization.

In spite of the enforced neglect of this work by the national party organization, the indomitable perseverance, courage and enthusiasm of the young comrades has resulted not only in the maintenance of the existing organizations, but in

the organization of a number of new circles in different states and the formation of new state organizations in New York and Massachusetts.

Feeling that this work is too important to be neglected entirely, and in view of the fact that we are unable to maintain a department at the National Office, the committee has appointed Comrade Albert Weisbard of New York as Director with the understanding that he will maintain his office in New York and serve without salary. The Encouragement given the Circles by Comrade Weisbard's appointment should give a renewed impetus to the work and result in a strengthening and extension of the Y. P. S. L. organizations.

LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

There are at the present time six Federations affiliated with the party—Jewish, Italian, Bohemian, German, Jugo-Slav and Lithuanian.

Accompanying this report is a tabulation showing the membership and the amount paid in dues by each Federation monthly for the past year.

This tabulation shows the average membership and purchase of dues stamps for the past five months as follows:—

MEMBER-SHIP PAID IN DUES	Jewish	Italian	Bohemian	German	Jugo-Slav	Lith.
	922	993	868	624	601	174
	\$77.10	\$98.26	\$67.78	\$59.58	\$54.64	\$17.40

The constitution provides that a minimum salary of \$28.00 a week and office space in the National Headquarters be allowed the Translator-Secretaries of Federations having one thousand members or more. None of the Federations have this number at present and the committee, rather than cut off this assistance, has continued the payments to the Federations maintaining an average membership of 800 or more. Under this arrangement, a weekly salary of \$30.00 is paid to the Jewish Translator and of \$28.00 to the Bohemian and Italian Translators. No regular salary is paid the other Translators but a monthly appropriation is made to the Jugo-Slav and German Federations equal to the amount of dues stamps purchased.

Offices, including light and telephone service, are furnished to the Bohemian, Italian, German and Jugo-Slav Federations without charge.

It is impossible for the committee to continue these payments under present conditions as the wages of each Translator amounts to more than is received in dues and in addition, we must bear the expense of the offices furnished which, at a fair estimate, costs the party \$30.00 each per month.

The situation is that instead of helping to support the National Office, the Federations are a liability and cost us from thirty to one hundred dollars a month each.

In justice to the Translators it must be said that we are from two to six weeks behind in the payment of their wages and that they are, without exception, patient and considerate and have upon numerous occasions made loans to the Na-

DUES RECEIPTS

From June 1920 to May 1921

Month	Total Receipts	Receipts from English Branches	Receipts from Federation Branches
1920			
June	\$ 2,296.60	\$ 1,500.60	\$ 796.00
July	2,022.40	1,103.70	918.70
August	1,683.60	909.00	774.60
September	2,182.23	1,203.93	978.30
October	1,592.35	536.95	1,055.40
November	3,309.74	2,537.64	772.10
December	1,813.36	995.76	817.60
1921			
January	2,224.60	1,779.20	445.40
February	1,327.40	1,000.40	327.00
March	1,586.40	1,163.70	422.70
April	1,627.10	1,299.80	327.30
May	871.65	520.25	351.40
Totals.....	\$22,537.43	\$14,550.93	\$7,986.50
Average ...	1,878.12	1,212.57	665.54
Average for year 1920..	\$ 2,190.41	\$ 1,275.62	\$ 914.78
Average for first five months of 1921....	\$ 1,527.43	\$ 1,152.67	\$ 374.76

NOTE—That the unusual slump in dues for May is only temporary is shown by the fact that the receipts from English branches up to June 22nd was \$634.50 against \$525.25 for the entire month of May.

MEMBERSHIP

Month	English Branches	Foreign	Total Membership
1920			
June	14,904	9,566	24,470
July	10,510	11,803	22,313
August	12,169	10,333	22,502
September	10,369	12,427	22,796
October	14,315	13,868	28,183
November	17,192	10,227	20,451
December	10,695	9,756	20,451
1921			
January	19,813	4,774	24,587
February	12,292	3,681	15,973
March	13,875	4,917	18,792
April	14,710	3,590	18,300
May	5,719	3,950	9,669*
Averages	13,047	8,241	21,288
Average for year 1920.....	14,329	12,437	26,766
Average for first five months of 1921	13,282	4,182	17,464

*See note above on dues receipts for June.

tional Office in emergencies.

Many of the Federation members and branches are liberal contributors to all appeals for special funds and are prompt in the payment of convention assessments. But this is equally true of many English speaking branches who also pay national dues which are not paid directly back to them as wages for their respective State Secretaries.

The committee recommends that in case the Language Federations are retained on the present basis the constitution be so amended as not to require the payment, in wages or office space, of an amount greater than their national dues.

By the act of their national convention the

Finnish Federation withdrew from the party on December 31st. A large number seceded from the Federation and are affiliated directly with the party. They maintain an Organization and Propaganda Committee for the purpose of conducting propaganda among the Finnish speaking workers and by a special arrangement, are receiving ten cents for each due stamp sold to their branches by the State Organizations.

Reports will be submitted by the Fraternal Delegates from the respective Federations and the question of their form of organization and relation to the party is before you in a proposition on the agenda.

MONTHLY DUES RECEIPTS—FEDERATIONS

June 1st, 1920 to May 31st, 1921

Month	Jewish	Italian	Bohem.	German	Jugosl.	Lithuan.
1920						
June	\$ 105.70	\$ 41.60	\$ 53.70	\$ 77.00	—	\$ 34.00
July	97.55	118.70	78.55	50.30	50.00	10.00
Aug.	90.20	75.10	39.90	99.00	—	27.00
Sept.	156.80	98.60	50.30	66.00	40.00	8.00
Oct.	112.10	40.90	91.70	50.00	46.00	40.00
Nov.	118.60	105.70	77.10	55.00	40.00	—
Dec.	133.80	91.60	49.40	46.50	40.00	—
1921						
Jan.	109.80	94.50	85.00	68.90	57.20	30.00
Feb.	63.20	83.50	46.80	68.00	49.50	12.00
Mar.	86.80	123.50	91.10	64.00	45.30	12.00
April	35.40	97.90	58.80	60.00	63.20	12.00
May	90.30	91.90	57.20	37.00	58.00	17.00
Totals	\$1,200.25	\$1,063.50	\$779.55	\$741.70	\$489.20	\$206.00
Average	100.02	88.63	64.96	61.81	40.77	17.17
Average for first five month of 1921..	77.10	98.26	67.78	59.58	54.64	17.40

NOTE—The Slovak Federation withdrew from the Party last November and the Finnish Federation on December 31st. The average dues receipts from these Federations from June to December was Finnish—\$486.60 and Slovak—\$20.02.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE FOREIGN FEDERATIONS

From June 1st 1920 to May 31, 1921.

Month	Jewish	Italian	Bohem.	German	Jugosl.	Lithuan.
1920						
June	1091	416	677	800	—	253
July	1082	1187	981	543	500	77
Aug.	971	751	424	990	—	263
Sept.	1799	986	588	680	400	105
Oct.	1319	409	1062	510	460	413
Nov.	1236	1057	941	560	400	166
Dec.	1428	916	584	490	400	113
1921						
Jan.	1197	945	1104	689	645	194
Feb.	818	885	618	740	519	101
Mar.	1109	1235	1201	670	513	189
Apr.	434	979	674	640	696	167
May	1053	919	744	380	633	221
Average	1128	890	800	641	431	189
Average for first five months of 1921....	922	933	868	624	601	174

NOTE—The average membership of the Finnish and Slovak Federations, which withdrew from the Party, from June to December last year was—Finnish, 6963; Slovak, 242.

