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THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

By Eugene V. Debs

The progressive tendencies in American politics are the outgrowth of the final stages of American capitalism and reflect the political awakening of the American working class.

These tendencies, despite all attempts through the blind stupidity of the workers and the covert machinations of their enemies to thwart or misdirect them, will inevitably lead to and result in the formation of an American labor party.

When?

I do not know. I hope soon. But soon or late, it will come. That I know if I have learned anything at all about the operation of the resistless forces that are centralizing capital, socializing industry, organizing and arraying the workers against their exploiting masters, and compelling them more and more to take the initiative in the intensifying struggle growing out of their antagonistic economic interests, which can end only with their complete industrial emancipation.

This struggle is political as well as economic and will, because it must, be fought out accordingly, and this can only be done when labor has a political party as well as an economic union of its own to express its interests, declare its aims, and develop its power to fight its battles and achieve its victory.

This does not mean that a labor party shall consist exclusively of workers but it does mean that all who enter its ranks do so with the understanding that it is a *labor party*, not a middle-class party, not a reform party, nor a progressive party (of which the republican and democratic parties are shining ex-

amples) but an open-and-above-board labor party, standing squarely on a labor platform, and marshalling its forces to fight labor's political battles for its industrial freedom.

Most earnestly do I hope such a party will result from the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held at Chicago beginning February 21st in pursuance of the agreement of the Conference to follow up the progressive campaign with a permanent party organization.

To be frank I shall have to confess, not without reluctance, that I have not the faith I should like to have in a consummation so devoutly to be wished. But whatever the outcome I shall not be disappointed. I have long since gotten over that and learned how to wait.

We can have no effective labor party without the backing and support of the labor unions. That is a fact without question. The present leaders of the unions, strange as it certainly appears, are almost to a man opposed to a labor party. In this they are in entire accord with the capitalist masters and labor exploiters.

The hope for an American labor party lies not in the official labor leaders but in the rank and file, and until the latter are aroused, insist upon and compel independent political action, no such a craft can be successfully launched upon the foul and stagnant waters of American politics.

If a bona fide labor party cannot be organized at Chicago then I hope that no party at all will issue from that conference. Better far no party than a

nondescript imitation of one, composed of so-called progressive and reform elements, more or less muddled, discordant, and wholly lacking in clear aim, definite object, and concerted purpose.

A "Third party" of such a nature would at best align the dwindling "little interests" against the triumphant "big interests," seek to patch up and prolong the present corrupt and collapsing capitalist system, and failing utterly to effect any material change or achieve any substantial benefit would finally fizzle out and add one more to the list of "third party" fiascos.

A political party to succeed, for good or evil, must express, in the main, identical economic interests, without which there is no foundation to build or stand upon. A third party at this advanced stage of our industrial and social development, unless it stood expressly for labor, would be lacking such a foundation and consequently could not endure. Only a labor party can now be organized as a third party with any hope whatever of permanence and achieving its object.

A political party today must stand for labor and the freedom of labor, or it must stand for capital and the exploitation of labor. It cannot possibly stand for both any more than it could for both freedom and slavery.

I want to see the workers of this nation rise in the might of their intelligence and demand a party of their own, free, eternally free from the paralyzing putridities of the parties of their silk-hatted, wealth-inflated, job-owning and labor-exploiting masters—a party with a backbone and the courage to stand up without apology and proclaim itself a *Labor Party*, clean, confident of its own inherent powers, bearing proudly the union label in token of its fundamental conquering principle of industrial and political solidarity, and challenging the whole world of capitalism to contest the right of this nation to own its own industries, to control its own economic and social life, and the right of the toiling and producing masses to own their own jobs, to enjoy the fruits of their own labor, and to be the masters of their own lives.

I am suspicious of those who admit that we must have a labor party but object to having it called by its right name.

It should be a matter of pride and certainly not of shame to a labor party to have its true title nailed to its masthead.

If not, why not? Shall we fear to keep out many who would otherwise join? That is the very reason the party should be known for what it actually is as well as what it actually stands for. We must bear no false label, carry no false banner, nor seek support under any false pretense whatsoever.

We must stand avowedly, face front, for labor—for the people who produce, who render needed service, and who are useful and necessary to the world.

We need not designate both industrial labor and farm labor in naming our party. Both are *labor*, alike useful, productive and necessary, subject to the same oppression and the same exploitation, and bound to be united in political solidarity in the same political party.

It is a fact as amazing as it is humiliating that the workers of the United States, the most advanced industrial nation on the globe, are practically the only ones who have no political party of their own, being content to give their support to the corrupt and enslaving parties of their masters, and meekly bowing their necks to the yoke of injunction rule.

Every other nation large and small with scarcely an exception has its labor party in full panoply fighting its political battles for emancipation.

Even Mexico, so long reviled by our one hundred per cent morons as the land of "greasers" and peonage, has its militant labor movement to shame us into getting into line with the advancing columns of International Labor's Grand Army of Emancipation.

Let me make it clear that I am not wanting another socialist party organized. We already have one and that is enough. Neither do I want another capitalist party organized, having already two, more than enough.

A middle-class party, by whatever name, would still be a capitalist party, for while it might champion "little interests" against "big interests," with a sop to labor, it would still stand for the capitalist system and the perpetuation of wage-slavery.

If a genuine labor party is organized at Chicago I shall not expect the platform to go the limit of radical demands but shall be satisfied with a reasonable statement of labor's rights and interests as well as its duties and responsibilities, doubting not that with the progress of the party its platform will in due time embrace every essential feature of the working class program for deliverance from industrial servitude.

The Socialist party can, should and I have no doubt will join such a party whole-heartedly, becoming an integral part of its structure, reserving, however, its autonomy unimpaired and using all its powers and functions in building up, equipping, promoting and directing the general party.

To this end the Socialist party must stand fearless and erect, inflexible and uncompromising for the working class upon the basis of the class struggle

Continued on page 4, column 2)

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNMENTAL POWER IN SWEDEN

By Richard Lindstrom, Stockholm
(Continued from December issue)

In their manifestos re this general election all parties placed the question of defence in the foremost rank. It soon became apparent that the sympathies of the nation were decidedly in favour of reduction. Even the circles of the Government and the Right party became affected, and doubts were entertained as to the possibility of strengthening the parliamentary position by sounding so loudly their hopes of militaristic defence. Then the leader of the government started a new catchword. The election was chiefly a question who was for and who against Social Democracy. The actual and important question was laid aside for a combative parole issued by crude party agitation.

