

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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PITY THE POOR PACKERS

"Swift and Co." says a headline in the financial section, "have deficit in 1920".

"The effects of re-adjustment" said the story under the head, "and declining prices in the packing industry last year are clearly shown in the annual report of Swift & Co., which was made public yesterday. The report showed a deficit of \$6,829,618 as the result of operations for the fiscal year ended October 30th, as compared with a surplus of \$3,806,721 in 1919".

That's awful. If we can't turn over the regular annual profit to Mr. Swift, it will go dreadfully hard with his usual profits that have made him so pleased and happy, something will have to be done about it.

One thing we can do is to look deeper into the figures that the company made public, and that the editors buried in the financial pages.

We find, for example, that the deficit is, in reality, a profit of a mere \$5,170,382. That is, after paying the swollen salaries to the officials, interest on bonds, rents, etc., all of which (the total of which is not given) is actually profits. But even after paying this sort of profit, to the extent of millions of dollars, there is still a profit of over five more millions; and yet we find the official publicity department of the packers whining that the "declining prices" have caused them to lose money!

The way they figure it out is this; the company paid a dividend of eight per cent on the \$150,000,000, capital stock, which amounts to \$12,000,000. This is in addition to the interest on bonds, rents, swollen salaries to "managers" and members of the family, and other camouflaged profits. The bonds and "notes", amounting to \$189,195,477, at the rate of 4 per cent, the interest would be about seven million and a half.

But deducting this twelve million from the net profit of five million, there is a "deficit" of nearly seven million—the \$6,829,618 that they are yammering about—which has got to be made up out of the surplus; the surplus is therefore reduced from \$88,381,900 to a mere beggarly \$81,552,282!

Actually, however, the profits of the company are very nearly twenty million dollars. It is impossible to believe that the interest that is paid upon the bonds and notes (which interest is profit, in as real a sense as is the "net profit") is at as low a rate as four per cent; and yet at four per cent, it would be \$7,567,819,08; and it is more likely to be five per cent, or over nine million dollars. And adding that to the net profit of five million, and to the large family "salaries", and rents and other things that companies know how to manipulate, the profits—that it, the actual gains—of the company, are more than likely nearly twenty million.

Now, the Socialists have carried on a vicious propaganda, to prove that business men are in business for their own financial interest; that this interest, on the part of the business men, redounds to their own benefit but to the disadvantage of the people. The Socialists want to prove (wretches that they are!) that with business run in the interest of private profit, workers tend to be exploited, and the people to be robbed, both by high prices, and by inferior products.

The packers, philanthropically engaged in the business for the benefit of the people, have got to prove that Packingtown is nothing but an eleemosynary institution run in the interest of the people.

So they have hired a statistical department and a publicity department, to prove to the people that, after all, they aren't making so much money, that the Socialist agitation against, not Mr. Swift and Mr. Armour, but against the whole derved system, is vicious and wicked.

That's the meaning of all the large advertisements in various papers, filling up whole pages, proving that there's no profit at all in the business; and if Mr. Swift can't make a profit, how can you expect the people to run the business in their own interest?

"We have still" says Mr. Swift in his report to his directors, "to labor under the threat of pos-

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OTTO F. BRANSTETTER.....Bus. Mgr.

EDITORIALS

PERSONAL NOTE

With this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD, William M. Feigenbaum severs his formal connection with the National Office of the Socialist party, to accept an important position on the staff of The New York Call. Future issues will be taken care of by National Executive Secretary Otto Branstetter.

THE APRIL 15TH SOCIALIST WORLD

By action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party, the April 15th issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD will be the Convention Number, instead of the March 15th issue, as originally planned.

All the documents in connection with the convention and the international situation, the full agenda, as drawn by the N. E. C., the correct text of the famous twenty-one points, and the reply of the Communist International to the application of the Socialist Party of the United States; a full report of the Berne conference of December and a report of the Innsbruck interim conference, and the Vienna conference, will be given.

The convention will be held June 25th at Detroit, and the party members will want to know what is going to be on the cards for the week's discussion. The April 15th issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD will tell them. It will be a special number, of over forty pages. And it will be a document of real value.

OUR TWO DRIVES

When this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD reaches its readers, the two great drives of the Socialist party organization will have been under way for nearly four weeks.

The membership drive is booming. Organizations and party publications, from Coast to Coast, are backing the party's drive with enthusiasm. Numbers of state organizations have undertaken to win the Dodge touring car for the largest membership increase, and competition is keen. The party organization will benefit greatly by this competition.

Local organizations everywhere are anxious to win the red flags and the libraries offered for large increases in party membership.

The New York County organization, for ex-

ample, has passed a motion to the effect that any old member may resume his good standing membership by the payment, not of all his back dues, but of one month's back dues. New York wants active members, and is willing to sacrifice large amounts of dues money to get the membership.

At the same time, The New York Call is working for a large membership, and prints an application blank in every issue of the paper for readers to fill out and send in. The work is achieving excellent results.

Kansas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, California, Massachusetts, Ohio are some of the states that want to win the state prize.

The amnesty drive is attracting the widest attention, not only is Socialist and labor circles, but in the entire Capitalist press.

The appointment of that fine worker for human liberty, Harriot Stanton Blatch, to head the amnesty forces in Washington, and the announcement of plans to get to President Harding and picket the White House for amnesty was instantly flashed over the wires to every part of the country, and the result was noted almost immediately.

Amnesty became a "front page story". Editorials began to be written asking the Socialists to lay off, to give President Harding a chance to show that he was a better man than Wilson—and so on and so on.

The Socialist party, however, is continuing its work, organizing committees, getting signatures to the mass petition, getting resolutions passed; and best of all, organizing the giant Washington demonstration for April 13th and 14th, when the demand of the American workers will be heard—LET OUR PEOPLE GO!

What reader of THE SOCIALIST WORLD is neglecting his part in the two drives?

AN ALMOST FORGOTTEN ANNIVERSARY

On March 18th 1921, a portion of the older generation of the Socialist movement commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the great Paris Commune.

The most striking thing about the anniversary was the fact that very little was heard of it outside of certain narrow circles.

This does not mean that the great deeds of the Communards of glorious memory are forgotten; it is a tribute to the revolutionary temper of the times, a time in which more revolution is being enacted in a single moment of time than in all the weeks of the Commune.

In September, 1914, some Comrades remembered the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the First International in London. But the sporadic attempts at celebration were negligible, drowned out in the thunder of the great guns in the early moments of the World War that shattered the direct descendent of the Red International of Marx and Beesley.

And so, in March, 1921, there is very little response to the call for a world-wide celebration of the Paris Commune. Between revolutions, yes; but during the unrolling of the drama of a

great, nation-wide Commune, the Commune of Russia, if you please, Socialists seem more interested in Lenin and Lunacharsky and the strengthening of the arms of the great Red hosts, than they are in the now almost forgotten deeds of the Paris heroes whose bones are buried in Pere-Lachaise, heroes who include in their number the great father of the renegade Millerand, now in possession of the Presidency of the bourgeois government of the country his father died to make free.

Some day, when the battle clouds have blown away, when the class struggle will settle down to the humdrum, workaday status of day-by-day struggle, the world's workers will look back to the heroic days of March and November, 1917, and shed a tear over the graves of the revolutionary heroes of Russia; and while they lay a wreath on the graves in the Kremlin wall, they will pause awhile and think of the even greater heroes of that ancient and well-nigh forgotten day, a half century ago when the conscious revolutionary movement was young and there was no support for the Communards the world over as there is today for the mighty Russian revolution.

