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TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Dear Comrades:

If the Socialists of America are to do justice to the unparalleled opportunities of the pending campaign, all of us must exert ourselves to the utmost during the remaining few weeks and our work must be conducted along definite and uniform lines.

Our first practical task is to help swell the La Follette-Wheeler vote. A vote of commanding size for the progressive ticket will liberalize American politics, break the spell of the old-party monopoly and lay the sure foundation of a new political party. Socialist Party organizations and members should therefore continue co-operating with the progressive political forces with increased zeal and unselfish devotion.

But we must always remember that the pending presidential campaign is not an end in itself. Our main task will begin after election. If a new party will be formed, its character, aims and methods will be determined by its component bodies. The Socialist Party, as an organized national body, will be one of the constituent parts of the new party. Its influence on the course of the latter's development will be determined by its strength and efficiency its readiness to serve and its ability to help in the big task of shaping the new party physically and spiritually.

We must begin the work of increasing our membership right in this campaign.

This is the most propitious time to bring back into

the party members who have dropped out for lack of interest. Locals should make it their special business to reach such delinquent members and to persuade them to resume active work.

No Socialist meeting should be allowed to pass without inviting the strangers in the audience to become members of the party.

Above all, however, it is vitally important that we retain a permanent contact with the great masses of men and women who are coming into the progressive political movement. It is suggested that each local endeavor to secure the names and addresses of persons who come to hear the speakers at progressive political meetings, indoors and outdoors. Get them to state their names and addresses on special cards (which the National Office will furnish upon request). Keep the cards for your local files and send copies of them to the National Office. They will make an invaluable list for literature distribution and organization work after the campaign.

Comrades, never before has there been a more crying need for a powerful Socialist Party. never before have our opportunities for building it been better. Let us all go to work.

Fraternally submitted,

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary

IMAGINATION

Nearly every great achievement made thus far by the human race in all its sublime climb up thru savagery and barbarism and thus far in civilization, has first been born in the imagination.

Imagination has been aptly described as the "sun of the human brain."

This sun lights the way.

If the working class could only imagine the stage at which we have arrived in the world's development, could imagine how full and fair and free their lives could easily be made with a five-hour or a six-hour day of labor, and could imagine also that the workers—and the workers only—should have the best of every thing and in abundance, and if the workers could clearly vision the swiftness with which we could achieve freedom by means of the modern printing press,—then most astonishing events would follow in quick succession, leading straight on to the most vast and deep-reaching re-construction of society—right on to the fairest morning in the affairs of mankind that ever in imagination gladdened the hearts of the boldest poets, scientists and strong-visioned revolutionists.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT. CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24th, 1924,

Of The Socialist World published Monthly at Chicago, Illinois. for October 1, 1924. State of Illinois County of Cook

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Bertha Hale White, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of The Socialist war'd and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Socialist Party of the United States, 2658 Washington Blvd.

Editor: Bertha Hale White, 2653 Washington Blvd. Managing Editor: Bertha Hale White. Business Managers: Bertha Hale White.

2. That the owner is: (if the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and adress of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given).

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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- 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other security are: NONE.
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BERTHA HALE WHITE ... Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1924.

(SEAL)

SWAN JOHNSON Notary Public.

(My commission expires April 27, 1927).

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BERTHA HALE WHITE ___ Bus. Mgr.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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THE COMMUNIST RECORD

By James Oneal.

A number of requests have come to The New Leader in the past few weeks to answer statements made by Communists against La Follette, the Socialists and other who are supporting the third party. We have refrained from cluttering up our columns with answers to the Communists. However, we herewith present only a part of the record of the Communists on the questions they raise. We suggest that our friends clip this record. It is reliable as to dates and sources and through it we permit the Communists to answer themselves. If any other body of men were guilty of the contradictions they are, their sanity would be questioned. Clip this record as we shall not go into it again.

The Left Wing, 1919. First Communist organization in this country. Denounced the Socialist Party for not urging civil war. Two fundamental planks of its program (p. 14) read:

"The party must teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a Proletarian Dictatorship.

"The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions."

On the question of a Labor Party it said (p. 9): "A Labor Party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class... Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as 'moderate' Socialism; neither is an instrument for the conquest of power."

Communist Labor Party platform, 1919: "We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle."

The Communist, Chicago, April 1, 1919, in an article said: "Socialists must oppose the new Labor Party and build up an organization fighting all factions of confusion." Communist Propaganda League, Chicago, same issue: "No compromise with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, People's Councils, Nonpartisan Leagues, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like."

The Communist, Chicago, August 30, 1919: "We welcome the fakirs of the Labor Party and will meet them in the fray. Although they may stem the tide of world revolt and perpetuate this system, the revolutionary workers of the world, over the dead body of all Labor parties, will plant the flaming flag of the Communist International upon the ramparts of capitalism."

By this time the romantic humorists had no use for political action of the workers at all. From their underground retreats they issued bristling documents. In October, 1920, the Communist Party issued a Manifesto bearing the headline, "Boycott the Coming Elections!" The following will give an idea of its contents: "The Communist Party advocates mass action of the armed workers in open armed insurrection and civil war as the only means of conquering political power for the workers. Therefore, we, your fellow workers and comrades of the Communist Party of America, call upon you, the workers of America, to boycott the coming elections!"

On May Day, 1921, the Communist Party issued another manifesto. One sentence gives an idea of its contens: "The capitalist governments of the world tremble at the aproach of May Day. For May Day is the day of the Proletarian Revolution. (Some wag has said that rain made it necessary to postpone the revolution!) Get ready for the Proletarian Revolution in America."

Plenty of Manifestoes, Proclamations and These in those days. Here is part of one issued by the Communist Party on Unemployment in December, 1920, in the form of a handbill: "The only way to overthrow the capitalist government is by means of Mass Action—demonstrations, protests, mass strikes, general strikes, political strikes and culminating finally in open collision with the capitalist State—armed insurrection and civil war... Hail to the Soviet Government of America!" (Italics in the original).