However, nothing could hinder Mr. Trygger's being defeated. Certainly his Right party gained two seats and raised their number of votes by 11,527; certainly the Peasants' Union, so closely allied to the Right party, obtained three new seats in spite of a slight decrease of votes, but the party that gained the victory was undoubtedly Social Democracy with 5 new mandates and 104 seats in the Second Chamber, reckoning 725,844 votes and an increase in their total figure of 46,658. With the five Communists, Labour now commands 109 seats of a total of 230. A new advance towards absolute majority.

But the majority was not obtained. The tongue of the balance is now the so-called Liberal National party, a lower middle-class faction that is favourable to reform and especially re the question of partial disarmament is inclined to meet the wishes of Social Democracy. There is a clear majority for a sweeping partial disarmament. On the side of partial disarmament there are 1,040,600 votes, while on the side of the Government but 651,186. These figures speak for themselves.

Mr. Trygger appeared to be inclined to disregard this clear and patent result of the election. He persistently adhered to his position of the last days of the election, that it was a question of combating Social Democracy more than anything else and appeared totally regardless of the fact that at any rate the members of the Liberal National party were in no wise willing that Mr. Trygger should represent their cause as against Social Democracy, while the newspapers that were the organs of the Right encouraged the Government to remain in office. The question of defence, which would otherwise have caused Mr. Trygger much trouble in the Diet, was

to be adjourned till after the conference of the League of Nations on disarmament. However, both the social democrats and liberal national party took care to let Mr. Trygger be fully aware that he was no longer desirable as head of the government ruling over the Swedish nation. He was plainly given to understand that the result of the elections demanded a rapid Left solution of the defense question, and that these two parties deemed they were able to keep up a decided majority re partial disarmament in the Diet. Mr. Trygger then yielded and resigned on October 14th.

Hjalmar Branting's *third ministry* was then formed. It is purely social democratic. It has no majority in either Chamber, but has the support of the most important party in the Diet, and on certain questions of vital importance it has the prospect of the support of the middle-class Left. First and foremost on the question of the extent and amount of the undertakings of the country re defense. In all probability the Social Democratic Government will succeed in laying before the Diet of 1925 a radical proposal for partial disarmament that in all essentials will be approved. Partial disarmament holds the first place in the programme of the Government.

In its exposition of the programme of Mr. Branting's ministry, the question of Sweden's relation to the Geneva Protocol is also mentioned. It is stated that Sweden's joining it cannot be decided until it is patent to what degree the plan gains general adherence from other states. The Government proclaims a close investigation of the entire problem. The final decision naturally is reserved for the representatives of the nation. In the exposition it is not stated but may well be taken for granted that England's attitude towards the whole of this important affair will be of decisive significance for the position taken by Sweden.

Finally, in the exposition given by the Government, the continuation of the social work of reform is announced. In this also support may be relied on from the Liberal National Party. Close upon this comes the question of unemployment as also the great land problems. Certain questions re taxation as yet unsolved must call for special attention during the coming years. The Swedish legislation re the 8-hour day of work is as yet only of a provisional character, and the present law is no longer valid after 1926. One task for the Social Democratic Government will be to attempt to have this reform

ratified definitely and finally, since it is of such infinite importance for the working classes.

This programme of reform is in no wise revolutionary. But it is a clear programme of advancement both politically and socially, including all that can be gained under the present parliamentary conditions in Sweden. It also forms a natural continuation of the work that with such brilliant results was seriously started in this country in 1918.

The third Branting Government, from the very first, will follow a cautious policy. Its position being what it is, we can with almost absolute certainty assume that a Right government would be in power in case the Social Democratic Ministry were forced to resign. Even if such a ministry were unable to carry out any reactionary measures re legislation its holding administrative power would, nevertheless, greatly impede the efforts of the working classes and the democrats. The administration of the recent Trygger Government is a sufficient proof of this. Doubtless it is to the advantage of Swedish Labour that a Social Democratic Ministry can remain in power so as to hinder this, even if the reform policy of this Labour Government is forced to observe moderation. The main point is that the working classes of Sweden fully understand this situation. They ask nothing out of reason from their men who are in the Cabinet. Two preceding Social Democratic Governments have partly been in the same quandary. Communists have attempted to cast suspicion on Social Democracy because in many instances it has been forced to carry on a cautious policy. The satellites of Moscow have been completely unsuccessful. At the recent elections they lost two seats. The Communists now hold but five seats in the Second Chamber, in spite of social democratic coalition policy and social democratic governments holding no majority.

The men of the new ministry are well-known for

years past, and stand high in the estimation of the working classes of our country. As head there is *Hj. Branting*, honoured, admired, and beloved far beyond the sphere of Social Democracy. The other ministers are: Finance—*F. V. Thorsson*, Communications—*Viktor Larsson*, Social Work—*Gustav Moller*, Defence—*Per Albin Hansson*, Agriculture—*Sven Linders*. These are all men who have risen direct from the working classes and are Swedes of eminent capacity and great political acumen. The Minister for Foreign Affairs *Osten Undèn*, the Minister for Public Worship and Education *Olof Olsson*, the Minister of Commerce *Richard Sandler*, and the Minister without portfolio *Ernst Wigforss* are socialistic academicians who since their earliest youth have belonged to the social democratic party. All the men now mentioned have for upwards of twenty, thirty, or even forty years been attached to the party and carried on active work therein. Relatively a newcomer is the Minister of Justice, *Torsten Nothin*, one of the cleverest lawyers in our country, who in several conflicts has given proof of his social democratic convictions. As an expert in all questions anent land he will be of great use to the Government in days to come. Outside the party there is the minister without portfolio, *K. S. Lewinson*. In this ministry he is exclusively to play the role of expert in administration and legal specialist, and in these domains he has already proved he possesses eminent capacity.

The Government is forceful and does the party credit, as the elite of our party are represented there. Furthermore, it can rejoice in possessing the complete confidence of the working classes. Our friends all over the world may rest assured that it will side with MacDonald and Stauning in working for peace and socialism.

RESUME

It is both true and paradoxical that success or failure to organize an American Labor Party in Chicago in February will actually increase the need of the Socialist Party, as a distinct party. Any let-up or suspension of party activities at this time, "waiting till after the February convention," is a dangerous mistake. To wait till after the convention suggests that one does not clearly understand what the Socialist Party has been, what it is and is to be; what it has done and what it is yet to do; and seems to suggest also that one does not clearly understand the purpose of the February convention.

One of the greatest things you could do for the Socialist Party just now would be to become a part of greatly increased party activity.

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and wage the war against capitalism for the liberation of labor from its age-old bondage.

