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ON MAY DAY

By Joseph E. Cohen

A movement which has its songs and festivals is keen with life. By those signs it will conquer.

When the international movement of labor began May Day it swept out of lamentation over its bondage into challenge for its freedom. From then on, however long it might require to win the world, the world it would surely win.

Since then gigantic strides have been made. Those who discovered the new world and made the passage thereto have gone. Their record is a large and throbbing chapter in the romance of humanity.

After them came the pioneers. In each of the industrial countries they cleared the ground of weed and briar, decayed tree and intruding rock, and erected the edifice to house the gathering multitude. Step by step with the trades union forces comes the political expression which together will transform the whole economic order into the co-operative commonwealth of freed people.

It is beautifully fitting that some of the choicest blossoms of May Day be tendered to the enduring memory of those who brought forth the idealism of labor and endowed it with their strength and vision.

One time and another the international commingling of the hosts of toil has been scattered. The canker of capitalistic rivalry, with its remorseless and treacherous struggle for animal survival, heaves the nations into devastating war, and brother is in arms against brother. But ever the wounds are healed, and the bonds of fraternity are knitted together again.

Just now the torn fragments of the international movement of labor are in the mending process. Faced with the yet unsummed total calamity of the Great War and fearful of the Greater War to come, surely there must be a quickening of the efforts to repair the damage which has been wrought and to guard against any recurrence.

Again, to each in his own country falls the problem of coping with the peculiar aspects of the social question resting in the native soil. In a great measure the success so attained contributes to the making of what is even characteristically international.

Often it appears that the scene of spectacular struggle is everywhere else. Here there is only humdrum existence. Out beyond are the shooting colored rockets, the clatter of cavalry, the charge of musketry and the boom of artillery. And it is so easy to send encouragement from a distance and to felicitate others over victory.

But always there is service waiting at hand, and they who acquit themselves well in their given tasks are cultivating the stalks which bloom on May Day.

In our country what have been the winds of adversity now come laden with the fresh promise of stimulating moisture. It is growing familiar to find the spectre of Socialism haunting our erstwhile statesmen throughout the nation.

Thus President Coolidge assaults the inheritance tax as being "Socialistic" and hints that any extra

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BERTHA HALE WHITE _____ Bus. Mgr.

toll against those who reap the extra unearned profits is of the same brand.

The child-labor amendment is similarly denounced, also the old age pension proposal. In short, any legislation to benefit the common people is thereby "Socialistic." Which may be broadly admitted. Let the contest be waged with this as a definition.

* * *

The chronicle of the past year cannot be closed without mentioning in enlarged type the sturdy effort of the millions who joined their suffrage as workers in field and factory against the sordid rule of our plutocracy. It was a performance well rendered and will find a great reward in the bigger movement bound to be fashioned in the future.

* * *

But what stands out most conspicuously is that the propaganda responsibility of the Socialist is far from discharged. Plenty has been done, as is registered in the pleasing results of social fermentation. But much more is ahead waiting to be done if progress out of the present chaos is to be through the

sanities of intelligence instead of the madness of internecine slaughter.

It is the constant work of the Socialist Party to bring the light of reason into the class struggle, to inspire the toilers with the desire for and recognition of a clearing out of the brutal contest over bread into unfettered democratic industry. To this end the Socialist Party must be a vital organization, with its network of active members at every extension of the population, and with its medium of publicity throbbing with the general pulse.

No doubt but what this is coming to be. What matters is how soon. That is left with those who have the faith.

* * *

Is not this an awakening?

Man in his being akin with nature cannot help respond to the rising of the sap of spring. The frozen soil has relented. There is the stir of growth breaking from beneath, a hum of motion in the air about and the song of the harbinger of fellowship to soften and cheer. Freshet-like runs the flow of bracing ideas and elevating ideals. The day is rich with what will blossom on the morrow.

We glance back at the procession of May Days which mark the international blending of labor armies across the span of the years. Our hearts beat faster as we trace the splendid course. But can we be content unless we, too, stoop over to break the dirt about the roots of the flowers which shall open in all beauty and fragrance on another May Day?

The New Plan To Build The Party

By Bertha Hale White

From every section of the country during the past two months have come demands from Socialists and Socialist sympathizers that the Socialist Party begin an active campaign to rebuild and regain all that was lost during the years of the war and since.

The decision of the February Convention to withdraw from the Conference for Progressive Political Action and to conduct our work within the lines of our own organization met with unqualified approval, not alone from party members but from those who consider our party a great educational force in American politics, even if they do not accept the full program of Socialism.

On April 28th, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met in New York City with National Chairman Eugene V. Debs presiding. The entire day's session was devoted to the question of organization. The program presented for consideration was based upon conditions and facts dis-

closed by correspondence in the National Office. We believe the plan of action adopted by the committee for the next year offers the one possibility of success. Before you read the program, we want to tell you how it appealed to others.

First, note carefully the following from the report:

"All of this is planned with the assumption that a way will be found to finance the work. It is vitally necessary to create a fund before any definite plan is attempted. We must have a fund adequate for a year's work, and such fund should be kept in a separate account at the bank to be used for no other purpose whatever. Any receipts in the way of collections are to be added to the organization maintenance fund."

With the plans of the National Office in mind, Eugene V. Debs had appeared before the board of the Forward Association and asked for a large ap-

propriation. A committee was appointed to confer with the National Executive Committee in New York, and this joint conference was held on Wednesday, April 29th. The organization plan of the Executive Committee was submitted, with the result that the Forward Association voted to give Fifteen Thousand Dollars to the National Office at once and to raise additional funds in the near future.

Now read the *Plan of Work*:

ORGANIZATION METHODS FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The situation generally is very much the same as in 1909 when the membership campaign was begun which resulted in a membership of 135,000 at the time of the 1912 National Convention. In 1909 it was no less evident than it is today that we could not build without workers whose whole time and attention were given to the work. The National Office put twenty-one organizers into the field that year. They covered thousands of miles—George H. Goebel averaged a thousand miles every month and others did almost as much field work as he did. In 1910 and 1911 there were from eight to twelve organizers continuously under National Office direction.

Since 1912 in educational work we have gone constantly forward; in organization we have been slipping backward. For the past several years there have been very few trained, experienced workers at the command of the National Office. The explanation is simple. Organizers are workers who must live by work. They cannot leave regular employment for spasmodic or occasional assignments under our direction. The Socialist Party realized this in 1909. Even more distinctly must this be realized in 1925.

We should and we must stop depending upon correspondence campaigns and intermittent "membership campaigns" and even upon the best written leaflets and pamphlets. We must adopt an organization *system*, a *method* of carefully planned and *sustained* activity. It is useless to call upon "sympathetic organizations" for the means to promote our work. They are sympathetic, not to our appeals but to our condition. If the present membership, with its party press, however limited that may be, is not sufficiently interested in growth to make whatever sacrifice may be necessary, we shall find all the friendly groups sympathetic not to our appeals of one kind or another, but to our attitude of indifference and general hopelessness.

ORGANIZERS

For a number of years the National Office has used organizers or speakers for short periods only.

In planning for the future we must face a very serious lack of workers. It will be difficult to get any considerable number who are competent and experienced at all unless we can give them some guarantee of being kept in the field long enough to justify giving up present employment.

