

# WHAT TO DO

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THE PROBLEM  
OF THE SOCIALIST  
PARTY OF AMERICA

*By*  
H. L. A. HOLMAN

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# WHAT TO DO

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## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

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Comrades:—

The Socialist Party is now going thru a revolutionary period. This is perfectly natural. No one that understands natural law, will be alarmed at this. All bodies, either social or organic, must change in form or die and disappear.

We must change our tactics, also our form of organization.

When we first organized the Socialist Party of America, we were quite young in the science of Socialism. We were just agitators. So we formed an agitator's organization.

Thru the agitation of the past, most of us have evolved to a knowledge of what to do and how to do it.

We have also reached the stage of the breaking down of capitalism. We must understand the cause that developed this stage; also what to do if we make a forward step.

Practically all Europe is falling to pieces. We occupy the most critical period in human history.

The period in which if we lose, we lose more than could have been lost at any other period. If we win, we win more than could have ever been won at any other period.

The Working Class thru its struggle of the past has imparted its mechanical genius into blind material, developed tools and machinery, and made it possible to produce the world's wealth in three hours out of each twenty-four.

All tools and machinery, together with the genius of the working class will be destroyed in this great world struggle if the working class loses this fight.

We have reached the stage in the development of tools and machinery where it is no longer possible for the capitalist class to market the surplus product of the working class. Hence, the capitalist class is unfit to further rule the world.

The evolution of tools and machinery has developed new conditions of life. To fit the race to the new conditions of life, society must be re-organized. Society must have a new ruling class.

We must understand why the present governments came into existence and why they are going out.

We must show why the present Government must fall.

We must show how the evolution of tools creates new conditions of life, which necessitates the forming of new governments.

We must show, that we have the only plan of reorganization of society that will fit the race to the new conditions of life.

The reorganization of society establishing a World Industrial Democracy, is the only form of society that will readapt the race to the new condition of life.

The working class is the only class fit to rule.

Since 1848 we have stood for Industrial Democracy, but we have for some reason failed to write the Organic Law of Industrial Democracy.

We have failed to show to the world the form of government we advocate.

A government that has power to exploit, has no power to prevent exploitation. A government which has power to prevent exploitation has no power to exploit.

All governments of the past were organized for the sole purpose of exploiting the working class. All accomplishment is the result of organized material. All that has been accomplished

by Government, has been the result of the form of organization of the governing powers.

The exploitation of the working class depends entirely upon the form of government in which the workers are exploited. To abolish this exploitation of the working class, we must understand how to organize a government that has no power to exploit, neither has it power to grant franchises to an exploiting class.

We are now able to organize government in such form as to abolish all exploitation of man by man.

We find that social, like organic evolution, has been divided into several different ages, in which the social systems were entirely different: tribal communism, ancient chattel slavery, medieval serfdom and modern wage slavery.

Each is as distinct as the animals of today are distinct from those of the reptilian age.

Each of these systems (except wage slavery), ended in a revolution which ushered in a new social order.

The historic purpose of the ancient slave system was to make civilization possible.

As long as people had to work all the time to secure a living, civilization was impossible.

Slavery produced a leisure class which could give itself up to intellectual pursuits, and in this way civilization was made possible.

The changing social systems are due to man's development of new methods of production.

There can be but two forms of organized society. One is formed for the purpose of exploiting the working class, the other is formed for the purpose of preventing the exploitation of the working class.

Industrial Democracy is the only form of government that can prevent the exploitation of the working class. It is the only form of government that will take exploitation off the workers and place it upon the tools and machinery of production.

The latter form of organized society could have never existed prior to the present age, for the reason that the means of production and distribution had not as yet been completed.

Organized government of the past has not been a mistake for the reason that there cannot be any accomplishment except through organization.

Capitalist society has not been a failure; no government fails until it fills its historic mission.

The historic mission of capitalism is through

competition to perfect the machinery of production, to bring about the minimum amount of labor necessary to carry on production, to take capitalist production to every part of the world.

Capitalism has accomplished this. With the forming of the trusts, competition and the race to cheapen production, —by the introduction of better machinery, **ends.**

It could be restored only by destroying the present great machinery and returning to the days of individual competition.

With the passing of competition further progress becomes impossible during the continuance of capitalist society.

We find it impossible to trace government prior to the time when women and children by a very simple division of labor, in the gathering of nuts, buds, fruits and the grubbling of roots for food, were able to gather enough some days to have something for the next.

The male being physically stronger, overpowered the woman and her children by physical force, and exploited them of all their surplus.