In the event of failure to organize a labor party with which we can consistently affiliate, I shall hope and strive for the continuance of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and its sessions and deliberations from time to time until it shall finally culminate, as it eventually must, in the AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

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WHAT MATTERS

By Warren Atkinson

The event of first magnitude in the campaign and the resulting election is the effect upon the socialist movement. If one understands socialist economics, he knows that no change has occurred in the government of the country and that no change is likely to occur. The people who govern are the same people who have governed, the masters of the bread. Political government is merely incidental to economic power and second in importance to it. Political power cannot long be maintained separate from economic power and in opposition to it. The capitalists fear no political revolution that does not aim at their control of the industrial and financial system. Meanwhile we may spend our lives if we will in futile struggles to change the composition of parliaments. We see the results. So little has been the influence of increasing socialist majorities in the parliaments of Europe upon the condition of the workers in Europe that the communists and the I. W. W. have a plausible argument for neglecting political action altogether.

No more can we expect from the election of progressives to Congress. They will give us decency in the administration of the law. They will honestly strive to fulfill its spirit as well as its letter, not an unimportant thing either. In one contingency they may even go farther. Early experience may teach them the futility of resisting capitalist dominance over the government while leaving the capitalists in undisputed control of the economic power. Should events present to them a very clear and unescapable alternative between the capitalist system and the preservation of democratic representative government, the workers, the mass of this movement, would defend the institutions of the country. The backers of Coolidge, Davis, and Dawes, however, are too wise to permit the issue to be clearly drawn. They would preserve the appearance and the form of free institutions. They even pretend their devotions to the constitution in order that they may conceal their attacks upon its essentials. Republics are not endangered seriously by the violent words and acts of cracked brained idiots said to be paid from Moscow. The advantage of Mr. Davis and Mr. Dawes was that they were talking to people who do not know the history of representative government and won't take the trouble to learn. Republics have all been smothered quietly by organized wealth in the house of friends, Venice by its Doges, Rome by its popular senators, Florence and the Dutch Republic by rich merchants. It is the old story of

wealth against commonwealth.

While the Greeks were attaining preeminence in literature and art, the farmers in the valley of the Tiber were studying law and the organization of social institutions to protect their economic interests. Roman law transmitted through English precedent is still part of the law which governs us today. This Roman contribution to progress is comparable in importance to the discovery of the process of smelting iron ore or to the Jewish contribution to religion and morals. But, through centuries, the course of development is about the same in all the nations of history. Wealth, by exploitation, is accumulated in a few hands. All peoples of the earth arrive in due course at the same cross roads. They are confronted by the same great moral issue. The farms of Italy were mortgaged and the farmers were dead or reduced to serfdom on the land or to degradation in the cities. Rome dallied with the issue, sacrificed her martyrs to the popular cowardice and selfishness, tried to preserve the institutions of the republic (in form) while leaving the economic power in private hands. Rome, the greatest lawgiver and organizer in history, failed to save her republic in the presence of private ownership of her means of social production.

Confronted with the same issue, the workers who form the bulk of the Progressive party leaders would choose right; but who will its leaders be when it is a successful and powerful political party? Not the men out of whose devotion it has been born. It is according to the experience of history in every struggle between the workers and their exploiters that the workers choose leaders from the middle class or the upper ruling class, men who make radical gestures and show an aptitude for coining catch phrases and staging plays to the galleries. To them a man like Roosevelt looks big, while they are on their knees. They are deceived by his oratorical gestures and their hopes are falsely encouraged by his prestige and success. When the issue is finally drawn, as it must be, between the workers' interests and the exploiters', the majority of these men must go back to the class from which they come and to which they belong by habit, social ties, blood relationships, and material interest.

In the historic struggle for representative government against the king there was the same infatuation for aristocratic leadership. The workers could not divest themselves of the delusion that some great popular leader would come to them out of the upper

classes, to which they had always looked for leadership.

Every age has its Wilsons and its Bryans. Commonplace mediocrity is very apt to compel the selection of such men for leadership, especially if the aristocrat condescends to pitch some hay, or wears a tri-color cockade or a red button or if he wears a broadbrim hat and abominates a dress shirt like our former Standard Oil senator from Texas. "England dearly loves a lord," and America an English prince no less. In yielding to cheap flattery like this the man on the street puts an affront upon the merit which is conspicuous in his own class. In going to the class of his masters for leadership he concedes the estimate which the so-called better classes have pronounced upon him and his fellows.

We think that we cannot be rendered ridiculous by such an infatuation for the condescending leadership of the aristocrats. Numerous illustrations could be given which might seem foreign and out-of-date; therefore let us take one from the history of the American Revolution. Referring to General Charles Lee, Bancroft says: "The army eagerly looked forward to the coming of Lee. 'His arrival,' said Tilghman, the most faithful member of Washington's staff, 'will greatly relieve our worthy general, who has too much for any mortal man on his hands.' 'Pray hasten his departure, he is much wanted,' was the message of Jay to a friend in Philadelphia.

Yet Lee had not one talent of a commander. He never could conceive anything as a whole or comprehend a plan of action; but, by the habit of his mind, would fasten upon some detail, and always find fault. As an Englishman, he affected to look down upon his present associates as 'very bad company'; for he had the national pride of his countrymen, though not their loyalty. His alienation from Britain grew out of petulance at being neglected; and, had a chance of favor been thrown to him, he would have snapped most eagerly at the bait. He esteemed the people into whose service he had entered unworthy of a place among the nations; and, if, by fits, he played the part of a zealot in their cause, his mind always came back to his first idea, that they had only to consider how they could 'return to their former state of relation'. **** Awaiting the chief command in case of a vacancy, he looked upon himself as the head of a party, and wearied Congress with clamor for a separate command on the Delaware; as they persisted in sending him to the camp of Washington, he secretly mocked at them as 'a stable of cattle that stumbled at every step!'"

This popular idol of the American Revolution ended his course in rather a ridiculous manner. Again we quote:

"The young Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, the

commander of a scouting party of thirty dragoons, learning Lee's foolhardy choice of lodgings, surrounded the house by a sudden charge and called out to him to come forth immediately, or the house would be set on fire. Within two minutes, he came out, pale from fear, unarmed, bareheaded, without cloak, in slippers and blanket-coat, his collar open, his shirt much soiled, and entreated the dragoons to spare his life. They seized him just as he was, and set him on Wilkinson's horse which stood saddled at the door."

This was the idol whom the army had eagerly welcomed. While an American officer, prisoner of the British, General Charles Lee presented to the British commanders a plan for reducing the Americans, saying: "I think myself bound in conscience to furnish all the lights I can to Lord and General Howe;" this while he was writing to Washington in terms of affection. His disgrace at the battle of Monmouth and court-martial are familiar history.