The Communist (Underground) for August, 1921, considering the Socialist Party's resolution in favor of a Labor Party, said that "it betrays a lamentable misunderstanding of the role of a political party in the proletarian revolution." Moreover, "for a workers' political party to enter into permanent general fusion on a common platform with all political organizations that happen to be opposed to the dominant political parties is tactically suicidal. Such a policy is characteristic of the most degenerate centrism and opportunism."

Two years later the Communists were eagerly working to get trade unions, farmer organizations, Farmer-Labor parties and the Socialist Party into the Chicago convention which the Communists-"captured." The "most degenerate centrism" had become scientific and proletarian "strategy." The Socialist Party did not send delegates and the Communist created the bogus "Federated Farmer-Labor Party."

Our next exhibit is the International Press Correspondence (Communist) published in Vienna. It supplies Communist publications in all countries with

news matter and reports of the "General Staff of the World Revolution" in Moscow. Issue of February 27, 1924, instructing the faithful in all countries: "The nuclei must carry on an obstinate fight in the factories and workshops against the members and followers of other parties, also the Socialist parties and other Labor parties." At the same time they must form a "united front" with those they are instructed to attack.

Same publication, issue of February 28, 1924, J. Amter reporting the third convention of the Workers Party of the United States. He writes that farmers and workers are in rebellion against big trusts and that they "trust to a good leader." This man "By giving a black eye to both is La Follette. parties, it (the oil scandal) increases the hatred of both parties among the workers and farmers, and enhances the prestige of La Follette." The Communist Federated Farmer-Labor Party had joined with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party in calling the St. Paul convention. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, which, Amter writes, controls the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, discussed the "strategy" of the situation. It decided to support the third party even if La Follette leads it. The chief reasons were: "The campaign will allow us to enter the third party whenever opportunity presents itself, to form a left wing within it, and split it away from the third party." In other words, the Communists were willing to support La Follette whom they are now denouncing but only for the purpose of acting treacherously by causing a split. This followed instruction from Moscow quoted above. But the policy is not new. For years it has been the policy of Moscow to deliberately cause divisions in parties and unions.

Another exhibit is the Theses on the Present Economic Situation and on the Labor Party Policy proposed by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party. I quote from The Worker, December 1, 1923: Section 3, Clause (d) reads: "Where the Farmer-Labor Party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support we will vote for the third party candidates."

John Pepper, the representative of Moscow in this country and guardian of the faithful, followed this up with an article in The Worker of December 22, 1923, under the title, "La Follette, the Third Party and the Labor Party." Two sentences in this article are interesting to us. He writes that Communists cannot assume responsibility for La Follette, but we can and must vote for La Follette if the mighty masses of workers and exploited farmers, who are not yet class conscious, put him up as a candidate."

He goes on to question the efficacy of the La

Follette program and then, assuming to address the masses, he writes: "But if you nominate him (La Follette) nevertheless we do not want to scab on the action of the workers and exploited farmers; we will vote for him because he is the candidate of the workers and exploited farmers." According to this high pronouncement the Communists have chosen to scab!

We will next respectfully listen to C. E. Ruthenberg, philosopher of the faithful in this country. I quote from his article in The Worker, April 10, 1924: He writes that Communists must say "that the road to emancipation of the workers and exploited farmers from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism is through a Proletarian Revolution, Soviets, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and not through a La Follette government.

"What has been said above does not, however, answer the question whether we shall support La Follette if he is nominated on a Farmer-Labor ticket...

"We are against La Follette. We know that the political victory of the workers and exploited farmers lies over the dead body, (politically), of La Follette. If, in spite of what we say, the masses of workers and exploited farmers who are not yet Communists, insist upon nominating La Follette and placing their hope upon him, we will not desert them in the struggle. We will go along with them and vote for their candidate..."

The final exhibit we present is an article by Bittelman and Cannon who defend the policy of the Executive Committee in deciding to support a third party. I quote from The Worker, April 12, 1924: "This step of supporting the candidates of a petty bourgeois liberal third party, under the conditions laid down in the Thesis of the Central Executive Committee, is a correct one."

Hundreds of other quotations could be submitted but we have quoted sufficient from the highest authorities accepted by the Communists to show that they thought that it was perfectly right to support the third party and La Follette. Now they attack both. They circulate a leaflet at all third party and Socialist meetings bearing the title, "Not a Cent, Not a Vote for La Follette." In The Worker they are running articles attempting to prove that La Follette is "an enemy of the working class."

Why this change? On May 26 La Follette followed the example of the Socialist Party by issuing a public statement that he would have nothing to do with the Communists. That is the reason and there is no other.

The whole record shows that the Communists have run the whole gamut from support of civil war and armed insurrection to no immediate demands,

(Continued on page 6)

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

By Joseph E. Cohen.

Not in many Presidential campaigns in our time have the issues been so broad and clear as in the present contest.

Of course there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. They alike stand for things to remain as they are.

So open is the conservative nature of both old parties that their own spokesmen admit it. Thus when Coolidge and Dawes were nominated, Robert Barry wired this to the Philadelphia Public Ledger, a Republican organ:

"The Republican Party goes to the American people as a straight-out party of conservatism. The President has stood as a bulwark of conservative theory in government against an obstreperous Congress. General Dawes has been one of the leaders in conservatism. As one of the organizers of the Minute Men of the Constitution he has bucked organized labor by contending for the open shop... Yet, had President Harding lived there was good reason for believing Mr. Coolidge would not have been nominated for the Vice-Presidency."

Speaking of the nomination of John W. Davis for President, the New York World, a Democratic paper, had this to say under the caption of "Wall Street Sees Much to Applaud in Nominee:"

"Wall Street takes sincere comfort in the reflection that should the Democratic Party confound the Wall Street vote by winning, the White House will be occupied by perhaps the one Democrat in the country most highly regarded by big business."

Not to be outdone the Democratic New York American made this comment:

"The proud old Democratic Party proposes to substitute the House of Morgan for the White House. After spending more than two weeks in deliberations the Democrats decided to commit political suicide."