The almost pathetic neglect of the semi-centennial of Paris is a tribute to the infinitely greater work that is being hammered out in white hot steel in the furnace of Revolutionary Russia.

But then, in a very real sense, the glorious structure of Soviet Russia is a monument to the memory of the gallant soldiers who battled against such awful odds fifty years ago, in the fight to make the workers free, and the world free.

March Nineteen Twenty-One

A REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The King is Dead! Long live The King!

Woodrow Wilson it out; Warren Gamaliel Harding is in. A. Mitchell Palmer is out; Harry M. Daugherty is in. Albert Sidney Bursleson is out; Will H. Hays is in. Franklin D Roosevelt is out; Theodore Roosevelt is in.

Mr. Wilson, old, blasted, hobbling to the car on his cane, crowned with his famous silk hat, sat upon the right side; while Mr. Harding, erect, vigorous, sturdy, ruddy of cheek, confidently smiling, and likewise crowned with his silk hat, sat upon the left side. And so they rode to the Capitol, while the exchange of power took place.

There is something impressive about it. The people spoke, and Lo! one set of men went out, and another set came in.

The tall, smiling, sturdy looking gentlemen who delivered the Inaugural Address in his famous loud, loose, booming voice was there because the people, in their sovereign might (and stupidity) placed him there. He was the creature of the people's will, and if the people do not like his reactionary principles, his narrowness of outlook, which is compounded of Main Street and Wall Street, it is the fault of the people.

The people have the power in their hands. They chose to exercise the power, throwing out Woodrow Wilson, and electing an even worse set of men.

But some day the people, who have the power in their own hands, will chose to vote for themselves; some day the people will vote, not for reaction, not for Wall Street, not for exploitation, but for themselves. And then, Lo! the exploiters will go out, and the workers will go in.

President Harding signalized his accession by selecting the least distinguished and the most reactionary cabinet in a half century. Mr. Hughes stands for old fashioned democracy and decency—and he has a single track mind. He can be expected to render intelligent, honorable, upright and conscientious service to Things as they Are. He is the only man in the cabinet who rises above utter mediocrity, or worse.

Mr. Hoover is the "white haired boy" of the newspaper panegyrist. As head of European relief, Mr. Hoover saw to it that the babies who were rescued were just those who had selected the "right" parents. His charity-machine didn't reach babies of Soviet Russia.

Mr. Mellen is a multi-millionaire, one of the richest men who ever sat in a cabinet, and utterly without experience of any kind to fit him for his job—except the possession of the Wall Street point of view. Mr. Weeks will make a great secretary of war—but nobody seems to know why. Mr. Denby is a great fellow for "boss admiral". He is a warm and enthusiastic supporter of the open (scab) shop, and he believes in "the biggest navy in the world" b'gosh. That is, after the "last war".

Mr. Hays is great as Postmaster general. Didn't he line up the cattle to vote right? He is a fit successor to Frank Hitchcock, George B. Cortelyou, George von L. Meyer, and the rest of the political brokers whose sole fitness is the fact that as good political brokers, they used the post office department in the "right" way.

Mr. Fall is the man for the Interior job, the interior of Mexico. His job in the cabinet is to get us into trouble with Mexico, and "clean up" that country, in the interests of himself and his fellow exploiters. His selection is the most sinister of all the Cabinet members.

Mr. Wallace is nobody in particular, and Mr. Davis is magnificently qualified to be Secretary of Labor by the fact that he is a millionaire banker.

Mr. Daugherty is a great successor to Palmer. His qualifications to serve the public are—that he managed Harding's successful pre-convention campaign. It has been suggested that he would be worth a far greater reward at the hands of the people had he failed.

Mr. Harding has likewise appointed Theodore Roosevelt as assistant secretary of the navy, for which post his principal fitness is the fact that twenty-four years ago, his father held the same job; the last administration also appointed Franklin D. Roosevelt to the same job because his late fifth cousin had held the position—and later nominated him for vice president for the same reason.

Thus we see the weighty forces back of profoundly moving political events.

This is the Administration. To all intents and purposes, this is The Government, this is America.

We cannot complain. We willed it, and it is ours.

Of one thing we are certain. President Wilson had a group of radicals, liberals, pacifists, haters of tyranny, in his cabinet, and that group destroyed the freedom of America. Not men, but circumstances ruled.

President Harding has a group of colorless nonentities and vicious reactionaries—mitigated by Mr. Hughes. These men may restore the freedom to America, because they, too, will be the creatures of circumstances. And the circumstances are yet to be unrolled.

Here is one of the tasks of the Socialist party. Every member must place his shoulder to the wheel and build up the organization; every member must strive to make our party the biggest thing in American political life, so that when the time comes, we will not be gagged, we will not be silent, and we will be heard for the freedom of the workers.

* * * * *

The last month ended with the attempt of the railroads to cut wages checkmated by the Federal Railway Wage Board.

The new month begins with the cut in wages quite general, extending over the entire country, while the rates, fares, and variously assorted surcharges remain as they were.

The cutting of railway wages is one of the significant events of the month. It exemplifies the whole nature of capitalist society, its innate dishonesty, its crookedness, its stupidity.

What the country needs is railroads. What the capitalist class needs is profits and fat dividends and interest which can be made out of railroads, or beef packing, or land steals or war—or out of lots of things.

To operate the railroads of the country honestly and for the use of the people alone would be a simple task. But there wouldn't be so much money in it for the practical financiers who have used the railroads for private gain.

Some day a bright young statistician will estimate how much it will cost to run the railroads solely and only for use, and what percentage of the present high costs go for various kinds of accumulated profits and interest on crooked debts. It is a safe guess that by far the largest portion of railroad revenues go for such purposes—but to get relief, it would be necessary to wipe the slate clean and begin again. No one is suggesting such a step except the Socialists.

Socialists do not want to guarantee the bad debts of the financiers of the Seventies and the Eighties, and their descendents. Socialists want operation for use and not for profit.

But with the present system, it is inevitable that increase is piled upon increase, until the cost of transportation reaches intolerable heights.

Meanwhile, unemployment is growing, and a not inconsiderable portion of it is due to the un-

bearably high freight rates that make it impossible to start even Capitalist business going.

The bright, brainy, intelligent and much praised business men have so mismanaged their own affairs that they have run up a blind alley and can't go on.

Their usual objection to Socialism is that it "won't work", the assumption being that their intelligent system will work, and can and does work. All of which goes to show what people with a rotten cause, a weak case and a lot of money to buy publicity with can make the public believe.

* * * * *

The drive on the union shop is gathering force.

At the same time, the drive to "relieve" "legitimate business" of the burden of direct taxation is getting under way, all of which is in the direction of loading ever more burden upon the working class. But that doesn't worry the master class. They won the war, they won the election, they won the peace, and they are going to rule the roost if they can.

How far they think they can go with it without provoking violent outbreaks passeth the understanding of a poor working class editor. That they do not intend to lay off on their profits goes without saying. That they are trying to get more and more of the swag they admit—and some of the more outspoken of the exploiters, like Mr. Gary, for instance, say so in so many words.

In the very same report in which the "judge" announces a 12½ per cent reduction—"readjustment"—in wages, he announces an increase in profits of a single year (1920) over the previous year of \$24,873,487! The workers, says Gary, were "generally speaking, fair and reasonable. The inexorable laws of supply and demand will bring all different lines of business to a realization of what must be done", and so on and so on.

Hours are still 84 per week; prices are still kept up—thus adding a little to the housing shortage and the criminally high rents. Wages are cut, and Gary smiles, saying that the slaves were "fair and reasonable"!

