

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Vol. 5, No. 12

CHICAGO, DECEMBER, 1924

Price 10 Cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post-Office at Chicago, Illinois, January 26th, 1918, Under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

IN THIS ISS

THE DRIFT TO SOCIALISM
WHAT WE EXPECTED
THE CHILDREN: SHALL THEY BE
CRUCIFIED?
ORGANIZATION NEWS
CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
MINUTES OF THE N. E. C.

ANGELO CREC
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND GOVERN-
MENTAL POWER IN SWEDEN
THE CONDITIONS OF A NEW PARTY
CALL FOR A SPECIAL NATIONAL
CONVENTION.

THE DRIFT TO SOCIALISM

By Joseph E. Cohen

In this country at this time it would be improper to stress the conscious effort for socialization as the most pronounced. It seems anything but that.

Not that there is not a plenty of fulsome boasters. Such prosperity, meaning plenty of work, as has blessed us is assumed by the Republican Party to be the direct rays from its high tariff furnace. Likewise depression and hard times are inexplicable and unavoidable accidents, similar to the blowing out of a tire because of some one else's careless scattering of glass on the road.

Actually, however, individualism is supposed to be rampant, still Governmental interference in business is assaulted as a policy, although it manages to make headway in practice. For the most part industrial development is meant to be left to take care of itself and just grow like Topsy.

Plans for expansion lay no particular stress upon the human factor. With immigration seriously restricted, so long as there is smoke going up the factory chimney, the labor unions can hold their own and the toilers keep their larders provisioned. And sufficient unto the 'ay is the evil thereof.

Back of this viewpoint are the indigenous conditions of the land. The domains are extensive; while the days of exploration are over pretty much in fact, they trail along as part of the mental stock-in-trade of the "night minds." However limited opportunities are, captains of industry still rise from the ranks before the eyes. Fabulous fortunes are amassed in the highways and even the byways of commerce. Rewards of no inconspicuous size yet await those who have the talent and are willing to

play the game with the cards marked by the corporations.

It is but natural, then, that the resulting ideas should be loose-jointed and far-flung. There is no assembling data and deeds into one body. To search for permeating social forces in this chaos of conflicting impulses is to cast forth on a long journey.

That being given, it should go without saying that the character of these conditions must be reflected in the labor movement and the Socialist Party. But is that so?

For the labor movement it can be quite readily admitted. That movement displays a rather self-sufficient exterior which is not parcel of the European brand. It is almost smug in its tolerance of leaders who are the grosser affectations of the newly rich. It is all too ready to tie up with arrangements pleasing to the employers, on the plea of stability. It is fearful to be caught harboring any such ideals as ultimate emancipation from capitalism. Maybe only because it is Latin does it accept the shibboleth of "Labor Omnia Vincit."

If this be censure, it can only be mild. Those impatient with this sort of thing bite their thumbs in solitudes. The irreconcilable, who delude themselves with the moonshine that the great bulk outside the craft unions want stronger drink, organize their I.W.W. and sound their bridal call in vain. Beyond the organized movement are the less determined workers. They have yet to be stirred to as much semblance of protest as is manifest in the American Federation of Labor.

The regular labor movement is very near an un-

derstanding of conditions as they are. How is it with the Socialist Party?

To distinguish itself at all, it had to form a party separate and apart from all others. It had to preserve its identity. Incidentally it must, no matter what happens. Even if a labor party were formed, with the Socialist Party a contributing factor, it would have to keep its own organization for its work other than political, just as the labor unions would keep their organizations for their work other than political. All the more so, since no labor party of national scope is functioning.

With the even partial awakening of labor, the stressing of its aloofness in political matters becomes secondary with the Socialist Party. Members will still prefer to stay outside the garden while the voters bite into the wormy interior of the forbidden fruit of old party progressive candidates. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are such progressive, genuine and militant.

Until the two-party prejudice is broken down, there will have to be some waiting for labor to make itself decisive in the politics and government of this country. While waiting, there can be no harm in circumstances bending half way to meet the Socialist requirement.

That may be said to be happening.

Although nearest to England, let us say, this nation sees no counterpart of the long, steady building up of an organization like that of the British Labor Party, created of the unions and animated by the Socialist breath of life. Quite far from it.

But even in England, with the making of progress comes the admission and assimilation of every other element, not even the idle wealthy excepted. What persists as the essence, however, is the purpose to bring about the elevation of labor in industry to the point of fetching social democracy.

What cannot be gainsaid is that the influence of labor as such in party councils remains the dominant note.

That is what really counts. For labor unions to call such a gathering as that which met in Cleveland last July and which nominated La Follette is to make history. From now on labor is raising its voice in politics. It is raising it as labor.

That granted, there cannot come too quickly the broadening of the movement to include every element willing to sustain social change.

That an unbreakable bond must be formed between workers and farmers is not disputed anywhere. But the appeal must be such as to reach far over that. The discontent which runs through all classes must be gathered and piped for the common outlet.

There is not a capitalist institution, economic or otherwise, in which such discontent is not seething.

In every industry are men, many if not most responsible for the total administration of affairs, who remain a class apart from the owners, often treated with contumely, and suffering the exquisite refinements of hirelings from those who are in every civilized way their inferiors. Socialism would bring them merited approbation. They would let their genius get full play.

On every newspaper and magazine and in every other agency for capitalist publicity are men who either stultify their convictions or conceal them while they drool over inconsequential details. They are keenly alert to the sham and mockery and pretense of what pose as public mediums. What a contribution they could make to the popularization of real information!

Also in the scale are the droves of small dealers, manufacturers and people of the professions, many of them continuing individual production such as works of art, who are squeezed ever more hard by exploiting capitalism. They should come into the progressive field readily enough.

Undoubtedly they all will. There can be no dispute about that.

To the Socialist, who sees the mechanism of capitalism so distinctly and the adjustments necessary to democratize industry to serve society so clearly, it is hard to watch for the slow acceptance of that as a goal. But in his moments of relaxation he can content himself with the knowledge that there is no escaping such an outcome.

That knowledge, too, will have to be sufficient for him to strive with these others, especially the labor unions, to make progress politically. Even will have to do when they are not ready to accept the notion of a goal. For there can be no other drift to progress.

Because the drift may continue as such for some time to come. When consciousness grows, the emphasis will be shifted, but continuing progress will have to be made. The quality will differ. But always we shall look ahead.

After all, is not that the soul of human salvation?

BRUTAL IMPERIALISM

"Several great nations are now running behind a billion dollars a year, chiefly because of imperialism," said President Coolidge recently.

Correct. Therefore we must study imperialism. "The History of Imperialism," by Irwin St. John Tucker, is a brilliant 400-page study of imperialism.

"Labor and the Next War," by James Oneal, is a 32-page study of war and imperialism in Oneal's perfectly clear and convincing style.

These books are, respectively, \$2.50 and 10 cents, prepaid.



WHAT WE EXPECTED



By Judge Joseph Panken

This is the first of three articles by Judge Joseph Panken to be published in consecutive issues of the Socialist World

As far back as the memory of American Socialists goes, the organized Socialist movement has sought a contact with the labor movement for political action. It seemed that such contact would be possible of establishment as a matter of fact, the history of the American labor movement is replete with attempts of the workers to organize workmen's political parties.