Turning to France in the time of the Revolution, we find Dumouriez, trusted general of the republic, victor of Valmy and the Argonne campaign, treating secretly with the Austrian General Coberg. Dumouriez thought he would lead his army over to the enemy, imagining them to be more loyal to himself than to the republic.

It seems that this fatuous worship by the workers of their Al Smith, McAdoo, or Roosevelt will continue and is no new thing. It is a result of timidity and a shrinking from the fact that they have nothing to rely upon but their own resources. And these indeed would be more than sufficient if they could recognize the native talent within their own ranks. They choose rather the leadership of dukes and counts who show some radical tendencies, who retain a notion that an exploitation system could be and should be conducted decently. These recreant nobles are in due course forgiven and taken back into the bosoms of their highly respected families; but the common soldiers who seek their leadership are massacred or hunted to death in the swamps or thickets where they hide. This is the history of many attempts to use the prestige, reputed skill and culture of fine looking gentlemen from the upper class in the leadership of the democratic struggle against organized wealth. **BUT HISTORY SHOWS THAT PEOPLE LEARN NOTHING FROM HISTORY.**

No man in his senses expects the benefit of a remedy until the right remedy is known and before it is applied. The backers of Coolidge, Davis, and Dawes are still the owners of our means of production and the rulers of our industrial life. Organized labor will insist upon verifying the above experience of history. It will learn the futility

(Continued on page 14, first column)

TO OUR SOCIALIST YOUTH

By James O Neal

The Socialist youth of today will administer and guide the Socialist movement in the coming decades. The youth of former decades are the chief party workers and administrators of today. Into the movement, decade after decade, has poured our Socialist youth. Out of it are going the veterans whose age, and often infirmities, do not permit them to give the service of other years.

Thus the movement finds a constant renewal of its youthful vigor, devotion and enthusiasm without which it would disappear. But the young men and women of the next few decades who will be entrusted with responsibilities will have more serious tasks than those who are entrusted with responsibility today.

Our capitalist world has become much more complex. Compared with the capitalism of today the nineteenth century was simple in its problems and human relationships. We are now living in the era of the higher capitalism. It has remade a much larger part of the world after its own image. Its increasing complexity taxes the mind to understand it. Its stark contradictions have multiplied. Its problems have increased in magnitude and number.

In the old era the movement was chiefly concerned with education and organization. In the new era that has already dawned the movement will be increasingly concerned with the administration of public power and the transformation of capitalism into a Labor Commonwealth. Inch by inch and day by day the movement is eating into the old structure of capitalist society. The movement has obtained power or partial power in many countries. The beginnings of social transformation are apparent.

In other words, we are living in the dawn of Socialist triumph and of the twilight of capitalism. Who of the early veterans and founders of the movement would not have been thrilled and inspired to have lived to the present hour in order to witness the marked signs of the decline of capitalism and the rise of the Socialist movement? Here and

now they would be able to observe the first fruits of their years of toil and sacrifice and often of persecution and exile.

The young Socialists are the hope of the next generation and upon them will rest greater responsibilities than the Socialist youth of any other period have had to face. First of all is the necessity to avoid the illusion that the Socialist can afford at any time to give up its acquirement. Above all our Socialist youth should understand American capitalism, its history and problems. When power comes to them in the years ahead they will not administer Germany, England or Russia. They will administer the United States.

To be sure, acquire knowledge of European history and of the movement and its problems abroad but only in order that it may better fit you for service at home. A Socialist with a thorough knowledge of Socialism and its history abroad, one who could popularize the theory of value and surplus value, might be helpless in a city council in shaping a civic program that would serve the working class.

The young Socialist should also avoid the lure of abstract slogans. Concrete knowledge is of more importance than all the slogans that may be coined. You cannot manage a city government with a slogan. You can with knowledge and administrative ability. Cultivate both and real achievement will follow. Mere repetition of slogans will bring self-intoxication but little else.

Our old archaic civilization is to have a new birth and our Socialist youth of today will be those who will aid in the deliverance of the new order. Knowledge, patience, devotion and rational thinking creditable to an intelligent working class will effect the deliverance and nothing else will.

To your tasks, Comrade, of the coming years. Yours will be a period of intense living, the joy of battle, and the realization of our ideals. I envy you as the veterans of an earlier period would envy us if they were to return today!

Permit the suggestion: That you get from 100 to 1,000 of the following leaflets—right away—*What Is Socialism; The Most Frequent Objections and Questions Concerning Socialism, Out of Work, and The Parable of the Water Tank;* and see to it that these leaflets are carefully and most courteously placed in the hands of non-Socialist readers

—right away. Another suggestion: Pledge your National Executive Secretary at least one new party-member before the convention.

Let us resume. And we may just as well remember that the only way to resume is—to resume.

The literature, just right for your use, is ready for you here at the National Office.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By Joseph E. Cohen

Taking account of Socialist stock these days means that the party has reached another turning point in its career. Again it is about to stride forward.

For, first and last, the Socialist Party is the creature of the times. The times are changing. With the last campaign the party entered upon a different phase of its very honorable history. Judged by the controversy over this activity, there is still some shaking of heads as to whether it has been altogether wise. However the discussion sways and, what is more important, whatever the result of the gathering of the progressive conference at the end of February, the step has been taken. It cannot be retraced. And by all odds it should not be retraced.

Aside from the few geographical spots where the Socialist Party has political significance, it cannot have made any substantial sacrifice by retiring its candidates for the sake of electoral harmony. Whatever such sacrifice, it was a modest price to pay for the sake of blending with the huge trades union organizations and the farmers who were the bulk of the La Follette army. That does not seem to have to be proved.

The use of political methods in the past served more especially to give the Socialist movement the readiest popular avenue upon which to carry its banner and message. That was splendid. But dipping into politics as it is played today was very far from an unmixed blessing.

For one thing, too often those who won success at the ballot box thereupon discovered that they were bigger than the party and were eaten up with personal ambitions. As Socialists they managed to be little heard of afterwards.

Next to that must be mentioned the pretty cheap electioneering methods sometimes used where success loomed in the offing. Bundled up with that was the tendency to practice inside the party the parliamentary chicanery which no organization cares to make its boast. The party would not be hurt at all to lose these various obnoxious weeds.

That this was the inevitable companion of the party experience in its early stages is the explanation, of course. This was gloriously demonstrated by the Communist upheaval in the Socialist Party, when the alleged spokesmen of ultra-revolutionary methods used the gutter sewerage of Tammany Hall political leavings.

It goes without saying that no one expects Socialists to be wanting in the ordinary frailties of

human beings. Furthermore, it does not have to be mentioned, that as the party grows, so it becomes easier for self-seekers to echo the catch phrases of propaganda and bring their burden or questionable practices. But it might be just as well to wait a while for that.