An intelligent, red blooded American, reading over those facts and the smug, complacent comment of the chief slave driver will feel a passionate indignation that can be vented only by some action. And the best action is—Socialist organization to destroy the Godless system that produces such criminal results.

* * * * *

While the various sections of the garment unions were on strike, struggling for the maintenance of their union and the union conditions they have won in the years of struggle, the enemies of the workers have been busy, attempting to dissolve the unions as "conspiracies in restraint of trade".

That formula, by the way, is from the Sherman anti-trust law, passed to curb combinations of capital (with such brilliant success) a law that is used most of the time against organizations of workers.

While the union is in court in a number of cases, to show that it is not a conspiracy in restraint of trade in the meaning of the Sherman law

of 1890, judge after judge is enjoining members of the garment unions from "interfering" with the business of the dear, good garment manufacturers who have been trying to re-establish the scab shop.

All this is interesting, and it lays out work for the Socialist movement. If we meet our task, if we get into the fight and organize the boiling discontent, the growing Socialist sentiment, we will be worthy of our cause. If we let these opportunities go by without adequate organization and education, we will die, and we should die.

* * * * *

There has just come to our desk a little booklet of Lenin, entitled "Left Wing Communism; an Infantile Disorder".

Every Socialist should read the book, and see the Bolshevik prime minister pour the unutterable scorn for which he is so famous upon the heads of the self-righteous, self appointed "revolutionists" who undertake to instruct the entire movement upon what's what, out of the depths of their ignorance.

With the change of a few names, the booklet might well be an attack upon the funny little elements in the United States that are instructing the Socialist party upon its crimes of omission and commission.

If a little of the spirit of Lenin, his clear, incisive, beautiful reasoning, could be injected into the discussion raging over the question of the Communist International, the Socialist parties everywhere in the world would be better off.

Backed by the prestige of the Russian revolution, the disruptionists who presume to speak for the world revolutionary movement are almost literally getting away with murder, and Comrades everywhere are afraid to speak their minds for fear of antagonizing the world-wide enthusiasm for the Revolution.

They need not. They can quote Lenin against Zinoviev, and take their stand with Lenin. We are for the masses. We must work with the masses. Therefore, we must go where the masses are, not to try to split the masses. That is Lenin's withering attack upon the "Infantile disorder" of "left wingism". It is a pity that he can't get his international executive committee to see it as he does, and to act accordingly.

The late beloved John Reed was American representative upon the executive committee of the Communist International. With his death, a vacancy occurs, which has just been filled. Zinoviev's committee has selected Nicholai I. Hourwich to "represent" the American proletariat upon that International committee!

There are some people who are now just beginning to see that it is dangerous to allow a committee sitting in Moscow to have charge of the internal affairs of parties in different parts of the world. That appointment is as significant as the carefully prepared list of "exclusions", revised from time to time, that emanates from Moscow.

* * * * *

The Socialist movement has work to do. It has much work, and that work is outside, not inside. That work is the amnesty campaign, the fight

against the open shop campaign, the organization campaign, and the carrying of the message of Socialism to the suffering, hungering, thirsting working class. Whoever holds up that work, whoever interjects discussion of non-essentials, whoever creates artificial divisions in the movement at this time is not serving the Socialist movement, and the working class.

Anyone who wants to serve his Cause today can do so in no better way than by dropping all other agitation except the agitation for the Socialist cause and the building up of the Party.

That's a pretty good resolve for March 15th!

Socialism and Religion

Editor Socialist World:

Permit me to undertake to explain, not to defend what was probably Comrade Work's idea when he said religion would get a big boost from Socialism. It was not that the Socialist movement should espouse religion in general or in particular. But that the spirit of Socialism which gives it its virility, would and will have such an effect upon the religious element that is in man, that as the Socialist movement goes on to fruition, religion will slough off what is superficial and function in its particular field, with increasing facility. This idea of mine, imperfectly expressed above accounts for my own devotion to both Socialism and religion and I dare say is the explanation of other Comrades of religious temperament in the Socialist movement. The idea is capable of elaboration but is not necessary. In closing let me say, our party seems to be working on the correct and logical basis now. Build up on affirmations. Negations, Comrades, get us nowhere. Hew to the line as Socialists, in the Socialist Party.

A. L. Byron-Curtiss.

Christ Church
Willard, N. Y.
March, 1921.

Pity the Poor Packers

(Continued from Page 1)

sible adverse legislation, which we believe would cripple our efficiency and interfere with the orderly course of our business".

The gentleman is afraid, of course, that if he makes too much money, if there is too much of a display of wealth, while prices of the most necessary food stuffs get away beyond the reach of the working people, something might happen to his juicy and pleasant cinch.

That's the reason for these advertisements, carefully played up and displayed; that's the reason that the editors of daily papers co-operate and play up the "information" just as the packers' publicity department want them to play it up.

All of which is another cogent argument for a good, powerful, functioning Socialist press!

For the Hundred Thousand

NOTE:—In the event of a tie for any of the prizes in the great Membership Contest of the Party, both winners members, locals or state organizations will receive prizes of equal value, identical with the prizes offered to the various winners. This applies to the entire contest, from the Dodge touring car for the winning state organization, the silk and gold banners, and the gold watch, down to the fiftieth prize of a party emblem watch fob.

With the appearance of this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD, the great membership contest of the Socialist party for 100,000 members will have passed the quarter-mile post, with three-quarters more to go.

The entire party organization, from Coast to Coast, is enlisted and there are avowed candidates for the capital prize—the Dodge touring car—from at least ten state offices.

The prize goes to the state organization that secures the largest increase in membership; but no state will secure the prize for less than 2,000 new members.

New York wants that prize; but so does Illinois, California, Massachusetts, Ohio, Kansas, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, and other states.

John G. Willert, state secretary of the Party in Ohio, reports the following in his latest communication to the Ohio organization:

The national office has two big campaigns on, the one is the amnesty campaign and the other the one hundred thousand membership drive. To make these campaigns a success, every local, branch and comrade must help. Advertising matter and literature must be distributed, which will be supplied you, the prices and plans for this work are outlined in the New Day and Socialist World. The national office is also offering prizes to those locals, branches and comrades getting in the biggest number of members; there is also an automobile given to the state getting the largest number of members: can you get it for Ohio? To enter this contest, each local and branch must send in a complete list of their membership in good standing up to March 1, and by action of the state executive committee, you are ordered to do so. A letter sent out by one of our state secretaries reads:

"I want to urge upon you and your local that you take some definite action toward getting members during these two months. I suggest that at your first meeting you elect some committees, a committee to locate or land the name of every Socialist in the community; this committee might make a house to house canvass of inquiry. A committee to see all the former and known Socialists who are not now members of the local and strongly urge them to attend meetings and become members again. A committee to arrange programs, entertainments, feeds, in honor of new members and comrades attending who are not accustomed to attend. A committee to devise ways and means to secure new members during this campaign. A committee to arrange for a systematic campaign, propaganda, entertainments and any other committee that is found necessary."

Take this letter up at your meeting, and follow its suggestion, and Ohio will show great results.

The World, the Socialist weekly of Oakland, Cal., features the membership drive of the party with a full page spread head, and prints a membership application blank to be filled out, and sent to the party office there.

The St. Louis Labor is doing the same, and the New York Call is going into the drive with enthusiasm, printing daily appeals for membership and urging its readers to fill out the application blank printed each day.

In New York, there are 57,888 enrolled Socialists; that is, men and women who not only vote Socialist, but also write down their names and addresses as Socialists and adherents of the party. The party in that city is going after those voters, and will get them in the party as soon as it can. At the same time, the party organization in New York voted that old members may come back and resume good standing membership upon payment of one month's back dues. All this is bringing fine results.

