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TO OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS

By Eugene V. Debs



It becomes my duty as chairman of the National Executive Board to lay certain matters relating to the Socialist Party before you and to ask your cooperation in carrying out a program to relieve the party of the impediments which now fetter its activities, and to vastly increase its power and efficiency as the party of the disinherited and exploited in the great struggle now shaking the foundations of capitalist imperialism throughout the world.

The program is a simple one and can be readily carried out; it will have speedy and far-reaching results, and I shall be brief as possible in presenting it for your consideration.

The Socialist Party was exceedingly prosperous and making rapid headway when the Super-patriots and Profiteers of Capitalism started the International Butchery to slaughter the race and depopulate the world.

Like a wall of granite stood the Socialist Party against the monstrous crime of the bloated masters against the oppressed and exploited people. That sealed its fate. Branded with treason as a hideous thing, it must be destroyed. And from that hour every device that capitalist malice could conceive was employed to kill the party and persecute its members. The weak, faint-hearted and "patriotic"

deserted, but the loyal and unafraid stood their ground and saved the party.

No political party in the history of America was ever assailed as viciously, as brutally and as lawlessly, and misrepresented and slandered as shamelessly as was the Socialist Party by the United States Government and its vile henchmen and mercenaries, official and unofficial, during the world war and the two years immediately following that damnably wicked and atrocious massacre.

To add to its trials and terrors the most violent internal conflict broke out in the party itself as the result of which the party was torn into warring factions and thousands of its members, demoralized and disgusted, deserted from the ranks.

And still the party lived and kept its colors flying! Reduced to almost a shadow of its former strength it held the fort against the assaults of the foe within and without, proving beyond cavil its unconquerable spirit and its indestructible power.

It was in this fierce struggle and the relentless persecution to which it was subjected that the party was financially bankrupted and overwhelmed with debt which has clung to it like a millstone and paralyzed its activities ever since.

Here let it be stated:

First, that through the highly efficient and economical administration of the national office the party debt has been scaled down to a trifle less than five thousand dollars;

Second, that after spending three days at the national office and examining into its affairs I am

convinced that there is not an office of any kind anywhere in which there is a more thorough, efficient, painstaking and conscientious discharge of its duties than there is in the national office of the Socialist Party. Bertha Hale White, our national secretary, George R. Kirkpatrick, in charge of the literature department, and their three assistants are not limited in their loyal and devoted services to the eight-hour day or to the week of six days; they are at their posts early and late and in the service of the party all the days of the week because to them it is a service of duty, of love and consecration;

Third, that long since the decline in the party membership and morale has ceased. The storm has now been weathered and the tempest-tossed Ship of Hope, its red banner streaming in the breeze above its battle-scarred decks, is once more pushing bravely toward its destined port;

Fourth, that never before in the nearly twenty-eight years of its existence has there been such an alluring field, such a promising situation, such a marvellous opportunity for the Socialist Party to take its place at the head and front as labor's champion and the tribune of the people, where it rightly belongs, as there is today. All it needs is the material equipment to match its militant morale, and it will be done.

Now it is this latter point that challenges me like a devouring flame. Why stand we idle when we might be arousing the nation and moving the world? Is there any excuse for such supineness and impotency? I know of none.

So let us to work at once and together! And with whole-hearted energy and determination that brook no delay and laugh at defeat. Let us immediately provide the equipment that our party may respond to the demand of the hour and do the work so imperatively needed to educate and organize the workers and prepare the people for industrial democracy and for permanent peace, freedom and happiness.

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee held at Washington in December last I volunteered as chairman personally to take in hand the matter of ridding the party of the debt that weighed it down like an incubus and prevented its functioning as it should, provided I was so authorized by the committee. The authority was given by a unanimous vote and Comrade Morris Hillquit at once handed me his check for \$100.00 to start the ball rolling.

I made the statement to the committee and now repeat it that there was no excuse for our party standing still under a load of debt. I stated further that I knew there were from 200 to 500 members and friends of our party who could contribute at

once from \$10. to \$100. each to pay off our debt and to put organizers in the field, and not miss a meal or a cigarette on account of it, and that I believed they would do it.

It is in that faith I now make the appeal to *those who can* to come to the front and contribute their share to free the party and set its feet upon the rock for action.

Each contribution will be acknowledged in the columns of the *World*.

WE CAN CLEAN UP THIS LITTLE JOB IN JUST THIRTY DAYS' TIME AND I EXPECT TO SEE IT DONE.

And once free from incumbrance I venture to propose:

First, that we place as many competent speakers and organizers as possible in the field.

Second, that the coming national convention appoint a committee to co-operate with similar committees of the state of Illinois and the city of Chicago in arranging for a *mass convention of the rank and file of the party* (every member in good standing being eligible, the red card to serve as credential—Saturday preferred) to be followed and crowned with a mass demonstration on the day following (Sunday) in Riverview or some other suitable public park in the city of Chicago; a general invitation to be extended to all Socialists and their friends everywhere to be in attendance—to come from all directions, by rail, by boat, by aeroplane, automobile, motorcycle, bicycle, buggy, wagon, horse-back and afoot, men, women and children:

"Come as the waves come when navies are stranded

Come as the winds come when forest are rended"

to join with heart and soul in the enthusiasm and inspiration of the greatest Socialist demonstration ever held in America.

Third, that at our approaching convention a sinking fund be created for the purpose of securing at the earliest possible day a permanent home for the national headquarters of the party—(preferably a spacious home residence with suitable grounds such as may be secured at a reasonable figure in any one of the many suburbs of Chicago). Scores of local labor unions in Chicago own their own buildings in which to transact their business and there is no reason why our national organization should not be sheltered under its own roof instead of being lodged as a tenant and subject to the greed or whim of a capitalist landlord.

Fourth, that hand in hand with the matter of securing our own national headquarters we proceed to equip the same with a complete printing plant suited to our special purposes so that we can print

our own papers, books, pamphlets, leaflets, documents, and blank forms of all kinds for the national office as well as for our party locals and the general trade.

We shall not be able to measure up to our full stature and do our best until we have an official home of our own, a thoroughly equipped national headquarters, including an efficient printing plant, and are thus able to turn a steady stream of Socialist literature into every state, county, city, town, village, hamlet and cross-roads in the country.

Fifth, that the coming convention take measures at the earliest day practicable to launch a thoroughly alive, militant and bristling Weekly devoted to current issues and popular propaganda and furnished readers at the lowest possible rate of subscription. Such a paper is sorely needed at this momentous and opportune time, and it should with-

in a year or two have a hundred thousand subscribers. The Appeal to Reason at one time had more than half a million paid subscribers enrolled and if we put out the right kind of a paper at the lowest possible cost we can and will in time duplicate that record.

So this is the proposal and the tentative program, and if you are with us, if you really wish to see the Socialist Party take its place as the leader of the American movement in the triumphal march of the International Hosts of Liberation, send your contribution at once that we may wipe clean the slate of party debt, and fare forth anew, redeemed and glorified, on our conquering mission, making Socialism the thrilling, throbbing and inspiring shibboleth of the industrial and social revolution now sweeping over the earth and destined at last to emancipate the countless children of toil, humanize the race, and civilize the world.