As a matter of choice, the Socialist Party has too valuable a service to render to be diverted from its task by the short comings of those who want place and preference in the organization. The Socialist Party cannot afford to sell its character for a mess of opportunist inflation.

For the first and supreme duty of the Socialist party is to carry the full program of social revolution to the people. It must do this because there is no one else to do it. Anybody can play politics. Anybody can be a liberal or progressive. (May their number increase!) Any trades union can battle for immediate concessions. But, to put it the nearest way, only the Socialist Party can find the part for each to take in the fine evolution from what is to what will be which is the essence of the social revolution.

Only the Socialist Party can approach with becoming tolerance and scientific insistence the process of transformation from capitalist class misrule through working class solidarity to human civilization. Only the Socialist Party can effectively inspire the love of liberty and instill the knowledge of direction to those who seek escape from the poverty, the war and madness of industrial cannibalism.

The Socialist Party alone can do this as a united body because the others which have tried have hit some wrong course and are astray from the moving mass of the people.

Above everything else the Socialist Party dare not forfeit its chance and obligation to be of the vital movement which is aiming at progress in the peculiar fashion in which America differs from all other nations. For the Socialist Party to fail would mean its extinction. For the Socialist Party to continue would be to its everlasting glory and service.

It is so easy to be impatient. In the one extreme are those who have exhausted their evangelical enthusiasm and accept compromise with things as they are. At the other extreme are those who are fearful of losing their virginal aloofness and who balk at wholesome marriage with the elements of progress. They are sectarian celibates, who make up in inflammatory phraseology what they lack in tactics.

But the patience which pays is that which finds satisfaction in the everlasting keeping at it which is the indispensable factor in real social progress. For there can be no such progress unless the masses as at present constituted make it.

The Socialist Party today is not as it was in the flame and flare of the boundless, burning adventure which swept across the land prior to the war and which sent the light of a million votes into the dark corners of miserable capitalism. The war brought a new period. The war brought many other changes within capitalism and through it. That past is gone.

There has been a crash among the old forces and the creation of new ones. Nothing like decided assembling has yet taken place. Only the initial steps toward this purpose have been made.

What has now gone before has served to tell, in the most tragic terms, that our present industrial autocracy must give way to democracy, commercial rivalry to co-operation, national prejudices to internationalism, military expenditure and engaging in

war to education and peace, or there will be an end of the human race.

There is no mortal salvation but in Socialism.

Whether those who call themselves Socialists put most of their energy to doing the necessary work is up to them. Whether the Socialist Party as a body functions to that purpose will determine to what extent it fulfills the aim of its being. That is the choice.

Now more than ever the Socialist Party can be a vast machine for the propaganda which is to benefit mankind. That is its first reason for existence.

From now on that propaganda must be of two kinds: That which is purely definition, telling what Socialism means in theory, and that which moves along with the agencies and forces making for social change and helps show the way.

In the chronicle of common humanity the Socialist Party of America has a noble record. It may close the book or turn another page. Is there any doubt but that it will turn a new page—and a more glorious one?



WHAT WE GOT



By Judge Joseph Panken

The second of three articles by Judge Joseph Panken to be published in consecutive issues of the Socialist World

Opportunism is defined as "a sacrifice of principle to circumstances, especially in politics" (Webster's Dictionary).

Since 1920 most Socialists in America in common with the Socialists of Europe charged the Bolsheviks of Russia with being opportunists. The thinkers of the Socialist movement immediately after the November revolution called attention to the fact that the Russians had embarked on an adventure. It seemed to them impossible that this adventure would succeed. They pointed out the attempt to bridge a period in history of Social development ran counter to the Socialist theory.

An industrially backward country is incapable of establishing a Socialist regime.

The differences of opinion on that question in 1919 was the rock upon which the Socialist Party split.

The left wing claimed to be Marxian; as a matter of fact, they were opportunists and their history since has proven that. The Communists or Workers Party in America has repeatedly forsaken principle in an effort to further political fortunes. It was ready to unite with Progressives, Liberals, Reformers and what not. It courted Borah, it bowed to La Follette. The St. Paul Convention was engineered to nominate La Follette. The Communists

were ready to accept him on any terms, and even after La Follette spurned them, they provided for the possibility of replacing their chosen candidates by La Follette and his running mate.

Opportunism of the rankest kind, and worse than that.

The Socialist Party up to 1924 acted in accord with its proven policy; that is, labor must, to emancipate itself, not only be organized on the economic field but must act independently on the political field. As already indicated, it joined with organized labor, industrial or agricultural, on every occasion on the economic field and with every attempt on the political field.

When the Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized by Labor, the Socialist Party in accord with its policy became a part of it. The Cleveland Convention of the C. P. P. A. held for us a great hope. We all came to lay the cornerstone of a Labor Party.

It may be futile at this time to say that a Labor Party could have been formed at the Cleveland Convention. It was my conviction after having talked with actually dozens of delegates from labor organizations that they would have supported the formation, there and then, of a Labor Party. It certainly was more possible at that time than it will

be in the February conference. One thing is certain, that the 4th of July convention was predominately made up of Labor men. That may not be so at the February Convention.

The Socialists gathered in Cleveland as delegates to the C.P.P.A. or to the Party's National Convention; met in caucus on the 3rd of July. Every State delegation spoke and in every instance speaking for their constituencies they expressed the opinion that our joining with the C. P. P. A. in the impending campaign depended upon the formation of a Labor Party by the 4th of July Convention. In a word, the Socialist Party was ready to become an integral part of an American Labor Party. It was for the purpose of forming such a Labor Party and joining with it that we had come to Cleveland.

Until the Convention of the C. P. P. A. had actually convened the Socialist Party caucus had no *authentic information* of what transpired in the executive sessions of the National Committee of the C. P. P. A.

We did not know what Senator La Follette's position was with regard to the formation of a Party. It is now apparent by reason of his public Statements and Speeches—that it should not have been expected that he would stand for a Labor Party. Only after the first session we were told that the Senator did not approve of even a third party at that time.

In the statement read by his son at the convention, he made it quite clear that he was not favorable to the formation of a party, that he was an independent candidate for the presidency, running on his own prepared platform, and ready to accept the endorsement of all and sundry groups and individuals, who were in agreement with him and accepted his platform.

His statement left the convention cold. It was a disappointment. Even after the La Follette pronunciamento a Labor Party could have been formed.