The amnesty drive is arousing the greatest interest, and is contributing to the success of the membership drive. Members in countless small towns, who have been inactive because of war time persecution have come back into activity, and are working for amnesty and for a larger, better, more active party.

The membership drive closes May 1st, and the prizes will be awarded as soon as the results are tabulated by the National Office.

Amnesty Drive Sweeps Nation

With the March meeting of the National Executive Committee in Boston, the great amnesty campaign of the Party was launched, a drive that has no time limit except the day when the last prisoner of conscience is unconditionally released.

The response to the appeal for an amnesty campaign has been electric. At the call to the colors of the Comrades to fight for the freedom of Gene Debs and his fellow politicals, the whole Socialist movement eagerly sprang into action. Not a section of the country has been immune

from the vivifying effects of the drive; not a Comrade but has felt the urge to fight until political liberty is restored.

The spontaneous response to the amnesty drive was instantly reflected in the Capitalist press; as soon as it was (incorrectly) reported that the Socialists were to picket the White House for amnesty three days after President Harding's inauguration, the entire capitalist press rose up and cried out that it was an outrage.

But at the same time, with the plans of the national organization developing, it

was significant that President Harding asked Attorney General Daugherty for all the papers in the Debs case; and that the Attorney General said to a reporter for the Chicago Tribune that he was anxious to see Debs out; "I don't want to see men rot for their honest convictions," said Daugherty, "I respect a man who stands up honestly for his honest convictions."

The publication of that interview spurred the Socialists on to renewed efforts. With the waiting, questioning, "I want to be shown" attitude in official Washington, it is the job of the Socialist party and all its members to show cause why Debs and all the political should be unconditionally released at once.

That is the campaign that is going on now.

The petitions to Congress are out, and signatures are coming in by the hundred thousand. It is expected that when Congressman Meyer London presents the petition for amnesty to Congress on April 13th or 14th, it will contain the names of three million, or more, citizens of the United States.

Union after union is pledging from one to ten thousand names each. Locals are crying for more, and ever more petition blanks.

Furthermore, the various Congressmen will have the lists of their constituents who signed the petitions, sent to them carefully tabulated.

The resolutions for amnesty are rolling into Washington in an increasing flood. Unions, civic organizations, central bodies, state labor organizations, fraternal organizations, by the thousand are sending in their insistent demand that the political be set free at once.

The amnesty demand is being voiced by the resident committee in Washington, under the able and brilliant leadership of Harriot Stanton Blatch; and under her leadership, assisted by Abraham Tuvim, the great demonstrations of April 13th and 14th are being organized, when thousands of workers, from hundreds of localities, will come to Washington, to make their demand heard: "LET OUR PEOPLE GO!"

This amnesty campaign is well organized, it is being conducted brilliantly and with spirit; it is dignified, and it is getting results. Every newspaper story to the effect that the President is interested in amnesty is propaganda for amnesty. Every resolution passed, and sent to Congressmen, is propaganda for amnesty. Every editorial denunciation of the Washington demonstration is propaganda for amnesty.

This is a national fight. The Socialists of every part of the nation are in it, and the whole labor movement is swinging into line behind the Socialist cohorts. It is the greatest popular movement since the close of the war, and as speakers and organizers work for amnesty in Montana and California; in Indiana and Ohio; in New York and Connecticut and Illinois, they carry a message of good cheer to all the workers from the gallant, fighting, uncompromising Socialist party.

Are you in the fight?

Have you circulated petitions?

Have you had resolutions adopted in your union, and worked for a delegation to Washington? Have you secured contributions to the amnesty work?

If not, climb on to the band wagon at once, and work for the Immediate Demand of the American people.

Let's get them all out!

The N. E. C. Meets in Boston

MINUTES NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Boston, Mass., March 5th, 1921
Forenoon Session

The Committee met at the American House at 10 a. m.

Present—George E. Roewer, Jr., W. M. Brandt, Wm. H. Henry, James Oneal, Bertha H. Mailly, Otto Branstetter and William M. Feigenbaum.

Absent—Edmund T. Melms.

Comrade Henry elected Chairman for the day.

The Executive Secretary read a communication from Comrade Melms expressing regret at his inability to attend the meeting on account of important party matters in Milwaukee; and reported that the resignation of Comrade John Hagel of Oklahoma as member of the Committee, had been accepted by vote, and that Comrade C. William Thompson of Reading, Pa., elected as first alternate by the National Convention in New York, had been notified but that up to the present time no reply had been received from him. On

motion, the vacancy on the N. E. C. was referred to new business.

Communications and telegrams read from the State Secretary of Illinois; Local Wayne County (Detroit), Mich.; Local Cook County (Chicago); Local Los Angeles, Calif.; the State Executive Committee of New York; the Jewish Branches of Milwaukee; the Executive Committee of the New England Jewish Federation; and the National Executive Committee of the Bohemian Federation, protesting against the submission of the referendum initiated by Branch No. 2 of Milwaukee, providing that the National Convention will not be held this year as provided by the National Party Constitution.

The Convention Referendum

The communication from Local Cook County, Illinois, was as follows:

"Chicago, February 26, 1921.

National Executive Committee

Socialist Party,

Otto Branstetter, Secretary,

Chicago, Ill.

Comrades:

Local Cook County (Chicago), Illinois,
most emphatically protests the submission to

the membership of the proposed referendum by the Second Ward Branch, Milwaukee, Wis., setting aside the national convention for this year.

The effect of this referendum would not only be to abolish the convention this year but to disorganize the regular processes of the party, retaining for instance, all the present officials in office for another year, because there is no other means than a convention, under the constitution, by which officials can be elected.

The submission of this referendum would set a precedent by which any future national executive committee could automatically maintain itself in power by merely having the annual conventions set aside.

The only proper procedure the Milwaukee comrades could have pursued would have been to initiate amendments to the constitution and have these acted on by the membership.

Previous national executive committees have always been scrupulous in barring proposed referendums containing comment. This precedent alone would bar the present proposed referendum from Milwaukee.

Frequent national conferences are absolutely necessary in view of the rapidly changing national and international problems. The plans for the annual conventions were made in the hope that this demand would be met, that party unity, discipline and organization strength would be developed through discussion, in a national gathering of the party's forces, each year.

The result of the acceptance of the Milwaukee referendum would be to permit state and local organizations, for another year, to develop their campaigns of ruinous decentralization, to build up sectional movements, instead of a cohesive, national organization.

There is every basis, in precedent and common sense, for setting aside the Milwaukee referendum.

With Fraternal Greetings,

(Signed) J. Louis Engdahl, Secretary,
Cook County Socialist Party.

The other communications were of similar import and are not published in detail on account of the space required.

The Executive Secretary reported that the proposed referendum had received the required number of seconds and submission of same was being held up pending action of the Committee on the protests filed.

Motion by Roewer—"The motion made by Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, does not technically comply with constitutional requirements, but in view of the fact that it has received the required number of seconds, the N. E. C. does not feel justified in declaring it out of order. The Secretary is, therefore, instructed to submit the proposition with the second paragraph eliminated as it is a comment, and as such is not permissible in the text of the referendum and is covered by the comment of two hundred words which appear on the ballot." **Adopted.**

Motion by Brandt—"That a committee of two

be elected to draft a reply to the various protests received and to state the reasons for the Committee's action." **Adopted.**

Roewer and Branstetter appointed as the sub-committee.

Communications read from David Sigel, Secretary of the Jewish Federation, and Julius Gerber, Secretary of Local New York, reference the expulsion of Max Lulow by the Jewish Federation and the failure of Local New York to recognize such expulsion as binding on the local.