This is not the place, nor is it the time, to discuss the history of these attempts or the causes motivating them. It must be recorded here that there is expressed opinion that these attempts were not expressions of or part of the class struggle.

In so far as the recent past is concerned, there is no dispute that definite classes and class distinctions have arisen in the United States.

The organized Socialist movement reflected the interest of a distinct class. In its early period it supported the "Henry George movement." In 1886 Henry George was indorsed and supported by the Socialists for Mayor of New York. In 1897, however, when Henry George was again a candidate for Mayor of the City of New York, the Socialist Labor Party, which then had become a political party organized on national lines, opposed his candidacy. The support of Henry George was because Henry George carried to his support the labor element.

In 1897 organized labor did not, as such, support him, but there were other reasons why in 1897 he was not supported by the Socialist Labor Party.

About that time decided differences had arisen within the ranks of the Socialists as to the policies and tactics to be pursued in enlisting the cooperation of Labor. The Socialists were not successful in their efforts to enlist organized labor therefore.

In 1894, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was fathered by the Socialist Labor Party as a consequence of the failure above recorded. The American Federation of Labor had established a policy of "No politics in the Union," so that the trades unions were not approachable in politics. In the desire to obtain the cooperation of labor, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was founded.

Some Socialists, however, were of the opinion, and properly so, that this would cause friction with and within labor. Instead of uniting labor for political action and cementing the road for cooperation with Socialists, it resulted in dual unions, dividing labor on the economic field and lending justification for the attack on Socialists by labor leaders.

The inevitable occurred. Some members of the Socialist Labor Party were expelled and the organization of the Social Democracy of America, and then the Social Democratic Party followed.

The fight as to the tactics regarding labor within the Socialist Labor Party continued until 1899. The division being irreconcilable, the party split. Those who supported the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance desired to continue the formation of Trade Unions committed to the support of the Socialist Labor Party. The others, and they were in the majority, were of the opinion that it was the duty of Socialists to support labor in its economical struggle regardless of its political opinions.

The majority held that dual unions would only help the employers and arouse opposition and hatred on the part of workers for Socialists and Socialism, and, therefore, that the policy was not a question of tactics, but a matter of principle.

The Social Democratic Party had adopted a policy of supporting labor in its economic struggles and cooperation with it in every attempt at independent political action.

In 1899, when an independent labor party was organized in the City of New York, the Social Democratic Party was represented in its conference and became part of its organization, and caused "Kangaroos", that portion of the Socialist Labor Party disagreeing with the policy of dual Unionism, to be invited to participate. They, however, declined. Later on proof that the "Kangaroos" were right, the Independent Labor Party indorsing the Republican Party. Participation by the "Kangaroos" would not have prevented that.

The attitude of the Social Democratic Party and the "Kangaroos" towards the labor movement being identical led to their uniting and the formation of the present Socialist Party.

From the very beginning of the life of the Socialist Party a definite policy was pursued. Trade Unions were treated as the economic arm in the struggle, and the Socialist Party as the political arm. In the very first convention of the Socialist Party, resolutions were adopted clearly defining this policy. I have not at hand the texts of those resolutions. Their burden, however, was that Socialists and their party must support labor in all its economical struggles, strikes, boycotts, lock-outs; that Socialists should be members of their trade unions and support should be given regardless of the political opinions of the trade unionists.

This policy, though it did not succeed in en-

listing the cooperation of the entire trade union movement, nevertheless brought sympathetic support from many locals and a large number of trade unionists. It did not make possible a contact with the trade union movement that the European Socialists enjoy, but it wiped out some of the animosity on the part of labor's leadership to Socialists as evidenced by the C. P. P. A.

By 1912 the Socialist Party in America had become an important political factor. That year it received almost a million votes and counted a membership, actually paying dues, of upwards of 125,000,—a party with a membership greater, comparatively, than that of either of the major parties.

A million votes in 1912 is as much as 2,000,000 and a quarter votes in 1924, by reason of woman suffrage and the increase in population since then.

The policy of the Socialist Party was vindicated. The purpose, however, was not fulfilled. A party of labor in the true sense had not yet come into being. Internal strife, due to the reappearance of Socialist Trade and Labor Alliances in the form of the I. W. W. reduced the membership of the party.

During this time it was not only the hope of the Socialist Party to launch an independent political labor movement, but everything possible to promote such eventuality was taken advantage of.

Wisconsin saw the Socialists work hand in hand with the Union, when in politics. Minnesota, particularly Minneapolis, found the Socialists and trade unions not only together on the economic field, but also on the political battlefield.

The entry of the United States into the World War and the resultant patriotic hysteria swept some weak-kneed Socialists to the extreme right and out of the party. That with the Bolshevik Revolution of November of the same year made fertile ground for the sprouting of the left wing.

Left-wing-ism and the merciless persecution of the Socialists by the Government found the Socialist Party in a weakened condition upon the conclusion of the war. The Party split, and peculiarly Socialist Trade and Labor Alliances appeared again, bringing its blighting effect. For the Left-Wingers were and still are intent on capturing the trades unions and tying them up with the "Red International."

The party had become a shell of its former self, yet in 1920 it was still able to poll close to 1,000,000 votes in spite of all the sabotage, vilification and persecution, proving again the soundness of the Socialist Party's position in regard to the Trade Unions, and vindicating its expectations.

That brings us to the period immediately before the formation of the C. P. P. A.

In 1920 the Farmers and Workers formed a po-

litical party and nominated a national ticket separate and apart from the Socialists. It was not successful, for the Farmer Labor Party polled only about 250,000 votes. It did, however, inspire hope among Socialists that America was ready to form a Labor Party fashioned after the model of the British Labor Party.

The Chicago Federation of Labor had committed itself to Labor's engaging in independent politics.

The Railroad Brotherhoods had learned the importance and efficacy of political action and political power in the solution of economic problems. They had seen in 1917 and in 1918 the head of the Railroad Administration by a single stroke of the pen adding hundreds of thousands to their membership, increasing their wages and adjusting their hours of labor, an achievement entirely by a political act, by Governmental power in the exercise of a political authority.

Then, they saw legislation taking some of their gains from them, and threatening to wipe out the rest. By actual demonstration they learned the importance of political power, they came face to face with it.

When the Socialist Party met in Convention at Detroit in 1921, mindful of all this, it adopted a resolution presented by Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee, instructing a committee to make a survey with the view of ascertaining the advisability and possibility of launching a movement for a Labor Party.

That survey, and the action taken on it, sanctioned the participation of the Socialist Party in a conference which resulted in the formation of a conference for Progressive Political Action (C. P. P. A.).

We were told that the C. P. P. A. was formed too late to embark on a political campaign in 1924. By resolution it authorized endorsement of such candidates for Congress as were favorable to labor and opposed those unfavorable, in other words, rewarding the friend and punishing the enemy, a policy which had become traditional with the American Federation of Labor.

Excepting for the bringing together of labor men to discuss Independent Political Action and adopting a program, and an organization plan, nothing was done.

Fortunately, the Socialist Party was not required or requested to carry out the resolutions to endorse so-called friends of labor. That made it possible for us to remain a part of the C. P. P. A. and we did remain such part, hoping that State conferences would be called to organize C. P. P. A. branches in the various States for the 1924 elections. Very little in that direction was done.

In New York State such an attempt was made.

We know with what results. The Socialist Party was practically kicked out.