THE HEADQUARTERS' PROPERTY

The property at 220 So. Ashland Blvd., the National Headquarters of the Party, was purchased in 1919 for \$25,000 and is now valued at from \$35,000 to \$40,000. It is encumbered with a mortgage for \$15,000 due March 3, 1923, with interest at 6 per cent payable semi-annually.

The taxes have been increased and this year amounted to \$1,175.00 and are yet unpaid.

It is impossible for the party, not being incorporated, to hold property in its name.

The title is held in trust for the party by trustees, Robert H. Howe, Adolph Germer and

Alfred Wagenknecht.

Over a year ago your committee instructed the trustees to sign a deed transferring title to the property to The Socialist Society of the United States, a corporation organized under the laws of Arkansas, for the purpose of holding property and accepting gifts and bequests for the benefit of the Socialist Party.

The papers were drawn by our attorneys and signed by two of the trustees—Robert H. Howe and Adolph Germer. The third trustee—Alfred Wagenknecht, has failed to sign them and the committee has instructed our attorneys to bring

ERNEST RECKETT & COMPANY

Certified Public Accountants

Marquette Building, Chicago, Ill.

The National Executive Committee,
The Socialist Party,
Chicago, Illinois.

April 12, 1921.

Gentlemen:—

In accordance with instructions received from your Executive Secretary, Mr. Otto Branstetter, we have prepared and submitted herewith a statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements of the National Office for the period July 1, 1920 to December 31, 1921.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) Ernest Reckett & Co.,

Certified Public Accountants.

SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL OFFICE

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the six months ended December 31st, 1920.
BALANCE July 1st, 1920

Cash in Bank	\$ 151.75	
Petty Cash on hand	50.00	\$ 201.75
RECEIPTS:		
Accounts Receivable	\$ 4,964.98	
Campaign Fund	48,622.74	
Convention Stamps	1,951.91	
Debs Wages	124.00	
Defense and Amnesty	1.00	
Federation Dues in Trust	227.68	
Headquarters Fund Receipts	3.00	
Illinois State Office	83.85	
National Dues	11,695.48	
National Office	328.63	
N. Y. Assembly Trial	17.10	
Organization Fund	1,211.54	
Prison Comfort Club	1,868.25	
Hungarian Relief Fund	211.45	
Young Peoples' Dues	74.40	\$71,396.01
Sales and Subscriptions:		
Literature Department	\$ 7,331.37	
Supplies and Jewelry	2,599.05	
Y. P. Literature and Supplies	66.25	
New Day	5,115.33	
Socialist World	1,065.93	16,177.93
Miscellaneous:		
Rent	412.00	
Waste Paper Sold	104.11	516.11
		88,090.05
		\$88,291.80

suit for the removal of Wagenknecht and the appointment of a new trustee to be designated by the committee.

With the reduced size of the National Office force and the number of Federation offices, considerable space is available, a part of which has been rented to the State and Local organizations at a monthly rental of \$195.00.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Attached hereto are statements and tabulations taken from the report of Ernest Reckett & Co.—Certified Public Accountants, covering the semi-annual audit of the National Office books for the period ending December 31, 1920.

This report shows assets of \$31,138.57 and

liabilities of \$19,600.63, leaving a surplus of \$11,537.94.

Our assets, however, include our equity in the headquarters property and nearly \$5,000 worth of furniture, fixtures, plates, etc., which are not available for the payment of our liabilities so long as we maintain our National Office. The same is true of our stock of literature and supplies which conservatively inventoried \$9,928.11. It is true that a certain amount of this stock is being sold continuously but it must be reinvested in new stock immediately. It is not practical to reduce the capital invested in literature and supplies below \$10,000 and, in fact, we should be able to increase it by \$5,000 invested in new books and pamphlets which are badly needed.

Our liabilities were also greater than shown

SOCIALIST PARTY—NATIONAL OFFICE

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the six months ended December 31st, 1920.

DISBURSEMENTS:

Wages		\$19,631.85
Campaign Expense		15,181.86
Socialist World Purchases and Expense.....		3,636.05
Sundry Accounts Payable		1,256.30
Literature Department:		
Purchases	\$7,900.33	
Expenses	872.45	8,772.78
Executive Department:		
Expense	170.57	
Committee Expense	756.65	927.22
Supplies and Jewelry Department:		
Purchases		1,790.07
Notes Payable		10,322.48
Legal Defense		3,017.38
New Day Expense and Purchases		3,238.47
Convention Expense		1,204.30
General Expense		1,333.25
Organization Expense		1,241.81
Postage		2,336.69
Prison Comfort Club		1,810.24
Taxes		1,215.54
Refund State Secretary		2,213.77
Loans		1,625.90
Speakers:		
O. F. Branstetter	73.19	
Wm. H. Henry	205.63	
Mary McVicker	204.74	
May Harris Mainland	285.18	
Lilith Martin	100.00	
Scott Nearing	475.45	
Kate Richards O'Hare	2,859.99	
F. P. O'Hare	157.95	
Seymour Stedman	544.70	
Irwin St. John Tucker	1,250.74	
A. Tuvim	246.00	
Eugene Wood	368.10	
Florence Wattles	137.50	6,909.17
Miscellaneous:		
Interest	605.27	
Office Stationery and Supplies.....	485.44	
Debs Wages	330.90	
Insurance	129.70	
Italian Soc. Fed. (Refund)	7.25	
Outstanding Credits	19.00	
Publicity	9.00	
Centralia Fund	7.65	
Finnish Federation	292.10	
Longuet Lectures	137.50	
Hungarian Relief Fund.....	408.10	2,431.91
		\$90,427.04
Cash in Bank (Overdraft)	2,185.24	
Petty Cash on Hand	50.00	2,135.24
		\$88,291.80

and should be increased by the overdraft on our cash account of \$2,111.13—making the amount of our actual liabilities \$21,715.76. Against this we had assets consisting of accounts receivable amounting to \$8,369.92.

A statement prepared by the bookkeeper for the quarter ending March 31st and an estimated

statement on June 22nd showed liabilities of \$19,115.69.