Motion by Brandt—"That the National Executive Committee requests the State Committee of New York to investigate this controversy and adjust it in accordance with the state party constitution and in the interest of the organization as a whole." **Adopted.**

By motion, the Committee adjourned until 2:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session

Communication from Comrade Andrews of Wilmington, Del., regarding the findings and recommendation of Comrade Joseph E. Cohen and the action of the National Executive Committee thereon.

Motion by Oneal—"That the N. E. C. is satisfied with the impartiality of Comrade Cohen's investigation and sees no reason for re-opening the matter." **Adopted.**

Communication read from the Soviet Medical Relief Fund, New York, regarding instructions given the State Organizations in the following communication from the Executive Secretary:

Medical Relief

February 1, 1921.

To the State Secretaries.

Dear Comrades:

I am enclosing herewith a statement being sent out by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee of New York City.

As you can infer from the contents of the communication, there is a controversy existing within that organization. As a matter of fact, there is still another faction in addition to the two indicated in this communication. The National Office is in no position to judge of the merits of this controversy and has no intention of attempting to decide as between the various factions.

I suggest to the State and Local organizations that they do not become involved in this matter in any form and that the best way to avoid becoming involved is to have nothing to do with any of the groups or factions representing or claiming to represent the Russian Medical Relief Fund.

Those individuals desiring to contribute for the purpose of Russian Medical Relief, may send their contributions to the National Office and they will be forwarded to responsible parties who will see that the money is used for the purpose donated.

Local organizations or other groups of Socialists desiring to hold meetings for the purpose of raising a larger amount of funds, should hold such meetings under the auspices of the party and the receipts should be sent through the National headquarters for distribution. In the past the National organiza-

tion has served quite effectively as a medium for the collection of funds for other than party purposes. Thousands of dollars were raised by the Socialist party members and branches for the Moyer-Haywood Defense Fund, for the Lawrence strikers, for the McNamara defense and over nine thousand dollars was raised in six weeks for the strike children's relief fund for the benefit of the strike children at Calumet and Ludlow.

By raising funds in this manner, the Socialist party members not only contributed to the purpose desired, but they increased and extended the activity of their branches and gave added importance and prestige to the National Organization.

It is to be regretted that during the past few years the policy of contributing to such funds through the party organization has been abandoned. In its stead has grown up a large number of independent organizations over which the party has no control and of whose accounts and finances we know nothing. This system is detrimental not only because it results in placing money in the hands of irresponsible, self-constituted groups often organized primarily for the purpose of creating jobs for themselves, but more important because it dissipates and scatters the energy of our members amongst half a dozen organizations rather than concentrating those energies to the upbuilding of the party.

I do not mean by this that our membership should not be interested in or contribute to funds for other than party purposes. Far from it, but the funds so contributed should be raised by the party branches as such and forwarded through the State and National Organizations as such so that the party members and the party organization receive the credit for having raised the amount for the particular purpose.

When local members, interested in strike or relief work, prevail upon their branch or local to undertake a campaign to raise funds for the benefit of such strike relief, it increases the activity of the local, gives it a broader field and is of more interest to its membership. The result is that the money is raised and at the same time the party organization is strengthened.

If, on the contrary, such members, instead of doing this work through their branch, pull out and organize another organization or committee of some other organization, the activity of the branch is lessened to that extent and the organization proportionately weakened.

I advise the State Organizations to discourage their membership from participating in such side-line organizations. Wherever a cause is sufficiently meritorious and important to justify it, the party organizations—National, State and Local—can be used for the purpose of raising funds, holding meetings or assisting in any way that is possible just as we did before this plague of inde-

pendent money raising organizations came upon us.

Incidentally, most of the organizations of this character have used the names and lists secured through their relief work for the purpose of attacking the party and carrying on propaganda amongst our members against Socialist party principles and organization. This is true of the Soviet Medical Relief, the Workers' Defense Committee, the National Defense Committee, and other organizations.

Let us by all means help every worthy working class cause, but as Socialists, let us help through the Socialist party organizations, so that the party as such will receive the credit.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) Otto Branstetter,
Executive Secretary.

Motion by O Neal—"That the communication of the Executive Secretary be approved and adopted as the recommendation of the National Executive Committee." **Adopted.**

Statement by Executive Secretary regarding the hospital being established in Russia by the Jewish Daily Forward.

Motion by Roewer—"That such funds as may be received by the National Office for Medical Relief in Russia be turned over to the Daily Forward for expenditure through their hospital service." **Adopted.**

New Publications

Comrade Mailly reported favorably on a manuscript of August Claessens—"Is Socialism Inevitable?"

Motion by Brandt—"That the pamphlet be published as soon as funds are available." **Adopted.**

Comrade Mailly, for the Editing Committee, reported favorably on a manuscript by Comrade Taylor of Grand Rapids.

Comrade Feigenbaum called attention to the article by Frederick Engels, "After Fifty Years," published in *The Socialist World*, and recommended publication of same in pamphlet form.

Motion by Roewer—"That these two pamphlets be published when funds are available." **Adopted.**

Communication from the Research Department of the Rand School, requesting an appropriation to compensate them for the time spent in preparation of the Campaign Book for 1920.

Motion by O Neal—"That one hundred dollars be appropriated for this purpose and the Executive Secretary be instructed to pay same when funds are available." **Adopted.**

The Executive Secretary reported that Comrade Berenberg, in accordance with the suggestion of the Committee at the last meeting, had separated the text book for Socialist Sunday Schools into three separate parts to be published in pamphlet form.

Motion by Mailly—"That the Executive Secretary be instructed to publish the first one of these

pamphlets at the earliest possible date, and that he communicate with the Workmen's Circle, asking for an appropriation for the special purpose of publishing this book." **Adopted.**

Communication read from Frank Petrich, Translator-Secretary of the Yugoslav Federation, requesting an appropriation for organization work.

Motion by Maily—"That until the meeting of the next National Convention, a monthly appropriation for organization work be made to the Jugo-slav Federation, equal to the amount paid the National Office for dues." **Adopted.**

The Executive Secretary reported on the Reorganization of the Finnish Federation and his instructions to the Finnish Branches in organized states to purchase dues stamps from the State Secretaries direct at thirty-five (35) cents each, and the instructions to State Secretaries to remit ten (10) cents of this amount monthly to the Reorganization Committee of the Finnish Federation and to remit to the respective county or city organizations, an amount equal to one-half of the county dues paid by the English branches.

Motion by Roewer—"That the reorganization of the Finnish Federation and plans outlined by the Executive Secretary be approved and that the State Secretaries be instructed to make the remittances to the county organizations and the Finnish Federation as recommended, until the meeting of the next National Convention." **Adopted.**

The Committee adjourned until 8 p. m.

Evening Session

The Executive Secretary reported on the plans and progress of the Amnesty Campaign, and that Comrade Harriot Stanton Blatch of New York was available to take charge of the headquarters in Washington.

Motion by Roewer—"That the offer of Comrade Blatch's services be accepted and that she be placed in charge of the headquarters and committee work in Washington, D. C., in connection with the Amnesty Campaign."

Adjourned until 10 a. m.

Forenoon Session—Sunday, March 6th

Comrade Roewer elected Chairman for the day.

Communication from Comrade Fred E. Irish, offering his services for organization work in the State of Maine.

Motion by Henry—"That Comrade Irish's proposition be accepted and that he be instructed to proceed with the work as soon as necessary preliminaries can be arranged." **Adopted.**

Telegram received from Comrade Novik of the Y. P. S. L. of Greater New York. The Executive Secretary was instructed to reply, making an engagement for the following Wednesday.