At the St. Louis meeting of the C. P. P. A. in February, 1924, the Cleveland convention was decided upon. The Socialist Party thereupon changed the seat of its convention to Cleveland and postponed it until after the C. P. P. A. Convention should have met.

Throughout the country, both in the ranks of the Socialist Party as well as in the Trades Unions, the Cleveland Convention became the topic of the day and the hope of labor.

During the month of April of this year, it was my good fortune to travel through a goodly portion of the country. Wherever I went I found a deep-seated interest in the Cleveland Convention, hopeful in spirit that out of the C. P. P. A. Convention would finally come that Labor's Political Party which progressive workers and Socialists have desired and hoped for. At no place did I hear an expression other than the hope and expectation that the Labor Party would be launched on the 4th of July. The 4th of July became again to many a day when a new Declaration of Independence would be issued. That was not only true as regards Socialists, but it was equally true of non-Socialist workers.

As far as the Socialist Party was concerned, the membership, in many instances, instructed their

delegates to both conventions at Cleveland that the Socialist Party was to join with the C. P. P. A. in the formation of a Labor Party, and further to endorse the C. P. P. A. Candidates for President and Vice-President, providing a Labor Party was there formed.

The New York delegates, though not instructed, yet responsive to the overwhelming opinion of the Party membership, expressed either at branch or local meetings, were bound to stand for the formation of a Labor Party at the C. P. P. A. Convention and act accordingly in the Party Convention.

As trade unionists and Socialists wended their way to Cleveland they carried with them more than a hope for the launching of a Labor Party. They actually expected the formation of such a party which would typify independent political action on the part of Labor. They were convinced it would be done.

As the delegates arrived in Cleveland and particularly the Socialists and had occasion to exchange views with one another, that hope was strengthened. They believed their expectations realized. They believed that the time had finally come when Labor was about to join with the Socialists for independent labor political action.

We expected a Labor Party out of the Cleveland Convention. What did we get?

THE CRUCIFIXION OF THE CHILDREN

By George R. Kirkpatrick

What chance has a hungry and ignorant child, lashed with the whips of want, driven into the mills to be slowly crucified with the blight of wage-slavery? What chance has a hungry and ignorant child hanging on the cross of wage-slavery, surrounded by the National Manufacturers' Association, proudly and brutally boasting, "*There is no sentiment in business*"? What chance has a hungry and ignorant child twice speared thru by the United States Supreme Court in the interests of the profiteers? What is the meaning of the American flag floating boastfully over a factory crowded with hungry and ignorant children, slaving for a starvation wage in the springtime of their lives?

Reader, stand up and be counted for the Twentieth Amendment, the Children's Amendment to the National Constitution—stand up in defense of child life against the cruel and swinish greed of the sweat-ers of child labor.

The census of 1920 showed that 1,060,000 children under 15 were at work in the United States, and that 1,437,00 of our children between 7 and 13 were not in school,—*mostly in the states having*

the weakest legislation in behalf of children against child labor.

For twenty-five years the cry has gone up in the land: "Protect the children!" But they have not been protected; they are not now protected. The situation does not improve. It grows worse. The rude snout of Capitalism still roots up the flowering garden of young life—for profits.

Twice in the last six years the United States Supreme Court has plunged its spear into the side of the children by ripping the federal child labor legislation from our national law books—with that devilish word, "unconstitutional"; and only a week ago, December 6, the President of the United States also stilettoed the children by brutally (and cunningly) announcing that he would not raise his hand in defense of the children. Flatly he deserted them. Cold-bloodedly he turned his back upon the helplessly poor and ignorant children, using the cheap trickster's excuse that "legislation against child labor must be left to the state legislatures," the coward's side-stepping plea that "state rights must not be interfered with." No wonder he has made a request

that a regular chaplain be appointed to serve on the *Mayflower*, the presidential pleasure boat for the President's week-end pleasure trips in the Chesapeake Bay. Some of the coal used to make steam for the *Mayflower* is stained with blood that has leaked from the worn fingers of small boys working in the Pennsylvania collieries. The powerful Manufacturers' Association, the Associated Industries organization and other bands of cradle snatchers boosted the President into office—for a reason: they whisper to the Supreme Court and get what they whisper for; they are filling the land with lies, filling the land with false warnings, filling the land with treacherous forebodings, filling the land with a baseless fear of the Twentieth Amendment lusting for the child's cheap labor. Thus these profiteering bandits furnish the nails to spike the children on the cross of child wage-slavery—for profits. All these shameless politically pious enemies of the children say, "All such legislation must be left to the state legislatures."

But just *because* many state legislatures have for twenty-five years neglected the children's defense; *because* in some states millions of the nation's children have for twenty-five years been blighted by exposure to the capitalist ruffians' hunt for cheap labor; *because* state legislatures have for twenty-five years of vicious neglect or vicious connivance proved that the state legislative defense is inadequate protection of the children—for these reasons, Congress, the National Legislature, in 1916, passed a law in defense of the nation's poor and ignorant children. This law was destroyed by the Supreme Court. "Unconstitutional." Again the National Legislature went to the rescue of the children, and passed a second law in defense of the children against child labor. Once again the black-gowned, hand-picked, pensioned pets of plutocracy on the Supreme Court bench put the children back on the cross of toil by declaring this second national child-labor law "unconstitutional."

Then the people began to wake up, began to realize that the Constitution must be amended in such manner that the Supreme Court may not interfere with the people's wish that the children shall be protected against the possibility of bribed state legislators and against the reality of brutal profiteers. Hence, the Twentieth Amendment, the Children's Amendment.

But beware. This nation is not wholly awake. True, Congress has submitted the Twentieth Amendment to the states. However, referred thus to the states, it falls into the hands of state legislators; and 36 of the state legislatures must accept the Amendment to make it a part of the federal Constitution. But, remember, state legislatures are, usu-

ally, composed of low-average statesmen; some of them are dull; many of them are ignorant; some of them are cruel; some of them are cheap; some of them were elected with the "help" of great manufacturers; some of them would gladly "deliver the goods" to secure re-election; many of them have the "get-the-money" ethical code of Capitalism; and most of them can easily see that they "need the money."

Five state legislatures have already considered the Twentieth Amendment and four of these have rejected it! The Children's Amendment is in danger. If 9 of the remaining 43 states reject the Amendment it will be lost. Thirty-eight legislatures meet in January. They will consider the Children's Amendment. In every state the campaign is already on—against the Amendment. The millionaires are busy with billions back of them—to defeat the children.

Here is the Amendment:

"Section 1—Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"Section 2—The power of the several States is *unimpaired* by this article except that the operation of the State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress."

Note carefully that the Amendment simply gives Congress power to rescue the children from the blighting of any state legislation that falls below a certain implied decent minimum standard of protection for the children against excessive and premature work.

The battle for this Amendment is worthy of the best fighting spirit that thrills the blood of every decent citizen under the flag. The recent struggle in Massachusetts was as bitter as any ever fought by Southern planters in behalf of chattel slavery before the Civil War. The children lost in Massachusetts. Be warned.

The battle is on. Where do you stand? Silence is consent. This case is simple: The millionaires against the multitude. Every reader of these lines should write to the National Women's Trade Union League of America, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago—for all the facts and full directions for the fight. And do it now. Let us reach the nation's reason with the facts—for the children. Let us drive for the nation's heart—for the children. Let us uproot the wage-slave cross on which the Supreme Court and the profiteers stand ready to crucify the children, helplessly ignorant, helplessly poor, helplessly young.