WHAT NEXT?

By Judge Jacob Panken

(This is the concluding number of a series of three articles by Judge Jacob Panken)

The La Follette campaign has taught all who were engaged in it a very necessary lesson. The near five million votes cast for Mr. La Follette for President of the United States has left nothing concrete behind. Even if the Senator had been elected to the Presidency, that would not have formed a legal or political party in any of the States of the Union, and certainly not in the nation. Nothing of permanence was established. It will in ensuing elections be necessary, if an independent party were desired, to nominate by petition all candidates for public office.

The laws of the State of New York, in fact the laws of the other states as well, prescribe the manner in which political parties are to be formed.

No political party, it seems to me, is possible in America by merely rallying to the standard of an individual. It is the individual who received the votes and with him the political flurry or manifestation ends. The Roosevelt movement is an historic example of that.

Some who opposed the formation of a party in July realized this even during the campaign, and now on all sides it is admitted that a party should have been formed.

The biographer of Mr. La Follette, Mr. Chester C. Platt, who is secretary of the Non-Partisan League in Wisconsin, has this to say, in effect:

"If a party were organized the handicap of an

independent column on the official ballot would have been avoided, and a more serious handicap, that of a Political Movement with only two candidates in the field for Public Office." He points out, properly, that State, Congressional and local candidates in the field, with the help of their friends, would have aided the National ticket. He, however, questions whether there was sufficient time to perfect such an organization.

In the same tenor speaks Alfred Baker Lewis. He says, quoting a candidate on an old party ticket in the State of Maine who was not only sympathetic with the La Follette movement, but received the support of the State Federation of Labor:

"I cannot join the La Follette party because you have not got any," when he was asked to support the La Follette movement. Mr. Lewis says: "The other glaring weakness in the La Follette campaign was the almost total lack of local candidates for local offices from Assessor to Congress." He comes to the same conclusion that Mr. Platt does.

The New Leader, commenting upon the campaign and its lesson in its issue of November 15, in an editorial on the State of Iowa, says:

"When the Socialist urged the immediate formation of a party to make the La Follette movement more than a mere political insurgency, the reply was the plea that such action would either drive Brookhart, Morris, Huddleston and the rest out of

the movement, or it would drive them out of the old party." It, however, fails to note in this editorial that those gentlemen and the rest were actually not a part of the movement and further on, it says:

"A few legislators in the hand were more than a party in the future."

And then points out that though Mr. Brookhart, who was a Republican candidate, had the support of the La Follette group, his majority was about 1,000 votes over that of the Democratic opponent; though Mr. Davis only received 153,000 votes and the combined Coolidge-La Follette vote came to 800,000. Not at all, it would seem, a safe method to protect so-called progressives in their offices.

It is certain that the confusion in Iowa did not help the La Follette vote. In any event, nothing was gained, not even the formation of a legally established political party.

Under the laws the status of a political party is determined by the number of votes cast for state offices, but the progressives did not nominate candidates for state offices. Enough votes were cast in the United States in the last election for La Follette to create legal political parties in every state of the Union, if candidates for State offices had been nominated.

Summing up the gain of the last election, it may be put in the language of James Oneal: "For the first time in our history the political and economic organizations of rural and urban labor have united in a National Campaign." This may be debatable, but at best it is all that occurred. However, there is no sense in crying over spilled milk.

The question is. What are we to do now?

The organization plan adopted in Cleveland provided that the National Committee of the C. P. P. A. should meet immediately after the election and prepare a call for and organize the convention for January, 1925. The purpose was to prepare for the launching at that convention of a political party. Deference to Mr. La Follette's wishes and the dominant desire of many delegates who were in favor of the launching of a labor party at that time resulted in this plan—it was a compromise.

A view of the situation at this moment shows that conditions are favorable for the formation of a third party. The press reported on several occasions during the month of October that both Senators La Follette and Wheeler were in favor of a third party, and that such a party would be launched after election. Since then, the action taken by the Republican caucus in excluding the insurgents, so-called, stripping them of their committee membership and seniority rights, should tend to strengthen the desire of Mr. La Follette and his friends for the formation of a third party. They have been thrown

out of the Republican party; they have attacked the Democratic party, they will not come into the Socialist party. What else is there for them to do?

It must now be evident to Mr. La Follette and his friends that it is not possible to fight the Republican party machine and retain the position that goes with membership in that party.

At the National Committee meeting at Washington in December plans will have to be laid for the January convention. Our experience at Cleveland proves that the plans of the National Committee are the decisions of the Convention. It is safe to assume that whatever plans will be decided upon in December will become the decisions of the Convention in January.

It is therefore important that policies should be thoroughly discussed, plans considered and the attitude of the Socialist Party clearly defined before plans are formulated by the National Committee of the C. P. P. A.

Should the National Committee decide to organize a party in January, 1925, what is it likely to be? That is one thing we must discuss.

There can be no doubt that the composition of the January Convention will be different in character from that of the July Convention. There will be new groups. There will be new leaders; groups with interests opposed to labor or producing farmers; groups whose entire outlook upon the economic and political situation is capitalistic fundamentally; new leaders who have been expelled from the major parties but still imbued with the spirit of the old parties.

These will form a definite block in the convention; they will do everything to wipe out any radical tendency and minimize any radical demand. They will avoid everything that may bring the charge of radicalism against them or the new party. Not only that, they will oppose the formation of a Labor Party even if its program is less than the minimum. To them, being members of a Labor Party will be tantamount to a stigma. Their psychology being reformist, they will insist on a party with a platform vague enough to include all and everybody.

Will it be possible to overcome these new leaders and groups?

It must be admitted that a large percentage of the labor groups in the C. P. P. A. are of the conservative wing of the Trades Union movement. These will surely want the inclusion of all groups and consequently will lean to the new element.

Up to now the Socialist group was able to swing the C. P. P. A. to more radical ideas. At the January convention the conservative unions will be in the center and at best will bring about a com-

promise and that means a party, more or less progressive, probably less than more.

Immediate reforms in the form of demands proposed by the Socialist Party or the Socialist movement have often been carried into effect as the Socialist movement became strong. So it was with the Workmen's Compensation Laws, Widows' Pensions, the protection of women in industries, more stringent child labor laws, and so forth. As the Socialist movement is strengthened, its immediate demands are taken up by the major parties and carried into effect.

The only justification, therefore, for the support of a liberal party movement falls by the wayside.

In Great Britain, Labor and Liberals were never able to coalesce. The position taken by the British Labor Party recently, and into which position it was forced, points to what can be expected when Labor and Liberals come face to face.

The MacDonald Government was defeated by the Liberals.

MacDonald could have continued in power for at least some time, had the British Labor Party agreed to compromise with the Liberals. When it comes, however, to a question of principle, there is no meeting ground for Labor and Liberals.

Much as we would have liked to see the MacDonald Government continue, we take our hats off to them for the stand they took. The participation in and becoming an integral part of a Liberal Party is for the Socialists an impossibility.