The purpose of the Regional Conventions is to strengthen the organization. No amount of correspondence will take the place of organizers, and the results will depend on the number we can enlist. Hitherto we have expended such resources as we had in the most unfavorable sections and have practically nothing to show for all the effort and funds put into the unorganized districts. The stronger districts should be made stronger first of all. Weaker districts are likely to be stimulated by seeing the stronger regions unmistakably go forward with increasingly impressive strength and morale. An organizer in such a district can get members more rapidly, get more financial help, grow stronger in courage himself, and very important, produce vastly more stimulating news and daily reports.

Unquestionably, the Regional Conventions will stimulate interest in the party and they should be followed by practical organizers.

An organizer cannot hold meetings that are successful financially. Work must be devoted to personal interviews, canvassing for members and soliciting subscriptions for party papers. There is occasionally some return in collections, but only occasionally. Our membership is considerably less than in 1909 and it is more concentrated. We had three or four locals sixteen years ago where we now have but one. It is this fact that makes organization work so expensive. Traveling expenses for organizers routed through the country are prohibitive.

For organization purposes, the territory has been divided. The outline below gives only ten such districts, but the number could be increased, and should be increased very soon. No organizer will be sent out until every possible effort has been made to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of every member. Consideration will be given first to territory containing the largest number of functioning organizations.

The plan outlined will cost not less than \$3,000 per month. Each organizer will be assigned to a district comprising two or three states. He must have but one. It is this fact that makes organization with as many local and state workers as can be supplied. A district organizer will be assigned to each of the following districts as those most favorable for results:

- District No. 1—New England States
- " " 2—New York and New Jersey

- " " 3—Pennsylvania, Maryland,
Delaware
" " 4—Ohio and Michigan
" " 5—Wisconsin and Minnesota
" " 6—Illinois and Indiana
" " 7—Missouri and Iowa
" " 8—California
" " 9—Washington and Oregon
" " 10—Oklahoma and Texas.

All of this is planned with the assumption that the party will help finance the work. *It is vitally necessary to create the fund before any definite plan is attempted.* We must have a fund adequate for a year's work and such fund will be kept in a separate account at the bank to be used for *no other purpose whatever.* Any receipts in the way of collections will be added to the organization maintenance fund.

An Organizing Director will be chosen with headquarters in the National Office, whose duty it shall be to direct and coordinate the work of the district organizers and to take care of organization work within the States not included in the above list.

The Organizing Director shall be elected by the National Executive Committee and shall work under the direction of the National Executive Secretary.

The activity of the district organizers within their respective districts shall be arranged between the National Office and the respective State Committees of the party.

The order in which the district organizers shall be appointed shall be determined by the National Executive Secretary in conjunction with the Organizing Director, *with due regard to the available funds and the needs and promise of the districts. The factor that will determine the starting of this work shall be the spirit of the organization that shows the most disposition and ability to make good.*

What do you think of it, Comrades, you who have watched and waited for the turn of the tide? Do you think well enough of the plan to do what the *Forward* has done—go down into your treasury and vote as much as you can possibly manage?

The National Office will have a check from the *Forward* in a few days—a check for \$15,000.00. As soon as we have it a separate account will be opened at the bank. Every dollar sent us by your local or by your members will be put into that account. We will need \$48,000.00 for a year's work. Will you help us get that money? *Every dollar of it will be spent for organization.* The accounts will be audited. You will know exactly where the money went to; how it was used.

One big task of these District Organizers will be to promote the new National Weekly to be established by the Party, of which Comrade Debs is to be the Editor-in-Chief. It will be called *The American Appeal*. The first issue will be published on January 1st, 1926. Subscription cards are now in the hands of the printer. We will sell them at the Regional Conventions. Our organizers will sell them. And here again is something you must know: The money we receive for the new publication will be put into still another account. *We will use none of it until the paper is established.*

Comrades, you have received many appeals for financial help in the past. Some of you responded—many of you did. But many did not. The plans we have submitted from time to time failed because so many did not respond. You say the National Organization must rebuild the party. We agree—it must; but the National Organization is made up of locals and branches. In fact the National Organization is the total membership of the Party. It will require every member, giving his best, working his hardest. Every member who fails, who shirks his part, is just a weak spot in the organization. An asset or a liability—which will you be?

The blank below was prepared for YOUR use. What will you do with it? This issue of the *Socialist World* goes to every dues paying member of the Party. In two weeks after mailing day, we should know here at the National Office just how much help we can expect from the membership. Those who are sincere, those who are ready for the great effort of the next few months, will not wait. They will feel it a point of honor to hold a receipt showing that every cent they could give was sent in—*promptly sent in*—to the Organization Maintenance Fund!

Use this blank to send in your contribution for
**THE ORGANIZATION MAINTENANCE
FUND**

Local, Branch
or M. A. L.
contributes \$....., which is herewith enclosed,
and pledges \$..... per month to the Organization
Maintenance Fund, with the understanding
that this money will be deposited in a separate fund
and used only for the purpose for which it is given.

(Signed)

Secretary

Address

Send all contributions to The Socialist Party,
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.



“TAKEN!”



By George R. Kirkpatrick

One hundred and fifty years ago, stretching north and south fifteen hundred miles and westward nearly three thousand miles, were opportunities in number and quality never before equaled: farming land, hundreds of millions of ‘fat-land’ acres in smiling valleys waiting to be taken, vast stock ranges, incomparable forest land, amazing oil land, coal land, metal-mining land, quarries, waterfalls worth billions of dollars—the richest country in all the world. Millions of poor men escaped the wolves of want, won in the race of life, by seizing the opportunities all about, untaken. The working man’s heart was gladdened by the fact that his children were born amid such wealth of opportunity. The mother of his children was happy; her heart was singing: “My children are safe.”

It was as if a great door reaching from the Great Lakes to the Gulf stood wide open inviting the people, a door thru which many millions marched smiling, confident, safe: there were the opportunities, ready for them, ready for their children, ready for their grand-children, opportunities untaken. Thru this vast door for a hundred and fifty years Americans have marched westward—and succeeded, safe in a country crammed with opportunities untaken. Many, many millions of fathers and mothers reared their children unafraid—there was an opportunity for every one of them, an opportunity remaining, untaken, in America, abundant America. The children were safe. The grandchildren were safe, in such a country of opportunities—untaken. This was the fact and this was the feeling for more than a century.

But America is taken—now.

The fertile lands are taken. The grazing ranges are taken. The coal lands are taken. The oil lands are taken. The forests are taken or being swiftly taken by capitalist corporations. The waterfalls are taken or are rapidly being taken by syndicates against whom the poor man has no show, not a ghost of a show, to win these power sources worth billions of dollars. The march thru this great door westward is ended. Now on the western slopes of California, Oregon and Washington, right down to the water’s edge of the Pacific, there is fierce contest now—there is wild and hungry scrambling now.

The whole country is taken now.

America is now placarded: “Taken!”

The children now born in America must everywhere face that grim sign: “Taken!” One of the greatest lawyers in America, Mr. U. M. Rose, of

Virginia, as president of the American Bar Association, addressing that body of cool and calculating men, said:

“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.”—American Bar Association Reports, Volume XXV.

The great stores of raw material, the mills, mines, forests, factories, machinery, water-power sources, *the industrial foundations of society*, are now taken, are private property. And industry is conducted for profits and not for service. The fate of the workers is fixed, sealed at last.