The Convention

Motion by Oneal—"That the date of the National Convention be definitely set for June 25th, at Detroit, Mich." **Adopted.**

Communication from Comrade August Claessens, reference an automobile tour to the Pacific Coast, extending over a period of four months or more.

Motion by Henry—"That the proposition of Comrade Claessens be accepted and the Executive Secretary be instructed to communicate with

him reference ways and means of financing the project."

The local comrades having arranged a mass meeting for the afternoon, and a banquet for the evening, the Committee adjourned until 10 a. m. tomorrow morning.

Forenoon Session—Monday, March 7th

Comrade Maily was elected Chairman for the day.

The Agenda

The matter of the Convention Agenda was taken up and the Executive Secretary reported on the preparation of the Preliminary Agenda as published in *The Socialist World* and submitted propositions from Locals Campello, Brockton, Princeton Depot and Bainbridge and the Finnish branches at Fitchburg and Gardner, Mass.; Local New York and the Third, Fifth and Tenth A. D. branch, New York; Local Cook County, Thirteenth Ward branch, Chicago, and the Douglas Park Jewish branch, Chicago, Ill.; State Secretary of Missouri and Local Kansas City, Mo.; the State Executive Committee and Locals York, Harrisburg, Steelton, Bethlehem, Warren and Montgomery County, Pa.; State Executive Committee and Local Manzanita, California; Locals Elkhart and Marion, Ind.; Locals Camden, Bergen, Union and Atlantic Counties, New Jersey; Local Wayne County, Mich.; Local Toledo and the Finnish branch of Fairport Harbor, Ohio; State Convention of Rhode Island; Local Richmond, Va., and the State Secretary of Wyoming.

The Committee adjourned until 2:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session—Monday, March 7th

The Committee was divided into sub-committees for the purpose of considering Agenda propositions and combining the numerous propositions upon the same subject into one motion, or alternative motions where it is deemed necessary in order to clearly present opposing viewpoints within the organization.

By motion, the committee adjourned until 7:30 p. m.

Evening Session—Monday, March 7th

Motion by Brandt—"That the Committee reconsider its instructions to the Executive Secretary immediately to submit the motion of Branch No. 2 of Milwaukee to referendum." **Adopted.**

After general discussion as to the advisability of complying with the protests filed and declaring the referendum unconstitutional and out of order, a motion was made by Comrade Maily to that effect.

Voting Yes—Maily.

Voting No—All others. **Motion lost.**

Motion by Oneal—"That the following resolution be adopted:

"Resolved, that the National Executive Committee cordially endorses the efforts of the comrades of Chicago, St. Louis and the San Francisco district in establishing daily Socialist newspapers."

Motion Carried.

Motion by Brandt—"That the National Executive Committee expresses its most cordial appreciation of the hospitality of the comrades of the Massachusetts State Organization and Local Boston."

The sub-committees of the National Executive Committee submitted drafts for motions and reso-

lutions to be inserted in the Convention Agenda. The Executive Secretary was instructed to include the alternative motions drawn on Soviets, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Mass Action, Democracy, Parliamentary Activity and the Decrease of dues—all other new propositions submitted to be placed on the Agenda as affirmative motions.

The Committee having been invited to attend a banquet and a meeting of active party workers in New York City, adjourned to meet at the People's House in New York City at 10 a. m. tomorrow.

Forenoon Session—Tuesday, March 8th

Absent—Roewer.

Brandt elected Chairman.

The Committee considered, amended and completed drafts of Agenda propositions and adjourned until 2:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session—Tuesday, March 8th

Further consideration of the Agenda matter.

The Executive Secretary was instructed to include the proposition submitted on Legislative activity and on the relation of the party to the organized labor movement.

Comrade Oneal submitted a resolution on Anti-Semitism. **Adopted.**

Comrade William M. Feigenbaum tendered his resignation as Publicity Director for the National Office, to accept a position on the New York Call.

Motion by Maily—"That Comrade Feigenbaum's resignation be accepted and that the Committee express its appreciation of his untiring zeal and devotion in the party work and of the splendid publicity which has been secured for party activities during his services as Publicity Director." **Adopted.**

Comrade Battistoni of Local Buffalo, N. Y., appeared before the Committee and explained the condition in that city, with the request that a National organizer be assigned them for a period of three or four months in order to reorganize the party and take advantage of the opportunities existing.

Motion by Oneal—"That the Committee deems it inadvisable to divert any of our limited number of organizers from the amnesty work at the present time, but that the Executive Secretary be instructed to make every effort to furnish Local Buffalo with an organizer following the close of the Amnesty Campaign." **Adopted.**

The Committee adjourned until 2:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session—Wednesday, March 9th

Oneal elected Chairman.

Comrade Oneal presented draft of resolution on the Mexican situation.

Motion by Henry—"That the resolution be adopted." **Carried.**

Comrade Oneal submitted resolution on the Open Shop. **Motion by Maily**—"That the resolution on the Open Shop be adopted." **Carried.**

Comrade Roewer arrived from Boston and was present the remainder of the session.

The Milwaukee Referendum

The sub-committee submitted the following statement by the N. E. C. in reply to the protests on the submission of the Milwaukee Referendum:

"The N. E. C. in session at Boston on

March 5th, has before it communications from Locals Detroit, Chicago, New York and Los Angeles, the State Committees of Illinois, New York and Massachusetts, the Jewish Branches of Milwaukee, the Executive Committee of the New England Jewish Federation and the N. E. C. of the Bohemian Federation, protesting against the submission of the referendum initiated by Branch No. 2 of Milwaukee providing that the National Convention shall not be held this year as provided by the National Party Constitution.

"The protests are based upon constitutional points as well as party expediency.

"The protests point out that the motion as initiated is unconstitutional in the following particulars:

"1. In that it proposes to call off a convention which the constitution provides must be held, and is, therefore, a proposal to violate the constitution.

"2. That the second paragraph is a comment or argument, not necessary to the intent of the resolution and inserted only for the purpose of prejudicing the membership and influencing the vote, in violation of the constitution.

"3. That while it is apparently designed for no other purpose than to abandon the convention, it will, if adopted, prevent the election of a new National Executive Committee and other National officials and continue the present officials in office for another year.

"The N. E. C. concedes the unconstitutional form in which the referendum is proposed and disagrees with the Executive Secretary in having submitted it for seconds in its present form. It should have been returned to Branch No. 2 with instructions to submit it as a constitutional amendment and with the second paragraph eliminated.

"This objection, however, is merely technical and the Committee does not feel that it justifies declaring the proposed referendum out of order. If this was done, the resolution could, and no doubt would be, immediately proposed in the form of a constitutional amendment and the only result would be to delay the referendum another month while seconds were secured.

"The objection to the second paragraph is well taken and it will be stricken out of the resolution when submitted to referendum.

"The objection that the adoption of the referendum will result in the present Committee and other officials holding over until next year is important and is an argument of some weight in favor of holding the convention. It does not, however, constitute a valid objection on constitutional grounds or warrant the Committee in refusing to submit the proposal to referendum.

"The various objections raised on points of party interest and expediency cannot be urged as reasons justifying a refusal to submit a proposition which has been regularly

Referendum "A" 1921

Proposed by the 2nd Ward Branch, Local Milwaukee, Wis.

"Whereas, Section I, Article VIII of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party provides that there shall be held 'a National Convention of the Socialist Party each year', now be it

Resolved, That there shall be no National Convention of the Socialist Party in the year 1921; further

Resolved, That the National Executive Committee be and hereby is directed to take such measures as are necessary to carry into effect the purpose of the resolution."