There are some among us who believe it possible to form a Labor Party at the January Convention. If that is so, there can be no two opinions as to what

the Socialist attitude is to be.

We must encourage such a party. We must become a part of it. We must help build it. Should that, however, be impossible or improbable,—and the probabilities point to the formation of a Liberal or Third Party at the January Convention,—the Socialist position, in my judgment, should be in the direction of preventing the C. P. P. A. from organizing such party.

The Socialists must, as a matter of principle, as well as practice, be an integral part of the Labor Party by all means; in a Liberal Party by no means.

If a Labor Party cannot be formed in January, 1925, the existence of the C. P. P. A. should not be endangered.

The formation of a Liberal Party will endanger its existence; it will swallow up the C. P. P. A. and destroy it. It has taken many decades before Labor has been moved to even discuss independent labor politics. Now, when there is an organized conference for its discussion and promotion, its existence must not be endangered. The contact of Socialists with organized labor in the C. P. P. A., that has cost so much effort and heartache, will be weakened if a Liberal Party is formed or the C. P. P. A. is destroyed.

This manifestation of American Labor's interest in independent political action should be furthered, and the C. P. P. A., the expression of that should be continued until a Labor Party is finally formed.

It follows that as far as Socialists are concerned, who are members of the National Committee, if it appears that a Labor Party cannot be formed, they must stand for the continuation of the status quo.

“QUOTATIONS”

“A ‘class grievance’ left too long without a remedy breeds class consciousness, and therefore class resentment.”—Roosevelt: *Special Message to the Senate and the House*, April 27, 1908.

Next we will hear from President Emeritus of Yale University, Dr. Arthur Twining Hadley:

“It (the labor theory of value) has formed the basis of the class consciousness of the laborers in the same way that the doctrine of the sacredness of property formed a part of the class consciousness of the property holders a hundred years ago..... The only way in which the conservative elements in the community can meet this problem, is by checking the growth of class consciousness.....

“..... For three generations we have been teaching a philosophy of business that was, fundamentally, an appeal to self-interest..... A degree of selfishness in business transactions..... has become un-

der twentieth century conditions unsafe and generally disastrous..... Property right is not a sacred something as an end in itself.....

Dr. Richard T. Ely, Head Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin:

“We have in our day a twofold movement.....; first, a weakening of the old classes based on political privilege and established by positive statute and long continued custom; second, a growth of economic classes, and especially the emergence of rather sharply defined classes of employers and employees, each with a menacing class consciousness.....

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LET US WORK FOR A PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

By Cameron H. King

When nearly 5,000,000 voters throught the United States give their electoral support to a progressive candidacy independent of the two old parties it shows a profound dissent on their part from the prevailing political and economic system. That dissent was not confined to any one portion of the country, but was pretty widely spread among the different sections. It was not local or sectional but national dissent. Among the 6,000,000 voters of the Southern states La Follette polled 371,000 votes or 7%. Among the 8,700,000 voters of the northeastern states he polled 1,114,000 votes or 13%. Among the 9,500,000 voters of the middle states he polled 2,047,000 or 21%. and among the 4,585,000 voters of the west he polled 1,292,000 votes or 28%. By far the greater bulk of that vote was cast with the definite hope that it would launch a new progressive party of the producing masses. I believe that failure to launch such a party will result in disastrous disappointment to the rank and file of the movement. It would be regarded as one more betrayal after ten years of war, suppression, splitting and discouragement.

Some of our good socialist comrades, however, want to break with our allies of the past campaign and prevent the formation of a new party. Others are willing that a new party shall be formed only if it shall adopt a practically complete set of "scientific" socialist principles and tactics. But that is not possible at this time. Either course of action would undoubtedly destroy whatever good will we have acquired among the progressive working class during the last three years. Either course would cause us to be regarded as stubborn obstructors of working class unity. I do not believe we would be able to survive the indignation and discouragement that would follow our willful blocking of a new progressive labor party. We would find the field for new recruits closed to us and thousands of our old members would give up in despair.

Two main objections have been voiced to our further participation in the progressive movement.

One is to the character of some of our associates in the recent campaign. Mere personal objections, of course are entitled to no consideration whatsoever. And the acts that I have seen complained of are nearly all attributable to rival interests in spheres outside of the Presidential campaign itself. They would disappear in the discipline of an organized party putting up candidates of its own. If

the organization has any vitality it will eliminate self-seeking and shady politicians as they uncover themselves.

The second objection is to a supposed loss of principles that the Socialist Party would suffer by joining with those who are not thoroly committed to socialist doctrines to our heart's content. And we of principle in the Socialist Party assisting the workers in independent political action. That has always seemed to me to be essentially a Marxian policy. But there is really no sacrifice of propagananda work that we will be called upon to make. So long as we do not attempt to commit our associates there can be no objection to our expounding our own socialist doctrines to our heart's content. And we will have a larger and more sympathetic audience than we have ever had before.

"Will you stand for a mere bourgeois reform party?" I have been asked. And the questioner has alleged that the membership will be "bourgeois" and the platform a mere attempt to patch up capitalism so that it can hobble along a bit further. That, of course is simply repeating of the proposed party the charges made by the Communists against the Socialist Party. But the fact is that the membership of the new party will manifestly be like that of the campaign organization of last year, essentially working class. And I am willing to take a chance that the working class of America will find it necessary steadily to develop a socialist program once they form a political party. If they do not it will be chargeable either to our failure as propaganadists or the falsity of Marxian theory.

Comrades! we have before us at this time the greatest opportunity the Socialist Party has ever faced to start the workers unitedly along the path of independent political action toward the goal of Socialism. Let us put no obstacle in the way, such as name, or slogan, or principles that will cause division. If we co-operate patiently and educate persistently we need not fear the result.

The Hon. U. M. Rose, sometime President of the Amercian Bar Association: "At the present time there are many avenues of success that are practically closed to men of moderate fortune, and which are sealed against young men of ability and energy who must fight the battle of life without adventitious aids." (*See American Bar Association Reports, 1903, Volume XXV*).

AN ADDRESS TO YOUNG SOCIALISTS

By Aarne J. Parker, National Director Young People's Department

With the ever growing acknowledgment of Socialism the World over it behooves us to reach an immediate realization of the necessity for increased efforts on the part of all comrades, to combat the inevitable opposition that will precede the death of the present economic era. Like a jungle monster cornered by its conqueror, the capitalist system will fight with its every known and yet to be conceived agency, in a final effort to divert the trend of public sentiment. Present day political history will uncover many so obvious untruths and clever misrepresentations used as arms against possible labor victories.

On the other hand, in the face of this realization, we must not be blind to the fact that during one generation only a certain amount of progress can be made, and that in order to attain the fulfillment of our hopes, our children and our grandchildren will be forced to work as we have worked. Their methods will differ essentially from ours, for without a doubt new problems will be faced. The intricacies of industrial and scientific development may influence other changes no man can prophesy. But if tactics must change, let us provide that the change becomes a gradual transition induced by a thorough understanding of the past and present, rather than a radical and self destructive move made necessary thru the lack of knowledge of our present day aims.