This year, of all years, there should be no doubt that the two old parties have alike sold whatever public principles they ever had for a highly-flavored Wall Street stew.

If either party wins, the predatory interests will go on plundering the producers of the nation's wealth.

For what have the two old parties done while in office during and since the war?

Democrats and Republicans alike engaged in a

riot of reaction. The rights of free speech, free press and peaceable assembly were ruthlessly over-thrown. The usurped power of injunctions was wielded to shatter labor strikes against onerous conditions. The Constitution of the United States was treated like a scrap of paper by old party office-holders.

To add the final touch of insult to the injury thus done the American people, the Republican and Democratic parties now pretend to stand by the Constitution. What they are doing is to try to hide their un-American, autocratic and despotic purposes behind its cover. They are the arch-enemies of the American people.

Both old parties act for the money masters who prey upon the masses of the nation.

Mr. Coolidge, in breaking the police strike, showed that he had no sympathy for the men who risk their lives to safeguard the people.

Mr. Dawes, in leading the open-shop drive, showed that he would like to crush the labor movement and force the workers into slavery.

Mr. Davis, pet attorney of Wall Street, amiably goes along.

Everyone knows that if either the Republican or Democratic Party wins, the masses will face the hardest kind of hard times.

While the old parties drove one fist into the stomach of labor, with the other they tried to beat down the farmer.

Following the war, Wall Street tightened its clutch on the money of the nation. Agriculture was "deflated." Those who had tilled the soil these many years and thought they saw daylight ahead were ruined.

Wall Street added billions to its unearned fortunes. Thousands of new millionaires arose in the financial world. The wealth of the country was caught in their grasp.

To show what complete tools the old parties are to Wall Street, President Coolidge, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and leading spokesmen of both parties tried to put over a steep cut in the taxes of the plunderers.

At the same time the two parties stripped the mask of false patriotism from their faces when they sold out the soldiers' bonus.

By way of confessing their brazen hypocrisy in pretending concern for the people, they support the monarchical power usurped by the Supreme Court to veto absolutely acts of Congress.

***** * *

In every chance to smash the people the two parties have had only contempt for the Constitution. This is especially outrageous in disfranchising the Negro in the South. Neither party, when it had the chance, showed the slightest consideration for the Constitutional rights of the people.

Both parties, when in power, helped the plunderers all they could to tighten their stranglehold on

the nation.

#

As a direct result of the nefarious rule of the old parties, those who work in field and factory have a constant struggle against poverty, while the unearned incomes of the predatory corporations continue to swell.

Whether as producers or consumers, the bulk of the people pay tribute to the financial ring which centres in Wall Street. Worse still, foreign fields of investment have been captured by our commercial pirates, aided by old party agencies of the Government.

To the growing difficulties of the masses, there always hangs overhead the menace of war that will be world slaughter.

This is the certain future should either the Republican or Democratic Party continue in power.

* * *

Faced with this grave crisis in the affairs of the nation, the men and women of the labor unions, the farms and every useful walk in life, have come together and formed a political movement of their own, backing Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, acknowledged champions of the people.

Representing the people, this movement is the only one demanding the preservation of Constitu-

tional rights.

It is the only movement which will collect taxes from those who get most from the nation's industrial activity.

It is the only movement which will put an end to the monarchical usurpation of power by the courts.

It is the only movement which will take the child of tender years out of the mill, and ease the lot of the men and women who labor.

It is the only movement which will use the nation's credit for the support of agriculture.

It is the only movement which will safeguard the nation's resources.

It is the only movement that will put the railroads, packing yards, mines, workshops and other gigantic industries to the service of the public.

It is the only movement which will lend a helping hand to the stricken people of war-wrecked Europe, bring peace and keep the future bright with hope.

In calling themselves conservative, the old parties mean that they intend to conserve the plunder of Wall Street, even though they thereby build up a financial autocracy which destroys the nation.

To save democracy, to make progress for the welfare of the nation as a whole, to bring the just return to those who do the country's work, the new party of La Follette and Wheeler should carry the election.

That is the outstanding issue in the campaign. The people must win.

* * *

The countries of Europe have paid a terrible penalty for permitting themselves to be exploited by selfish autocracies.

Six years after the armistice put a pause to the slaughter, lands lie waste, millions are without work and there is still the fear of starvation, disease and possible war.

But Europe is learning its lesson.

So today in England, France, Germany, Russia and other countries, the people are taking matters into their own hands.

They would make peace permanent. They would bring about the happy union of nations into a world brotherhood. They would free humanity from want, misery and slavery.

But they cannot accomplish much without Amer-

ica's co-operation.

America has the means to carry out the plans of the leaders of Europe for a new and better civilization.

In the greedy selfishness of the Wall Street financiers, there is in America also the power to destroy all hope of peace and happiness among the nations.

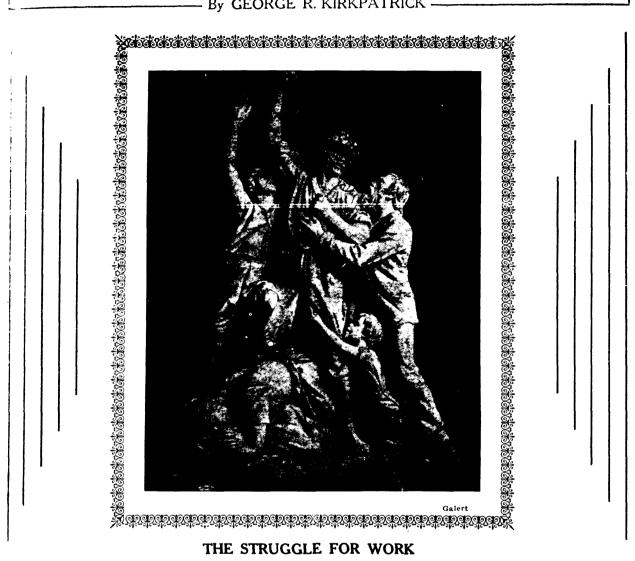
If Wall Street wins the coming election, through the Republican and Democratic parties, then the people of this country and of Europe will have to fight for their lives against the financial despotism.