ORGANIZATION NEWS

ANOTHER STEP FORWARD BY THE C. P. P. A.

The National Committee of the C. P. P. A. met December 12 in Washington. It was a lively meeting. After much spirited discussion of the question of a new party and of the "January" convention it was decided to hold the convention. The date of the "January" convention, however, was changed to February 21. The convention will be held in Chicago.

The National Committee was not unanimous on the matter of forming a new party and of holding a convention. That was natural and not surprising. But—there it is—the significant decision of the Committee to hold a convention in Chicago, the next big step in the evolution of American politics. This decision is, of course, so far, a victory for those in favor of the formation of a new political party.

However, the convention in Chicago February 21 does not guarantee that a new party will be formed. In the February convention of the C. P. P. A. several fundamental questions will come up for consideration; and the discussions, findings and decisions in the convention will indicate pretty clearly—up to that date—the evolution and precision of thought working toward a new era in American politics and industry. A most interesting and profitable intellectual exercise for all who are eager for the new time is that of searching out and carefully formulating just what questions could with greatest benefit occupy the convention's attention,—just what questions should have first place before the convention; and also the formulation of soundly justified answers to these questions. Just such work might well occupy some of the attention of Socialist and labor bodies everywhere. We shall have to think our way forward. Happy hurrahs, very wise "I-told-you-so's" and offensive personalities will not help us in defining our true goal, nor will they carry us far toward such a goal. Just now the labor world needs the utmost freedom of discussion, open-mindedness and loyalty to the workers' interests as these interests are revealed thru industrious thinking. These times demand the best of us, of all of us, in intellectual honesty and high purpose.

The special committee on local arrangements for the Chicago convention of February, selected by the C. P. P. A. at Washington, are as follows: Charles MacGowan, Chairman of the Progressive Party of Illinois; Dr. John W. Lapp; Mrs. Glenn Plumb, widow of the author of the "Plumb plan;" Parley P. Christianson, Farmer-Labor Presidential

candidate in 1920; and Bertha Hale White, National Secretary of the Socialist Party.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was in session in Washington Saturday December 13, all members present, National Chairman, Eugene V. Debs, presiding. The Committee's first work was a careful consideration of the Executive Secretary's very full report. The Secretary's review of the campaign was of special interest as showing such abundant evidence of our party membership's high efficiency in organization work, propaganda, campaign management, election-day service, and as showing also the membership's splendid resources in leadership, tact, modesty, cooperative spirit and eagerness to serve in the work of promoting the progress of the workers. Of great interest also was the Secretary's report to the effect that correspondence from all parts of the country indicated a vastly improved attitude of great numbers of people toward the Socialists and Socialist propaganda. The report was most encouraging as to the increasingly fraternal attitude of the language federations toward our Party. The Party's financial condition was carefully considered. Readers are referred to the article, "Clear the Decks," in this number, for information on the financial affairs of the Party. The Executive Secretary's report on the morale of the Party, based on a large correspondence, is distinctly indicative of a healthy and vigorous condition. Everywhere there is an unalterable determination to protect the organization and identity of the Party under all circumstances and in all situations. There is not the slightest danger of the submergence or absorption of the Socialist Party, ready to serve but not surrender.

The Committee took action on the matter of the Party's being represented in the February convention of the C. P. P. A., voting unanimously that the Socialist Party shall be fully represented in the convention. Pursuant to the regulations entitling each affiliated national political party to three delegates and each state organization of such party two delegates in the convention, the Secretary was instructed to cast the Committee's vote for the following delegates, Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hillquit, and Bertha Hale White; and the Secretary was instructed to urge all Socialist state committees to arrange for a two-member delegation from each state to the C. P. P. A. convention at Chicago, February 21.

Our Executive Committee's call for a special national convention of the Socialist Party will be found under special heading in this issue.

The most inspiring thing in sight to day in American politics is the conspicuous fact that the powerful suggestion of a new deal, a new movement, a new political party, a new and vast effort at self-defense by the multitude,—that this suggestion has penetrated the minds of many millions of American people. There is a new discussion and a new intensity in the discussion of a vast theme thruout the land. That in three or four years so much should be accomplished in penetrating the multitude's consciousness with the new and powerful suggestion and hope—with a consequent growing intention—this is truly wonderful. Those who may incline to get 'cold feet' because, *or if*, everything does not turn out precisely right at Chicago, do not seem to understand how very great is the achievement of successfully hitching the attention of a hundred million people to a new idea in three or four years. The second most encouraging sign in our public life is the perfectly evident alarm of the industrial, financial and political masters of this nation. *They* know the suggestion has gone in deep and that it will not hopelessly die away even if "every thing goes wrong" at Chicago. *The tide is rising.* And it can not be swept back.

"Evolution makes hope scientific."

Dimly, yet with rapidly increasing clearness, the nation is thinking a new thought. "Today's vision is tomorrow's foundation."

CLEAR THE DECKS

G. R. K.

"Let's go ahead!" was the spirit of the National Executive Committee meeting on Saturday, December 13 at Washington, one of the most inspiring meetings the Committee has held in years. The National Chairman of the Committee, Eugene V. Debs, was present and presided. He was full of his old time spirit and eager for the Party's welfare in every way.

With our grand old leader let us hold up our heads. Our debts are now less than they have been for the last twelve years. Think of that. Within the last year one-half of the debts of the Party have been paid off. That is proof of health. There is no wavering in loyalty. The National Executive Secretary's financial Report was an inspiration to the Committee, and when comrade Debs learned of the Party's financial condition, that the comrades' loyalty and the careful management of the National Office had reduced the Party's debts by one-half in the last nine months, he promptly said, "This splendid work must be completed at once. Our Party's decks must be cleared for action. Our remaining debts must be wiped out. The National

Office must no longer be hampered with debts." Comrade Debs urgently requested of the Committee that he be permitted, authorized, to assume the work of wiping out the remainder of the Party's debt—at once.

Thirty years ago comrade Debs voluntarily assumed a 30,000-dollar debt owed by the American Railway Union; took upon himself the heart-breaking task of *earning* the great sum necessary to pay that debt. He did earn that money, every cent of it, by giving hundreds of Chautauqua lectures. And he did pay that debt in full. He would gladly agree to *earn* the money necessary to pay the Socialist Party's remaining debt. But his health will not permit him to do this. However, Comrade Debs feels sure that the comrades will agree with him and co-operate with him in the matter of clearing off this debt. You will hear from him. He says, "I am not at all surprised that one-half the debt has been paid in the last nine months. This Party in its holy eagerness for industrial justice for the multitude is—of course—composed of many of this world's choicest men, women and youths who will not surrender the splendid principles and the precious organization. The Party is dear, very dear to them. It must be—and it will be—in every way protected for the supreme task of the twentieth century. We shall wipe out this debt—right away; face forward unburdened—and go ahead."

Of great importance in the Report was the clear evidence given of the general loyalty to our Party principles, loyalty to our Party organization, and an intense eagerness for and insistence upon its protection against any possible disintegrating influences while we strive, as best we can, to rouse the American workers for their own political self-defense.