Are the young people of today prepared to meet the responsibilities of the future? More especially, are our socialist parented children to continue the work for a cause we would now give everything for? These questions would be met with an argument more readily than an answer, for we are unwilling to admit our neglect of this delicate subject. But after years have passed without encouraging us with fruits for our labors, we have only ourselves to accuse, for inasmuch as we neglect to blaze the trail to the future we remain at a standstill.

Many otherwise well meaning comrades, in their great enthusiasm, genuine interest, and honest work for the cause, expect the young people to take active part in the political and industrial problems with equal zest. Founded on this belief the Y. P. S. L. is often looked upon as a political and propaganda auxiliary which it is not, and must not be. We do look to some of the advanced Yipsels to undertake a "man size job" occasionally, but it is a great mistake to expect the organization to participate as a body in political and propaganda undertakings.

As a contrast to the opinion expressed by a few

of our older comrades, we have the views of some young people who look upon the league as a source of entertainment and pleasure.

Both assumptions are wrong. The Young People's Socialist League, the Junior organization of the League, and our Socialist Sunday schools should be educational vehicles for the young people of the working class, but in making them so, the possibilities for a congenial education should not be hampered by suppressing youth's desires for amusement. Just as soon as his fancies are curbed he become more and more susceptible to other influences. It is far better that we permit five parts of pleasure to every one of work, that attempt to cram knowledge into the heads of the young by the shovelfuls, later to discover that we have either driven them out of our ranks or developed of them eccentric idealists.

Equal to understanding the purpose of our Young People's Socialist League; equal to the appreciation, and if you wish, the tolerance of the activities youth is interested in, is the necessity for clear judgment in adjusting our methods to suit the conditions.

There are different problems to meet when we traverse from one part of the country to another, or from one type of environment to another. The methods of Massachusetts Yipsels differ radically from New York; as much as both contrast to Milwaukee or St. Louis. It would be difficult to analyze the characteristics of the various types, being besides unnecessary for the present purposes. We must remember however that these very peculiarities are integral factors with the very life of the circles. Consequently we should be careful about importing substitute methods without thorough investigation. Uniformity cannot always be the pillar of efficiency.

But while respecting local customs and tactics, not opposed to our principles, we should avoid isolating our circles by insufficient intercircle ties. While being a stimulant to activity, these locally peculiar methods should not eliminate the mutual purpose of the circles as a league. Educational, social, athletic and organization activities should be reinforced by a cooperative interest. Intercircle debates, exchange entertainments, visiting, speakers, and athletic tourneys, in addition to the more common yet, both necessary and effective conventions, would insure an organization of a truly national scope, and would greatly eradicate petty jealousies and differences so apt to arise with a too monotonous existence.

NEW BLOOD IS WANTED

By Eugene V. Debs

There is just now, in these toilsome and trying days of reconstruction, an urgent demand for the infusion of new blood in the Socialist Party.

Not that the old blood has in the least lost its virility, but as the Socialist party is a growing party and must keep pace with the industrial and social development, it needs and must have the youth, the boys and girls emerging from childhood and maturing for service, in a word, the coming generation, to recruit its ranks not only, but to keep the party young, vigorous, bold and self-reliant; to replenish the wornout material, to feed the fires of enthusiasm, to maintain the forward pressure on the party machinery, to prevent the party becoming stale or stagnant or stationary, and to hold it steady to its course, employing all its activities at their full capacity, and adapting its safely and wisely to the rapid changes in the industrial and social life, thus keeping it fully abreast of the progressive spirit of the times.

The organization peculiarly fitted and qualified for this very important work of tapping the veins of youth for the steady infusion of new blood to vitalize, nourish and strengthen the Socialist party, is the Young People's Socialist League.

Hail to this stalwart body of young socialists who have enlisted for service as vital, as high-hearted and as helpful and inspiring to the cause of humanity as ever prompted young men and young women to action in this world!

It is in this fine, fertile field of organization and propaganda for the education of the young that their thoughts and activities may be directed into proper channels and serve the cause of human progress and human happiness instead of being perverted under a false standard of education and made the willing instruments of their own slavery and degradation—it is in this broad, inviting field of the rising generation, radiant with the sunrise of the coming day, that the boys and girls now in their teens, those among them who have brains and courage, vision and understanding, hearts and souls, and therefore the passion to enter the lists and fight for their ideals, will achieve honorable fame, write their names in fadeless letters in the history of their age, command the respect of their fellows, and win the lasting love of those to come after them.

Surely there is incentive enough here to appeal to every young man and every young woman who has courage above a sheep, intelligence above a shell-fish, and pride and self-respect above a stool-pigeon.

Therefore, with all my heart I am enlisted in the Young People's Socialist League and shall give it all the encouragement, all the support at my command. It is indeed a child after my own heart and my heart is certainly in it to keep it young and virile, alert and forward-looking, thus insuring me against the calamity so common to capitalism of falling into doddering old age.

It is a matter of rejoicing to me that the Young People's Socialist League which suffered so extremely along with the party in general during and since the war, has now reorganized on a new and more secure foundation, taken a fresh start under a keen, energetic and resolute administration, and bids fair to outrival its past record in the rapid accessions to its membership and in all its varied educational activities, all of which will contribute materially to the education and organization of the working class, the upbuilding and strengthening of the Socialist party, and speeding the day of human emancipation.

When capitalism calls for new blood it is either to coin it into gold at the price of slavery or to splash it over a battlefield to fertilize its fabulous fortunes.

When socialism calls for new blood it is to vitalize the cause of the workers and producers of wealth and prosperity in their struggle to rid themselves of the leeches, parasites and vampires that are draining their veins, and achieve their self-respect, their manhood and womanhood, and their untrammelled right to the full measure of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I cannot close without at least a brief reference to Sacco and Vanzetti, to Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and all the rest of the political prisoners, more than a hundred in number, who are rotting in the pestholes of capitalism for expressing an opinion in the United States.

The Young People's Socialist League is morally bound to do all in its power to keep the cause of these martyrs of labor before the people until finally the dungeon doors are forced ajar and they are restored to the freedom which the United States government has disgraced itself in robbing them of.

That the Young People's Socialist League will support the Child Labor Amendment now pending before the legislatures of the several states goes without saying. It is impossible to think or speak or write dispassionately upon this burning issue unless one has a heart of stone and ice-water in his veins.

The time will come when the supreme court of the United States will be put in the pillory to its

everlasting shame and dishonor for having twice denied Christ, twice insulted its generation by announcing twice the infamous, brutal, cowardly and utterly idiotic doctrine that the United States government, the most powerful on earth, the government that can make war at will, with or without cause, seize the millions of its young by the throat and force them out upon battlefields anywhere on the globe and have them maimed, mutilated and murdered; that can do anything under the sun from swallowing its own constitution in its denial of the free speech and free assemblage it avows, to making dope-fiends and criminals of young boys in its rotten penal blackholes; that can do all this and infinitely more

to serve the profiteering pirates of Wall Street, and yet is utterly helpless, paralyzed, weak as a still-born infant when it comes to raising its voice or its hand in defense of the little children, the babes of poverty, the helpless offspring of the suffering poor, who are being dwarfed, stunted and deformed, literally fed to the monster Mammon by hundreds of thousands, in the land of the stars, stripes and injunctions.