If La Follette and Wheeler win, then the greatest struggle in our time for human good will have been won.

(Continued from page 4)

boycotting elections, calling for "mass action," support of the third party, support of La Follette, opposition to La Follette and final denunciation of him as an "enemy." The only explanation of such tortuous and mazing conduct is that the Communist movement attracts the mentally abnormal and that its victims are not responsible for their acts.

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK



THE STRUGGLE FOR WORK

Pain marks every face in the picture, the pain of fear, and the picture pictures life, the life of the workers,—of the helpless young and the hopeless old, of the tender mother and the lusty youth, and also of the strong man in his prime and pride-under the present wage-and-profit system of conducting the Nation's industry. Under the wage-and-profit system, fear shrivels the daily lives of the poor, eats out the joy of Labor's life. Fear torments Labor.

The central figure in the picture holds high, in dread—out of reach of the others—a ticket entitling him—him only—to employment.

There is not work—and there cannot be work, plenty of work—for all who are willing to work,—under the wage-and-profit system of industry.

Want and the fear of want, falling wages and the fear of falling wages, unemployment and the fear of unemployment,—these are the grim things that blast the life of Labor (under Capitalism).



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THE STRUGGLE FOR WORK

More than a million and a half of our people now (1924) walk the streets and highways looking for work. They are willing to help produce plenty for all. But they are not permitted to do so. At least two million workers are now forced to submit to "part-time" employment. They are willing to work full time and help produce abundance for all, but they are not permitted to do so. Many, many millions more of the workers dread impending wage-cuts in their already insufficient wage, or fear the loss of their jobs. And back of all these willing millions are many other millions of pride-broken women and fretting children whose lives are cramped and punished with want and the fear of want. The lives of all—all—these are vexed, tormented, with fear.

Think of it!-Want and the grim fear of want haunting the multitude of willing workers—and their loved ones-now after the human race has finally found the natural resources and forces of the earth ready to supply plenty for all!-now when the tools and machinery of production are well-nigh perfect and scientific knowledge for our use in production far surpasses the most brilliant hopes, guesses and prophecies of all the sages and poets of the past! Think of more than one-half of all the American people living in rented homes-in want of shelter of their own! Think of the unsocial ugliness of want and the fear of want,-now when the science of invention,—the science of discovery and the science of industry are the most boasted glory of the twentieth century in the richest country in the world, our own America! Think of the brutal meanness of want and the fear of want hounding the lives of millions of good American citizens-now when we build hundreds of freight ships and battleships for boosting the business of dumping our so-called surplus (!) goods somewhere, everywhere, anywhere a foreign market can be found tho many millions of our own citizens could, if permitted, make good use of billions of dollars' worth of that surplus! Think of the wolves of want and the fear of want goading millions of willing wage-earning citizens in a country like this in this age of triumphant industrial production! Think also of four million farmers in distress, in want and haunted by the fear of want,—the tens of millions of wage-earners in the mills, mines and factories being kept too poor to buy what the farmers produce.

Fear of present want and fear of poverty, in sickness and old age, and the soul-killing fear that millions of sweet children may not finish even the lower schools and will probably never even set foot in the colleges and the universities,—these fears are a vast wrong thrust into the lives of the working class. Fear, constant, wearing, haunting, hurting fear, is the almost universal emotion suffered by the sons and daughters of toil in this the richest country on earth in this proudest century in the history of the human race.

But mark this well: Unemployment and all its bitter and belittling results cannot be escaped by the multitude, by the poor, under the wage-system. On and on, therefore, year after year, fear is now and is to be the grim and grinning ghost haunting the sombre shadows in the lives of the working class.

Take notice, Mr. Wage-Earner:

No matter how hungry and ragged and shelterless you are; no matter how desperate your wife may be for the wage you are willing (but not permitted) to earn; no matter how sorely your little children cry for food and clothing; no matter how many years of schooling your children miss because of your lack of income; no matter how decent and wholesome and religious you are; no matter how industrious and willing you are; no matter how thin you have worn your old shoes tramping sore of foot along the lonely road from town to town looking for work; no matter how patriotic you are; no matter how hideously your body is marked with scars you got defending the Stars and Stripes; no matter if you had a leg or your good right arm torn off in war,—still you have no right to a job. And you will promptly be up against the police, militia and the standing army and the machine gun, if you invade the factory and proceed to work and produce without permission, foolishly thinking that you have a legal right to work. Our national constitution and the federal laws, and our forty-eight state constitutions and the state lawsthese recognize no such right. Indeed the employer class would regard it as very dangerous to let the workers have any such right, and they see to it that the workers get no such right on the law books. Moreover, in one most important respect, unemployment plays right into the hands of the employer class, thus: if there are a million or so unemployed then those who have work cannot so successfully insist on a wage-raise, or resist a wage-cut, or go on a strike, -because the unemployed are hungry and desperate and are therefore more dangerous as competitors for the jobs.

Now let us study the A B C of the cause, the fundamental cause, of unemployment—and the way out. Here is the way of it:

Part of the people own as private property the nation's industrial outfit,—the mills, mines, factories, forests, railways, etc. (the means of production.) And they also own the jobs that are connected with these forms of property, and thus they are legally entitled to give or withhold the jobs.

Industrially, society (under capitalism, the wageand-profit system of industry)—industrially, society is now managed for the special benefit of that part of the people who own the industrial equipment of society. These people take their incomes in the form of profits (rent and interest being different names for profits.) Now let us note just how unemployment is inevitable; that is, under the wage-system. Goods are produced for profits; not for social welfare, not for social service, but for profits. That is why wages are kept down. That is why trusts are formed, profiteering is practiced, prices are boosted, child labor is used, cheap labor is welcome. That is why goods are adulterated. That is why lying and mean deception are so common in business.