Everywhere comrades want things done. The Party will soon surely grow in power to do them. Not only will the debt be soon taken care of, but there is a new enterprise, already well started, to build up a National Office Sustaining Fund with which to meet the ordinary office expenses in a regular budget-plan manner, leaving the regular party dues income for party-building purposes and freeing the members from further solicitation for regular expense purposes. Comrade Debs is eager for a new home for the National Office; and insists that we must soon found and develop a powerful weekly party paper. On all these matters the Committee is in fine accord.

Let us clear the decks, hold up our heads, put on our armor, and go ahead in the grandest work that any band of men and women ever set for themselves. Other things being equal, life is worth while if it is keyed up with great interests, inspired with magnifi-

(Continued on page 16)

Campaign Contributions

(Continued from November Issue)

B. Willett, Demarest, N. J.	2.00
Harry Bernstein, Deep River, Conn.	1.00
H. Taft, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Friend, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	1.00
F. Pottenson, Springfield, Mass.	2.00
B. Geringer, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Joe Guise, Spring Valley, Minn.	1.00
Sam Blander, New London, Conn.	1.00
Sarah Padolf, Jersey Shore, Pa.	1.00
Jacob Spaner, Bridgeport, Conn.	1.00
A. S. Miller, Springfield, Mass.	1.00
J. Pede, Chairman, Camp. Comm. N. Haven, Conn.	13.80
Andy Obed, Jugoslav Br. N. 198, Homer City, Pa.	5.00
R. Lempert, Sioux City, Iowa	5.00
L. Levitt, Detroit Mich.	1.00
Frank Brechar, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
O. Weinstein, Akron, Ohio.	1.00
Unknown, Brownsville, Pa.	2.00
Al Fox, Dayton, Ohio.	2.00
J. Goldstein & M. Garlich, St. Joseph, Mo.	3.00
Max Greenblat, Dayton, Ohio	2.00
I. Goldstein Maynard, Mass.	1.00
B. Singer, Canton, Ohio	1.00
M. Magilensky, Sioux City, Iowa	1.00
H. M. Merrill, State Office, Albany, N. Y.	26.00
Nick Wettlich, Massillon, Ohio	5.00
A. Glickman, Newark, N. J.	1.00
S. Richter, New York, N. Y.	1.00
B. Gertman, Hartford, Conn.	0.50
J. Kligerman, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Kaufman, New York City....	1.00
M. Berman, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
H. Becker, Little Falls, N. J.	5.00
H. Usdansky, San Antonio, Texas	1.00
R. Weissbren, Anniston, Ala.	5.00
Leon Kronrad, Columbia, S. C.	2.50
Sarah Silber, Columbus, Ohio	1.00
Wm. Kleinman, Baltimore, Md.	1.00
H. Yanks, McKeesport, Pa.	1.00
M. Grossman, Plainsville, Pa.	1.00
Albert Sokoloff, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
M. Kasselmann, Shehendoah, Pa.	1.00
F. Feingold, Mansfield Depot, Conn.	2.00
H. Pecheroky, Annapolis, Md.	1.00
B. Borsuck, Alameda, Calif.	1.00
I. Fisher, Bronx, N. Y.	1.00
Joseph Kosowsky, Omaha, Nebr.	1.00
Louis Levin, Uniontown, Pa.	1.00
Sam Rosen, Stanhope, N. J.	2.00
H. Linder, Dayton, Ohio	2.00
Hymen Pecker, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
L. Miller, Watts, Calif.	1.00
Benj. Kramer, Trenton, N. J.	5.00
Nathan Kramer, Trenton, N. J.	10.00
Max Schwartz, Denver, Colo.	2.00
Mrs. M. Goldsmith & L. Prisant, Albany, Ga.	2.00
Hyman Dubowsky, San Diego, Calif.	3.00
H. Gerson & William Koch, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
I. L. Zeff, Paulsboro, N. J.	5.00
Max Karp, Glenside, Pa.	1.00
Miss Lizzie Markow, Kinston, N. C.	1.00
L. Guriev, New Orleans, La.	1.00
D. Hoopes, S. S., S. P. of Penna, Norristown, Pa.	4.40
Leo M. Harkins, Sec. Philadelphia Pa.	12.25
Benj. Elovitz, La Porte, Ind.	2.00
Nathan Weinberg, Keldron, S. D.	5.00
Max Schlossman, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
B. M. Levine, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
National Garment Co, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
Rose Gilman, Maynard, Mass.	1.00
Pauline Gilman, Maynard, Mass.	2.00
Ida Baum, Luling, Texas	1.00
Morris Teverofsky, New Haven, Conn.	1.00
Hyman Winik, Washington, D. C.	1.00
D. Drotner, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
M. Redebaum, Daggett, Mich.	1.00
Unknown, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Rubin Heifetz, New York City	10.00
L. Rubinfire, Los Angeles, Calif.	2.00
Joe Margolin & A. Gadie, Los Angeles, Calif.	2.00
J. Menco, Puente, Calif.	1.00
J. T. Knight, F. Hamblin & J. M. Todd, Eugene, Okla.	3.00
T. J. Lee, South Pasadena, Calif.	1.00
Wm. Unikel, Salt Lake City, Utah	2.00
J. Neiborn Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
M. Hirsch, Windsor, Vt.	2.00
H. Helman, Colton, Calif.	1.00
A. Cohen, Alameda, Calif.	1.00
L. Meisel San Francisco, Calif.	1.00
M. Zuckerman, New York City	5.00
N. Sirkin & Chas. Sirkin, M. D. Jersey City	4.00
Myer Bipson, New Bedford, Mass.	1.00
S. Steinberg, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00
M. Davidow, Wilkinsburg, Pa.	1.00
B. Cnait, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
I. Baron, New Haven, Conn.	1.00
Max Sack, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
J. Jacobson, Racine, Wis.	1.00
Ralph Glass, Hebron, Conn.	2.00
J. Dangler, San Diego, Calif.	1.00
G. Goldman, Hartford, Conn.	1.00
H. White, Hollywood, Calif.	1.00
M. Firstenberg, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
Louis Pross, Miami, Ariz.	3.00
Josephine Resh, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
Ben. Palsky, Fostoria, Ohio	1.00
S. Bozanovics, Chicago, Ill.	3.50
Jacob Lefkowitz, Richmond, Va.	2.00
Michael Yancovitch, Bronx, N. Y.	1.00
B. Abel, Providence, R. I.	10.00
S. Silberman, Canton, Ohio	1.00
I. Nelson, Charlotte, N. C.	1.00
Louis Coplan, Baltimore, Md.	2.00
S. M. Werner, New Castle, Pa.	1.00
Mrs. L. Kaufman, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
Henry Wolfson, Springfield, Ill.	2.00
Ole Arilson, Mt. Pleasant, Utah	2.00
Ph. Warlin, Stelton, N. J.	2.00
B. Miller, Kingston, N. Y.	1.00
Mrs. B. Wiener, Tacoma, Wash.	5.00
S. Trapkin, Little Falls, N. J.	6.00
Jacob Olman, Los Angeles, Calif.	1.00
A. Cohen, Providence, R. I.	2.00
Boris Gotnick, Newport, R. I.	3.00
J. Plantowsky, Galveston, Texas	1.00
M. Arons, North Branch, N. J.	1.00
H. Zender, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
D. Sosnow, Bethlehem, Pa.	3.00
Abraham Rome, Allston, Mass.	2.00
J. Leonard, Peekskill, N. Y.	3.00
Phillip Bernstein, Santa Ana, Calif.	2.00

Official Business

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Hotel Hamilton, Washington, D. C.,
December 13, 1924.