Since the first of the year the committee has attempted to stem this rising tide of indebtedness by curtailing expenses in every possible way. As reported, we have disposed of The New Day, abandoned the organization districts and after

Schedule "A"

THE SOCIALIST PARTY—NATIONAL OFFICE

Balance Sheet as at December 31st, 1920
(Subject to Report herewith)

A S S E T S

CASH:		
Foreman Bros., Banking Co., (O. D.)	\$ 2,185.24	
Headquarters Savings Account	20.11	
On Hand	50.00	O.D. \$ 2,115.13
U. S. GOVERNMENT SECURITIES:		
War Savings Stamps		5.23
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE:		
Locals, States, etc.	6,288.92	
Sundry, per Schedule "D"	930.35	
Speakers, per Schedule "D"	1,018.32	
Organizers, per Schedule "D"	13.70	
Executive, per Schedule "D"	118.63	8,369.92
INVENTORIES:		
Postage	8.99	
Literature	7,079.65	
Supplies	913.22	
Jewelry	1,151.24	
Stationery and Supplies	775.01	9,928.11
FIXED ASSETS:		
Furniture and Fixtures	4,750.44	
Plates, Cuts and Electros	200.00	
Building	\$25,000.00	
Less, First Mortgage	15,000.00	10,000.00
		14,950.44
		\$31,138.57

L I A B I L I T I E S

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE:		
Creditors, per Schedule "E"	\$10,436.06	
Speakers, per Schedule "E"	941.89	
Executive, per Schedule "E"	93.77	
Accrued Convention Expenses	14.00	
Outstanding Credits	757.81	
N. Y. Assembly Trial	17.10	\$12,260.63
Notes Payable		6,300.00
Loans		1,040.00
Nat'l Office Surplus, Sched. "B"		11,537.94
		\$31,138.57

this month, will route no speakers or organizers under conditions which will create a deficit and add to our indebtedness.

The expenses at headquarters have also been curtailed by a reduction of the force and other economies. The present office force and the wages being paid are as follows:

Otto Branstetter, Exec. Sec'y	\$55.00
Bertha H. White, Sec'y & Asst.	40.00
Erna Lemke, Stenographer	30.00
Howard Hair, Bookkeeper	30.00
Mary Klopstein, Mimeograph and Stencil Clerk	24.00
F. Bohovec, Jan. and watchman	28.00
	<u>207.00</u>
John Mill, Jewish Translator	\$30.00
Chas. Kolarik, Bohem. Transl.	28.00
G. Valenti, Italian Translator	28.00
	<u>86.00</u>

Weekly Pay Roll \$293.00
The following is an estimate of the expense of

maintaining the National Office with the present force and under present conditions.

HEADQUARTERS EXPENSE—Monthly

Wages	\$1,241.00
Socialist World	350.00
Phone and Telegrams	75.00
Postage	75.00
Free Literature	25.00
N. E. C. Meetings	100.00
Stencils, Stationery and Supplies	30.00
Ice, Drinking Water & Towel Service	18.00
Coal, Light and Water	60.00
Interest, Taxes, Insurance and Repairs	200.00
	<u>\$2,174</u>

Total	\$2,174
Estimated Regular Income	
Dues from 15,000 members	\$1,311.00
Rent	195.00
	<u>\$1,506.00</u>
Total	\$1,506.00
Monthly Deficit	\$ 668.00

Schedule "B"
THE SOCIALIST PARTY—NATIONAL OFFICE

General Income and Expense Account Six Months ended December 31st, 1920.
(Subject to Report herewith)

C R E D I T S

National Dues	\$11,695.48
National Office Deficit Receipts	3.00
Convention Stamp Receipts	1,951.91
Prison Comfort Club	2,158.86
Rent	429.00
Waste Paper (Sale of)	104.11
Young Peoples' Dues	74.40

\$16,416.76

C H A R G E S

DEPARTMENTAL LOSSES OR PROFIT ("C")

Literature and Supplies	\$ 3,210.71	(Profit)
Executive	5,760.08	
Socialist World	1,553.95	
Translators	5,550.88	
Organization	545.86	
New Day	3,329.43	
Campaign	5,780.10	(Profit)
Defense and Amnesty	9.00	

\$ 7,758.39

Executive Committee Expense	806.65
Free Literature	12.75
Legal Defense	3,524.20
Publicity	2,189.35
Accounts Receivable, charged off	2,189.35
Prison Comfort Club	1,810.24

HEADQUARTER'S EXPENSES:

General Repairs	\$ 231.33
Coal	662.00
Electrical Supplies	11.75
Miscellaneous	7.65

912.73

\$17,033.63

Net Loss for Six Months Ended Dec. 31, 1920 to Surplus \$ **616.87**

NATIONAL OFFICE SURPLUS ACCOUNT

Balance, per our last Report	\$11,826.18
Convention Expense written back	328.63
	\$12,154.81
Loss for Six months ended 12-31-20 (as above)	616.87
Balance, per Sched. "A" (of which \$348.62 is the balance of the Prison Comfort Club Account)	\$11,537.94

This report speaks for itself. With the present office expense already reduced to a minimum, we will have a monthly deficit of nearly seven hundred dollars which must be met by profits on the sale of literature and voluntary contributions. These sources will no doubt provide sufficient funds to meet this deficit, but it will provide no income to be applied off the indebtedness of the office.

This indebtedness is of a pressing nature and means must be provided by this convention to insure sufficient income to the N. E. C. to carry on the work of the party and to reduce the load of debt that handicaps all our efforts and lessens our efficiency in every undertaking. No more important matter can be considered by this convention than that of providing adequate financial support for the National Organization.

Fraternally submitted,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Otto Branstetter, Secretary.

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Minutes of the National Convention Socialist Party

Held at Detroit, Mich., June 25-29, 1921

Saturday, June 25th MORNING SESSION

Convention called to order by Executive Secretary, Otto Branstetter, at 11 o'clock.

The following delegates answered to roll call:

King, California; Plunkett, Connecticut; Richman, District of Columbia; Engdahl, Illinois; Kruse, Illinois; Wenschhoff, Illinois; Lewis, Indiana; Feuchter, Iowa; Magill, Kansas; Sandefur, Kentucky; Neistadt, Maryland; Roewer, Massachusetts; Puranen, Massachusetts; Fieldman, Massachusetts; Davidow, Michigan; Hoehn, Missouri; Cheatham, New Hampshire; Jones, New Jersey; Flanagan, Southern District; Wilcox, New York; Noonan, New York; Orr, New York; Solomon, New York; Hillquit, New York; Lee, New York; Willert, Ohio; Ojala, Ohio; Stanwood, Oklahoma; Coleman, Pennsylvania; Wilson, Pennsylvania; Cohen, Pennsylvania; Marcus, Rhode Island; Kennedy, Utah; Kirkendall, West Virginia; Hoan, Wisconsin; Berger, Wisconsin; Coleman, Wisconsin; Boorman, Wisconsin; Newman, Northwest District.

Fraternal delegates: Dreifuss, German Federation; Kolarik, Bohemian Federation; Valenti, Italian Federation; Petrich, Jugo-slav Federation; Makela, Finnish Federation; Novik, Y. P. S. L.

Chairman for the Day. Hillquit of New York was elected by acclamation.

Hoan of Wisconsin was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman for the Day.

Jones of New Jersey was elected Secretary for the Convention with instructions to select two assistant secretaries.

Executive Secretary Branstetter read the Rules of the Convention and Order of Business prepared by the Executive Committee which were adopted with the following amendments:

Add No. 8 (Motion by Berger) to the Order of business providing for the election of a Committee on Constitution consisting of five members.

Add 12-a, Regular Order of Business (Motion by Engdahl) That preceding the election of an International Secretary and three International Delegates a report be had from those elected to these offices last year.

Motion by Kruse: That 8 and 9 of the Rules for the Convention follow the report of the National Executive Committee.

No. 10-a, Rules of Order to be report by the Committee on Constitution. (Motion by Berger.)

The time of adjournment was changed to five o'clock on account of the building closing at that hour.