If goods are produced for profits, primarily, then goods are produced primarily for the special benefit of those who live on profits. And thus we can see that society is (as I said above) industrially conducted for the special benefit of only part of the people. It is most important to realize this distinctly.

Yes, goods are produced for profits. And the dominant purpose of profit-making is profit-taking; and the profit-taking is done by that part of society—that class—who own and control the industrial out-fit and out-put.

Now, in order that there may be profits, two conditions are absolutely necessary:

First,—the workers must be paid less than the value of the product of their labor.

Second,—there must be a market in which to sell the goods.

Now the market consists of two parts and of two parts only (for the great mass of the usual consumption goods.) The two parts of the market are:

- (1)—The consuming power of the employer class, limited by their needs,—their needs as they proudly insist on having plenty of the good things of life (as everybody should do.)
- (2)—The purchasing power of the working class, very strictly limited by wages. A worker with a "chuck" steak wage is no part of the market for porterhouse steak. Thus we see how the wage-system places an artificial, arbitrary restriction on the market; and since there are tens of millions of wage-earners, we can see also that the wage-system thus places a very, very great restriction on the general market. With modern machinery and tools and knowledge the tens of millions of workers could produce abundantly for all, but they are not permitted to do so; that is, their wages will not permit them to buy abundantly for themselves. Of course, it would be extremely unprofitable to permit the workers to produce far more than would supply the market, this wage-restricted market. Therefore, (since goods are produced primarily for profits) the workers are "given jobs"are permitted to work—of course; but they are not permitted to work as much as they are willing to work, but only so long as it is profitable for the employers to have them work. Or, to express it otherwise:

Wages will buy the plain "necessaries of life". But wages will not buy good food and plenty of it; good clothing and plenty of it; good homes well located, well furnished, and plenty of them.

Therefore, the workers are permitted to work just enough to produce enough for the total market; that is,

Necessaries for the working class; and

Necessaries, comforts and luxuries for the employer class.

And if the workers insist on producing plenty of the good things of life for all, then the foolish workers will be jailed or shot for butting into the game and spoiling the employer's smooth scheme of life; namely, a full life for himself and a lean, little life for his wage-earners.

Of course you may say—when you understand—that the present wage-and-profit system of industry is an "all-wrong" way to conduct society's fundamentally important affairs called industry. But no matter if it does seem all wrong to you—and to me—it surely seems all right to the capitalist class—of course. And the capitalist class will surely hold on to this wage-and-profit system of production for themselves instead of for the social service of all who are willing to work. And they will continue to hold on as long as the workers permit them to hold on.

That's settled, and that puts the whole matter up to the workers. Now, the capitalist class legalizes and thus holds on to this system through the control of the government; and the control of the government is seized and held by the capitalist class by means of political parties,—parties committed to the capitalist system of industry.

The Democratic Party has stood for this system for more than a long life time, and stands for it now.—heartily.

The Republican Party also has always stood for this system and stands for it now,—heartily.

Well, then as long as either of these parties—or any other party committed to this system—is in control of the government, the workers will be neatly fleeced and quietly despised, and their lives will be filled with fear.

Thus the workers can not defend themselves—they can not escape till they have a political party of their own, a Labor Party for themselves, by themselves, composed of millions who toil on the farms and down in the mines; toil on the railways, in the shops, mills and factories;—composed also of men and women who are unemployed.

Clearly it is up to the workers.

The workers have an overwhelming majority of the ballots—for use in self-defense. With a Labor Party they can legally seize the powers of government and do legally whatever is necessary to give the workers free access to the means of production to carry on production to suit the interests of those whe are willing to work; that is, carry on production for social service instead of for profits. And here is what is necessary to that end:

First—Make the socially useable means of production public property.

Second—Democratically manage these means of production.

Third—Adopt a new industrial policy and purpose of production; namely, not for profits for a ruling minority class, but for the social service and welfare of all—all who are willing to work.

Fourth—Adopt the doctrine, good New Testament doctrine: "If he will not work, neither shall he eat."

Now, just a moment more while I set down here six fundamental propositions about work and social reconstruction:

First Proposition: Everybody ought to work.

Everybody accepts that proposition.

Second Proposition: If everybody ought to work, then everybody should be permitted to work.

If you accept the first proposition you can't escape the second proposition.

Third Proposition: If everybody ought to work then it is unfair and dangerous to permit a generation of children of the industrial ruling class to grow up guaranteed against work,—by the inheritance of wealth they never earned.

Here, again, if you accept the first proposition you must also accept the third proposition. Surely what everybody ought to do nobody should be permitted to avoid doing—at the expense of other people's hard work.

Now the kind of wealth that enables one man to fleece another is the socially useable industrial wealth, such as mines, factories, mills, railways, etc., etc. Yet practically all of this wonderful industrial wealth will be handed over as a gift to the children of the present capitalist class,—enabling these to live without working, and to be handed on, again and again, as gifts to future generations constituting a leisure class, an industrial-royal class, forever!

Fourth Proposition: Any society that teaches that everybody ought to work and then not only guarantees hundreds of thousands against work at present and in the far future—but also robs those who do work, and denies hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers the privilege of working, and abuses them when they have no work,—any such society is insincere in purpose, unjust in practice, and mocks its victims.

Surely it is shamefully wrong and cruel to protect

a leisure class against work, insult their robbed victims with charity and drive out of town the unemployed who are willing to work, but are "found without visible means of support."

Fifth Proposition: Any society insincere in practice, reeking with injustice, injustice mockingly protected by the national constitution and the national laws, the courts, police, militia and the army—for one class against another—any such society should be reconstructed.

Sixth Proposition: Reconstruction is not un-American; it is indeed a proudly praised American idea.

The greatest men in American history have worked for and heroically accomplished great reconstructions of society. It should be remembered that about 140 years ago the very best citizens in this country reconstructed American society, likewise again following our Civil War—politically. Thus you see reconstruction is a perfectly good American idea.