This, therefore, is now a new world, a profoundly changed world. The parents of children born into a country placarded, “Taken!” have a new obligation.

Look into your little children’s faces and acknowledge your responsibility. They must fight a losing battle in a world marked “Taken!” Your grandchildren are defeated before they are born in such a situation, in a world marked “Taken!” Meditate long and honestly on these things.

These are the considerations back of and in the call of the Socialist party—its call to you to stand forth now and do your part for the industrial reconstruction of American society. Mark you: there is no insulting placard on the school house cruelly announcing to your children: “Taken!” No such mean notice chills your heart or the hearts of your children when you enter the public library. The notice, “Taken!” does not order you to keep out when you approach the public park. *These things are socialized.*

And so far your children are safe. And now from end to end of this fair land we Socialists promote a movement to take down the “Taken!” sign from the mills, mines, forests, factories, railways, waterfalls—and socialize these industrial foundations of society, and thus make all the workers safe, make their children safe, make their grandchildren safe,—safe in the great first business of life, the business of getting a living, a good living.

Thus this is your movement.

We claim your cooperation in the effort to reconstruct the Socialist party of America that it may successfully teach the people to strike off the placard “Taken!” from industrial opportunity. We work for you. We work for your children. We work for generations yet unborn. Shall they come into

a world that has been transformed in the last hundred years, a world in which the doors of opportunity are closed against the children of the working class?

We know that you know that this is your fight. We challenge you to join hands with us. We address the noblest thing in your nature, your sense of loyalty. We can not believe that your longing for fellowship is frozen, that your soul of honor is dead.

The National Office of the Socialist party addresses you asking frankly that you contribute cash now to meet the pressing need for funds, asking that you join the party and hunt up your old pals and have them join also and reorganize the local,

begin a literature campaign—a dozen, a hundred, or a thousand pieces of literature distributed regularly each week,—and set your heart for the holiest cooperation your soul is capable of for the success of the mass conventions and the demonstrations.

This is your battle.

This is your children's battle.

We meet you half way. The great door of opportunity is closing in your children's faces. Let's open that door wide—by socializing industry as the park and the school and the library are socialized.

Look your little children and your younger brothers and sisters in the face. Then stand up straight and say: "I'll fight. Count on me!"

THE COMING MASS CONVENTIONS

By Eugene V. Debs

The most important action take by the recent national convention of the Socialist party was the decision to hold eight regional mass conventions, followed by the same number of mass demonstrations at eight of the principal industrial centers between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The first of these will be held in Cleveland May 30th. and 31st. and the last in New York, September 19th. and 20th. The intervening points are Minneapolis, June 21st. and 22nd., St. Louis, July 4th. and 5th., Los Angeles, July 25th. and 26th., San Francisco, August 30th. and 31st., with a date for Seattle still undetermined at this writing.

There is not the slightest doubt that each of these conventions and demonstrations will have a record-breaking attendance and immeasurably far-reaching results in reorganizing the party and in not only restoring but vastly increasing its former prestige and power.

At each of the points named the first day, Saturday, will be given wholly to the mass convention and the second day, Sunday, to the mass demonstration. At the former the red card will serve as the credential and every member in good standing will be eligible to admission. The convention will be of the rank and file and confined to party members. It will afford opportunity to the rank and file, the "common herd" as it is so often called, to be heard freely, and in this it will be unique. Other parties hold no such conventions. The "leaders" boss the party and the rank and file furnish the votes. But in the Socialist party it is different. The rank and file constitute the party and it is for them to manage its affairs, shape its policies, develop its power and to use that power to achieve their emancipation and realize their ideals.

The mass demonstrations, held on Sunday, will

be public. Everyone will be invited. They will be held outdoors under the blue skies so there will be ample room for all. Thousands upon thousands from all the surrounding territory will attend these demonstrations, be imbued with their revolutionary spirit, drink freely at the fountain of their enthusiasm, and return to their respective homes as flaming messengers of the social revolution as incarnated in the organized and inspired forces of the Socialist party.

These conventions and demonstrations will far eclipse in point of numbers, enthusiasm and high resolve all other socialist gatherings ever held in America.

They will mark the re-birth and re-baptism of the Socialist party in the United States.

The war-shattered and war-scattered forces of socialism will be re-united into a grander revolutionary host than they ever were before and reconsecrated to the service of the struggling workers in their world-wide war for emancipation.

The spirit of international solidarity will abound at all these great gatherings of proletarian revolutionists. Comrades from near and far will clasp hands with all their hearts and from their eager eyes will blaze the light within that guides through all the tortuous mazes of capitalist servitude to the shining goal of industrial freedom.

The class war prisoners that still linger in dungeons dark and grim, whatever their organization, or whatever their school of thought, will not be forgotten at these great working class celebrations. Their names will be blazoned forth and a mighty host of their aroused fellow-workers will thunder the demand for their liberation. From Massachusetts where Sacco and Vanzetti are being murdered by inches, to California where Tom Mooney and

Warren Billings have been tortured in dungeon cells for eight long years, the cry will rise to heaven for the liberation of every workingman in a capitalist black-hole for his loyalty to his class.

During all the years of the satanic slaughter of the world's workers, against which the Socialist party took its stand with a courage that was sublime, every device known to the perverted ingenuity of the profiteering pirates was employed to strangle the socialist press and destroy the Socialist party.

At the eight regional conventions and demonstrations these pirates will hear the resounding echoes of the wretched failure to accomplish their infamous design.

They branded us as traitors, they decimated our ranks, they persecuted, imprisoned, mobbed and lynched us; they put their iron heel upon our press and their foul gag upon our lips, but they did not destroy the Socialist party, nor did they escape the penalty of their own vile treason which cries out of the blood-soaked trenches of their murdered victims and damns them with infamy forever.

During all the years of the monstrous massacre the Socialist party stood its ground, held aloft its stainless banner, and vindicated its right to live.

It sowed in tears and agony and heartache, but it never faltered and now it is to reap in triumph the ripening harvest that spread out like a field of glory over all the land.

Now cometh the day of rejoicing after the long dark night of trial and travail! Now riseth the sun of the new day, and once more embattled the workers marshal their forces beneath the flaming banner of international socialism and take up their heroic march to the Working Class Republic.

Arouse, comrades, East and West, North and South, and rally to these great socialist conventions from all points of the compass to rejoice in the rebirth and reorganization of the battle-scarred Socialist party, to rejoin its swelling ranks, to face its powerful enemies, to fight its heroic battles, to achieve its glorious victories and to realize its noble ideals in a grander civilization and in a sweeter, saner, and more beautiful world!

THE CALL OF MAY DAY

By James Oneal

May Day is a symbol of the awakening of all things to life. Its origin runs back to the Romans and other ancient peoples. In England it was an ancient custom for the people to go "A-Maying" on the first of May to welcome the advent of spring. The May Pole, from which the merry-makers suspended flowers and around which they danced, became a custom with the toilers who found in the day a release from arduous labor. Something in the day appealed to the emotional and spiritual nature of serfs and laborers.

I suspect that those who observed the woodland bursting into a riot of green, the flowering of the hillside, the evidences of awakening life in all nature, felt rather than interpreted this as a forecast of the beauty and joy that would sometime be universal for mankind. All the aesthetic impulses of the toilers were quickened and although they could not fathom their own feelings the one fact that was evident was a day's release from drudgery to indulge in festivals of comradeship and joy.