This forced the woman and her children to develop greater means of production. In the winter season they would use sticks and shells

for the digging of roots when their fingers became sore.

They would use poles to flail the fruits and nuts from the trees. The women and children found that by the use of these tools in a united effort they could defeat their master in battle.

After he was defeated a few times, hunger drove him to work out a stronger form of government. He selected a few of the strongest males from the group and armed them with sticks and clubs, and appointed them overseers and task-masters over the balance.

This enabled him to continue his governing power. After first choice for himself, second choice of the fruits and nuts were set aside for the task-masters. This influenced the task-masters to continue the crowding and ever crowding of the workers for greater production.

While this struggle of the workers was going on they were continually developing better tools and greater means of defense.

Hence the instruments of production again evolved to a point where they were more powerful than the governing power and this governing

power was overthrown, and a new government organized.

These family groups developed into tribes. The tribes united and elected or appointed representatives and territorial government was established.

### CHATTEL SLAVERY

In the territorial government statute laws were recognized, giving these masters ownership of the slaves (working class).

A standing army was organized, equipped and maintained out of the public funds by the political powers (government), to protect the slave owning class in the ownership of the slaves and tools of production.

The crowding of chattel slaves caused the slaves to develop higher and greater productive tools. With these tools the slaves developed a greater volume of commodities. These commodities could not be marketed by the master class. Again the instruments of production became greater than the governing power, so the master class freed the slaves but held ownership of the land and charged the serfs enormous rents for

the right to use the land. A new government was organized known as Feudalism or Serfdom.

Under the Feudal system the feudal landlords organized and became the governing power. In feudal society the wage slave developed greater tools of production, until what we call the machine age of production was reached. The instruments of production again became greater than the governing power. The feudal landlords were unable to govern the wage workers and the machinery which developed in feudal society, hence feudalism was overthrown and capitalism established.

### CAPITALISM

In capitalist society the standing army, police force, etc., were maintained to protect the landlord's title deed to land, the capitalist franchises to the means of production, transportation, communication, manufacturing plants and all other means of production.

The governments of the world using the armed force in protecting the franchise of the capitalist class, give the capitalist class the power to exploit the working class to the point of actual subsistence. The ever-crowding of the working class

developed still higher and more complex machinery. This developed a greater volume of commodities.

These commodities must be marketed by the capitalist class. To market these commodities the capitalist class must build transportation lines, steamships and better means of communication.

This gives the capitalist class a powerful market for the surplus product of the working class. Until the means of production, distribution and communication were completed, the capitalist could invest the surplus product in building factories, railroads, communication lines, storehouses, etc., necessary in production and distribution.

This system is now complete. We find the capitalist class unable to market the products of labor. The instruments of production have become more powerful than the governing power. The capitalist class recognizes this, and is now, through its political agents, trying to form a greater and more powerful organization, one in which it hopes to have power to continue to exploit the working class.

The object is to unite the economic interests of the capitalists of the world. Also to form a world political power; unite the world's military powers and through the world's political powers direct their world's military power against the growing revolutionary working class of the world.

The working class of the world are now beginning to recognize that the exploitation of the workers can be removed and nothing exploited, but the tools of production. To do this a new form of government must be adopted.

A form of government in which the working class will have the sole right of ownership and management of the instruments of production, and carry on production for the workers of the world only.

The political power of the nations of the world is breaking down. There is a reason for this.

At every epoch in human history when the instruments of production reached the stage of evolution where they became more powerful than the governing powers (which were governing them at that time), the governing powers were compelled to give way to a greater form of gov-

ernment, i. e., a governing power great enough to control the instruments of production.

President Wilson, in *New Freedom*, says: "We stand in the presence of a revolution, not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood, but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals she has always 'professed,' upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not to special interests.

"We have forgotten the very principles of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices."

In this statement Mr. Wilson is correct, except that it may not be a silent revolution.

Capitalist Society has completed its work. It has completed the means of production, distribution and communication. It has developed new conditions of life. If civilization lives we must change organized society to fit the new conditions.

The following is the only form of organization that can be adopted so that the working class will be the sole market for the product of

its labor, and thereby abolish all exploitation of man by man, and readapt society to the new conditions of life.

## THE ORGANIC LAW OF AN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

### National Legislative Power

#### ARTICLE I

Section 1. All legislative power should be vested in the people of the United States.

Sec. 2. All normal minded people, without regard to sex, nationality, or pecuniary consideration, over the age of eighteen years should have the right of franchise and a majority vote should determine all laws.