Now, the Socialist Party stands for an orderly and legal reconstruction of society industrially. If conditions were no longer tolerable in this country 140 years ago, they are doubly intolerable now. The fact is that no political government on earth ever did dare, or would dare today, to levy a tax, upon its people as heavy as the trustified industries of America tax the plain people today in profits. Just as American society 140 years ago had to be reorganized politically, so today American society must be reorganized industrially. The people are growing weary of want in the midst of plenty, weary of the worry of want and the fear or want—now when plenty could easily be produced for all and the multitude stand ready—willing to produce plenty for all.

Without personal hatreds, without any malice whatever, the Socialists respectfully urge an industrial reconstruction of society. The Socialists fraternally seek peace, justice, plenty, life, a full glad life for all. We know that modern machinery, modern tools, modern knowledge, modern methods and means of production make it practicable for those who are willing to work to produce abundantly for all who are willing to work; and that thus want and the fear of want can be removed from the lives of all who are willing to work—in a wholesomely reconstructed socialized society.

Meeting of the National Executive Committee

The National Executive Committee met in Chicago Saturday and Sunday September 27 and 28. Members present were Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; John Collins, Illinois; Morris Hillquit, New York, James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania; George Roewer, Massachusetts; Joseph Sharts, Ohio; and Executive Secretary, Bertha Hale White. National Campaign Manager, J. Mahlon Barnes, Benjamin Schlessinger, John T. Whitlock of the National Campaign Committee attended the sessions of the Committee meeting. The Committee gave special attention to the mid-campaign report made by comrade Barnes; to the work of increasing the party membership during the remaining weeks of the campaign, and in the weeks immediately following the election, and to the formulation of plans and policies for our party's systematic activity following the election.

The first article in the present number of the Socialist World is an address to the party membership from the National Executive Committee. Every syllable of this address is important and should have the immediate and careful attention of every So-

cialist who feels a spark of loyalty to our organization. If nothing goes awry with plans now under earnest consideration, our readers will find in the the November issue of the World a most important communication from our National Executive Committee relating to our great enterprise of the next three months.

* * *

A great campaign rally was held in the Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, Sunday afternoon, September 28. Rousing addresses were made by National Executive Committeemen Joseph Sharts, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit and James H. Maurer. The large audience was enthusiastic, gladly paid admission to the rally, contributed with splendid liberality to the campaign fund, bought great quantities of literature, and became so warmed up that the very last speaker on the long program was again and again applauded and urged to 'go on, go on!' The meeting was beautifully embellished and enlivened with two vocal solos by Comrade Vera Rodriguez and two violin solos by Mme. Ida Divanoff.

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Address: National Office Socialist Party, 2653 Washington, Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.



A "BURNING" ISSUE

By George R. Kirkpatrick

The tariff question is once more presented to the American people as a "burning issue of this campaign;" and there is tedious talk to the effect that this "burning issue" must be settled, settled right, and settled right away, once for all. Then of course we shall be so happy, this great issue having been finally settled and gotten out of the way.

Now, this issue, like many others, is old, very old, older than our national government; and the fact is that this tariff question can not be settled while we have the capitalist system of production of goods for profits. Let us look for a moment at this "burning issue" historically; and let us note also the nature of this issue which makes it "burn" so often and so fiercely.

Long ago New York state levied tariffs on imports from New Jersey, and New Jersey loaded tariff on imports from New York. And this illustrated the practice among the original thirteen states generally. This tariff issue was up for discussion-and of course for "final settlement"-again and again in the Congress of the old loose Confederacy preceding the establishment of the present Federal Government. Then came the new Federal Constitution of 1788 which took from the states all power to lay tariffs on imports, and gave all such power to the new national legislature. Congress in its first session under the Constitution took up the "burning" tariff question—to settle it. Then followed 135 years of debate in Congress and in political campaigns, to settle the question for good. Particularly heated discussions of this burning issue took place in 1816, 1824, 1828, 1832-33, 1842, 1846, and in 1847. Then followed the discussions of the Civil War-time tariff legislation. Later the orators were loud, long and certain that the issue would be settled in the discussions of the Mills Bill

of 1887, the McKinley Tariff of 1890, the Wilson Bill of 1893, the Dingley Tariff of 1897, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1910, the Underwood-Simmons Tariff of 1913, the recent Fordney-McCumber Tariff; and now in 1924 we have the same old chatter on this aged issue to the effect that we are about to have the tariff question settled!

After about 150 years of talk the issue is again before us, merrily sizzling to be settled; and owlmannered statesmen are actually addressing the dear people on this issue as if they really believed it could be settled. But this issue can not be settled so long as goods are produced, not for social welfare but for profits. To illustrate the nature of this issue and thus the impossibility of its settlement under capitalism, take the lumber industry. Those who own forests, and lumber mills in the United States will naturally be eager to have a high tariff on lumber-so the price can be kept high and the profits increased. But about 110,000,000 of us who do not own forest, and lumber mills, and want cheap lumber for building homes and for other purposes, will vastly prefer no tariff on lumber—so the price will come down. Thus it is with sugar, wool, fruits, cereals, manufactured products by the hundred, live stock, dressed meats and very many other things.

Those who talk to us of "settling the tariff question,"—while we have capitalism—are confused as to its nature, or they seek to confuse their hearers. The tariff problem is a fundamental part of a far larger problem, the problem of capitalism. We are booked to be bored with long-winded speeches and editorials on the tariff question until many more of us acquire more interest in the fundamental structure, purpose and practice of capitalism and the way out—than most folks seem to have in the Sunday funnies and the Dempsey-Firpo bulletins.

FAIR NOTICE TO READERS:

In accordance with post-office regulations the mailing list of the Socialist World will be revised in December. All local secretaries must certify to the National Office a list of all members of the Party in good standing before the close of December,—since only such members are entitled to receive the Socialist World. Names of all members of the Party now on the mailing list of the Socialist World must be removed after December, unless the secretaries certify their good standing before that time.

In order that the names of those entitled to receive the magazine be kept on the mailing list of the magazine, local secretaries are hereby notified and urged to compile a list of members in good standing in their respective locals and send these lists to the National Office promptly and in no event later than December 15. This is fair warning.