The supreme court has twice spoken;

Let the little children be devoured by the moloch of profit, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of capitalism!

WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR?

By August Claessens

A great many of the members of the Socialist Party seem to be waiting for something to happen. Just what they are waiting for is difficult to discern. Whether they know what they are waiting for or not one thing is certain—they are standing still. They are inactive and gathering dust. They are uninspired and frigid. They react to nothing, except to their inertia. And so they wait!

On the other hand, things are happening all around us. Reaction does not wait. The enemy is ever vigilant. The plutes don't sleep. Their ill-gotten gains keep them awake, alert and ever on the defensive. And so reaction is tightening its constricting coils around us. Capitalist propaganda is rising in swamping billows. Wall Street is in frenzied mood and the bears and lambs are jazzing. Wages are being mercilessly slashed. Labor unions are brazenly defied. Fresh from their recent electoral victory, the Babbitts are arrogant and the Child Labor Amendment is the next objective of their vicious onslaught. Sensing the dire apathy of the Labor and Socialist movement they are spurred on to success. The press, radio, movies, chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, the Ku Klux Klans, the anti-evolutionists and kindred organizations and groups are in vigorous swing against everything and anything that smacks of radicalism. The lack of any kind of fighting opposition just now gives these hordes of darkness a feeling of superb victory. They are highly elated. Like a tidal wave, they are carrying everything before them. The La Follette campaign belongs to ancient history. Except in a few spots the forces have evaporated. The Labor Party prospects have departed into the far uncharted future. The Communists are chewing each other's flanks in desperation and disillusionment. And we Socialists

are waiting, waiting. For what? The Devil only knows.

If we would only be doing something while waiting, there might be some excuse. But we are just waiting. And doing nothing. When we do nothing the little we have done in the past is dissipated. The few willing speakers, teachers and organizers and writers we still have are compelled to seek employment and mortgage their energy and talents to Mammon. The cynics in our midst are having the time of their lives. Their predictions are being fulfilled and their joy is unbounded. "Things are going to Hell and going fast." The nightmare is becoming hideous. And in the midst of it all our army of trusty, faithful warriors is waiting; resting, rusting and busting. And still we are waiting, lazily waiting.

There are those of us, yea, a considerable host of us, however, who will not and can not join the army of Socialist Party waiters. We feel and know that the flood of reaction and antipathy must reach its crest and recede. We know that Socialism in this benighted country and in every other land on the globe is destined to triumph. Of this we are certain. Emphatically certain! The attainment of our goal is inevitable. It may be pushed further ahead, postponed or temporarily adjourned, but our success is inscribed in the laws of social evolution. Our greatest achievements are not behind us but ahead.

To achieve means to strive, struggle, fight and work. As soon as our stunned, disappointed and apathetic crowd determines to resume we will cut short this waiting disease and go ahead, full steam ahead. And we will not be worthy Socialists, worthy of our international affiliations, worthy of our inspiring philosophy, worthy of our great historic

mission, until we begin our march again and resume our tasks. What about it? You, comrade, I mean you! What about it?

NEW JERSEY RESOLUTION

Resolution adopted by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey at its regular, monthly meeting held at State Headquarters, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, Sunday, January 11th.

Whereas: It has come to the attention of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey that in various parts of the State, particularly in Essex and Passaic Counties, certain members of the Socialist Party are joining as individuals, and are assisting in the organization of, so-called "third parties," and

Whereas: The formation of such parties on a basis of individual membership before the holding of the National Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action is premature and a violation of the letter and spirit of the agreement under which the various groups constituting the C. P. P. A. cooperated during the recent campaign, and

Whereas: For Socialist Party members to take part in the formation of such parties is a violation of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party, and

Whereas: Membership in a rival political party is incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party,

Therefore be it resolved: That the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey direct all members of the Socialist Party of New Jersey who have assumed membership in another political party forthwith to relinquish such membership and to cease all activity in furthering such other party, and

Be it further resolved: That this action is not to be construed as in any way prejudicial to the formation of a national, federate party of labor unions, farmers' organizations and other progressive groups among which the Socialist Party will be included.

Robert Leemans,
Executive Secretary.

"Modern classes are chiefly industrial, particularly so in a republic like the United States, but industrial pursuits are everywhere acquiring increasing importance in class formation. It is absurd to talk as if there were no social classes in the United States because there are no social classes created by law." Ely: *Property and Contract in their Relation to the Distribution of Wealth*, Volume I., p. 12; Volume II., p. 611.

WHO WILL WIN THIS PRIZE?

100,000 READERS 100,000 READERS

The prize is *The Principles of Sociology*, the noblest volume in the English language on the subject of Sociology, written by Professor Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin. This magnificent book has been gratefully ranked first in the literature of Sociology by many of this country's leading scholars. Master this book and you have a liberal education on this all important subject, Sociology. In collecting the material for and in writing this book the author spent much of his time and energy for seventeen years. It is a monumental work used in hundreds of colleges and universities.

The Department of Literature offers this book as a prize to the comrade sending to the National Office the most instructive brief story or account of his Party work in the three months beginning on or before March 15, following closely in his work the Lend-and-Sell Plan outlined below. The prize will be awarded June 15. We hope to have some interesting and thoroly helpful accounts for publication. It is hoped that this Plan will be helpful in part of your work. We are wondering whether some Young Leaguer or some old-timer will win this prize. At any rate it is high time for every one of us to get busy—all along the line—every one of us *doing something*. We simply must begin—after too much waiting, waiting for somebody else to do something. This Plan can be operated by every person in the movement. Now please read

THE LEND-AND-SELL LIBRARY PLAN. FOR 100,000 READERS.

1.—Take notes on your experience in making use of this Plan. Suggestions are valuable. Other comrades will contribute suggestions. Send yours.

2.—Select 10 persons who can be regarded as 'good prospects,' that is, persons reasonably approachable with a carefully courteous proposal to lend them, each, 20 different pieces of instructive literature during the next ten months, ten small books and ten leaflets, each loan to run one month.

3.—Using the Lend-and-Sell Library literature advertised elsewhere in this issue, lend each person, about the first of each month, one booklet and one leaflet.

4.—When lending a book and a leaflet, especially at first, suggest that the leaflet be read first, in order to create interest quickly and without fatigue. Also, call attention to something of particular importance or specially entertaining in the book; for example, when offering Ameringer's *Life and Deeds*

of *Uncle Sam*, be sure to call attention to the neat little story on page 2 about the Jewish boy fighting two other boys—while he held his foot on that famous nickel. In lending *Work's What's So and What Isn't*, call attention to the fact that nearly 175,000 copies have been distributed and direct the borrower's attention to some chapter in the book that is likely to interest him most. It is not sufficient to thrust a book at one's neighbor and say: "Read that!" Manner is a great matter when you are carrying salvation to a lost soul. When you use the leaflets proceed in the same way. In the case of *The Parable of the Water Tank*, mention the fact that millions of people have read the little masterpiece. If you should use *Out of Work*, ask the reader whether he accepts the Six Fundamental Propositions on page 4 of the leaflet. In short, when a piece of literature is offered, something should be said to excite interest in what is offered.