Sec. 3. The legal voters should have the right to determine by direct ballot whether the land, railroads, factories, mills, mines, oil fields, refineries, telegraphs, telephones, banks, storehouses and all other profiteering enterprises should remain private or become public property.

Sec. 4. When any industry becomes public property it should be managed by the workers directly interested in that particular industry.

Sec. 5. The hours of labor should be deter-

mined by the number of applicants applying at the various industries. All applicants must be employed.

## National Industrial Powers

### ARTICLE II

Section 1. The national industrial powers should be vested in a one house national industrial congress.

Sec. 2. Each national industry should be allowed one member which should be elected by direct ballot by the industrial workers of their industry.

Sec. 3. Each industrial department should elect one member once a year to the national industrial congress.

Sec. 4. Agriculture, transportation, mining, manufacturing, and all other industries should be sub-divided where there appears a distinct difference in their line of work.

Sec. 5. The National Industrial Congress should have the right to pass such national regulations as it deems best for the advancement and betterment of the industrial conditions of the workers.

Sec. 6. **The workers in each school district should have the sole right to work out all details of their particular district.**

Sec. 7. Six months after the adoption of this constitution all managers of all local industrial departments should make and keep and furnish the national industrial congress with a record of the necessary time expended on each class of goods produced in each department.

Sec. 8. Individual production should be recognized in any department, but no individual producer should be allowed to employ extra labor for profit.

Sec. 9. As long as legal tender money is used, commodities produced by individual producers should be governed by market price.

Sec. 10. When legal tender money disappears all individual products should be paid for in non-transferrable time-service checks.

Sec. 11. After legal tender money is abolished all service should be paid for in non-transferrable time-service checks.

Sec. 12. After two years from the adoption of this constitution, the National Industrial Congress should declare all legal tender money de-

monetized and issue non-transferrable time-service checks to take its place.

Sec. 13. All goods in storage should be marked as nearly as possible the time cost of production.

Sec. 14. Stores should be equipped in each school district necessary to meet the convenience of the people.

Sec. 15. All postage, freight, and passenger tariff should disappear as soon as time-service checks take the place of legal tender money.

Sec. 16. The aged or disabled should be cared for by society or issued maintenance certificates.

Sec. 17. Insane asylums should be territorially districted and each district should elect a general manager, whose duty it should be to employ such help (skilled and common) as would be necessary to do the work of the aslyum.

Sec. 18. The National Industrial Congress should have the power to levy and collect taxes through the local District Congresses.

Sec. 19. All power to levy and collect taxes should be void after two years from the adoption of this constitution.

Sec. 20. All jails and penitentiaries should be abolished within two years after adoption of this

constitution and turned into hospitals or manufacturing plants.

Sec. 21. The National Industrial Congress should have the right to employ all help to do its extra clerical work.

Sec. 22. All state, county, and school district lines (except new school districts) should remain for the convenience of distributing goods and mails.

Sec. 23. The National Industrial Congress should day by day elect a chairman to preside over its body.

## Foreign Relations

### ARTICLE III

Section 1. The National Industrial Congress should have no power to make treaties with foreign nations except those that adopt this form of government.

Sec. 2. As long as other nations have a gold standard basis, the National Industrial Congress should have power to transact all business of exchange with foreign nations upon a gold bullion basis.

Sec. 3. The National Industrial Congress should have no power to declare war (except to

repel invasion) but should submit all questions of war to a popular vote.

Sec. 4. Until all nations adopt this form of government the National Industrial Congress should maintain a landed, border, standing army and airplane fleet of the best possible equipment.

Sec. 5. Until all other nations adopt this form of government the National Industrial Congress should strongly fortify all port entrances with mines and other defenses to protect as much as possible all ports.

Sec. 6. The National Industrial Congress should have no right to ship any goods to foreign ports except to those nations that adopt this form of government.

Sec. 7. All nations should have the right to ship such goods into our ports as the National Industrial Congress may direct.

### **Local Industrial Powers**

#### **ARTICLE IV**

Section 1. All local industrial powers should rest in a school district industrial congress.

Sec. 2. The district congress should consist of one member from each industrial department in the district.

Sec. 3. The members of the district congress should be elected by the industrial workers of the industry they represent.

Sec. 4. The duty of each member of the district congress should be to look after the efficiency and speed of the machinery and the workers of the district.

Sec. 5. Each district congress should furnish the national congress with a monthly statement of efficiency and improvements in all industrial departments.

Sec. 6. There should be a hospital established in each school district for the purpose of taking care of the sick and the criminals of that district.