The modern printing press is the supreme weapon for the world-wide war of the workers for industrial freedom.

Official Business

July 30, 1924.

To the National Executive Committee. Dear Comrades:

I beg to report:---

The situation with regard to a campaign manager and a director of the fund drive for our national campaign is as follows:

It was understood that each member of your committee should make nominations for these offices and that a preferential ballot should be submitted at the end of the week following adjournment; but in the meantime, I was to consult Thomas A. Duncan and J. Mahlon Barnes as to their willingness to undertake the post of campaign manager, and Benjamin Schlessinger was to be invited to undertake the drive for funds.

The day following my return from New York I saw Comrade Schlessinger and found him not unwilling to give part of his time to the fund raising, but he asked for a week's delay in making a final decision.

The same day I went to Milwaukee and talked with Comrade Duncan. He expressed some eagerness to accept the post as Campaign Manager but said it must depend on what arrangements he could make to care for his work at City Hall in his absence. He agreed to give a definite answer on Monday, which he did, but to my regret he found he would have to decline.

I then took the question up with Comrade Barnes. He is engaged by the La Follette organization here, and felt it would be a mistake for him to withdraw. He felt, however, in view of the fact that no nominations had been received and no one else was in sight for the work, too much time has already been lost, and he would undertake the work under the following arrangement if it met your approval:

First, his services in directing the work of the campaign are to be given without any salary to him from the Party.

Second, an advisory National Campaign Committee be appointed from a list of prominent party members in Chicago and Milwaukee, such committee to meet each week, the National Office to pay the railroad fare of members from Milwaukee.

This may seem rather arbitrary action on our part, and if it does so appear to you, I trust you will pardon us in view of the time it would require to locate some competent person with actual experience in conducting a campaign and with some knowledge of the national movement. There is no such person in sight and it seems to me that Comrade Barnes, with

300,000 men and women are out of work in New York City. Millions are desperate.

This is the time to

teach the cause of

unemployment

and show up the
wage-system as a
permanent,
artificial
limitation on the
lives of the
workers.
Read "Out of
Work", pages
7,8,9,10 of this
issue. This is our
second Big
Leaflet.

See prices on

page 16.

his association with the LaFollette group and assisted by a competent committee, should be able to devise campaign plans that will fully use our facilities for a national campaign.

Heretofore, when a campaign manager was selected, a separate organization was created with literature department and a speaker's bureau under special direction. If we attempt that we will have to secure additional office space. In 1920, with Comrade Debs our candidate, we felt we could not venture upon such an increase in the overhead, but even so, we were left with a deficit that bankrupted the National Office. In fact, one of the notes still unpaid that we will have to meet in September is to cover the balance of printing bill from the 1920 campaign.

The campaign funds, with the exception of the profits from the Stedman and O'Hare meetings, came in as a result of arrangements with the larger locals, New York City and Chicago in particular, for a percentage division of all receipts, and through general appeals by circularization. I question very much that any considerable sum will be raised in Chicago this year. The active workers here are being drawn into the general La Follette campaign and already that drive for funds has begun. It will naturally tend to reduce our total.

Too much time has been lost—it is now more than three weeks since our convention met. In order to get immediate action I submit the following

National Executive Committee
Motion No. 1

(Executive Question)
Shall the National Secretary be authorized to accept the offer made by Comrade
Barnes:

Motion No. 2: Will you authorize the appointment of a Campaign Committee from the following list of party members? J. Mahlon Barnes, Campaign Manager.

National Campaign Committee
Ben Schlessinger, Seymour Stedman,
Swan Johnson, Samuel Levin, Wm. A.
Cunnea, Chas. Pogorelec, Wm. Coleman,
Thomas A. Duncan, John T. Whitlock,
Lee Kryveki, Risch Wilson

Leo Krzycki, Birch Wilson.

Please vote by wire. Vote closes
August 3rd.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary

August 8, 1924.

To the National Executive Committee Dear Comrades:

I beg to report on National Executive Committee Motions No. 1 and 2, providing for the election of J. Mahlon Barnes, without salary, as national Campaign Manager, and the formation of an advisory Campaign Committee: Comrades Berger, Collins, Debs, Harkins, Hillquit, Roewer and Sharts voted YES. Comrade Maurer's vote was not recorded.

So far, we have received acceptances for membership on the Campaign Committee from Benjamin Schlessinger, Thomas M. Duncan, William Coleman, Seymour Stedman, John T. Whitlock, Swan Johnson, Charles Pogorelec and Birch Wilson.

Comrade Schlessinger has agreed to give as much assistance as possible to the fund raising, but states his health will not permit him to undertake the full responsibility or, in fact, anything like it, but is willing to have his name used to serve actively when conditions are favorable.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary.

August 18, 1924

To the National Executive Committee Dear Comrades:

I am submitting two manuscripts for your consideration as campaign documents. One, by W.W. Passage, "Why Farmers and Industrial Workers Should Unite," and the other by George R. Kirkpatrick, "Out of Work," which is intended for publication as one of the "Big Leaflets."

The Passage article was submitted to Comrades Brandt and Hoehn whom you selected as Editorial Committee, but we have not had any report from them upon its suitability. Time presses and I am therefore sending the material to you for a vote. Ballots are enclosed for both manuscripts.

Comrade Collins more than a week ago proposed a motion that Comrade Oneal's first article on the Ku Klux Klan, which appeared in The New Leader on August 2nd, be published as the leaflet on that subject authorized by the Convention. You will recall that Comrades James Oneal and Norman Thomas were to be invited to prepare the material. The invitation was extended, but so far we have had no reply from Comrade Thomas. Comrade Oneal wrote that the articles in The New Leader gave his understanding of the Klan issue and that he would not be able to prepare anything additional.

Before Comrade Collins's motion could be sumbitted the second article appeared and it was at once apparent that the one was incomplete without the other and that both conntained far more material than could be used in a leaflet. Comrade Collins authorized me to withhold his motion until Comrade Kirkpatrick would condense and revise the Oneal articles, after which copies will be submitted for your approval.