That the Labor Movement of the world should inherit this day as its own and translate its local and provincial symbolism into terms of international brotherhood was natural. The call of May Day comes to us across the centuries. It came to the serf of the feudal ages from the Roman bondmen, from the serf to the journeymen of the guilds, and from

the journeyman to the wage worker of modern capitalism.

Its modern history is interesting. Having its origin in the labor movement of the United States, it was carried to the European workers, adopted by them and observed to this day, while here it was abandoned by the trade unions for an official Labor Day designated by Congress. In 1886 the American trade unions engaged in concerted propaganda for the eight hour day but the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago set back the movement for nearly two years.

It was not until 1888 that a nation-wide movement was again taken up for the shorter hours. In that year the A. F. of L. planned another long campaign to culminate in great mass meetings on May Day, 1890. The International Socialist Congress was called to meet in Paris in July 1889 and President Gompers planned to get the sympathetic support of the congress for the struggle in the United States. Here a paragraph from Mr. Gompers' autobiography regarding this phase of the history of May Day is interesting:

"I talked the idea over with Hugh McGregor who was idealist enough to recognize no practical difficulties. The margin of time intervening was too small to trust a letter of invitation to the mail, so McGregor agreed to act as special courier. He had long experience.

in traveling on almost nothing. His wants were few and accustomed to all manner of delays in gratification. We discovered that a boat was leaving within a brief time that would just get him to Paris in time. We managed to get enough money for his ticket.... Eventually a resolution for an eight hour demonstration in every country was adopted and there was pretty general observance of the day. That was the origin of European May Day, which has become a regular institution in all European countries."

Why the trade union movement of this country withdrew from celebrating May Day as the International Holiday of Labor has never been explained. The New York Central Labor Union on May Day 1882 suggested that the first Monday in September be designated as Labor Day and a resolution to that effect was adopted. Two years later the A. F. of L. officially endorsed the first Monday in September. In 1894 Congress declared this day a holiday in the District of Columbia and the territories and the states one by one declared it a holiday in the ensuing years. In the convention of the A. F. of L. in 1903 a resolution to declare May Day as Labor's holiday was defeated and the trade unions have accepted the September day ever since.

Nevertheless, many of the more progressive trade unions have in each year joined in May Day celebrations in union with the workers of all other countries. That the bulk of the unions decline to celebrate it only emphasises the fact that they are out of step with their brothers on this matter in all other countries as they are in the matter of independent political action.

May Day is not only a day for pledging the fellowship of the workers of all countries regardless of sex, nationality, color or race, but it is a day for taking stock and to consider the road we have yet to travel before the world is made safe for the working class. Its symbolism of awakening life suggests the continuous rebirth and readjustment of the Labor and Socialist movement to a changing world. Its inspiration cannot be reconciled with the dead hand of precedent. May Day teaches that all things change. It teaches the universality of progress. It suggests a living movement, not one dead in the clutches of hoary tradition and archaic formulas.

This day must inspire the executives of the unions, the speakers, writers, organizers and members of the Socialist Party, to renewed consecration to the struggle of the workers to be free of class dominion. May Day is a call to service against war and the capitalist system that breeds it. It is a call for peace and fraternity among the nations. It is a protest against jingoism and the abysmal hatreds fomented

among the peoples of the world.

Finally, May Day and its ideals forecast the day of working class deliverance from the menacing capitalism of our time. When these ideals are realized, when Labor is triumphant all over the world, it will reconstruct capitalism so that every day will be a May Day for humanity. Art and beauty will replace the hideous cities that are now wretched monuments of the capitalist regime. Labor will labor for Labor, not for idle exploiters. The cesspools and foul ghettos, the disease-breeding kennels of humankind, the anxiety and overstrain, the brooding fear of unemployment, the unmerited poverty and the uncertainties of the chance-world of capitalism will be no more.

May Day spurs us to renewed effort to-day, inspires confidence in ultimate victory, and brings to us knowledge that hundreds of millions think as we think, hope as we hope, work as we work, conscious that mankind will flower into something better in the great days ahead.

JUST LOOK AT THE BOOKS

<i>at the wholesale prices:</i>	<i>Each</i>	<i>Dozen</i>	<i>Hundred</i>
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Why Things Happen to Happen (Work)	.15....	1.50....	8.00
A Nation Divided (Nearing)	.10....	1.00....	7.00
Are There Classes in America (Korngold)	.10....	1.00....	4.00
Is Socialism Inevitable? (Claessens)	.10....	1.00....	6.00
Labor and the Next War (Oneal)	.10....	1.00....	6.00
Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam (Ameringer)	.10....	1.00....	4.00
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Foreign newspapers and other correspondents are requested to correct their mailing lists and address all mail to the address given above.

NOTICE

The minutes of the meeting of the National Executive Committee, held in New York on April 28-29, will be printed in the June issue of The Socialist World.

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

A great party-owned weekly newspaper, with Eugene V. Debs as editor-in-chief, will start publication on January 1, 1926. Send \$1.00 to the National Office for a year's subscription.

FERDINAND LASSALLE

(A MAY DAY REFLECTION)

By Morris Hillquit

Our May Day celebration has an added significance this year. It marks the centenary of the birth of the most brilliant and romantic figure in the history of the international Socialist and labor movement.

Ferdinand Lassalle was born on the 11th day of April, 1825.

He died young—not fully forty years of age. His active work in the movement is confined to two periods, centering around the liberal revolution of 1848 and the beginnings of the modern working-class organization, about 1863. His most significant activities in behalf of Socialism were compressed within the narrow compass of less than two years. And yet he has left an indelible imprint on the world and has modified its course more profoundly than many monarchs reigning over their countries with unlimited sway for generations.

Ferdinand Lassalle did not give to the Socialist movement its philosophy and program as did Karl Marx. But he gave it faith, inspiration and militancy; he gave it a soul.

He was a thinker and a leader, a popular tribune and a man of the world, a poet and a fighter. He was brilliant and dazzling in all his astoundingly varied activities. But what gives him a unique place in the history of our movement is not so much his qualities or achievements as his personality, that extraordinary, baffling personality which is the subject of widely divergent estimates and controversial discussions even now, sixty years after his death.

Ferdinand Lassalle was born in the East Prussian town of Breslau, the son of a moderately affluent Jewish merchant. His first revolutionary impulses had a racial tint. The numerous civil, political and social disabilities from which the Jews of Prussia still suffered, particularly in the Eastern provinces, near the Polish border, roused the passionate spirit of the boy to indignation and revolt. His early ambition, as indicated by his diaries of that period, was to lead an army in a victorious war to avenge the age-long persecution of his race. It was not long, however, before he realized that race oppression is only a phase of the universal condition of social injustice and that the "Jewish problem" can only be solved as part of the larger social problem. At the age of eighteen the insurgent Jewish nationalist became a revolutionary Socialist internationalist.

When the revolution of 1848 broke out, the youthful Lassalle threw himself into it with the boundless energy and enthusiasm of his impetuous nature. The romantic middle-class revolution proved short-lived and disappointing—it broke down lamentably owing to the timidity of the middle-class liberals. Lassalle paid the penalty for his enthusiasm by a six-month term of imprisonment upon conviction of the charge of "inciting to resistance against the public authorities."