Comment

Submitted by Local Milwaukee, Wis.

There should be no National Convention in 1921—because:

Under the guise of revolutionary action, the reactionary slogan has gone out: "Smash the Party";

Frequent conventions are a means to that end;

The many questions placed upon the agenda are sure to cause further dissention without being settled;

The present spirit of unrest within the party is not conducive to a calm discussion of the questions on the agenda;

We all agree that the most urgent need of our party just now is organization;

A glance at the agenda must convince anyone that this convention will give little or no time to organization work;

Every convention that has been held in recent years has left the organization in a turmoil;

The money spent upon the convention is so sorely needed in the work of organization;

If we want to build up a strong Socialist Party in this country, it is necessary to give every bit of our energy, time and money to this work of building up the organization;

Make those who want to spend the party funds on railroad fares and hotel bills stay at home and work, or go way back and sit down.

The above comment is submitted in accordance with Section 3 of Article XII of the National Constitution. Vote closes in the National Office May 19, 1921.

NOTICE TO LOCAL SECRETARIES:

Ballots have been shipped to the State Secretaries for distribution to the Locals. If you do not receive your quota of ballots within a reasonable time, write to your state office for the number required for your members. It is important that every member vote upon this question.

initiated and which has received the required number of seconds.

"The N. E. C., therefore, instructs the Executive Secretary to prepare ballots immediately and submit the resolution (with the second paragraph eliminated) to referendum at the earliest possible date.

"In view of the number of protests filed and the fact that the Committee in submitting the referendum lays itself open to the charge of attempting to maintain itself in

Comment

Submitted by Local Cook County, Ill.

There should be a National Convention this year—because:

The constitution so provides and it cannot be set aside without disorganizing the regular processes of the party;

The abandonment of the convention will retain the present officials in the office for another year because there is no other means, under the constitution, by which officials can be elected;

The cost of the convention will be comparatively low, it consists of only forty-five delegates. Convention stamps are now being sold to cover this expense.

Effective organization work is urgently needed. The questions involved in the development of such work are irrevocably bound up with questions of policies and tactics; These can be discussed and acted on only at a national convention;

The controverted questions on the agenda must be settled to prevent another year of destructive and disruptive controversy within our ranks;

A glance at the agenda will show not one constructive organization proposal from Milwaukee or Wisconsin;

Make those who want to disrupt the party, from sympathy with either the right or the left, bring their proposals to the convention for discussion and settlement instead of avoiding discussion by sabotaging the convention.

office through the adoption of the resolution and the abandonment of the convention, the Committee feels justified in stating to the membership that it is unanimously in favor of holding the convention.

"The situation of the party at the present time and the number of important questions on which there are divergent opinions within the party makes it imperatively necessary that a convention be held for the purpose of definitely stating the party's position and thus make possible constructive organization

work for the building of a bigger and better Socialist movement in the United States.

Fraternally submitted,
 GEORGE E. ROEWER,
 WM. H. HENRY,
 W. M. BRANDT,
 BERTHA MAILLY,
 JAMES ONEAL,
 OTTO BRANSTETTER,
 Executive Secretary."

Motion by Brandt—"That the statement be issued." Adopted.

Motion by Henry—"That the National Executive Committee extend an invitation to National and International labor organizations to send fraternal delegates to the National Convention at Detroit." Adopted.

Comrade C. Wm. Thompson appeared before the Committee and stated that for personal reasons, he was unable to accept the position on the N. E. C. made vacant by the resignation of

Comrade John Hagel and tendered his resignation as first alternate member of the Committee.

Motion by Mailly—"That Comrade Thompson's resignation be accepted and that Comrade Irwin St. John Tucker be notified of the vacancy and the fact that as second alternate, he succeeds to the vacancy caused by the resignations of Comrades Hagel and Thompson." Adopted.

Motion by Brandt—"That the special convention number of *The Socialist World*, containing the Convention Agenda and the text of numerous documents dealing with the Communist International and the Berne and Vienna Conferences and other matters of a controversial nature, be published in April instead of March as previously announced." Adopted.

The Agenda proposition on Industrial Unionism and the matter of editing a number of minor motions, remains uncompleted and is referred to the Executive Secretary.

Adjourned sine die.

President Harding Has Spoken

By Victor H. Lawn

The petty tyrant of small business who in the last three years of his reign surrendered to big business, so-called, has been supplanted by an even more faithful servant of corporation interests, a servant without a will or a mind of his own.

Warren G. Harding, solemnly taking the oath as President of the United States on March 4, spoke his little piece. It was just what should have been expected. Lacking the incisiveness of style and diction which characterized Woodrow Wilson's public messages it was not, however, equivocal in the slightest. There was no beating around the bush of "moral forces"; there was no idealism. In fact, there was no idea not already enunciated more forcibly by Republican leaders a quarter of a century ago. "Normalcy" and what it stands for were clearly defined in the four or five thousands words of President Harding's inaugural speech.

What the new President did say was blazoned over the front pages of the dailies across the continent on March 4th and 5th. But what he did not say has not been so widely heralded. President Harding did not mention:

Restoration of civil liberties.

Self determination for Russia, Ireland, Egypt, India, Haiti or Mexico.

General amnesty for all political prisoners.

Labor's partnership in production and government.

When he said, "Today our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken... an inspiring example of freedom..." he did not intimate how he reconciled this statement with the imprisonment of Debs, Larkin, Gitlow, Kate Richards O'Hare or the wholesale plunderings of the Department of Justice and the erstwhile Postmaster General Burleson.

When he said, "We seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled," he did not say how he accounted for the blockade against Russia and Hungary or what he intended to do about the matter.

When he said, "We have not strengthened ours (ties of trade) on our own continent where a galaxy of republics reflect the glory of New World democracy," he did not mention the looting of Colombia and Panama by Theodore Roosevelt and the reign of terror imposed by President Wilson's marines, at the behest of the National City Bank of New York, upon the republics of San Domingo and Haiti because they resented these "ties of trade" which President Harding declares have not been strengthened by us. And when he added "But in the new order of finance and trade we mean to promote enlarged activities and seek expanded confidence" he didn't tell the poor benighted populace this is merely a roseate way of defining empire, and it was just such a declaration, in almost the identical words by Wilhelm of Germany, which resulted, a decade or two later, in the war against Pan-Germanism. President Harding did not say we are now dedicated to building up an empire and sowing the seeds of another and greater imperialistic war with Great Britain, Japan or some other world power.

Nor did he say, after starting "We have riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and righteousness of our representative government" that ours is a limited representative government. He did not mention the refusal, twice, of Congress to seat Victor Berger, the Socialist Representative from Wisconsin, and the expulsion, twice, of the five Socialist Assemblymen in the New York Legislature, and the refusal after twenty months of

Financial Statement

Month of February, 1921.

Receipts.

Accounts Receivable	\$ 361.22
Convention Stamps	858.50
Defense and Amnesty.....	13.50
Dues, National Regular.....	543.35
Dues, National Dual.....	120.35
Dues, Y. P. S. L.....	12.00
Literature and Supplies Sales.....	210.75
Loans	500.00
Miscellaneous	3.60
New Day	28.50
Organization Fund	1,577.82
Organizers and Speakers.....	158.54
Prison Comfort Club.....	137.46
Rent	151.00
Russian Medical Relief Fund.....	25.50
*Socialist World	676.99
Wages Fund	24.00
Waste Paper	4.50
	<hr/>
	\$5,407.58

Expenditures.