Sec. 7. The industrial workers should elect their general manager by direct ballot.

Sec. 8. Majority votes should determine all elections and recalls.

### **Powers of the Judiciary**

#### **ARTICLE V**

Section 1. The judicial power should rest in one magistrate in each school district of the nation.

Sec. 2. The duties of the district magistrate should be to issue subpoenas and warrants for

the arrest of criminals and unbalanced persons and to preside over all trial cases.

Sec. 3. The magistrate should summon 12 men and 12 women to try all cases; a majority vote should determine the guilt or innocence of all defendants.

Sec. 4. Plaintiff and defendant alone should have the right to question or cross examine witnesses.

Sec. 5. All criminals should be adjudged mentally unbalanced and should be confined in hospitals for the insane until adjudged normal.

Sec. 6. It should be lawful to record all deeds to personal property. All disputes should be settled according to the record.

Sec. 7. All damage wilfully done to public property (when proven) should be paid for by the defendant in service checks.

Sec. 8. Divorce should be granted by the local district magistrate upon application made by either party to the marriage contract.

Sec. 9. All divorces should be granted without cost to either party.

Sec. 10. The mothers of children should always hold first right to govern and culture chil-

dren until they are mature in age—(say 18 years) except public school training.

Sec. 11. All personal property held by divorced man and woman should be divided by themselves, or by the record, or by a jury composed of 12 men and 12 women.

Sec. 12. There should be elected in each magistrate's district one or more vice-magistrates whose duty it should be to arrest and confine all persons against whom complaints are made, or who wilfully disturb the peace.

Sec. 13. There should be no criminal law except what is written in this constitution.

### **Public School Department**

#### **ARTICLE VI**

Section 1. There should be but one school building in each school district which should be equipped sufficiently to accommodate all ages.

Sec. 2. Each school district should elect one general manager who should employ all instructors.

Sec. 3. There should be a department in each school district for educating and equipping all persons for industrial work.

Sec. 4. There should be departments of literature, art, and science taught in all public schools.

Sec. 5. Nothing should be taught in public schools except that which pertains to material facts.

Sec. 6. Every problem taught in mathematics showing profits gained by the profiteers should be reversed to show that the workers lost an equal amount.

Sec. 7. In each school district there should be a department equipped sufficiently to take care of all aged and disabled of that particular district.

Sec. 8. The adoption of this constitution should abolish all political officials except those provided for in this constitution.

We have the legal right to adopt the Organic Law given above, laid down in the Declaration of Independence (beginning with paragraph two), which reads as follows:

**“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving**

their just powers from the consent of the governed: that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that government long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right,—it is their duty,—to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.” --

When we adopt the Organic Law stated above as our platform, we should re-organize the Socialist Party so it would be in harmony with what we stand for.

There should be a county Industrial Congress (or Council) organized in each county where there is a local. The County Congress should be an organizing congress, and organize a local in each school district in the county where it is possible to do so.

Each school district should have an industrial congress with power from the organized workers in the party to dictate all terms of the party.

We should have a National Industrial Congress (or Council) to take charge of the National office.

We should put in a first-class printing plant in connection with the national office, and do our own printing.

The national congress should print and furnish each county a small weekly paper, to be turned into a daily just as soon as possible. These papers should contain the same matter except possibly one or two columns for local matter.

By this method of propaganda the workers would soon have the same mind about what to do and how to do it.

When the preceding Organic Law is adopted by the Socialist Party, the world can then understand what we mean when we say we stand for a new government,—a government in which the

working class cannot be exploited, but will receive the full social value of its labor.

After adopting the program given above, we should pledge ourselves to support all organizations of Labor (whether political or industrial), that demand the abolition of all title deeds and franchises which have been granted to private individuals, companies or corporations. We should stand by every organization that stands for a government that has no power to grant franchises except a title of occupancy and use.

We should declare against a capitalist league of nations and for a Working Class League of Nations.

We should declare ourselves a part of the Spartacans of Germany, a part of the Communists of Hungary, a part of the Bolsheviki (majority socialists) of Russia, and all other revolutionary organizations of the world that stand for the abolition of all exploitation of man by man.

We should write our program so that it can be easily understood by the working class, but hard to be interpreted by the capitalist class to mean anything but a higher state of civilization and a continued upward move in the progress of the race.

I submit the preceding as a basis to be renovated, revised, compiled and put in such form as will best fit the stage we now occupy.

Respectfully submitted to the Emergency Convention, Socialist Party of America, to be held in Chicago, August 30th, 1919.

H. L. A. HOLMAN.