The Chairman appointed Comrades Goebel, and Gerber as Tellers, and Comrade Berman (N. Y.) judge.

The following were elected as Committee on Resolutions: Lee, N. Y. Berger, Wis., Engdahl, Ill., Coleman, Pa., Hoehn, Mo.

Committee on Constitution:

Nominations: Hoan, Wis.; Berger, Wis.; Kruse, Ill.; Wilson, Pa.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Neistadt, Md.; Davidow, Mich.; Brandt, Mo.; Willert, O.; Plunkett, Conn.

Acceptances: Hoan, Kruse, Wilson, Davidow, Willert, Plunkett.

Vote: Hoan, 26. Kruse, 12. Wilson, 30. Davidow, 28. Willert, 25. Plunkett, 24.

The five elected were: Wilson, Davidow, Hoan, Willert and Plunkett.

Executive Secretary Branstetter read the report of the National Executive Committee. Action on report deferred until after report on the Agenda.

By the unanimous vote of the Convention the Secretary was instructed to send telegrams of greetings from the Convention to Eugene V. Debs, and Joseph Coldwell at Atlanta, and to fifteen Socialist political prisoners in Leavenworth Prison.

Adjourned to meet at two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order at two o'clock.

Agenda

Executive Secretary read the four propositions on International Relations and the afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of the four proposals until five o'clock when a vote was taken, resulting as follows:

Motion No. 1—Voting Yes, 4	Motion Lost
Voting No, 35	
Motion No. 2—Voting Yes, 13	Motion Lost
Voting No, 26	
Motion No. 3—Voting Yes, 4	Motion Lost
Voting No, 35	
Motion No. 4—Voting Yes, 31	Motion Carried
Voting No, 8	

COMMUNICATIONS

Telegrams of greetings to the Convention were read from the following: Socialist Party, Kings County, N. Y., 6th Assembly District, Brooklyn; Comrades of Unity House, Prospect, Penna.

Letter from the Secretary of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, Detroit, Mich.

Convention adjourned to meet at Auto Workers' Hall at ten o'clock, Sunday morning.

Sunday, Morning Session, June 26, 1921. Auto Workers' Hall

Convention called to order by chairman of previous session, Comrade Hillquit, at ten thirty.

On roll call, all delegates were present.

Lewis of Indiana was elected Chairman for the Day.

King of California was elected Vice-Chairman for the Day.

The Chairman announced that the consideration of the Agenda would be resumed and the motions upon Party Policy and Tactics were taken up.

King of California offered the following as Motion No. 3:

"Dictatorship of the Proletariat: We reject both motions. Both are attempts to commit the organization to the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The political development of the labor movement in the United States is not sufficiently advanced to make a decision on the subject necessary at this time. It will be wiser for us to await further developments in England and Europe before attempting to make a decision on this question."

Hillquit of New York offered the following as Motion No. 4: (As amended by Lee of New York)

"The term 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' as understood by this convention, means the political rule of the working class in the period of transition from the capitalist system to the socialist order. It is not necessarily associated with a restriction of the political rights of opponents, or with violence or terror.

"The Socialist Party of the United States aims at the political ascendancy of the working class for the purpose of substituting the private ownership in the means of wealth production by a system of socialized industries.

"The question of the form which the political rule of the workers will assume in the United States, and the methods it will adopt is at the present time largely one of academic interest. The Socialist Party is committed to democracy and majority rule but that principle is not inconsistent with measures of restriction in defense of working class governments."

Richman of District of Columbia offered the following as Motion No. 5:

"We do not consider the question of Dictatorship at this time of sufficient importance to go on record for or against it; that the fact of secured power, economic and political, in the future will decide then just what acts may be necessary to hold our position."

Discussion.

Neistandt of Maryland moves the previous question. Carried.

Motion by Noonan of New York: "That the vote on the five motions on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat be deferred until the following session and that in the meantime the five motions be mimeographed and placed in the hands of the delegates for consideration, and that the final five minutes discussion on the motions also be deferred."

Vote by roll call. Noonan motion lost by a vote of 10 yes, 20 no. The convention then proceeded to the final discussion. King spoke for Motion No. 3. Hillquit for No. 4. No discussion of Motions 1, 2 and 5.

The vote was taken by roll call.

On Motion No. 1. Yes, 9. No, 39. Motion lost
On Motion No. 2. Yes, 8. No, 31. Motion lost

On Motion No. 3. Yes, 2. No, 37. Motion lost
On Motion No. 4. Yes, 18. No, 20. Motion lost
On Motion No. 5. Yes, 1. No, 38. Motion lost

Motion by Coleman of Pennsylvania: "That the Executive Secretary be instructed to secure the Auto Workers' Hall for the balance of the convention." Motion lost.

The Executive Secretary announced that the local comrades had arranged for a number of automobiles for the use of the delegates at the noon recess.

Comrade Davidow announced that a picture of the convention would be taken at the Northeast High School Monday at noon. Also that a mass meeting at Auto Workers' Hall would be held on this (Sunday) afternoon followed by a sightseeing tour of the city and a supper at Mount Clemens.

Adjourned until ten o'clock Monday morning.

MORNING SESSION

Monday, June 27th

Convention called to order by Chairman of the previous day, at ten o'clock.

On roll call, all delegates were present.

Lee of New York elected Chairman for the Day.

Coleman of Wisconsin elected Vice-Chairman for the Day.

Telegrams and communications received from: E. J. Hewitt, Secretary Local Ashtabula, Ohio; P. G. Garrett, Secretary Local Sacramento, Calif.; Harry L. Goldberg, Organizer, Socialist Party 2nd A. D. Kings; I. B. Bailin, fraternal delegate from the Jewish Socialist Federation; M. Lutsky, Secretary, Local Allegheny County; Meyer and Mandel Halushka.

The Chairman announced that the consideration of the Agenda would be resumed and the motions upon the General Strike were taken up.

It was decided to include the motion on Political Strike as Motion No. 3.

Hoan of Wisconsin offered the following as Motion No. 4:

"The present status of the Socialist and Labor movements of America does not warrant a general or political strike as a starting point for the attainment of our aims.

"We believe, however, that the time has come when the Socialist Party shall sound the clarion call that shall bring together in conference and in closer working alignment all militant workers of this nation, for the purpose of formulating such course of action as will result in the peaceful attainment of our revolutionary aims.

"Be it therefore Resolved, that there be submitted to a referendum vote of the Party membership, the following proposition:

"Shall the National Executive Committee be directed to arrange for, in place of the next annual convention of the Socialist Party, a conference of all organizations of producers in the United States who recognize and are organized upon working class lines and who stand for the four propositions:

(1) The collective ownership and democratic management of all means of production and distribution monopolistically owned,

(2) To oppose and abolish war.

(3) To restore our liberties.

(4) The attainment of these aims by the employment of both economic and political action along working class lines.

"Such conference to discuss and to recommend back to the respective organizations such plans by which we can more effectively assist each other in the attainment of these aims."

Kruse of Illinois made the following amendment:

That the fourth paragraph shall read: "Shall the National Executive Committee be directed to arrange for, in connection with the next annual convention of the Socialist Party, a conference of all organizations of producers in the United States who recognize and are organized upon working class lines and who stand for the four propositions." Amendment carried.

Discussion.