Senator La Follette having announced himself as a candidate for the Presidency, could do nothing else but accept the endorsement of a Labor Party. We had become very disappointed. That was, however, already out of the question. The National Committee of the C. P. P. A. had already decided or agreed not to launch a party at that convention and Mr. La Follette's personal representatives were on the scene, dictating the policies of the Convention.

There was still hope of laying the foundation at least for a political party in nominating a candidate for Vice-President, organizing a National Committee and nominating candidates for State offices and Congress in the various states.

Such a proposal was made in the Socialist Cau-

cus. It is now admitted on all sides, that the failure to accept some such plan played havoc with the chances for a successful campaign.

Nothing came of it. It was *argued that it might cause irritation if proposed at the C. P. P. A. Convention, although it was admitted that it could be carried.* That action taken at that time would result at least in the laying of a cornerstone for the movement which we sought.

We went into the C. P. P. A. Convention with the hope of getting a Labor Party; we came out of it committed to the support of an independent candidate for President who is opposed to Socialism and who permitted us to endorse him upon the conditions he laid down, and committed blindly to his running mate whom we did not at that time know.

The Socialists have become practical. We wanted results. We lost sight of the fact that we were able to build up a Socialist movement in America by an appeal for our ideals; we forgot that for thirty years or more we derided reform movements as incapable of doing any lasting good and taught our sympathizers not to depend and place faith only in good men.

We forget that for decades we had been preaching political action on class lines.

Our change in policy led the Socialists of Rochester to endorse a Democratic candidate for Congress and our nominating a Republican in the City of New York for a like office. These acts were the natural consequence of what we did in Cleveland.

For many years the Socialist Party has consistently been supported by the radical trades Unions. The leadership as well as the membership had become imbued with Socialist principles. They supported us financially, they worked with us in our campaigns, they manned the polls on Election Day. In this last campaign the financial help of these unions went to the C. P. P. A. and very little of it was given to the Socialist Party.

Not so long ago a radical trades unionist would be ashamed to have it known that he supported a capitalist for public office, no matter how friendly such candidate was towards labor. In the last campaign the gates were let down.

A basis was laid down for the support of capitalist candidates. I asked a prominent labor leader of whom it was said that he supported a capitalist candidate whether that was true, saying that I did not deem it class conscious, to which he replied that since this was not a straight Socialist campaign it was permissible to select the best man.

On the same grounds there are some who justify the conduct of the Trades and Labor Council of New York in repudiating the La Follete endorse-

ment. They argue, true without justice, that these men had a right to believe Davis more progressive than La Follette.

If it is a question of progressives—Progressivism is elastic, it can be stretched. There is nothing definite about progressivism.

The morale which we built after so many years had been weakened.

In the State of New York, we were treated like unbidden and unwelcome guests.

When our Candidate for Governor, Norman Thomas was introduced at the Madison Square Garden meeting the fact that he was the Socialist candidate for Governor was studiously concealed. I understand that he was permitted to speak only after a great deal of persuasion. Yet, it was the Socialist Party membership that made up the army of Jimmy Hugginses. We were like the poor man at the festive board of the rich, put somewhere in a corner and tolerated.

The Socialist vote in the State of New York for Governor fell by many thousands, first because the Progressives, so called, voted for what was to them a progressive candidate, and secondly by letting down the gates, the radical trade unionists selected their progressive candidate.

The morale was weakened and nothing gained.

The La Follette vote does not represent the entire intelligent vote in America. There were many intelligent workers, who when the appeal was made to them to help build a Labor Party by casting their ballots for Mr. La Follette, asked this pointed question, "Had the Republican Party nominated

Mr. La Follette for the Presidency would he have declined?" True, that question could not be authoritatively answered, yet to these intelligent workers, though not Socialists but favorable to a Labor Party, it seemed certain that Mr. La Follette would have accepted the Republican nomination. They had no faith that out of this campaign with the C.P.P.A. and the Socialist Party acting as the tail to the La Follette kite a Labor Party would come.

It may now be argued by some that America was not yet ready for a Labor Party, and that it is well that such a party was not organized at Cleveland. That Labor as a whole had not voted for Mr. La Follette. It can hardly be said that Mr. La Follette's platform was a labor platform, yet his vote came largely from the producing masses in the hope of a Labor Party.

The Socialist Party supported La Follette because it seemed to some that there was an opportunity to further the organization of a Labor Party in January, 1925.

That was a mistake. We supported Capitalist Candidates for Congress. Our Standard Bearer attacked our philosophy in a speech at Rock Island, Ill. It is apparent that if a party is formed at all in January, 1925, it will be a liberal and not a Labor Party." Even if we desired to be opportunists, we failed.

We gave everything and gained nothing. We were poor opportunists; evidently we are not cut out for that. What is our next step?

Don't Read This Unless You Are Interested in the Socialist Party

By Charles Robson

Perhaps you had better run over it once however, then settle down with your pipe or cigarette, and read; read some more, and then give your brains a little exercise, THINK.

You, dear sister, are not eliminated from a perusal of this message, even though you may not use a pipe or the cigarette, the only obligation is that you read and think also.

We, you and I, are members of the Socialist Party, and we pay our dues monthly. We may have been members of this organization only six months, or we may be regular old timers. We may have belonged to that small group that used to get up on a Sunday morning about four o'clock, and distribute some thousand copies of the old Appeal to Reason, or The American Socialist, or some other worth while literature, that did swell the ranks

of our party, and keep it full of life. Or we may have belonged to the..... oh, just a dues-paying member, that attended a meeting or a lecture once in a while, but was always a little too busy to pass literature, etc., etc. Yes, we are bound to be one or the other, and right here, my friend, let us just lay this copy down, and look around ourselves awhile. Before we go any further let us just find out what our membership in this great Socialist movement has meant to ourselves, to our Comrades, our party, and the cause of the workers in general.

Have we been a cog in this great human endeavor, or have we been a brake?

All right, we now know where we are, and where we have been, so let us continue. I am not now interested in our activities, or the lack of our activities, of yesterday. That is now past history. What

concerns me is our activity of *today and tomorrow*.

What are we, you and I, again, going to do for this movement of ours? You will agree that if it is worth having, it is worth fighting for. It is our institution, and as such in all fairness to ourselves, as the owners of this institution, it is worth some effort. You know we are not Socialists because we cannot be Republicans, or Democrats, Oh, no!. We are Socialists because our common sense, backed by a *desire* tells us that there is no emancipation for the workers of the world in the present Capitalistic system of society, and only through the application of scientific Socialism, can our people be free from the shackles that are now binding them.

You noticed I slipped that word *desire* in there. The rest can get by all right; but that word "desire" is where we have to stop a minute.—at least long enough to create one in the brain of every true member of the Socialist Party.