The period of fifteen years which followed the unsuccessful rising of 1848 was one of black reaction and political lethargy not only in Germany but throughout Europe, and just as Marx took advantage of the long political lull for study and preparation, so Lassalle immersed himself in scientific and literary work.

He had taken up the study of philosophy and history at the age of sixteen and soon reached such a high degree of erudition, that the famous Alexander von Humboldt pronounced him a prodigy. In 1845, when Lassalle was only twenty years old, the immortal Heinrich Heine wrote of him: "He is a young man of excellent mental gifts. With a thorough scholarship, encyclopedic knowledge and extraordinary keenness of perception he combines a will power and energy and a nobility in action which astounded me."

Between 1859 and 1862 he published two fundamental works on philosophy and jurisprudence and a fiery revolutionary play.

In the meantime the wave of European reaction gradually subsided. The rapid development of capitalist production enhanced the number and stimulated the class consciousness of the industrial workers. In England and in the most advanced countries of continental Europe they began to organize on economic or political lines.

In Germany too dawn began to break. A renewed current of political liberalism had sprung up and was mainly represented by the "Progressive Party," which made a special bid for working-class support. The "labor policy" of the party entered in the principle of self-help and its practical program in the organization of voluntary co-operative societies of consumers.

It was largely in connection with this movement that some workingmen's associations had sprung up in the leading industrial cities of Germany and in

the early part of 1863 a national convention of these associations was planned and held in Leipsic.

On the suggestion of some more advanced members Lassalle was asked to submit to the Committee in charge of the convention arrangements his views on the labor question, and the result was his famous Open Letter. The document, dated March 1, 1863, may be considered the starting point of the organized Socialist movement in Germany. With his characteristic penetrating logic and biting sarcasm Lassalle laid bare the hollowness of the liberal program of labor relief. He called upon the workers to abandon the Progressive Party and to form a political party of their own with a program emphasizing the demands of universal suffrage and co-operative large-scale industries with state credit. The program was adopted by several workingmen's associations and on May 23rd, 1863, the General German Workers' Union was organized with Ferdinand Lassalle at its president.

From that day to the date of his death, August 28th, 1864, Lassalle's life was one gigantic struggle to build up the movement which he had created. It was in this period that he revealed himself as a political orator of a force and magnetism probably unsurpassed in history. In the face of embittered opposition not only from the dominating classes but often from the masses of the workers themselves, he fought almost single-handed. Eloquent, self-confident and indomitable, he routed his enemies, conquered his audiences and carried everything before him with the irresistible power of the legendary hero.

Between continuous propaganda tours, practical organization work in behalf of the new party, writing of controversial books and pamphlets, and defending himself in numerous political trials even Lassalle's iron constitution finally broke down under the inhuman strain. His premature and tragic death, which resulted from a duel over a love affair, was largely due to the shattered state of his nerves.

At the death of Ferdinand Lassalle the General German Workers' Union numbered about 3,000 members. That was the beginning of the organized Socialist movement in Germany and, in fact, the only political party of Socialism in the world. Sixty years have since passed—just one life time. The Socialist movement has grown into a world power. Its organization spreads over the entire civilized world. Its adherents number many millions. In many countries the party rules or alternates its rule with the parties of capitalism, wrestling with them in a final life-and-death struggle for permanent dominion of the world.

The progress of the Socialist and labor movement has not always proceeded along an even and unbroken line. There have been periods of retrogres-

sion in its general onward march. There has been a long period of reaction in the lifetime of Lassalle; there have been similar though shorter periods in our movement since.

Socialism is passing through a distinct period of reaction just now, a period of weakness, division and demoralization caused by the war and its destructive social effects. There is every reason to feel that the end of the temporary paralysis is in sight, that Socialism is emerging victorious and triumphant, ready to renew the struggle of the ages. But if we have moments of doubt and misgivings let us look back to the titanic work and seemingly insignificant practical achievements of Ferdinand Lassalle and seek new faith and comfort in the irresistible and unparalleled growth of the seed of right and truth, which he and the other pioneers of our movement have planted in the fertile soil of modern civilization.

THE CALL OF THE CAUSE

By Theodore Debs

Is there a comrade anywhere so deaf or so dead that he does not now hear the call to duty? The call of the cause to action?

It does not seem possible that anyone who has ever called himself a socialist can have so far lost his manhood, his sense of duty, his self-respect as to be unresponsive to the call that now rings like a clarion to every socialist to rally to the standard of the party and prove himself worthy of a place in its ranks by lending a willing hand in rebuilding the party for the great work before it after it had been all but destroyed by the "patriotic" buccaneers because it refused to lower its colors and sacrifice its principles.

After all these years since first the Socialist party was organized we have now the supreme opportunity to create a party worthy of the great international cause of the workers to which it is dedicated.

The reaction since the war is wholly in our favor. Our position as a party has been completely vindicated and is now being applauded by thousands who once condemned it.

The members who in one way and another were driven from our ranks are ready to return, and thousands of others who have since had their eyes opened are now ready to come with them if we but pave the way for their reception.

The working people and those who are in sympathetic relation to them were never as ready as they are now to hear the message of socialism and to enter its ranks and help restore the party to its former strength and standing.

We must put every available organizer in the field.

We must secure every possible subscriber for our papers and thereby build up our party press. We were all but silenced during the war by having the tongue torn from the throat of our press because it was telling the truth about the war and the criminals responsible for that horrible butchery.

Our movement must have a voice so that it may speak to the people in the commanding spirit of socialism and that voice is the press without which we are almost helpless and with which we can win the people and the victory.

The eight regional conventions and demonstrations afford us the opportunity of striking tremendous blows for our party and doing more to build it up and make it strong and militant in six months' time than would be possible in as many years in the ordinary course of our propaganda.

Each and every member ought to be a live agent in giving publicity to and working up interest in these conventions and demonstrations.

Each and every comrade should attend at least one of them and if possible have his wife and family with him and as many others as he can induce to accompany him to those centers of inspiration and rehabilitation.

The capitalists did their best and their worst to destroy the Socialist party and it is now for us to show them that they only succeeded in developing its real fighting spirit and its latent powers which are now becoming manifest and will soon make themselves felt in the struggle of the workers throughout the land.

Thousands upon thousands must rally at these conventions and make this year historic for the phenomenal rise and reconstruction of the Socialist party in the United States.

AN AWAKENING WORLD

By Judge Jacob Panken

This May Day the sun rises on an awakening world coming to its senses. A world coming out of stupor.

Reaction is on the retreat. Progress is again advancing.

Socialism is building its ramparts, it is fortifying the positions it has gained.

May Day 1925 finds a Socialist Premier in Sweden, a Socialist Premier in Denmark. Comrades both, Sanders and Stauning.

The Belgian workers at the polls compelled the King to call upon Vandervelde the Socialist leader to take over the reigns of government. No government in France can maintain itself unless it can obtain the acquiescence of the Socialist party there. The security of the Republic in Germany is vouched for by the Social Democracy. The Kaiser and his hordes are kept in check by the Socialists. Face to face the German working class is engaged with the Monarchists in a battle to maintain the Republic they have established.

A message of cheer on this May Day comes from every corner of the world. An awakening occurred. A rebirth took place. May Day this year brings us great hopes.

Again the workers are heartened by the dawn of a new day. A renewed faith, a revived spirit comes to us this May Day.