Hillquit of New York offered the following as Motion No. 5:

"The present status of the Socialist and Labor movements of America does not warrant the consideration of a general or political strike for reconquering and maintaining our civil rights and liberties and for securing substantial measures of economic relief.

"The objects can be attained only through the united and concerted action of all progressive, militant and class conscious workers, industrial and agricultural, in the United States.

"Be it therefore resolved, that the incoming National Executive Committee be instructed to make a careful survey of all radical and labor organizations in the country, with a view of ascertaining their strength, disposition and readiness to co-operate with the Socialist movement upon a platform not inconsistent with that of the party, and on a plan which will preserve the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party.

"Resolved that the National Executive Committee report its findings with recommendations to the next annual convention of the Socialist Party."

Discussion.

Credentials received from Wm. V. Mahoney, fraternal delegate from the Washington, D. C. Branch of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Motion by Hillquit of New York—"That the communication be received; the gentleman admitted as a guest of the convention and allowed ten minutes, as other delegates, after the close of the vote on the motions before the convention." Carried.

Discussion.

Cohen of Pennsylvania moved the following amendment to the Hillquit motion:

"That the first two paragraphs be made to read as follows:

"The reconquering and maintaining of our civil rights and liberties and the securing of substantial measures of economic relief, can

only be attained through the united and concerted action of all progressive, militant and class conscious workers, industrial and agricultural, in the United States."

Amendment accepted by Hillquit.

Motion by Hoan of Wisconsin, "That all these propositions go back to the Resolutions Committee and that the committee report to this convention by 3 o'clock, if possible."

Vote by roll call. Yes 13, No 26. Motion lost.

King of California offered the following amendment to the Hoan motion:

"That the first proposition be made to read:

(1) The collective ownership and democratic management of all means of production and distribution monopolistically owned, not inconsistent with the platform or the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party."

Amendment accepted.

Motion by Solomon of New York:

"That a committee of this convention be appointed by the chair to call upon the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race." Carried.

Fraternal delegate Valenti called the attention of the convention to certain statements published in the New York Times.

Motion by Hillquit of New York:

"That the matter of press misrepresentation of the actions of this convention be at this time referred to the Resolutions Committee to consider and report on to the convention." Carried.

Adjourned to reconvene at two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

June 27th, 1921

Convention called to order at two o'clock. A roll call was taken and a quorum being present, discussion of the motions upon the General Strike was resumed.

Motion by Hillquit: That the Executive Secretary be instructed to procure for the remainder of the convention a more conveniently located hall and that he be also instructed to convey the thanks of the convention to the Detroit school officials for the use of the Northwestern High School. Carried.

Communications: Telegrams from Robert A. Hoffman, Organizer Local Buffalo; Arthur L. Bowers, Buffalo; 3rd Ward Jewish Br., S. S. Pittsburgh; Y. P. S. L. Greater New York.

The Executive Secretary called attention to the fact that Motions Nos. 4 and 5 had no place upon the Agenda under the sub-division "General Strike." It was agreed that these motions should have been introduced under different sections but as lengthy discussion had been had upon them, the Convention would proceed with the final five minute speeches for and against and then vote upon each of the five motions by roll call.

Hoan requested permission to speak against No. 1, for No. 3, for No. 4 and against No. 5.

Hillquit requested five minutes against No. 4 and five minutes for No. 5.

Engdahl moved to amend Motion No. 1 by changing "equal" to "great" in the 3rd line and

by inserting "may" after organization in the 9th line. Carried.

Engdahl spoke in favor of Motion No. 1.

Five minute recess for refreshments.

Hoan spoke for Nos. 1 and 3 and 4 and against No. 5.

Hillquit spoke against No. 4 and for No. 5. King spoke in favor of No. 4.

Vote by roll call:

No. 1 Yes, 25. No, 14. Carried

No. 1 Yes, none No, 39. Lost

No. 3 Yes, 19. No, 20. Lost

No. 4 Yes, 15. No, 24. Lost

No. 5 Yes, 37. No, 2. Carried

Attitude toward Labor Organizations

Cohen of Pennsylvania offered amendment: To strike out the entire second paragraph, also "partly as the reward for its policy of ultra-loyalism and co-operation with plutocracy during the war" from the second sentence of the fourth paragraph.

Discussion. Amendment lost.

Amendment by Coleman, Wis., to strike out all reference to the party sitting as judge over labor and all attempts at judgment. Lost.

Amendment by Kruse, Ill., to strike out sentence "we do not place the blame upon leadership alone, etc." Lost.

Vote by roll call: Yes, 35. No, 3. Carried.

Relation to other Political Parties

The Chairman ruled that this subject had already been covered by previous action of the convention.

Resolution by the 13th Ward Branch, Local Cook County, Ill.

Executive Secretary Branstetter took the floor on the resolution to expel members who, in view of the proclamation issued by the Communist International instructing American Socialists to leave the Socialist Party, still advocated affiliation with Moscow.

Kruse asked for the floor. Chair ruled his remarks are improper. Kruse appealed from the decision of the Chair. Vice-Chairman in the chair. Vote upon the question of sustaining the chair resulted in 15 yes, 16 no, with Kruse, Engdahl, Sandefur, Neistadt and Fieldman not voting. The Chair was not sustained and Kruse continued.

The Secretary announced that the Convention had continued this session forty minutes past the time set for closing the hall.

Convention adjourned to meet at Auto Workers' Hall at 9:30 Tuesday morning.

TUESDAY MORNING

June 28th, 1921

(Executive Session)

Convention called to order at 9:45 by Chairman of the previous day, Lee of New York.

The Chairman asked the indulgence of the Convention while he made a statement regarding the incident at the close of the previous session when Delegate Kruse of Illinois was ruled out of order. He stated—"I desire to make a personal statement concerning an incident of my chairmanship yesterday afternoon. I still hold that the use

of the words 'lie' and 'liar' in debate is in the highest degree unparliamentary, and that the rule prohibiting the employment of these words ought always to be upheld. In this particular instance, however, Comrade Kruse spoke under keen provocation. This fact, together with the intense heat of the day, may explain and palliate his breach of decorum. I ought to have realized this and have given him an opportunity to withdraw the disorderly expression, instead of rigidly enforcing the rule and summarily depriving him of the privilege of the floor."

Nominations for Chairman were called for.

Roewer of Massachusetts and King of California were nominated. Roewer declined. King elected Chairman for the Day.

Nominations for Vice Chairman: Roewer, Solomon of New York, Lewis of Indiana.

Roewer and Solomon declined. Lewis elected Vice Chairman.

Upon roll call all delegates responded.

The Executive Secretary took the floor to outline the financial condition of the National Organization and made it quite clear that a continuance of the work of the National Office was impossible unless some means of adequately financing it were provided.

Motion by Hillquit: That we proceed to discuss the matter raised by the Executive Secretary in relation to party finances and that membership and Amnesty be placed under the various headings of the Agenda and that the Agenda be amended in that respect. Carried unanimously.

Motion by Hillquit: That the National Executive Committee be authorized to call for voluntary contributions of ten thousand dollars to be paid over to the National Office within thirty days, the funds to be collected by special committees selected by the National Executive Committee.

Amendment by Roewer: That the amount be fixed at \$20,000, to be distributed among the states according to their ability to pay.