Meeting called to order at 10 o'clock.

Present: Morris Hillquit, New York; James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania; Leo M. Harkins, New Jersey; John M. Collins, Illinois; George E. Roewer, Jr., Massachusetts; Joseph W. Sharts, Ohio; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Bertha Hale White, Executive Secretary.

Maurer elected Chairman.

The following Agenda was submitted by the Executive Secretary:

National Office Report—Finance and Management.

Review of the National Campaign.

Campaign Financial Report.

National Convention.

Literature.

Language Federations.

Party Press.

Young People's Socialist League.

Communications.

Reading of Executive Report.

Motion by Hillquit: That the Executive Secretary make a personal tour with the object of increasing the number of pledges to the Sustaining Fund. *Carried.*

Motion by Roewer: That the proposed budget in Secretary's report be accepted as a basis of operation for the National Office. *Carried.*

Reports submitted from the following federations: Bohemian, Finnish, Italian, Jewish and Jugo-Slav. *Received.*

Discussion of steps necessary to protect the Socialist Party's interest in the estate of John H. Blain, recently deceased.

Motion by Collins: That the Executive Secretary is authorized to retain counsel and look after the matter. *Carried.*

Review and financial report of campaign read.

Action deferred until afternoon session.

Adjourned to meet at 2:30.

AFTERNOON SESSION

December 13, 1924

All members present.

National Chairman Eugene V. Debs presiding.

Comrade Debs asked the authorization of the committee to undertake personally to raise a fund sufficient to pay off all indebtedness upon the National Office.

Motion by Hillquit: That Comrade Debs be authorized and requested to raise a fund to cover the debt and more if possible, and that special efforts be made to extend the Sustaining Fund. *Carried.*



NOTICE

TO PARTY MEMBERS

Under Article VI, Section 11, of the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee will formulate the agenda for the National Convention to be held in Chicago on February 21, 1925.

Propositions for consideration of the National Convention must reach the National Office not later than February 1, 1925.



As a preliminary step, members of the committee cancelled old loans and other obligations of the National Office to the amount of \$1,139.00.

Discussion of convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action to convene in Chicago on February 21, 1925.

Motion by Hillquit: That the National Executive Committee be represented and the State Committees urged to be represented at the National Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Chicago, on February 21, 1925.

Motion by Hillquit: That a special convention of the party be called to meet in Chicago on February 21, 1925. *Carried.* Berger voting No.

Motion by Hillquit: That the National Executive Committee meet in Chicago at 10:00 A. M., February 20, 1925. *Carried.*

Delegates of the National Socialist Party to the C. P. P. A. convention on February 21st:—*Nominations:*

Eugene V. Debs

Morris Hillquit

Bertha Hale White.

Motion by Berger: That the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the three names. *Carried unanimously.*

Communications:

From Herbert M. Merrill, reporting action by State Executive Committee of New York, urging that the party convention to be held in connection with the convention of the C. P. P. A. be called in accordance with constitutional provisions. *Disposed of by previous action.*

From German Branch in Detroit, reference appointment of State and Local officers. *Received.*

From Charles Robson, Secretary of Local Detroit, suggesting discontinuance of Socialist World and issuance of a party bulletin. The Secretary was instructed to inform Local Detroit that the plan offered would prove more expensive and a less satisfactory medium of communication than a regular monthly publication such as the Socialist World.

From Ida C. Pilatowsky, organizer 5th Assembly District, Kings County, N. Y., under instructions of the branch, suggesting that the National Office issue another series of Short Message leaflets.

Motion by Collins: That the Secretary be authorized to issue a new edition of the Short Message leaflets, in her discretion. *Carried.*

From Emil Herman, reporting deficit on Washington campaign work and requesting an appropriation to cover it.

Motion by Collins: That the Secretary reply that the committee is not justified in making appropriations for campaign

deficits under the present circumstances. *Carried.*

From Ruby Herman, submitting manuscript dealing with election abuses and suggesting that the committee purchase same from the author and authorize its immediate publication by the National Office.

Motion by Collins: That the National Office is without funds available for this purpose. *Carried.*

From James D. Graham, State Secretary of Montana, suggesting the appointment of a committee to study the farmer question and make recommendations to the next regular convention. *Action referred for future action.*

From William E. Coleman, State Secretary of Wisconsin, with suggestions for strengthening the Socialist Party through the Socialist press. *Received.*

From Luther McIntyre and Mrs. Julia Ward Pennington, suggesting plans for a permanent national headquarters. *Received.*

From W. R. Snow, State Secretary of Illinois, on formation of Labor Party. *Received.*

Communications from the following State Secretaries on condition of the

Wanted at the National Office: the names and addresses of boys and girls who are working their way thru high-school. Important.

movement and organization possibilities in their respective states: Emma Henry, Indiana; O. A. Kennedy, Mountain States District; James D. Graham, Montana; C. H. Cammans, Idaho; Robert Lee-mans, New Jersey; Wm. E. Coleman, Wisconsin; C. A. Bushnell, Colorado; W. R. Snow, Illinois; Wm. Catton, Kentucky; James L. Smiley, Maryland; Herbert M. Merrill, New York; Oscar K. Edelman, Ohio; John F. Higgins, W. Va.; Ross Magill, Kansas; Isabel King, California.

Y. P. S. L.

Motion by Harkins: That the Y. P. S. L. matter, at the request of Roewer, unable to remain until the close of the session, be deferred to the next meeting. *Carried.*

Motion by Collins: That Comrade Hillquit be appointed representative of the National Executive Committee at the National Convention of the Y. P. S. L. to be held in New York City on January 1st. *Carried.*

Adjourned to meet in Chicago, February 20, 1925.

Bertha Hale White,
Secretary.

ANGELO CREO

by

THERESA MALKIEL

In Memory of

Angelo Creo who died in a New York Hospital Thursday, Nov. 27th, 1924, was one of the many martyrs who fell victims to the war hysteria and its consequent persecution.

A member of the Socialist Party in local Albany he with three other comrades of the same local spent almost two years in jail. Sent there for the distribution of a leaflet calling for peace on earth, good will to men.

His care and protection of the older comrades in jail with him made Creo beloved to all those who knew of his devotion and many sacrifices made in order to lighten the burden of the others.

Released from the penitentiary Angelo felt a desire to learn more of the class struggle theoretically in order to serve his class the better actually.

He was the most zealous student in the full time class in the Rand School which he joined upon his arrival in New York. Every free minute of his time he gave to the New York Call, doing field work among the trade unions.

As a member of the Barbers' Union he served the organization faithfully in time of peace and threw

himself enthusiastically into the work during the last strike. His wonderful work won his recognition and, though a new comer in New York, he was unanimously chosen organizer of his local. At this post he worked day and night until carried to the hospital. He waited too long, medical aid could no longer save—he died two days later.

In him the Labor and Socialist movement beheld an idealist of bygone days, a devotee of the type of Ben Hanford, a gentle, loving comrade like our own Gene, a bitter enemy of capitalism and its consequent ills, determined not to stop or stoop before any obstacle in his quest of human redemption. Since his type is becoming extinct in our midst, his loss is the greater. Let us then bear in mind that out there—in Cedar Grove Cemetery, Long Island, in a modest grave lies buried a powerful soul. He died that humanity may live—his work and devotion should serve as a beacon of light—an example to all the comrades he left behind.