The forces of ignorance, intolerance, fanaticism, disunion and self seeking that have split the working class and made it easier for the wave of reaction and persecution throughout the world are now

recognized and happily discredited. In masses the workers are returning to the banner of Socialism. Closing up the ranks they take up the challenge of the masters and valiantly push forward to new victories.

The right of Labor to govern has been fought for and won. The ability of the worker to govern has been proven. He has demonstrated it in Great Britain, he is proving it in Sweden, Denmark, France, Germany, Belgium, Austria and elsewhere.

The Socialist workers the world over are the champions of Democracy, the defenders of liberty and in battle for freedom.

The wide world is the battle ground upon which we Socialists are fighting for our ideals.

We realize that liberty, freedom and democracy in their true sense will not, can not, come until industry is socialized, and the worker obtains the full measure of his labor. We know that man will not be free as long as he is the thing of industry, its slave. Our mission is to make the worker the master of industry. Until that is achieved we shall not be satisfied.

Our objective is Industrial Democracy. Only Industrial Democracy will guarantee the full freedom which makes for a full life.

On this side of the Atlantic Ocean our struggle is also taking definite shape. Our problems are many and different in some measure from those met by our Comrades on the other side. We are emerging from a state of lethargy into which our movement fell, with renewed vigor and a great promise of

fulfillment. Building has been begun. We have laid the foundation for our movement. Socialism has become a living force in the life of the American people.

Our cause finds response in the hearts of millions who are looking for a way out of chaos. Socialist sentiment is in the air. It is not crystalized. It is unorganized, but it is here, there and everywhere.

Our influence is manifest in the political and social life of the country. Our ideas are respected. Our program is considered, many of our ideas are constantly carried into effect, embodied in the life of the nation.

We still have a hard road to climb, ahead of us. We have the will, and the faith to go on.

Life, achievement, is before us. The Ideals of yesterday are rapidly becoming the realities of today. Truly, the sun is rising on a new day.

REMEMBER THE YOUTH

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

May Day of this year has a double significance to every Yipsel. While the workers of all countries are celebrating their own real holiday, the Y.P.S.L. fittingly opens its first campaign for rebuilding the Socialist Youth movement of America. The passing of each day emphasizes the necessity of a strong Youth's movement as a vital factor in teaching and making possible the teachings, of Socialism. The growth of the Y.P.S.L. predicts the growth of the party, and the closest cooperation of the old and young, individually as well as collectively, works to their mutual advantage.

With the pall of uncertainty and apprehension fast precipitating into something unmistakably real; with the paths into the future gradually disclosing the horrible visions of suppression, bitter labor fights, and perhaps another war; with a threatening industrial catastrophe standing before the workers, we find again the security in numbers,—in union,—in organization. The masterpiece of Rodin is again personified in the working class pondering over the destinies of tomorrow. Prosperity with war;—starvation with peace.—Why?

Education is the weapon of our choice. The greatest educational vehicle is the movement of our young people through which the coming generations will learn to combat the evils of the worn out capitalist system. Build the Y.P.S.L. to better reach the young workers in the factories, mines, sweatshops, farms and other industries. Give it the support and strength to fight for the child labor amendment.

The organization and membership drive begins today. All Yipsels thruout our organized territory are preparing to put forth their greatest efforts to spread out and build the league. All party members are urged on this day to think of the youth, see if there is anything that can be contributed toward the betterment of this young fighting spirit. Look about and see if the party local can afford to be without a Y.P.S.L. circle, a Junior circle or a Sunday School. Stop and think; must your ideals and accomplishments occupy the grave that is your doom?

No branch of the party has worked more diligently in our every adventure than the Y.P.S.L. and we would feel a lonesomness were we to forget the young people at our mass demonstrations this summer. What a wonderful opportunity to give the Yipsels a boost without putting forth any additional efforts, and in doing so add to the events color that might otherwise be missed. The young people are ready, awaiting the call.

Whatever we do, big or little, let's not forget to place the Yipsels on the program.

ABAS THE WORD "REVOLUTION!"

By John M. Work

Financial writers on the plute papers have to earn their wages somehow.

Last fall they earned their pay checks largely by wildly and frantically charging that the La Follette platform was socialistic, and that the Socialists were all the deleterious and horrendous adjectives and epithets in hot succession.

Now, one of them says the Socialists have become very kind and harmless in fact, but that they still use some of their old shibboleths.

As usual, he has the thing exactly wrong end to.

The Socialists have shaken off some of their old silly shibboleths, but they stand for fundamental change, the same as ever.

They stand for the peaceful merging of the capitalist system of private ownership for profit into the Socialist system of cooperative ownership for use. They want—and intend—to make the exploiting industries the collective property of the people, to be run for the benefit of the people, instead of being run for the benefit of private owners as they are now.

If that is mild, then we are mild and glad of it.

On the other hand, some of our writers and speakers who used to glory in the words "revolution" and "revolutionary" have learned to chuck those words.

They meant well, but were always misunderstood. When they spoke of revolution, they meant a peaceful change in the base of the social system. But

hearers and readers did not take it so. To them, revolution meant bloody revolution.

What was the sense in incurring that misunderstanding?

There wasn't any.

The discarding of those words will help us a lot in reaching the American people with our message.

It is more than ever necessary to discard them now, for the reason that the Communists continually

use them, and when they talk of revolution they do indeed mean a bloody revolution. We could only court continued antagonism and misunderstanding by foolishly hanging on to such ambiguous and non-essential terms.

So, abas the word "revolution!"

Perhaps you will say, "Abas the word 'abas' too!" All right, suit yourself, I won't object.

WE ARE FAVORED BY THE FACTS

Our party-building enterprise, which now engages our thoughts and will for months engage our thoughts and energies, is favored by several elements comprising the situation in general. It seems worth while to set down some of them, for the more clearly we realize our present opportunity the more likely we are to go ahead with the courage to win. Here are some of the facts in the matter.

First, much of the war-time malice has faded away; good citizens who were blinded with wrath cunningly stirred up by the profiteers, are now cool again and see in our movement much healthy criticism and helpful constructive suggestion and effort; and see in the Socialists a band of intelligent people who are infinitely more patriotic in the sanest sense than the whole band of gold-lusting bandits who pretentiously waved the flag and shouted, "Patriotism", while they were looting the country to the extent of making one millionaire or multi-millionaire to every three American soldiers killed in the World War.

Second, there is a wider and wholesomer understanding between organized labor as such and the Socialists so recently demonstrated to be finely sincere in their effort to promote the interests of labor. This was one of the consequences of the national campaign of last Fall.

Third, the general awakening effected by the recent national campaign is clearly an asset to-day in our effort for party building.

Fourth, the recent campaign greatly weakened the attachment felt by millions of voters for the old parties. The frank confession of identity of purpose and character of the two old parties as seen for example in the selection of equally reactionary presidential candidates has made a profound impression on many voters, and this impression is growing as the weeks pass with eminent Democratic and Republican rogues dominating the trusts and knee-deep in oil go unpunished while poor devils are hurried to prisons.