Amendment by Berger: 1st, that the amount be fixed at \$40,000 and 2nd that a certain number of locals be asked to contribute to the maintenance of a Fund Drive and the National Executive Committee authorized to employ a Director for the Drive.

Substitute by Hoan: That the National Executive Secretary and a committee of seven members selected from the delegates of this convention whip these various suggestions into practical shape and report back to this convention at the earliest possible moment, and that a certain percentage of the proceeds from the drive for funds be allowed to the state organizations.

Neistadt of Maryland urged that the amount be apportioned to the various states.

Vote. Hoan substitute motion lost.

On Berger Amendment the first section authorizing the National Executive Committee to employ a director for a drive for funds, carried. On the second, fixing the amount to be collected at \$40,000, the vote was 11 yes, 23 No. Second provision lost.

The Roewer amendment providing for the collection of a fund of \$20,000, carried.

Motion by Neistadt: That the Executive Committee submit to this convention the proportion of the amount to be raised by each state so that the delegates will know the amount his state is to collect. Carried.

The Chair appointed Roewer, Solomon and Hoan a committee to draft appeal to be issued by the convention.

Motion by Hillquit, "That the Executive Session end and the Convention proceeding be made public." Carried.

Vote was called for on the Resolution of the 13th Ward Branch discussed at the previous session. On roll call vote the result was 2 Yes, 33 No, 2 not voting. Motion lost.

The Convention then resumed consideration of the Agenda under sub-division "Constitutional Amendments."

Discussion.

On roll call vote, Motion No. 1 was adopted by a vote of 22 Yes, 15 No. The adoption of this motion disposed of all other motions under the heading, "Membership Dues."

Berman of New York reported on the committee selected to convey greetings of the Convention to the Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race.

Report accepted and committee discharged with thanks.

Adjourned to two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Convention called to order at two o'clock.

Delegate Hillquit being unable to attend the balance of the session, Julius Gerber of New York City was seated as alternate in his place.

Discussion of Constitutional Amendments resumed.

Motion to amend Section 6, Article 8, by adding at the end of the second paragraph, after the words "dual membership," the following:

Exempt convention stamps shall be issued under the same conditions as exempt dues stamps as provided in Section 7 (a) of Article 9 of this constitution.

Motion adopted.

Motion to amend Article 8 by striking out all of Section 6 and the words "by the sale to the members of a special convention stamp" from Section 5 and inserting in lieu thereof the words—"by setting aside four cents out of the amount received for each dues stamp sold by the national office."

Motion lost.

Propaganda and Organization (Daily Newspapers)

Motion on Daily Newspapers providing for the election of a committee of five members (amended to nine members) for the purpose of studying the feasibility of establishing a chain of daily Socialist papers and of making a report with recommendations to the next national convention of the Party, carried.

Committee as follows: James Oneal, N. Y.; Victor Berger, Wis.; Oscar Ameringer, Okla.; Wm. M. Feigenbaum, N. Y.; George H. Goebel,

N. J.; Joe Rhoden, Ga.; Chas. Ervin, N. Y.; J. Louis Engdahl, Ill.; Ida Crouch-Hazlett, N. Y.

Brother Chas. Wright of the Cooks Organizations was given the floor. He expressed appreciation of the action of the delegates of the Socialist Party Convention in refusing to patronize the restaurants of Detroit where the waiters are on strike and named the following restaurants as being unfair: Cadillac, Tuller, Charlevoix, Wolverine and Statler.

Propaganda Among Women

Amendment by Roewer of Mass.—To add at the end of the resolution, the words "as soon as finances permit." Amendment lost.

Agenda Resolution on Propaganda Among Women adopted.

George H. Goebel was given the floor to speak on "The New York Call."

Organization and Lecture Circuits

Amendment by King of California—Article 4, Section 1, paragraph (d), amend by adding "and to establish regular organization and lecture circuits." Carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Amendment by King of California:—Amend Article 9, Section 4, by adding after the word party which closes the first sentence, the following proviso:

Provided also that the National Office may route organizers and lecturers direct through any state as a part of a regular organization and lecture circuit if the co-operation of the State Organization cannot be secured.

Amendment Carried.

Agenda motion as amended, carried.

Education

Motion on the Agenda relating to Education, adopted.

Co-operatives

Motion on Agenda under Co-operatives, adopted.

Immediate Demands

Motion to table, carried.

Military Appropriations

Motion on Military Appropriations unanimously adopted.

Resolution prohibiting members of the Chamber of Commerce from becoming members of the Socialist Party, tabled.

Melms of Wisconsin seated as alternate in place of Berger of Wisconsin.

Principles and Platform

Motion No. 1 on Political Action lost by vote of Yes 15, No 19.

Motion No. 2 on Political Action lost by vote of Yes 11, No 25.

Direct Action

Motion to table, carried.

Sabotage

Motion to table, carried.

Mass Action

Motion to table, carried.

Soviet System

By roll call vote, Motion No. 1 lost—Yes 14,

No. 22.

By roll call vote, Motion No. 2 lost—Yes 2, No. 34.

Agenda motion on the Franchise, adopted. James H. Maurer of Pennsylvania was given the floor.

Adjourned to reassemble for evening session at 7:30.

TUESDAY EVENING SESSION

June 28th

Convention called to order at 7:00 o'clock.

Communications: Telegram from the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle; from Congressman Meyer London, submitting report to the National Convention, of his work in Congress; from O. E. Parson Toole, Utah—Referred to Executive Committee.

Agenda

King of California moved to include the following in the motion on Immigration at the end of the first sentence:

"We recognize that unrestricted immigration of Asiatic labor would result in such flooding of the labor market of the Pacific Coast and would not only result in a most serious reduction of the standard of life of the working class there, but would inevitably result in submerging the class struggle in a race conflict with an intensification of race hatred."

King motion to amend, lost.

Original Agenda Motion, carried.

Moved by Wilson of Pennsylvania, "To strike out on page 7 of the Agenda, first line of first column '10c' and amend to read '15c', and to strike out the entire section nine.

Discussion.

Action deferred pending report of the Committee on Constitution.

Adjourned at 9:00 to meet at 9 Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

June 29th

Convention called to order at nine o'clock by Chairman of previous session, King of California.

Comrade King was elected Chairman for the Day.

Noonan of New York elected Vice Chairman for the Day.

No communications.

Roll Call. Quorum.

Discussion of Agenda resumed.

Occupational Branches

Hoan of Wisconsin offered amendment to last line: Insert for the word "Branch," "English Speaking Branches." No objection and the amendment was accepted.

On vote, Agenda motion as amended, lost.

Conventions

Lewis of Indiana offered amendment, "based upon paid up membership including convention stamps purchased."

Amendment by Gerber of New York: To add at the end of the first motion, "ending in December."

Vote on Gerber Amendment. Lost.

Vote on Lewis Amendment. Lost.

Vote on Agenda motion: By roll call, 10 Yes, 25 No. Lost.

National Committee

The Chairman read the whole section on National Committee.

Attention was called to the fact that no action had been taken on the paragraph providing that State Secretaries shall be delegates to the National Convention.

Upon motion by Ojala of Ohio, the paragraph was tabled.

Party Management

(National Committee)

Kruse of Illinois spoke in favor of the section.

Roewer of Massachusetts moved that the section be tabled. Carried.