5.—Keep a careful record of what literature has been supplied to each borrower, so there may be no piece offered a second time to the same borrower.

6.—At the close of each month collect the loans and supply each reader with a book and a leaflet he has not yet had. At the same time offer to sell the book to the borrower, showing him the regular retail price. If the book is not sold it can be collected to be lent to some other borrower. If the book is sold the money will be in hand with which to buy another of the same kind for another reader.

7.—Keep this up for ten months.

8.—The chances are ten to one that in thus working a little with ten people for ten months you will have sold one tenth of the literature to each of the ten borrowers; and thus you will have in hand the total amount of the original investment. You will have educated ten persons; and each of these having had the twenty pieces of literature, more than one of them will vote the Socialist ticket, and at least one of them should be converted to party membership. This would mean the doubling of the Party membership—so far as you are concerned. And that is the matter of great importance—that you, reader, do your part. Thus we shall be doing instead of dreaming, working instead of waiting, helping instead of side-stepping.

Are you too weary to work? Look at our leader, comrade Debs, always busy. Are you too old to work? Look at Debs, nearly seventy, yet full of fire and fight; read his wonderful articles so faithfully furnished and he is hoping and definitely expecting to hit the road again ere long. Are you willing to let some one else do your share of the Party work? Look at Debs. Have you already "done your share?" Look at Debs, busy as a bee

in May after fifty years of the fight for the workers, his hopes high, his heart warm, his eyes flashing in his noble eagerness to serve you, to serve me, to serve all of us.

Put on your armor, comrade. Let's go.

The Lend-and-Sell Library Plan is offered as one of the ways to work effectively with the least possible expense in money and the smallest expenditure of time and energy. If 10,000 comrades will employ this Plan we shall have 100,000 people reading, coming our way at once. Let's go.

THE LEND-AND-SELL LIBRARY

\$1..... 100,000 READERS 100,000\$1
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The New Slavery (Nearing)	15c
Should Socialism Prevail — A Debate	10c
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Leaflets:

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Silence	10 "
Out of Work	10 "
What Is Socialism?	3 "
Most Frequent Questions and Objections to Socialism	3 "
The A B C of Socialism	3 "
Monopoly and the Farmer	3 "
Labor of City and Country Should Unite	3 "
A Big Undertaking	3 "
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Estimated actual cost of 50 leaflets, assembling, wrapping, shipping, office work, postage, etc. 30c

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National Office Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

THE PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION

By George R. Kirkpatrick

Who are the proletariat? In these days of much discussion relative to the matter of reorganizing society for the relief of those who are exploited there is much use of the phrase 'working class,' and of the word, 'proletariat'. Perhaps we might with some additional clearness discuss the subject of a new deal for the workers, of relief and release of the proletariat, if we attended right carefully for a moment to the meaning of the word, "proletariat." The following definition is, of course, not offered as a perfect one, yet it may be somewhat helpful. Words are the tools of the mind. And as we improve our definitions we sharpen the tools with which we work and are thus able to add to the precision of our thought.

The proletariat are those members of society who, because of their economic condition, must work in order to live, but who, because of the industrial system under which they must work, are compelled to submit to exploitation by an industrial ruling class.

Do the farmers belong to the proletariat? Many of them do—unqualifiedly. Millions of them are forced to work, must work or starve; and when they do work they are exploited most cruelly. Many others of them belong, as Kautsky so aptly phrased it; "partly to both classes and wholly to neither." And then there are some farmers who are wholly or almost wholly of the capitalist class. Surely many millions of the farmers should be in the great proletarian movement of our time for industrial freedom.

But take another case, apparently not so easy of disposition. Take the locomotive engineer, member of the so-called "aristocracy of labor," with \$10,000 saved up and invested in the mortgage bonds of the railway company he serves, bonds paying him six per cent net dividends—what about him? Isn't he a capitalist? Look at the dividends or interest. And yet isn't he plainly of the working class? Why he even belongs to a labor union. What about him?

Well, his case is not so very difficult to understand. Let us see:

As a bond-holder his income in dividends (or interest) amounts to \$600 a year; while as a wage-earner at \$200 per month his income is \$2,400 per year. It is plain that his income as a wage-earner is four times as great as his income as a 'capitalist.'

He is—let us say, 80 per cent wage-earner. When an employer calls such a man a capitalist he is of-

fering the wage-earner the chloroform of denatured political economy in order to produce the denatured working class politics, well known in the United States.

This locomotive engineer's case is very much like that of a multitude of farmers. This engineer, member of the "aristocracy of labor," belongs partly to both classes and wholly to neither. Handsome as his railway holdings are, \$10,000, which it probably took him many long years to save if he reared (and educated) a family of several children, he nevertheless belongs primarily to the working class; he is of the proletariat if you please, and should work faithfully for an American Labor Party, faithfully for the co-operative commonwealth in which, so far as it is humanly possible to arrange it, he would have the full fruits of his labor undiminished by rent, interest and dividends. It is perfectly, safe to say that the railway locomotive engineer today produces values twice the amount of the combined incomes of the engineer in the illustration.

The truth is that the working class, includes far more than the wage-earning class. The proletariat, in a reasonably liberal yet fairly accurate sense is vastly greater than it is, apparently, supposed to be. It is perfectly certain that at the present stage in the evolution of the working class under capitalism the exploited workers have the numbers abundantly sufficient to win—as soon as they are sufficiently intelligent and fraternal to get together and face the common enemy,—those who live wholly by exploitation.

The exploited workers of the United States could sweep the exploiters clear off the map if they were class conscious, if they felt that great thrill, dreaded by the masters, dangerous as a resistless tide of the onrushing ocean—working class solidarity.

O, ye of little faith—this thrill of brotherhood will yet run thru the proletariat—then the whirlwinds of rebellion will shake the world.

In the interesting times that are scheduled for the American people in the decades just ahead of us you may have use for the following comments on the right of revolution. They are printed here for your convenience.

William H. Seward, United States Senator:

"The Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to welfare, to liberty. But there is a *higher law than the Constitution*, which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the

same noble purposes." Seward: In the United States Senate, March 11, 1850.

Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court:

"I do not mean to say that there are no circumstances under which disobedience to law may become a duty. Half a century ago there was great discussion of a 'higher law', and *that there is a higher law I have no doubt*..... Submission is not the whole. That may spring from indifference or cowardice."—Brewer: *American Citizenship*, pp. 90, 93.

Edouard Von Holst, longtime Head Professor of History, University of Chicago:

"Rather did the Declaration of Independence and the war (the American Revolutionary War) destroy all political and jural relations, and seek their moral justification inherent in every people in extreme emergencies."—Von Holst: *Constitutional History of the United States*, Volume I., pp. 5, 7.

Dr. D. Q. Dealey, of Brown University:

"An important political problem, therefore, is the problem of trying to form a representative body that may be truly able to formulate the will of the state since it often happens that a body legally authorized to formulate the will of the state does not fully represent the true interests of the state. In that case we have *an issue between what is legal and what is morally right*. If the government is so thoroly entrenched that political agitation can not move it, then the movement may end in revolution, since nothing is settled really until it is settled right."—Dealey: *The State and Government*, pp. 126-27.