Our movement, frankly speaking, is a disgrace to every one of us, and in making that statement I do not wish to offend any one member of the party, because I know numbers of our loyal comrades, who have worked and worked hard to make this movement a success. But things have happened during the past five years, enough of them to bring us down from the clouds, and plant both our feet on the ground. We are on the ground all right, but we don't move, and there is the trouble. Our organization is much too small to be of real service for the propagation of our philosophy, and it simply must be increased. Our National Office has sent out stacks of letters urging the several branches to close ranks, but the only closing apparently has been to close the movement against the fellow we should have in, so it must surely be time that you and I—the Jimmy Higginases got together and did something.

Can you get enough enthusiasm worked up to create a real *desire* to do something for your own organization? Surely you can if you want to. Well then let us start right in. I have our old method in mind, because it's what built our movement in the days of 1912, and 1914. Never mind what tore it down, let's only be interested in building it up again.

We want first of all a real live Socialist Weekly newspaper, bring back the old American Socialist, full of inspiring educational propaganda, forgetting about eating the Communists alive, etc., etc. But let us have a paper *owned by us*, and for us. One that we can give to our Democratic friend to read on Sunday, full of the spirit of our own Debs; tolerant, yet human and full of the knowledge so much in need today by the people. How can we get such a paper? Well, how do our people build their big fraternal lodge homes, and their churches?

Why, by simply digging down, and digging with a smile too.

Is not our work, our ambition, higher than any lodge or church in the entire world? Is not the cause of a bleeding humanity, a hungry unemployed people, far more vital than an institution of self aggrandizement, or a self-admiration society, such as these supposed to be pillars of society usually are?

Let every member of the Socialist Party give just one dollar, not in six month time, but right now. When it has reached the National office, before it gets cold, send one more, and one more until every member has sent five dollars, then tell the National Office to get our paper going, and the money not to be used for any other purpose. In two months time, my comrades, we can have our own weekly paper, and see our movement on the upward climb again.

Oh, but so many of our comrades are out of work, and besides the assessment stamps will have to be printed and sent out," etc., etc. Yes, but nothing of the kind, you don't need any stamp to tell you that you have donated toward the re-building of our own party. Every member of your local wants to see the organization take on new life, or if not, what in the world is he or she in the Socialist Party for anyway? Have your Secretary start collecting the dollars, that's what will count, and your branch can afford somehow to make up the dollars for those out of work. Don't wait until after the winter, it will be too warm then, or even until after the January convention of the Progressive Party. This is our job, and wants doing now.

Well, maybe we will all be absorbed in the new party. Forget about it, my friend, you are a SOCIALIST, and the other fellow is only a disgruntled Democrat or Republican. Before he can really be of value to the working class movement, he will have to be educated, and who in the world can and will do that, outside of the Socialist Party? We will have to keep not only our own integrity, but also our own identity, regardless of our third party, for some years to come, so let's get down to work, the work we all love, propaganda, and constructive propaganda at that.

Arise, my Comrades, you have still a mighty mission to perform, and it can only be performed by mighty men and women.

We have the Workers of the World to *unite*, so let us start right now doing our part of this great work. Let us carry the message of emancipation and life to the workers, commencing with your friends and mine.

The revolutionary printing press is loaded with light; it is the wageslave's machine gun.

Fire when you are ready. Let us resume.

Contributions Received for the Campaign

(Concluded)

J. B. Bender, Chicago, Ill.	\$1.00	Levanopolos Anthonia, New York, N. Y.	1.00
E. Alter, Glens Falls, N. Y.	1.00	Mildred Adler, Branch Braddock, Pa.	5.00
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J. Rosner, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	Walter E. Davis, Local Hartford, Conn.	2.60
Nathan Kritchman, New York, N. Y.	1.00	Wm. James Morgan, New London, Conn.	4.40
Mrs. Ida Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif.	1.00	A. E. Mewmaw, Colorado Springs, Colo.	4.10
S. Berizin, Bronx, N. Y.	1.00	A. V. Vesely, Bohemian Federation, Chicago Ill.	2.90
Angeri Salvatrice, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	Grace Wolfson, Garden Homes Branch, Milw., Wis.	5.63
L. Fishkind, Freeport, N. Y.	5.00	Robert Ring, Branch 1, No. Hudson Co., Weehawken, N. J.	16.00
L. Katz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	Agostina Garbarino, State Office, Morgantown, W. Va.	2.20
Joe. J. Faremba, Bergenfield, N. J.	1.00	John C. Willert, Cleveland, Ohio	11.20
Barnet Tow, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	W. D. Altman, Butler, Pa.	2.00
I. Pavlotsky, Fall River, Mass.	1.00	Mrs. Carl Kleist, W. S. Women's Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.	3.25
M. Glick, Fall River, Mass.	1.00	Alvin Huff, Easton, Pa.50
Louis Burstein, Fall River, Mass.	1.00	Tullio Pozzan, Bulger, Pa.	11.50
B. Larson, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00	M. Arnold, Bronx, N. Y.	2.00
NOVEMBER			
B. Zambelli, West Hoboken, N. J.	1.00	Total for Nov.	
Barnet Nathan, Chicago, Ill.	25.00	\$327.66	
Helena Turitz, Finnish Branches, New England District	52.31	Total Received, less refunds to and including Nov. 30	
F. W. Moore, Middle Grove, Ill.	1.00	\$6893.31	
Abe W Weisenberg, Los Angeles, Calif.	5.00		

(Continued from page 6)

of resisting organized wealth by pure and simple politics, stopping short of the ownership by the workers of their tools and land.

I do not forget that we will have to work with them patiently while they get what is coming to them. However, we do not have to deceive ourselves or them. And we do not have to abandon our Socialist Party organization. That is now the most important work of our press, our trained writers, and our successful speakers to emphasize tactfully but persistently the need now of building up the socialist organization. We should be warned to support our organization especially in the placing of our contributions. Let us put our money where the need is greatest and where it will do the most good.

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BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary,
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INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY

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

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

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CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES



By George R. Kirkpatrick

Geologists were busy, as geologists, in the World War, near the front too. The commanding generals were able to make good use of certain information relative to the terrain fought over, or to be fought over. The nature of the country, geologically considered, presented difficulties, had something to do with military victories and defeats. The nature of the country, the lay of the land and even the rock conformation and composition, held something essentially significant to men eager to go forward to victory.