Motion by Hoan of Wisconsin: That we make the election of the National Executive Committee and Alternates, and of the Committee on Appeals and Alternates, a special order of business at twelve o'clock unless the report of the Committee on Constitution with reference to the Foreign speaking organizations should be concluded earlier. Carried.

Willert of Ohio made a minority report as member of the Committee on Constitution, with reference to the Foreign Speaking organizations. He urged the elimination of "who shall be subject to the approval of, and removal by, the National Executive Committee," from the proposed amendment to Section 9, as submitted by majority report.

Fraternal Delegate Dreifuss, German Federation, urged that the present provisions remain unchanged.

Motion by Kruse of Illinois: That we take the present Constitutional provisions as a basis of consideration. Carried.

Gerber of New York asked permission to make a motion in order to expedite procedure. Coleman of Pennsylvania objected to the recognition of Gerber on the ground that she had asked for the floor, had not been heard, and that Delegate Gerber had already spoken upon the question. Objection overruled. Coleman appealed from the decision of the Chair. Vice-Chairman Noonan took the chair and put the question. The Chair was not sustained.

Lee of New York moved that the provisions of the Constitution on Foreign Federations be taken up. Carried.

Motion by Gerber of New York: as an amendment, "The headquarters of the Language Federations shall be the National Office of the Socialist Party, and no Federation shall be permitted to have offices anywhere else." Carried.

Motion by Gerber: To adopt Section 6 of the Committee on Constitution as a substitute for the constitutional Sec. 6 (a) and that it be subject to amendment. Lost.

Lee of New York asked the floor to make a privileged motion. He stated that many of the delegates were preparing to leave during the afternoon and that it was desirable that as many as possible be present during the election of party

officials. He therefore moved that no noon recess be taken, that the rules be suspended in that respect and the convention remain in continuous session and that the Secretary be instructed to arrange to supply the delegates with refreshments. Carried.

Motion by Gerber: as an amendment, to add a new sub-section (c).

"Language Federations failing to remit dues to any state or local organization for three months is subject to suspension by the National Executive Committee." Carried.

Motion by Gerber: as an amendment. "The National Executive Committee shall have power to audit the accounts of the Language Federations and furnish reports to the state organizations." Carried.

Motion by Hoan of Wisconsin: an amendment, "Members of Foreign Speaking Branches shall vote on regular party affairs in joint meetings." Lost.

Twelve o'clock having arrived, the Chairman called for nominations for the National Executive Committee, seven members to be elected.

Nominations: Henry, Ind.; Jos. Sharts, Ohio; Kruse, Ill.; Oneal, N. Y.; James H. Maurer, Penn.; Melms, Wis.; Roewer, Mass.; Gerber, N. Y.; Lilith Martin, Ind.; Brandt, Mo.; King, Calif.; Lewis, Ind.; Maily, N. Y.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Lee, N. Y.; Neistadt, Md.

Declinations: Roewer, Lewis, Maily, Hillquit, Lee, King, Neistadt.

Ballots were distributed.

Delegation from Disabled World War Veterans

At this juncture, a delegation from the Disabled Veterans of the World War was admitted, and the spokesman, Mr. Ralph Horr, of Seattle, Washington, was given the floor. Certain delegates to the Socialist Party Convention had been misrepresented in the city papers. In reply to Mr. Horr's questions, Chairman King made a statement which is published elsewhere in this issue.

At the conclusion of Comrade King's remarks Delegate Lee of New York moved that they stand as the reply of the convention and that the convention pass to the regular order of business.

Motion adopted unanimously.

Motion by Engdahl of Illinois: That the present Committee on Appeals be continued for another year. Carried unanimously.

Motion by Engdahl: That the Alternates for the Committee on Appeals also stand for another year. Carried.

Hoan of Wisconsin called the attention of the convention and of representatives of the press, to an article appearing in the Detroit Free Press. He denounced the article as not only false and libelous, but expressed the opinion as an attorney that suit for libel against the Free Press should be instituted by Victor L. Berger, the subject of the article in question.

Communication from the Jewish Federation read and filed.

Communication from the Finnish Branch of Cleveland. Filed.

The tellers reported the following vote for members of the National Executive Committee:

Oneal, 32; Maurer, 32; Henry, 29; Martin, 27; Melms, 27; Brandt, 27; Gerber, 21; Kruse, 18; Sharts, 16.

Elected: Oneal, Maurer, Henry, Martin, Melms, Brandt, Gerber.

Nominations for Alternates for the National Executive Committee:

Lee, N. Y.; Leon Kryzski, Wis.; Ida Crouch Hazlett, N. Y.; C. B. Vladeck, N. Y.; Kruse, Ill.; Sharts, O.; Jos. Bearak, Mass.; Madge Patton Stephens, Ind.; Robert Howe, Ill.; Feuchter, Iowa. All nominees accepted.

Ballots were distributed.

Consideration of Foreign Federations, resumed.

Motion by Gerber: To strike out everything after the word, "organization" in Sec 6 (a), 4th line, and add: "And shall be governed by the Constitution and by-laws of the respective state and local organizations." Carried.

Motion by Hoan: To add "or the party" after "Federation," 4th line, Second paragraph, Sec. 6 (a). Carried.

Motion by Gerber: Amendment to Sec. 6 (b), to add: "with the approval of the National Executive Committee." Carried.

Paragraph 3, sub-section (b) stricken out by unanimous consent upon motion by Gerber.

Section 7. Unchanged.

Section 8. Unchanged.

Section 9. Unchanged.

Section 10. Unchanged.

The tellers reported the vote for Alternates for the National Executive Committee as follows:

Lee, 25; Bearak, 24; Stephens, 24; Sharts, 24; Vladeck, 22; Howe, 20; Kruse, 20; Hazlett, 19; Kryzski, 15; Feuchter, 12.

Elected, Lee, Bearak, Stephens, Sharts, Vladeck, Howe, Kruse.

Party Management

Motions Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 of the Agenda, Lost.

Motion No. 7, Agenda, Carried.

Motion No. 8, laid on Table.

Motion No. 9. Lost.

Motion No. 10, amended by Kruse of Illinois to read "legislative representatives" instead of "parliamentary representatives."

Amendment by Hoan of Wisconsin: In the event that any of our legislative representatives or managers of party-owned newspapers violate the Constitution or provisions of the party they shall be disciplined by the National Executive Committee. Lost.

Amendment by Kruse of Illinois: To read "to supervise the activity of elected legislative representatives and party owned newspapers." Carried.

A representative of the Detroit Women's World Disarmament League addressed the body and explained the work of the organization and asked for the support of the Socialist Party in their work. A resolution on Disarmament was submitted with the request that the convention endorse it.

Resolution on Disarmament referred to Resolutions Committee.

Motion No. 11, (Party Management) Lost.

Motion by Gerber of New York: That no motion for referendum on suspension of national conventions be permitted for six months preceding conventions. Carried.

Resolutions

Lee of New York reported for the Committee on Resolutions, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Soviet Russia. By rising vote.

Needle Trades Unions.

Educational Work.

Municipal Administrations.

Ireland.

Anti-Semitism and Jewish Massacres.

Of Appreciation to the Comrades of Detroit.

Of thanks to the Detroit School Board.

Motion by Neistadt of Maryland: That the next order of business be the consideration of Amnesty work. Carried.