A SPECIAL REQUEST: If you have a copy of the Socialist National Campaign Book for 1912 and can spare it at once for the use of the National Office, it would be accepted with the sincerest gratitude. Please give this your attention—won't you?

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNMENTAL POWER IN SWEDEN

By Richard Lindstrom, Stockholm

It was in 1917 that Swedish Social Democracy for the first time partook in the responsibility of government, when after a great victory at the polls of the Left, of which the Social Democrats formed the largest contingent; four of our adherents entered as members of a ministry, the majority of which was Liberal. This Liberal-Socialistic Government carried through universal suffrage as also the eight hour working day. The Ministry of 1917, however, split on an important question of taxation in 1920. The Social Democrats in the Government advocated a communal system of taxation, equalizing the burden of the taxes, and laying them on those most capable of bearing them. Since the Liberals would not agree to this principle re the distribution of taxation, the Liberal-Socialistic Government went out in March 1920, and was succeeded by the first purely socialistic ministry in Sweden under *Hjalmar Branting*. Thus this was the first Socialist Ministry in Europe that had resulted from a peaceful parliamentary struggle. Branting's first cabinet succeeded in steering the question of communal taxation in the direction of a correct solution. The Government gained enormously in importance owing to arranging official investigations on a large scale of industrial problems of the democracy and those of socialization. By these means a socialistic policy was developed. This Labour Government also proved that though mostly composed of men from the rank and file of the working classes, it yet was capable of mastering in an eminent degree all the delicate intricacies of administration. It plainly proved that the Swedish working classes can manage the government of their own land and are capable of building the Swedish nation.

The elections of the autumn of 1920 were unfavorable to the Social Democrats. The party lost 11 seats in the Second Chamber, which sank from 86 to 75. The government in office that had previously been one without a majority, deemed the support it could command in the Diet insufficient and therefore resigned. It was succeeded by an unpolitical government of office-bearers, no unnatural consequence of the political situation that gave no party a majority in the Diet.

In 1921, when electing members of the Second Chamber subsequent to the dissolution of the chamber in situ, universal suffrage held sway for the first time in Sweden. The Social Democrats gained a brilliant victory, returning 99 candidates. The Communists gained seven seats so that the collective strength of Labour in the Second Chamber was

106 out of a total amounting to 230. Therefore but a short stage to a decided majority. Simultaneously in the First Chamber 52 Social Democrats had seats and there was one Communist, the total number of members being 150.

The position of the Social Democrats as the most important party in our country was still further accentuated by these elections. Alone it could form no majority in the Chamber, the tongue of the balance being in the hands of the Liberals in both Chambers, they holding 38 seats in the First Chamber and 41 in the Second. The Left majority was thus patent. In such a state of things the resignation of the placement and the substitution of a Left Government was a natural consequence. The Social Democrats formed the largest party of the Left, and therefore expectations naturally turned in their direction. Nor did the party hesitate. There were so many important questions unsolved concerning the labouring classes and the lower middle-class for which the Liberals might be deemed to feel interest that it was plainly a duty for the Democrats to take office. In order to develop and safeguard the newly won democracy and its social-political conquests, it was highly important that for the second time the Social Democrats should take up the burden of a government without a majority. Hjalmar Branting's second ministry was formed in October 1921.

A severe economical crisis at this period oppressed the kingdom of Sweden. Close upon 200,000 workmen were unemployed, an enormous number in a country so thinly populated as ours. The first care of the government was to attempt to protect these unemployed from bitter distress. It succeeded in obtaining from the Diet of 1922 a grant of 102,000,000 Swedish Crowns, to be used for relief works and direct support. In this manner want in its worst form could be kept at bay, on the whole from the homes of the workmen.

Simultaneously it was necessary to see that the budget balanced, that the value of our coinage was kept up and improved, and that economic reconvalence was encouraged by wise intervention. The Social Democratic Minister of Finance, *F. V. Thorsson* — originally a shoemaker — solved the problems of his post so well, and managed the finances of the State in such a manner that both by friends and opponents he was dubbed "the great economist of the kingdom." The finances of the State were rendered normal in a firm and wise manner, the Swedish "crown" soon recovered its

gold value, which in due time resulted in payment in gold becoming the key-stone of the work of reinstating the gold standard. The entire economic curative process continued in spite of serious difficulties and much sacrifice. That among the European countries Sweden, at the present day, holds such an advantageous position concerning her economical situation, is to an essential degree owing to the social democratic policy.

In the depressing economical situation that it became necessary to surmount, both as regards the entire domestic economy of the kingdom and chiefly in the interests of the working classes, there were, of course, on the whole no other social political measures that were possible, or advisable, except the relief of the unemployed. As this period was marked by huge conflicts in the labour market, the fact that the Social Democrats were possessed of the administrative power in the community played no slight role to the advantage of the work-people for the moment suffering such hard economical straits.

From these labour conflicts there arose conditions that were politically troublesome to the Government. The bourgeoisie and middle-class parties whose willingness to vote grants for the relief of the unemployed had been remarkable and done them all honour, now declared that no relief should be paid to workmen members of a Trade Union that openly supported a conflict, whether this struggle was caused by lock-out or strike, or if the unemployed for some length of time previous to the outbreak of the strife had been out of work. The principle of the community remaining neutral in labour contests would, according to the opinion held by the bourgeoisie, be violated by any other method of procedure. The Social Democrats who, naturally, not for one moment thought of employing the money granted by the community in support of labour conflicts, could however not agree to the plainly incorrect principle to which the bourgeoisie adhered, as then every assistance would be denied to a number of people who, owing to the fact of their having been thrown out of work for lack of employment some time before, were in no wise answerable for the conflicts raging. The bourgeoisie, however, succeeded in making their opinion paramount and, as a consequence, the Social Democratic Government resigned.

II.

The government now fell to the lot of the most numerous party of the Bourgeoisie, *the Right*. Largely owing to the conduct of the Liberals there now arose the curious situation that the Swedish nation that at the recent elections absolutely trended to the Left, was now to be ruled by a Right Government in the minority. Under *Trygger's* leadership

this ministry took office in April 1923. The chief point in its programme was the question of settling the military defence, which for some lengthy period had been investigated by a parliamentary committee appointed by the liberal-socialistic government of 1919.

Trygger's government had its proposal anent the defense of the kingdom before the Diet of 1924, and proposed certain retrenchments compared to the existing state of things, but it was far from being so favourable to partial disarmament as the majority of the Swedes demand. The Social Democrat now advanced a far more radical measure which would at once do away with half the army, reduce the period of practice for the infantry to 140 days (the Government had proposed -95-225) and bring the ordinary budget for the Defense down from 140 to a normal 85 millions. With due regard to the geographical position of Sweden, the Social Democrats proposed keeping the Navy at approximately the same standard, and the further development of aviation. There was no question of complete disarmament, but of a radical reduction to the utmost limit necessary with due regard to the position of Sweden and her international obligation.