As our Editorial Committee has not re-

Voltaire in the eighteenth century set all Europe laughing at the silly pretentions of royalty, of dull duchesses, leatherheaded lords, dumb dukes and clown princes — and thus vastly weakened the old order.

Three of our
Socialist writers
have served us
with laughprovoking
treatment of the
ridiculous
pretentions of
Capitalism.

sponded, and delay on such matters is a great handicap, it seems to me that further manuscripts might well be referred to the National Campaign Comittee which is to hold weekly meetings at the National Office. In order to have a formal expression of your wishes in this regard, I submit.

National Executive Committee Motion No. 4.

(Executive Question)

"Shall manuscripts for campaign leaflets be referred to the National Campaign Committee?"

Ballot enclosed. Vote closes August 25th.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White Executive Secretary. August 21, 1924.

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:

Our application for membership needs revision as the pledge no longer corresponds with the constitution as amended. We are preparing to issue a new edition and should have a revised application card, also.

The following edited pledge, conforming to the national constitution, is submitted for your consideration and approval.

Application for Membership in the SOCIALIST PARTY

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class organizing itself into a political party for the purpose of obtaining collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of wealth production and distribution, hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party, and enclose \$dues. I also subscribe for The Socialist World for the period of my membership, forty-eight cents of each year's dues paid by me being for subscription to the publication. In all my political actions while a member of the Socialist Party I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party. Upon acceptance of my application for membership I agree to apply, wherever possible, for membership in a labor union of my trade or occupation.*

Name	Occupation		
	Union? -		
Street Address	Age ————————————————————————————————————	ves	0
City —— State —	no)——— Date ——	_	

*Non-citizens agree also, upon acceptance to membership, to apply for citizenship within three months thereafter.

Comment

The above membership application form differs from the one now in use in that it does not include the following sentences:

"I have no relations (as member or supporter) with any other political party. I am opposed to all political organizations that support and perpetuate the present capitalist profit system, and I am opposed to any form of trading or fusing with any such organizations to prolong that system.

As a result of our present political relations to the C. P. P. A., the retaining of these two sentences in the application form is a cause of misinterpretation and confusion. Furthermore, they are superfluous, as the party's relations to other political parties are fully set forth in Article VIII of the National Constitution, which the applicant for membership agrees to be guided by.

The last sentence in the proposed form relative to making application for membership in a labor union was inserted by the recent Cleveland convention in the form of an amendment. The only other change is to place the last sentence of the present form (the agreement to apply for mittance into the party) in a subordinate citizenship within three months after adposition as a foot-note. It is inapplicable in most cases, but in its present form it erroneously leaves a contrary impression.

Copy for the constitution is now in the hands of the printer and the printing order will be given as soon as we have your decision on this question.

Voting card and sample of present application card enclosed.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White Executive Secretary.

August 30, 1924.

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:

I beg to report as follows: National Executive Committee

> Motion No. 4. (Executive Question)

"Shall manuscripts for campaign leaflets be referred to the National Campaign Committees?'

Submitted August 18, 1924. Vote closed August 25.

Voting Yes: Collins, Debs, Harkins, Sharts.

Not Heard From: Berger, Hillquit, Maurer, Roewer.

No Action.

Bellamy's humor in his "Parable of the Water Tank" is as sharp as a

razor;

Ameringer's "Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam" and Claessens's "Trinity of Plunder" are pieces of our most valuable propaganda, because they reveal much of the nature of Capitalism and point out the way to freedom—and they also are wonderfully entertaining; they are all full of

rolicksome good

humor.

Vote on article prepared by George R. Kirkpatrick to be issued as the leaflet on the Klan:

Voting Yes: Collins, Debs, Hillquit. Maurer, Roewer, Sharts.

Voting No: Harkins. (1) Not Heard From: Berger. (1)Carried.

Comment by Sharts:

"Kirkpatrick's article is all right so far as it goes. But I was hoping for a stress also upon the Declaration of Independence and the original American principle of separation of Church and State (including the keeping of any sect or its bible out of the public schools), and the State Constitutional provisions against a religious test for public offices. The quotations from Lincoln and Jefferson used by La Follette might also be inserted with effect.'

On revised application for membership

Voting Yes: Collins, Debs, Harkins, Hillquit, Maurer, Roewer, Sharts. (7) Not Heard From: Berger. Carried .

Comment by Debs:

"In voting yes in approval of the proposed change in the form of our Application for Membership, I wish to record my objection to both the obligatory clauses requiring applicants to apply for citizenship and to join a trade union as a condition of membership. I think these provisions should be appended to the application in a footnote in the form of a recommendation.

On publication of campaign leaflets "Why Farmers and Industrial Workers Should Unite," by W. W. Passage, and "Out of Work," by George R. Kirkpatrick.

Voting Yes: Collins, Debs, Harkins, Hillquit, Maurer, Sharts. Not Heard From: Berger, Roewer (2) Carried.

Comment by Hillquit

"I have read the manuscript of Kirkpatrick's 'Out of Work," which I herewith return as requested. I am strongly impressed with it and believe it should be published by all means.'

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White Executive Secretary.

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

SHORT MESSAGE LEAFLETS

Sixteen different leaflets, (size $6x4\frac{1}{2}$ inches) each containing two messages. Price, prepaid, 50 cents per 1,000 leaflets. Orders must be for 2,000 or more at one shipment. Cheap enough to cover your city or town several times before election. Send for complete set of samples if you have not received any.

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BOOKS

Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam, By Oscar Ameringer, Hot Stuff and stuffed with jolly humor — The Hillquit-Keating Debate — (on the question of forming an American Labor Party.) Prices, prepaid: 25c per copy; \$2.00 per dozen; \$15.00 per 100.

The Trinity of Plunder, by August Claessens. Humorous, interesting, instructive. Prices, prepaid: 10c per copy; \$1.00 per dozen; \$6.00 per 100.

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