Motion by Kruse: That the National Office and the various state and national officials be instructed to forward the work of Amnesty in every way possible. Carried.

Delegate Kruse asked the floor be given to Comrade Celia Rotter of New York to outline the Amnesty work done under the direction of the Socialist Party of Illinois. Comrade Rotter spoke enthusiastically of the work already done and of prospects for future work with particular reference to the mining districts of Illinois.

Response to the Women's Committee for World Disarmament submitted and endorsed.

Solomon of New York submitted draft of appeal to the membership for a National Office sustaining fund. Appeal adopted with the provision that it should go out to the membership bearing the name of each delegate to the convention and that the National Office make use of all names of members and others throughout the country in raising funds.

The floor was given to George H. Goebel of New Jersey to speak on Amnesty. It was then moved and carried to instruct the Resolutions Committee to draft a letter to be sent to President Harding and Attorney General Daugherty.

Secretary Branstetter reported that Comrade Berman of New York had advanced the money necessary to care for the most pressing Convention expense, and moved that the Convention express hearty appreciation. Comrade Berman was given the floor. He spoke upon the results of previous work and the encouraging outlook for the future.

Comrade Morris Novik of New York, Fraternal Delegate for the Y. P. S. L., was given the floor to speak regarding the present constitutional provisions relating to the Young People's organization.

Motion by Kruse of Illinois: That we take up the provision of the National Constitution re the Y. P. S. L. Carried.

Discussion.

Recommendations, submitted by Comrade Novik, as amended by the Convention, were adopted as a substitute for Article XIII of the National Constitution.

Recommendation that a convention of the Y. P. S. L. be called within the next six or nine months referred to the National Executive Committee.

Moved and carried that hereafter the National Executive Committee be directed to prepare an agenda of important subjects which in its judgment should be discussed at the recurring national conventions.

Greetings sent to Tom Mooney, and action of the California State Socialist Party in support of Mooney appeal by referendum to voters, approved.

Comrade Engdahl was requested by the Chair to address the Convention on the work. He urged the delegates to build up the movement and gave an inspiring address to the Convention.

Comrade Hoan expressed satisfaction over the accomplishments of the convention and wished the delegates success in their work of party building.

Comrade Kramer of the Jewish Daily Forward extended greetings.

Comrade Lee expressed his deep gratification over the success of the agenda system as shown in the Convention.

Comrade Lilith Martin, newly elected member of the National Executive Committee, was invited to speak and responded with an inspiring plea for co-operation and party-building; Comrade Girolamo Valenti, of the Italian Federation, followed, pledging his membership to loyal party support. Executive Secretary Branstetter voiced the deep appreciation of the Convention of the splendid service of the Detroit Comrades which made it possible to hold the National Convention in that city, and Comrade Blumenberg responded for the Detroit membership. Chairman King then concluded the addresses.

The delegates stood and sang "The Internationale."

Adjournment.

MILO C. JONES, Secretary.

Per B. H. W.

THE CLAESSENS TOUR

Comrade August Claessens and party are now in Missouri on their automobile lecture tour. Comrade Claessens has just completed a series of successful meetings in St. Louis and will speak at Jefferson City, Sedalia, Warrensburg, Kansas City and St. Joseph, Mo. before entering Kansas, enroute to Colorado. Comrades along his route should make every possible effort to get out a good crowd to hear him. He never fails to make a favorable impression as his lectures are both interesting and instructive. He leaves every local he visits with more members, more interest and enthusiasm and a better knowledge and understanding of Socialism and the Socialist Party.

Comrade Mary McVicker has been assigned to the state of Massachusetts for organization work under direction of the State Office.

Additional Resolutions Adopted

RESOLUTION ON OPEN SHOP CAMPAIGN

The organized capitalists of the United States have taken advantage of the wide-spread unemployment to launch a so-called "American Plan" or "Open Shop" campaign. What these men are aiming at is to close the shop doors against men and women who are active in the labor movement, to break the unions and beat down the American standard of living.

In view of this fact, we especially at this time emphasize the duty of all Socialist wage-workers to become active members of the unions of their respective industries and trades, and the duty of all Socialists, whatever their occupation, to give loyal support to organized labor in defeating the "open shop" drive.

SAVE THE PARTY

SUBSCRIBE TO THE SUSTAINING FUND

ON DISARMAMENT

To the Detroit Branch of
Women's Committee for World Disarmament.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party sends fraternal greetings to the Detroit Branch of the Women's Committee for World Disarmament. We have listened with pleasure to the address of its representative. We rejoice in her assurance that women from all walks of life are awake to the menace of war, and are organizing to prevent it.

We applaud the activity of the Woman's Committee for World Disarmament and wish for it all success. While this committee carries the message of peace to women, regardless of occupation or social position, our Socialist Party will do its full duty in arousing men and women of the working class to hasten universal disarmament and put an end to all the causes of war.

MILO C. JONES, Secretary

Attitude Towards Labor Organizations

The Socialist Party of the United States realizes that our peculiar economic and political history has been instrumental in moulding the form and substance of the American labor movement. It does not ascribe the responsibility for the shortcoming and failure of our labor movement to its leadership alone, recognizing that this leadership is, on the whole, quite representative of the degree of advancement of the masses of our workers.

The Socialist Party, while not constituting itself a judge over the organized labor movement of this country, nevertheless considers it a supreme duty to point out persistently the fundamental errors underlying the policies and principles of the organized labor movement; its failure to learn from the burning lessons of the past, and its inability to face concretely and in the true light of historic perspective the economic and political questions of the day.

As part of the militant forces of the working class of this country, we reaffirm that adherence to a policy of political begging, of political trading with the capitalists' parties on the part of the labor movement, is degrading and detrimental to the interest of the workers. This is specially true in America where the master class has learned so well to utilize and to debase for its own mercenary purposes the extensively developed political machinery of the land. The American labor movement should repudiate this barren policy of begging from the political enemies of labor and adopt instead the policy of independent, militant political activity. The Socialist Party also realizes the necessity and growing importance of industrial organization and combat based upon the evergrowing consciousness of the workers, that they are to become the masters of their destiny in shop, mill, mine and farm.

The labor movement is gaining numerical strength from year to year and is slowly raising the standard of life and working conditions of the toilers. It is facing at present, partly as the reward for its policy of ultra-loyalism and co-operation with plutocracy during the war, a terrific fight for its very existence against the organized forces of capital and enthroned greed. In this nation-wide conflict it should and will receive the hearty aid and co-operation of every Socialist in the land who realize that whatever its faults, the fighting labor movement contains the only solid promise of the eventual conquest of society by the workers.

The position of the Socialist Party is one of constructive, not destructive, criticism.

Every Socialist within the labor movement must stay at his post as a soldier in the ranks, as a teacher in the classroom. Leadership will not come to those who sulk, become embittered and eventually shirk their work or engage in merely disruptive and destructive criticism, but to those who are well grounded in the principles and policy of the labor movement, who look facts straight in the face and who honestly and devotedly fight the daily battles of the working class.

It is through this policy of loyal, constructive work within the labor unions, that the Socialist Party strives to strengthen those organizations and bring about a better understanding and co-operation between the militant economic and political organizations of the workers.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE SUSTAINING FUND
SAVE THE PARTY