Dr. Carl D. Becker, Cornell University:

"This, the Declaration of Independence, is a frank assertion of *the right of revolution*, whenever 'the people' are convinced that the existing government has become destructive of the ends for which governments are instituted among men..... In the Declaration the foundation of the United States is indissolubly associated with the theory of politics, a philosophy of human rights which is valid, if valid at all, not for Americans only, but for all men. This association gives the Declaration its perennial interest." Becker: *The Declaration of Independence*, pp. 7, 9, 225.

"The American Revolution originated in a demand for administrative reform. There remained either acquiescence in a bad policy, or, civil war.... American independence was first worked out intellectually by a few, before it was demanded by the many."—Thorpe: *Constitutional History of the United States*, Volume I., pp. 39, 43.

Professor John Bach McMaster, University of Pennsylvania:

"But one thing, a formal declaration of independence, now remained to be done; and this Congress was not slow in doing it..... In the Declaration of Independence the colonists shifted their ground (of defense of the Revolution) from the old doctrine of the constitutional rights of the people to the theory..... of Social Compact. Briefly stated that was: that, a government proved to be unsatisfactory, the people had a natural right to alter or amend it..... that no man was born to rule another..... Our liberties do not come from charters not from parchments, nor from kings, but from the King of Kings. What constituted these natural rights was stated distinctly in the Declaration of Independence:

" '1—That all men are created equal.

" '2—All have been endowed by their maker with certain inalienable rights of which they can not be stripped by any power, and of which they can not lawfully deprive themselves.

" '3—That among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

"If these are truths it follows that no government can claim allegiance or obedience from man unless he agrees to give it, that all government is a contract and that, in the words of the Declaration, 'Government is instituted among men for the sole purpose of protecting these rights,' that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that when governments fail to accomplish the ends for which they were instituted, it is the right and duty of the people to alter or abolish them.

"It has been the custom in our time to decry these statements as glittering generalities. They are nothing of the kind. You may dissent from them, you may pronounce them totally wrong, you may assert that absolute monarchy is the true form of government; and yet these principles as laid down in the Declaration of Independence are just as truly the principles of government by the people, as the divine right of kings was once the foundation of absolute government."

McMaster: *The Acquisition of Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America*.

Dr. John W. Burgess, Head Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law, Columbia University:

"The State must from time to time readjust the relations of government to liberty..... As the people of a State advance in civilization, the domain of liberty must be widened."—Burgess: *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, Volume 1., p. 87.

The American Revolutionists:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident:..... That governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the govern-

ed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (the inalienable rights..... life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness) it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to *them* shall seem *most likely* to effect their safety and happiness..... When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under an absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security." *American Declaration of Independence.*

Here let us set down four facts:

- 1.—American industry is trustified;
- 2.—The purpose of the masters of American industry is, as President Hadley confesses, *disastrously selfish*;
- 3.—The masters of trustified American industry in their disastrous selfishness, by means of arbitrary price control, boldly *lay a heavier tax upon the American people than any political government ancient or modern ever dared lay upon its people*;
- 4.—We live under an industrial despotism; a despotism which is dominated by despotic purposes, practices despotism, sneers at its hundred million cringing subjects, rests its case on its cunningly constitutionalized property rights in the means of production, defies prisons, proudly points to *thirty-five years of immunity from the prison clause of the Anti-Trust Law*, defiantly points to the Constitution, the Army and the Supreme Court as its Rocky Mountain fortress of safety from the people, and challenges the American multitude who gullibly celebrate their "freedom" on the Fourth of July and whine and howl and curse—but "come across"—every one of the 365 days in the year—under the heel of industrial despotism far heavier than the despotism that drove the Americans to revolution.

The right of revolution is increasingly interesting.

The right of revolution is valuable—sacred.

POPULAR VOTE LA FOLLETTE AND WHEELER FOR

	1924	1920*
	La Follette-Wheeler	Debs
Ala.	8,070	2,369
Ariz.	17,148	222
Ark.	13,169	5,111
Calif.	424,649 Soc.	64,070
Colo.	57,368	8,046
Conn.	32,605 Pro.	10,350
	9,811 Soc.	
	42,416	
Del.	4,979	988

Fla.	8,625	5,189	
Ga.	12,691	465	
Idaho	54,160	38	(Not on ballot)
Ill.	432,027	74,747	
Ind.	70,788	24,703	
Iowa	272,243	16,981	
Kans.	93,461	15,511	
Ky.	38,465	6,409	
La.	4,000 written in	—	(Not on ballot)
Maine	11,382	2,214	
Md.	47,157	8,876	
Mass.	141,225	32,269	
Mich.	122,014	28,947	
Minn.	339,192	56,106	Ind.
Miss.	3,494	1,639	
Mo.	56,733	27,427	Soc. Lib.
	84,160	—	
Mont.	61,162	—	(Not on ballot)
Nebr.	106,701	9,600	
Nev.	9,569	1,864	
N. H.	9,200	1,234	
N. J.	108,901	23,385	
N. M.	9,337	—	(Not on ballot)
N. Y.	268,510	206,395	Soc. Pro.
	474,905	203,201	
N. C.	6,651	446	
N. D.	89,733	8,282	
Ohio	357,948	57,147	
Okla.	40,607	5,134	F. L. Soc.
	45,741	—	
Ore.	68,403	9,801	
Pa.	314,026	93,441	Lab. Soc.
	407,467	—	
R. I.	7,628	4,351	
S. C.	620	28	(Writtin in)
S. D.	75,199	—	(Not on ballot)
Tenn.	10,732	2,268	
Texas	23,466	8,121	
Utah	32,662	3,159	
Vt.	5,964	—	(Not on ballot)
Va.	10,377	—	
Wash.	150,053	8,913	
W. Va.	36,723	5,618	
Wis.	453,678	85,041	
Wyo.	25,174	1,288	
Total	4,790,977	919,799	

* Corrected tabulation—Chicago Daily News Almanac, 1922.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman,

Terre Haute, Ind.

BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary,

2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

MORRIS HILLQUIT, International Secretary,

19 West 44th St., New York City.

AARNE J. PARKER, National Director

Young People's Department,

23 Townsend St., Fitchburg, 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.

Official Business

National Executive Committee Motion
No. 11.

By Roewer.

Submitted by wire, Nov. 25, 1924.

Vote closed November 28.

"That Aarne J. Parker of Fitchburg be designated as acting National Director Young People's Department."

Unanimously adopted.

National Executive Committee Motion
No. 12.

(Executive Question)

"That the selection of Aarne J. Parker for National Secretary by the Convention of the Y.P.S.L. be approved and Comrade Parker appointed National Director of the Young People's Department."

Submitted January 22, 1925. Vote closed January 29th.

Voting Yes: Collins, Debs, Harkins, Maurer, Roewer, Sharts. (6)

Not Heard From: Berger, Hillquit. (2)
Motion carried.

National Executive Committee Motion
No. 13.