Credit Memorandums Cashed.....	\$ 1.70
Defense and Amnesty.....	230.61
Electric Light	20.13
Freight, Express and Drayage.....	22.51
Furniture and Fixtures.....	15.00
Interest	14.01
Literature Purchases	5.00
Loans (Repayment)	500.00
Mimeograph Supplies	184.34
Notes Payable	700.00
Organization	178.39
Organizers and Speakers.....	241.84
Postage	160.83
Printing	610.00
Prison Comfort Club.....	3.92
Stationery	7.20
Sundry Expenses	85.17
Telephone and Telegraph.....	169.42
Wages	1,794.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,944.07

Receipts over Expenditures..... 463.51

\$5,407.58

*\$663.74 of Socialist World Receipts was paid in as dues and applied on Socialist World subscriptions.

TRIAL BALANCE.

Receipts.

Month of February, 1921.....	\$5,407.58
Cash Overdrawal, Feb. 28th, 1921.....	998.55
	<hr/>
	\$6,406.13

Expenditures.

Month of February, 1921.....	\$4,944.07
Cash Overdrawal, Feb. 1st, 1921.....	1,462.06
	<hr/>
	\$6,406.13

HARDING HAS SPOKEN

(Concluded)

the New York City Board of Alderman to give their seats to the two Socialists who, a court record showed, had been cheated of election, Yea, verily, unselfish and righteous representative government!

When President Harding said "The supreme task is the resumption of our onward normal way. Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration..." he did not say if he meant restoration of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, restoration of liberty and full civil rights to political prisoners or restoration of free representative government. He did not specify.

And he did not say if he referred to the 3,500,000 million workers of the country who are out of employment now when he declared "We need a rigid and sane economy... attended by individual prudence and thrift." The idea is insulting to the working man and woman who has been driven from their homes by rent profiteers, forced to go cold because of war profiteers, and forced to eat condemned food by food profiteers who prefer to throw eggs and potatoes into the sea rather than lower prices.

Not one word did he mention of the class character of the courts of the country and the fact eighty percent of our legislators represent some corporate interest when he declared "Our fundamental law recognizes no class, no group, no section." The mere negation of the class struggle does not make it cease to exist, any more than, as he remarked himself a few moments before "no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature."

It was impossible to find in either the advance copies of his speech or the stenographic report assurance that the United States would keep hands off, and has kept hands off countries in revolt when he grew impassioned and declared "If revolution insists upon overturning established order, let other peoples make the tragic experiment."

And later, when he promised "When revolution threatens we unfurl the flag of law and order" he omitted to specify the Stars and Stripes for he knew, although he did not state it either, he meant the flag of reaction, and oppression and obstructionism, the "Black and White" of Big Business, Capitalism and its mercenaries the Chambers of Commerce, and the press.

Nor was it possible to find even a syllable explaining that "our way to widened influence and the triumphs of peace" through trade and world expansion leads inevitably to the same sort of cataclysm as engulfed Egypt, Greece, Rome, Spain and Germany.

"No civilization can survive repudiation" he said. But he did not even hint at the repudiation, written red in blood across with carcasses of millions of men and ruins of nation, he did not suggest the utter repudiation of Capitalism. Instead he announced himself for "the omission of unnecessary interference of Government with business, for an end to Government's experiments in business" (taken literally from the Republican

Official Vote of the Minority Parties Presidential Election, 1920

	Debs & Stedman Socialist	Christensen & Hayes Far. Lab.	Cox & Gillhaus Soc. Lab.	McCauley & Barnum Single Tax
Alabama	2,369			
Arizona	125*	1*		
Arkansas	5,111			
California	64,076			
Colorado	8,046	3,016		
Connecticut	10,350	1,947	1,491	
Delaware	988			39
Florida	5,189			
Georgia	465			
Idaho	38*	6*		
Illinois	74,747	49,630	3,471	
Indiana	24,703	16,499		
Iowa	16,981	10,321	982	
Kansas	15,507			
Kentucky	6,409			
Louisiana	339**			
Maine	2,214			310
Maryland	8,876	1,645	1,178	
Massachusetts	32,267		3,583	
Michigan	28,947	10,372	2,539	
Minnesota	56,106		5,828	
Mississippi	1,639			
Missouri	20,242	3,219	2,164	
Montana		12,204		
Nebraska	9,600			
Nevada	1,870			
New Hampshire	1,235			
New Jersey	27,141	2,200	923	517
New Mexico				
New York	203,201	18,413	4,841	
North Dakota	8,282			
Ohio	57,147			
Oklahoma	25,685			
Oregon	9,801		1,515	
Pennsylvania	70,021	15,642	753	803
Rhode Island	4,351		495	100
South Carolina	26			
South Dakota		34,707		
Tennessee	2,239			
Texas	8,194			
Utah	3,159	4,475		
Vermont				
Virginia	807	240		
Washington	8,913	77,246	1,321	
West Virginia	5,618			
Wisconsin	80,635			
Wyoming	1,288	2,180		
Total	914,947	263,963	31,084	1,769

*No electors on ballot; names written in.

**No electors on ballot; names written in but reported as "independent" by state canvassing board.

HARDING HAS SPOKEN

(Concluded)

National platform) which means long live the profit system, down with anything that endangers profits and may result in service for the people.

And, in tremulous tones, President Harding closed by saying he had taken the oath on the passage in the Bible "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God?"

But not even the expression of his face indicated he meant to do justly by those starving millions he bade be thrifty, or by those scores unjustly thrown into prison and deprived of their happiness and liberty by the outgoing administration. As for mercy, who but the cringing and the cowardly guilty want mercy?

President Harding spoke a pretty, Capitalistic speech. But what he left unsaid is what interests the workers.

THEY WRANGLE IN RHYME

A new wrinkle in debating party policies comes from Oklahoma where two comrades are debating the following:

RESOLVED

That the shortest cut to freedom for the American wage slave, alias Henry Dubb, is through a revolt forced upon him by intolerable oppression rather than through a systematic educational process.

Affirmative

O. E. ENFIELD

in

RURAL RHYMES

Now here's the rub with Henry Dubb,
Self-satisfied and addled;
No thought can wind into his mind
Until his body's paddled.
Tis dire distress and nothing less
Than actual starvation
(How sad but true!) which drives him to
A bolt for his salvation.

He'll sleep in dust he'll gnaw a crust,
If he a crust may gnaw;
And like a hound he'll crouch him down
Before a king in awe.
His liver's white he he knows no right,
Not e'en the right to labor.
When masters speak he's far too meek
To flash the freeman's sabre.

I watch him grope and feel no hope
That he will e'er awaken;
At least not till his daily fill
Of bread and sop be taken.
And so I want to see him gaunt
From need of beans and bacon.
That kings may feel mad Henry's heel
And find their breed forsaken.

Negative

GUY F. ROGERS

in

JUNGLE JINGLES

I swear and laugh at Enfield's chaff
And poppycock in meter;
If I'd a cat with notions that
Resembled his, I'd beat her.
How can a lout whose blood's let out—
Whose bones with blows are broken—
Arise and fight with virile might?
O. E., you're Jake at jokin'.

How can a fool be fit to rule
Though he to power be fated?
A slave promote, and make a note,
A tyrant you've created!
Yes, Kings are bad and use the gad
Upon my thoughtful person.
They beat me yet I'm sure I'd get
At Henry's hands a worse un.

And so I hope that Hank may grope
In hamless isolation,
Until the lead within his head
Becomes an education.
Whom they'd destroy, the god's decoy
To reason-wrecking madness:
And "forced revolts" lead addled dolts
To ends oft tinged with sadness.

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