Something very like this is true respecting the difficulties confronting those of us who in this country strive toward victories for social justice, industrial freedom, for the multitude. It may be worth while to set down a short list of these difficulties, with or without comment or analysis. The elements of the situation, as a whole, produce a total for our guidance, more or less, in mapping out ways and means, searching for the most effective means under the circumstances, and coming right down to the scratch in the business of selecting the weapons for our own 'world war', the struggle for industrial democracy against industrial despotism—in the United States. Here are some of the difficulties of importance to us in our efforts to build up a powerful organization and thru this organization create an irresistible American Labor Party, eager for battle and intellectually disciplined and equipped for victory.

First. The geographical vastness of this country. This country is huge, compared, for example, with the British Isles. A simple but important first consequence of this is the expense of reaching the people. The railways get thousands of dollars of our funds, sufficient to pay for tons of literature, millions of booklets, books and leaflets. Another consequence of this mere bigness is the widely different regional interests resulting in conflicting claims as to the worth of public policies. Regional customs also grow strong—and different—resulting in a provincialism that has "no use for any outsiders with their foolish notions." This is true not only of villages, rural communities and the far frontier, but of great cities as well. New York City is just about as provincial as the village, in some ways.

Second, The great number of people, our tremendous population, is hard to move. And but recently our political population was suddenly doubled in the enfranchisement of women the added hundred per cent moreover being distinctly more conservative than the men. Here is a real difficulty especially significant to a party not rich in funds.

Third, This vast population is highly diverse in its composition. We have a white race and a black race. The white race is split up into racial groups by experiences, history and environment, is divided into different peoples, not to be reached and persuaded as easily as if they were racially as homogeneous as, let us say, the people of France. Divergent national groupings and 'psychologies' interfere heavily with approach, co-ordination and co-operation in united political action.

Fourth, Akin to the preceding difficulty is that of the great diversity of languages used in the United States. This hinders easy understanding, rather tends to shut group from group, makes for great expense in providing propaganda literature and lectures.

Fifth, Religious differences have always been a barrier to the propaganda of progress and a very special hindrance to new movements. And of different religions we have an abundance in this country. To illustrate this difficulty: if an advertised speaker is known to be an ardent Protestant many excellent Roman Catholic citizens will incline to stay away from his meetnigs. And vice versa.

Sixth, In this country war experiences have rendered millions of good citizens impenetrably closed against consideration or reconsideration of many public policies. A certain party allegiance has resulted from some of these experiences, allegiance proudly boasted but never analyzed, boasted as a virtue long after the adored political party has lost its ancient virtues and has become a ridiculous and vicious sham. It is painful to see poor old G. A. R. men proudly chasing after the present unworthy leaders of the once wonderful Republican party, old men who have been hopelessly unteachable, politically, for more than a half century. And now we have a new soldier group whose votes are cunningly garnered by unworthy men who shrewdly appeal not to the young soldiers' reason but to their group instincts and prejudices. Many of these young men are hopeless—so far as great real new movements are concerned.

Seventh, One more difficulty may be mentioned in the space available; namely, the almost incalculable wealth-power of America's ruling class. This need not be enlarged upon except to say that when the hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of wealth devoted to exploitation becomes threatened, there will be billions of dollars available to fight in a hundred ways against the conquest of political power by the working class for industrial democracy.

At the same time this vast wealth, now nearing a total of five hundred billions, is steadily held high before the eyes of the plain people as evidence that in this country fortunes are so easily won that anybody with intelligence and industry can pile up a fortune without fail—if he will only “stick to it.” This hope of becoming rich is carefully and cunningly fostered in all the school children, rendering them intolerant of discussion of any changes in the game of success in which even ninety-five per cent of the business ventures fail.

Now, briefly, what under the circumstances, is

our ‘best bet’, our most effective means, in the great enterprise of rousing, teaching, organizing, guiding the workers for the supreme business of the twentieth century, the industrial liberation of the working class? The answer is easy: the printing press, in some respects the most wonderful machine of on this planet. Its output *costs the least, goes furthest, and lasts the longest.* Napoleon, a master of masters, said: “I fear one newspaper more than I fear a hundred thousand soldiers.” With the printing press we can overcome all difficulties.

THOROLY UNDERSTOOD

No matter “what happens at Chicago”, no matter what is done in and by the C. P. P. A. convention in February, the Socialist Party, as such, is to stay on the job, its job, as a separate organization, is to continue to do what it has done and done well for many years. Never more sincerely friendly and eager than now to promote the forward march of the exploited to the political field of battle and industrial freedom, the Socialist Party may well be proud of the great educational work already accomplished in the last quarter of a century. What we have done clearly suggests what we are to do, while in hearty affiliated co-operation we strive to do more than ever before.

Certain conditions present in the United States have made the promotion of political and industrial-historical education of the workers more difficult than in any other capitalist country in the world. Yet a vast work has been done. If you do not believe it ask your local chamber of commerce, ask your local employers’ association. Great numbers of our people have a clearer growing realization of the facts that, industrially, American society is coming to the close of an era in its evolution; that a new era dawns; that nothing is static or permanent in our industrial structure; a growing realization that just as certain historic-industrial forms of society have already passed away, so the present capitalist form and method of society will surely pass; that injustice, tho entrenched, is doomed under the laws of social evolution; that the hallucinating rhetoric about a square deal, about justice, about a fair race, about careers open for all—under capitalism—is subtle piffle for the ignorant; a clearer realization that wage-slavery is slavery as truly as chattel slavery was slavery; that society is split into two classes with class lines more clearly drawn each year and the separating industrial chasm is each year deeper; that society is industrially conducted primarily for the special benefit of part of the members

of society and is therefore an unsocial society; that American society, down at its foundations, is not democratic; a growing realization that, in short, we live under an industrial despotism with no fair race for the good things of life for the workers, no matter how skillful they are, no matter how industrious they are, no matter how decent they are, no matter how honest they are, no matter how religious they are, no matter how patriotic the are.

Millions of Americans think these things now.

Millions have been penetrated.

All this has been done by the Socialist Party, performing—in one of its roles—as a sort of university extension institution.

We have changed society. A new urge grows in American society.

The organized Socialists have done this thing.

And now when the crust that binds the social mind begins to break and set free the mental energies of millions of people for fair consideration of situations and movements, our educational work becomes a hundredfold more important than heretofore because our opportunity becomes a hundredfold increased.

To quit the field now, to weaken now, to fuse now and lose now our distinct role, to fuse and fail of our distinctive work—this is idle talk.

Socialists know, as many others do not know and could not know, how certain forms of knowledge—of history, of industrial evolution and analyses of capitalism—revolutionize the worker’s attitude toward his masters and toward his fellow-workers, revolutionize his political insight, revolutionize his social outlook and change his dull acceptance of a fraud into a deathless hunger for real democracy.

We know where we are going and we are on our way.

To the C. P. P. A. we extend the right hand of fellowship.