By Debs

"That a conference of State Secretaries, secretaries of the language federation and national officials of the Socialist Party be arranged, to be held the day following the adjournment of the national convention called for February 21st."

Comment

"Organization plans will be adopted at the convention which should receive the most careful consideration of all subdivisions of the party. At each convention such plans are adopted. They express the long experience and best thought of our most capable representatives that should bring a splendid increase in party strength and party activity.

THE EMANCIPATOR

By Glengarry.

A GIANT strides
Across the WASTE
That INTERVENES
BETWEEN the many
Who HUMBL Y wrestle
With the TASK
Of CHANGING all
That can be WRESTED
From the EARTH and sea
Into every USEFUL
And LUXURIOUS thing
That are AMASSED
Behind the BOLTED doors
Of those who IDLY sit
Or LOLL at ease
On the SHELTERED side.

A giant STRIDES
ACROSS the waste;
But, see, HE BUILDS
An ADAMANTINE highway
For those who will AWAKE
And STRIKE the putrid

shackles
Which CONTAMINATE
And CRIPPLE every limb —
Already SOME are coming,
See them FOLLOW;
But THEY must run
Who would BESIDE him toil
To BUILD the road —
He neither RESTS
Nor will he PAUSE
For FOOD or SLEEP,
Because, in EARLY years,
He had a VISION —
He seeks to DRIVE
The EVIL from a world
For which was PRAYED,
In ANCIENT days,
"THY KINGDOM COME",
And THIS his vision
Clearly INTERPRETED:
"MAY RIGHTEOUSNESS
PREVAIL."

A GIANT STRIDES
Across the waste;
His hands are BLISTERED,
But he WIELDS the tools
With FERVENT haste;
Upon his HEART
Is deeply BRANDED
(LIKE a shield)
The SHINING charter
Of the ROAD he builds,
And no one DARE
HIM CHALLENGE —

"Unfortunately, the practical ways and means do not receive the careful thought indispensable to their success. The plans are adopted at the close of the convention when a great deal of necessary business is under consideration, and organization work, the most important question of all, cannot have the undivided attention necessary to make plans effective.

"In the approaching convention all State Secretaries are delegates by virtue of their official position. Most of them will surely be present. No more favorable time could be found for such a conference than is offered by the attendance at the convention of all active secretaries and national officials. A general consultation and agreement upon plans for raising necessary funds and field work should result in closer co-ordination of every department.

"I feel the matter should be brought to the attention of the State Secretaries and translator-secretaries in advance so they will have an opportunity for the proposed conference."

Submitted January 31, 1925.

Vote closed February 7th.

Voting Yes: Collins, Debs, Harkins,
Hillquit, Maurer, Sharts, Roewer (7)
Not Heard From: Berger (1)
Motion carried.

Let each of us say:

"Never before was there greater need and opportunity for me to do my whole duty as a Socialist. I will not fail my comrades. I will not fail my Party. I will respond and will respond now to my Party's need of me, to my Party's call to me to fall in and march on as in the old glad days of our sacred comradeship.

"I will not lazily, or carelessly or disloyally leave in the lurch my comrades who are on the firing line".

ALL can see
That the TEXT
And SUPERScription
Were engraved by LOVE.

A GAINST STRIDES
ACROSS THE WASTE,
And, lo, a WILDERNESS
BECOMES a verdant plain—
A FRUITFUL heritage—
ABUNDANCE for all needs;
And, see, there SPRING,
Wherever he has PAUSED,
INVITING arbors—
FRUIT-FILLED
And FLOWER-DECKED—
Where will REST in safety
All the WEARIED ones,
And the DARLING "tots"
Who come along ALONE
And find that PERFECT road
When he has PASSED.

When he HAS PASSED—
Shall ANY OF US say:
'HE CLEARED the way
And BUILT the road
ALONE";
Shall ANY OF US
IDLE in our chair

**SPEAKERS AT
SOCIALIST PARTY
MASS MEETING**
Eugene V. Debs,
Morris Hillquit,
James H. Maurer
Chairman
B. Charney Vladeck.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND CONFERENCES

LEXINGTON HOTEL, CHICAGO ILL.

FRIDAY FEBRUARY, 20

National Executive Committee, Socialist Party.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.

Convention of the Conference for Progressive
Political Action

Reception to women delegates, 5:00 P. M.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22nd.

Second Day Session

Conference for Progressive Political Action

Socialist Party Mass Meeting, Ashland
Auditorium, 2:00 P. M.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd.

Special National Convention
of the Socialist Party
10:00 A. M. Lexington Hotel.
Banquet, 7:00 P. M.

And WATCH HIM bear
The CRUSHING load
ALONE;
Or SHALL WE ALL
(With hearts AGLOW)
HASTEN to his AID
And SHARE HIS LOAD?

A GIANT STRIDES
ACROSS THE WASTE:
Say, COMRADE, look again,
Before another MOUNTAIN
falls,
OBEDIENT to
His CRASHING sledge
And HEAVING spade—
NO OTHER human frame
Could long ENDURE
The ENDLESS toil
Which EVER thus
He FOR HIMSELF assumed;
WHAT SAY—
BEFORE the vital fluid
EBBS—
SHALL WE ARISE
And ON OUR SHOULDERS
PROUDLY BEAR
AROUND THE WORLD
OUR Eugene Victor Debs?

Banquet Committee
Florence Hall,
Chairman,
Room 230,
Lexington Hotel
Reservations,
\$1.50 per plate.

WHERE LABOR PREPARES

Greek national bonds were recently offered in the London market, seven and a half million pounds' worth of them. The loafers leaped for them. The offerings for these bonds were sufficient to buy one hundred and fifty million pounds' worth, or twenty times as many as were offered for sale. But the British parasites were not only eager to get their tentacles fastened into the flesh of Greek workers who for many years would have to do the work necessary to pay the interest and finally the principal, but eager also to place their capital outside of dear old England.

There is a reason, more than one reason. Here are two reasons: First, if all the available surplus British capital were to be invested in factories and machinery in England there would be a disastrous over-production, for there is not sufficient market available for all the goods that could be produced with this additional production outfit. Capitalism is reaching a closing phase in the British Islands. Then again, second, there is the British Labor Party in England, steadily rising to power. True there

is no telling what may happen to British money invested in countries that may default, as France is bashfully admitting she has done. The British Labor Party in power five, ten or fifteen years hence when the bonds fall due might refuse absolutely to do a thing toward enforcing payment of defaulted foreign loans. Still there is the alarming consideration that the British Labor Party a few years hence may proceed to raise the money necessary for old-age pensions, unemployment-wage, sick-and-death benefits, housing for the workers and a lot of other enterprises obnoxious to the parasites, and the Labor Party might coolly raise this money by increasing the taxes on the parasites.

It is all very annoying, don't you know.

If surplus British capital is invested at home it clogs the market with unsalable surplus goods. Moreover it may be absorbed by taxation for the benefit of society generally and for the benefit of the victims of the parasites particularly. But if it leaves the country to be invested in foreign bonds it may be lost. Capitalism approaches its own funeral in England. Labor is getting ready. What a jolly funeral.