Fifth, the contraction of business at the present time is making for far greater thoughtfulness on the part of the people and the consequent increase of

attention to and respect for our analysis of the present industrial order. "Steel is the barometer of business," so runs the news. Steel production is much below capacity and is going steadily lower. "Retrenchment is in order," says a recent report. Pittsburgh serves as the barometer of the steel business. Word comes from Pittsburgh that business is slow in Pittsburgh, the real estate men, for example, reporting, "Business is rotten; the worst in years." The Milwaukee, St. Paul and Puget Sound Railway is in the hands of a receiver,—a straw in the wind.

According to Bradstreets the business failures in January, 1925, exceeded the failures of any month in 1924; and the commercial failures of January, 1925, were larger than those in any other January (except two) in the entire history of the country.

Sixth, unemployment is serious at this time, and those who can explain it as attributable to the capitalist system have an appreciative audience.

Seventh, the absence of opportunity in this country for the investment of available capital is significant. American capitalists are watching all the world abroad for opportunity to make safe investments for capital not easily invested at home. In many cases an investment abroad not only indicates an unfavorable situation at home, but also works for increase of foreign competition with American production.

Eighth, the experience of the Socialists with the C.P.P.A. was instructive. It certainly was not a wholly unprofitable experience. Our own Socialist party is the real labor party with a solid philosophy for its foundation, a correct analysis of capitalism for its guidance and warnings, and a goal consistent with the possibilities of human nature and the possibilities of the earth for raw materials with the physical sciences ready for the further conquest of the earth's possibilities—ours is indeed the real labor party—our experience has given us this renewed and unalterable conviction.

Ninth, there is an unmistakable longing for a renewal of the party's work, a longing for the old-time fellowship and intellectual conquest in the

domain of industry and politics among their fellow workers, a longing felt by tens of thousands of Socialists. They are ready to stand forth and fight. They want to "come back." The actual achievements in the way of new memberships at several points canvassed by skillful and tireless organizers indicate this clearly, as does also all of the present correspondence reaching the National Office.

Tenth, we have a first-class plan in the mass-conventions and demonstrations and the national weekly newspaper. In this connection the renewed health and the dauntless determination of comrade Debs are very great assets. We win if we will to win—under the circumstances.

STATE SECRETARIES:

- Arkansas:* Wm. Davis, Route 1, West Fork.
California: Isabel King, 1212 Market St., San Francisco.
Colorado: C. A. Bushnell, Holyoke.
Connecticut: Martin F. Plunkett, 2 Wallace Blk., Wallingford.
Dist. of Col.: N. F. Matteson, 636 G. St., N. W., Washington.
Idaho: C. H. Cammans, Box 31, Boise.
Illinois: W. R. Snow, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.
Indiana: Emma Henry, 411 Holliday Bldg., Indianapolis.
Kansas: Ross Magill, 403 W. 1st St., Garnett.
Kentucky: Wm. Catton, 1323 Greenup Street, Covington.
Maryland: James L. Smiley, 130 Prince George St., Annapolis.
Michigan: Charles Robson, 586 Medbury Ave., Detroit.
Missouri: W. L. Garver, 952 Hovey Ave., Springfield.
Montana: Jas. D. Graham, Box 683, Livingston.
Nevada: W. H. Cordill, Box 75, Reno.
New Jersey: Robert Leemans, 602 Malone St., West Hoboken.
New York: Herbert M. Merrill, 467 Broadway, Albany.
Ohio: Oscar K. Edelman, 124 S. Jefferson St., Dayton.
Pennsylvania: Darlington Hoopes, 415 Swede St., Norristown.
Texas: M. A. Smith, 3016 Pennsylvania Ave., Dallas.
West Virginia: Agostina Garbarino, care of Varsity Bottlery, Morgantown.
Wisconsin: Wm. Coleman, 528 Chestnut St., Milwaukee.
Wyoming: W. B. Guthrie, 3111 Reed Ave., Cheyenne.

ORGANIZATION DISTRICT SECRETARIES

- New England States:* Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Massachusetts.
 Warren Edward Fitzgerald, 64 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

- Northwestern States:* Washington, Oregon.
 Emil Herman, 4420 Evanston Ave., Seattle, Washington.
Rocky Mountain States: Arizona, New Mexico, Utah.
 O. A. Kennedy, 431-24th St., Ogden, Utah.
Southern States: Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Virginia, Delaware.
 Leo M. Harkins.
 1325 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

- Bohemian Socialist Federation:* James Brantner, 2708 So. 60th Court, Cicero, Ill.
Jewish Socialist Alliance: N. Chanin, 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Finnish Socialist Federation: Wm. N. Reivo, Box 75, Fitchburg, Mass.
Italian Socialist Federation: V. Buttis, 1011 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Lithuanian Socialist Federation: Paul Miller, 1922 Wilmot Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Jugo-Slav Socialist Federation: Chas. Pogorelec, 3639 West 26th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Y. P. S. L.
 Aarne J. Parker, National Director, 23 Townsend St., Fitchburg, Mass.

Sustaining Fund Pledges

Due to misplaced copy, the report on the Sustaining Fund printed in the April issue was not complete. The amounts listed included only those received in the month of February. A full report, up to and including March 31, follows:

December, 1924.	
Jos. E. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.	\$ 1.00
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass.	10.00
Estelle Sedgwick, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
J. T. Whitlock, Chicago, Ill.	150.00
Channing Sweet, Denver, Colo.	10.00
Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio	10.00
Meyer London, New York, N. Y.	50.00
Swan M. Johnson, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
Fred Curtis, Wilkensburg, Pa.	1.00
Fred Thompson, Bridgeville, Pa.	2.00
Jane Tait, Pittsburgh, Pa.	3.00
Jos. E. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
Total	\$253.00
January, 1925	
Paul C. Lorenz, Chicago, Ill.	\$ 10.00
Channing Sweet, Denver, Colo.	10.00
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass.	10.00
D. Rubinow, New York City	6.00
Wm. Karlin, New York City	12.00
Solomon Filling, New York City	25.00
Dr. Louis Sadoff, New York City	15.00
Louis Waldman, New York City	5.00
Albert Halpern, Brooklyn, N. Y.	120.00
James Oneal, New York City	1.00
Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio	10.00
Mary and Mildred Hicks, Bainbridge, Ga.	12.00