In the Second Chamber the social democratic proposal gained the day, whereas the First Chamber came to a decision approaching that of the government. As no coadjustment appeared possible between these two stand-points the result was plus minus nought, and no positive decision could be made. The entire question was postponed. For *Trygger's* government this issue was certain defeat. The parliamentary consequence should have been either a dissolution of the Diet, or the resignation of the Ministry. Mr. *Trygger* chose neither expedient. He may possibly be defended as regards this action owing to a peculiar stipulation in the Swedish Statutes. The Second Chamber is automatically re-elected every fourth year. It may be dissolved, but when the ordinary election term comes round, elections again take place, even if the dissolution of the Chamber has recently occurred. The year 1924 was an ordinary election term. Had the Chamber been dissolved at the end of May, two elections would have taken place with a very short interval between them. A special Diet would therefore have been summoned for the solution of the question of defence, after which this Second Chamber would be dissolved. Such a decision would only by a few months precede that of the Diet formed as a consequence of the general election. Considering all this there were certain reasons for Mr. *Trygger's* ministry awaiting the issue of the ordinary elections.

(Concluded in January issue)

THE CONDITIONS OF A NEW PARTY

By Norman Thomas

We believe that an effective new political party is possible. It is certainly immensely desirable. A new party will not be created unless men desire it. Nevertheless, it cannot be born merely out of desire. The "hope which creates out of its own wreck the thing it contemplates" is magnificent but not always fruitful. We must face facts. Now those facts are by no means discouraging. Four and a half million votes in these United States for La Follette, one hundred thousand of them in the solid South, mean something. Here is no wreck of hopes. Whatever may be the position of the A. F. of L. or of the national farmers' organizations, a new party is bound to be formed. The question is: shall that new party be formed with the individual citizen as the primary unit or as a labor party controlled primarily by organized farmers and workers? Some light may be shed on this question by a consideration of the essential conditions for an effective party.

The two most essential questions have to do with the philosophy of the movement and with its economic basis. Without both a philosophy and an economic basis a new party will hardly be worth the forming.

No party in the United States can make headway on the basis of advocacy of a miscellaneous lot of reforms however desirable those reforms may be in themselves. The Republican Party lived after 1856 because with reference to slavery it had a program which was fundamental, a philosophy of the rigid restriction of slavery to the slave states, which the South was quite right in thinking would be fatal to slavery. The Progressive Party in 1912 had no such paramount issue, nor any really fundamental philosophy. It was therefore easy to make it the football of personal ambition and political intrigue. One or other of the old parties has always made enough concession in response to popular demand for a specific reform to pull away voters who are not educated to see specific reform as part of a greater philosophy.

The old parties today have a common philosophy. It is a deification of nationalism and a blind faith in the sanctity of private property, and the supremacy of the profit motive. A new party to be virile must oppose to this a philosophy of humanity above property and of production for use rather than profit. Such a philosophy was implied in the progressive platform of 1924, but its specific planks were not during the campaign adequately presented as part

of one whole, but as more or less isolated issues. A new party may be somewhat slow in making its philosophy as complete and articulate as Socialists and other radicals desire, but unless it has some big organizing principle, some conception to fire the imagination and co-ordinate particular demands, Socialists and radicals will do well to keep clear of it. It will not endure. It may hinder rather than advance the formation of the party we desire.

Moreover, a new party to be effective must be based in the economic interests of the workers by hand and brain, in farms and industries, as against private monopolists, absentee owners, wasters, and superfluous middleman. It is simple nonsense to say that the interests of these groups are the same. Profit takers and workers, monopolists of natural resources and consumers, do not have identical interests. On the whole the old parties represent business and business interests. The last election proved it. As between big and little business there is no rational basis for forming a new party. Little business is often more wasteful than big business. It is often more opposed to industrial democracy. On the other hand, farmers and workers do have interests wholly opposed to the private monopolization of natural resources and to our present industrial autocracy. If a new party is based avowedly on their interests and controlled primarily by their economic organizations it will represent something real. It will have organization to oppose to the well-built machines of the old parties. It will be less easy to manipulate it for personal advantage or to bribe its members away by the offer of some little reform. Such a party, as the British Labor Party shows, may start with an undeveloped political and economic philosophy and inevitably move towards a constructive, radical program.

There will be a strong temptation for progressives impatient for immediate results to form a party along individualistic reformist lines. That party will fail. A labor party must not be exclusive. It must give room to the individual of every class who accepts its program. Experience shows that individuals may honestly prefer the common good to class interest. But the party for which we are working must be in the fullest and richest sense a labor party or it will scarcely be worth the founding. We are confident that even now there are labor unions and farmers' organizations—not necessarily national organizations—which are ready for effective political action. If this is not the case the Socialist Party better continue on its own lines, and progressives, who are afraid of the word "socialism" better continue such work as they can find to do until the day of a new party dawns. The day of that dawning is close at hand.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman,
Terre Haute, Ind.

BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary,
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY
Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT
Aarne J. Parker, National Director,
64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Victor L. Berger, 980 First St., Milwaukee, Wis.

John M. Collins, 839 N. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Leo M. Harkins, 1325 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.

James H. Maurer, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.

Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

Joseph W. Sharts, 805 Commercial Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

Call for a Special National Convention

December 16, 1924.

To All State Secretaries of the Socialist Party

Dear Comrades:

Under Article VI, Section 1 and 2, of the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls a special convention to be held in Chicago, Illinois, Saturday, February 21, 1925.

Your attention is called to the following provisions from Article VI of the National Constitution:

"Section 3: The representation at each National Convention other than provided for in Section 4, shall be the State Secretary of each state, one delegate from each organized state having a membership of 1,000 or less, and one additional delegate for every additional thousand members, or a major fraction thereof, based upon the sale of dues stamps during the year preceding the National Convention.

"Section 4: Paragraph 3: Delegates to the National Convention must be resident members of the state from which they present credentials, and must be members of the Socialist Party for at least three years.

"Section 6: Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected by referendum vote of the members."

Under Section 3 your state is entitled to—delegates, including yourself as State Secretary.

A survey of the financial situation of the National organization made it clear to the National Executive Committee that the National Office could not undertake to finance another convention so soon after the one held in July. To make such an attempt would necessitate a general call for a convention fund. Under the circumstances, it appears wiser to leave the field clear to the state organizations, and no doubt you will find little difficulty in raising an adequate fund, particularly if no financial appeals are sent to the general membership by the National Office.

The purpose of our special convention is to consider the course to be followed by the Socialist Party in whatever plans may be considered by the national convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and submitted for acceptance or rejection by its affiliated organizations.

The convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action will be held at the same time and place, Chicago, February 21, 1925. Each State Committee of an affiliated political party is entitled to two delegates. You will, of course, receive a formal official call from the Conference officers at Washington. It is earnestly desired that all state organizations of the Socialist Party be fully represented at the Conference convention.

We have sent an up-to-date list of all state organizations to the secretary of the Conference, and should you fail to receive blank credentials after the formal call has been issued, kindly notify this office.

You will be advised of arrangements for both conventions as they are made.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White,
Executive Secretary.

CLEAR THE DECKS

(Continued from page 8)

cent intentions, and is glorified with the affections of a profound and wide fraternalism. Let us go on, scorning the world's temptations to freeze up in the petty little littleness of selfishness. The stars belong to those who can enjoy them. Our movement is hitched to the star of freedom for the workers. Life is good. Come on!

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Subscription Price: \$1.00 a year. Single Copies 10c
All matter intended for publication must reach this office not later than the 1st of the month preceding date of issue.
Published Monthly at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

by the

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

BERTHA HALE WHITE Bus. Mgr.