Elizabeth H. Thomas, Milwaukee, Wis.	25.00	J. Palmbaum, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
Oscar Sterman, Brooklin, Mass.	10.00	Bessie M. Wormsley, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
Max Goldberg, Revere, Mass.	5.00	Morris Hillquit, New York, N. Y.	25.00
Lydia G. Wentworth, Brookline, Mass.	10.00	Jos. A. Whitehorn, Brooklyn, N. Y.	6.00
Robt. H. O. Schultz, Boston, Mass.	25.00	Selma A. Junge, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00
Max Sandler, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00	Jane Tait, Pittsburgh, Pa.	3.00
Harry Teitelman, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00	Jos. R. Mountain, Oakmont, Pa.	3.00
Mr. & Mrs. B. Siegel, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00	Channing Sweet, Denver, Colo.	10.00
Mr. & Mrs. Julius Weisberg, Pittsburgh, Pa.	15.00	Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio	10.00
Jacob Kellner, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00	Mary B. Lehner, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00
Local Allegheny County, Pa., Banquet collection	57.40	Mrs. Dora Shapiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.	3.00
Mrs. Clara E. Matchett, Alleston, Mass.	12.00	David Rinne, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
Isidor Beckman, Boston, Mass.	5.00	Albert Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass.	20.00
J. Siegel, Chicago, Ill.	10.00	Peter Sissman, Chicago, Ill.	20.00
Peter Sissman, Chicago, Ill.	20.00	D. Rubinow, New York, N. Y.	3.00
Chas. Hock, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00	Hebrew Baker's Union No. 45, Boston, Mass. (Collected)	25.00
Dr. Wm. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10.00	James Oneal, New York, N. Y.	1.00
Total	\$462.40	Ethel Tait, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
February report, published in April issue, total...	\$354.00	Wm. Adams, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00
March		Max Lutsky, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2.00
Paul C. Lorenz, Chicago, Ill.	\$ 10.00	Fred J. Herrington, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
Jos. A. Padway, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00	Dr. Wm. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10.00
Jewish Daily Forward, New York, N. Y.	200.00	Mrs. S. A. Junge, Pittsburgh, Pa.	4.00
B. Charney Vladeck, New York, N. Y.	10.00	Morris Adler, Braddock, Pa.	5.00
Seymour Stedman, Chicago, Ill.	20.00	Judge Jacob Panken, New York, N. Y.	25.00
S. John Block, New York, N. Y.	10.00	Albert Sprague Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass.	10.00
Mr. & Mrs. A. Silvis, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00		
Emil Limbach, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10.00	Grand total	\$1,551.40

John M. Work, Teacher

The quietest man in the American Socialist movement is John M. Work, yet his written messages have reached into a greater number of homes than have the written messages of any other American Socialist writer of non-fiction. This is mostly because of his style and his themes. His greatest service has been the production of *What's So and What Isn't*, and *Why Things Happen to Happen*. In the former of these books he answers about fifty questions and objections relative to Socialism. The questioners are answered with great courtesy—and most convincingly. That book is an arsenal, a sort of literary gatling gun. The objectors are backed clear off the map.

But it is the other book which is here to have special mention, *Why Things Happen to Happen*.

In every real college and university in the world today the doctrine of economic determinism, or the economic interpretation of history, is used with lively appreciation of its worth by teachers of economics, of history, of sociology, of politics and of law. And this theory, this profound contribution of Marx and Engels to the philosophy of history and human progress, is thus so widely used simply because it is so helpful; it throws so much light on social evolution; it explains so very much; it is so helpful in understanding the larger historic social phenomena;—just as the immortal Darwin's contribution to the science

of biology is so universally helpful in understanding a multitude of phenomena in the great story of life on this planet. The story of mankind's social evolution becomes fascinating with the help of this social philosophy called economic determinism. And the current life of society is so much more interesting, significant and understandable with the help of this Marxian social philosophy. This social philosophy is fundamental in scientific Socialism.

But where in the world can one find this philosophy clearly, simply and convincingly explained? Must one buy a huge expensive book of a thousand pages of "dry and heavy stuff" in order to learn this philosophy? Not at all. You can get the whole thing clearly in mind in an hour and a half of careful reading of John M. Work's 64-page book, *Why Things Happen to Happen*. Work has no equal in the American Socialist movement for simplicity and clearness of style. In this small book he has actually succeeded in making a profound philosophy simple, clear, convincing. No writer can do that who does not think clearly. A clear thinker and writer is a clear teacher,—and that is what John M. Work is and has been in the Socialist movement. Every worker who reads Work's *Why Things Happen to Happen* is made a far more useful and significant worker in the battles and the progress of labor—because his understanding is expanded and cleared. Why not let Work help you win you neighbors? If you lend the book it will sell itself.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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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

March 20, 1925

To the National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Esther Friedman will leave New York for England on March 28th. We have just learned that the Independent Labour Party of England will hold a conference or convention on April 10-14. Comrade Friedman will attend and has requested credentials to the conference as a fraternal delegate from the Socialist Party of the United States. I feel sure Comrade Friedman will represent our organization to our entire satisfaction, and I am therefore submitting the following:

National Executive Committee

Motion No. 14.

(Executive Question)

"Shall Comrade Friedman be authorized to represent the Socialist Party of the United States as a fraternal delegate to the conference of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain on April 10-14?"

Ballot enclosed. Vote closes March 27th.

Please vote immediately in order that credentials may be sent to Comrade Friedman before her departure in case affirmative action is taken on the above motion.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary.

Voting "Yes": Collins, Debs, Harkins, Hillquit, Maurer, Roewer, Sharts (7)

Not Heard From: Berger. (1)

Motion Carried.

March 27, 1925

To the National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

Some time ago, E. H. H. Gates of Oklahoma City, whom you will recall in connection with the revocation of the state charter, applied for membership-at-large of the national organization. I did not comply with his request. He has recently renewed his application for himself and for Mrs. Gates. All members of your committee are fully informed on the

AN APPEAL

By Glengarry

Are you SEEKING

BETTER means to
REACH and RESCUE
INDIFFERENT WORKERS—
SEEKING to START them
THINKING for themselves—
LEADING them UP
INTO a WORLD-fellowship
NOW LIGHTENING the shadows—
GETTING INTO HARMONY

WOMEN and men who are
EVERYWHERE LOOKING
EAGERLY for RELIEF,
KNOWING only DESPAIR, yet
LISTENING for the VOICES
YOUR \$ will broadcast?

IF you are WILLING to
START IMMEDIATELY

A FEARLESS news-paper,
TEACHING SOCIALISM,

HAVING ABILITY to
AROUSE from APATHY
NUMBERLESS people,
DONATE SOMETHING to it—

IF you have ONLY a dollar
FIND time to SEND IT—

YOURS, his and OUR HELP—
ONE each from MANY—will
ULTIMATELY TOTAL the

HUNDREDS that SHALL
ENABLE headquarters to
LAUNCH unencumbered the
PREMIER HARBINGER OF
LIBERTY.

(P. S. Talk about GIVING
'UNTIL IT HURTS',
BUT GIVE way
TO the GENEROUS
WHO keep on GIVING
UNTIL "BROKE"
AND then INSIST
ON giving AWAY
THE PIECES.

Glengarry)

situation created by Gates and his supporters. It seems advisable to have a ruling on the question before we send an organizer into the state. I therefore submit the following motion:

National Executive Committee

Motion No. 15

(Executive Question)

"Shall the request of E. H. H. Gates for membership-at-large be complied with?"

Ballot enclosed. Vote closes April 3rd.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White

Executive Secretary.

April 6, 1925.

To the National Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

I beg to report as follows:

National Executive Committee

Motion No. 15.

(Executive Question)

"Shall the request of E. H. H. Gates for membership at large be complied with?"

Submitted March 27, 1925. Vote closed April 3rd.

Voting Yes:

Voting No: Collins, Debs, Harkins, Hillquit, Maurer, Roewer. (6)

Not Heard From: Berger, Sharts (2)
Negative action.

Comment by Harkins

"I vote 'No' on Motion No. 15 on the application of E. H. H. Gates for membership at large.

"When E. H. H. Gates was a member of the state of Oklahoma, he was instrumental in bringing about a breach of party discipline, trading with the enemy and political action in violation of his party membership. In order to discipline him it was necessary to revoke the charter in Oklahoma.

Oklahoma will be reorganized and I would not want to vote to saddle on the comrades there one who was partly responsible for disrupting the organization and bringing the party into disrepute."

Fraternally submitted,

Executive Secretary.

Bertha Hale White