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THE LABOR PARTIES.

By WALTER THOMAS MILLS, M. A.
 (Author of "Democracy for Despotism")
 Article Number V.
 CARRYING ON THE GOVERNMENT.

Note.—This is one of a series of seven articles on the Labor parties. The series covers "The Occasion for Their Existence," "Methods of Organization," "Campaign Methods," "Selection of Candidates," "Carrying on the Government," "Their Achievement When in Office," and "What of the Future for Labor Parties." The illustrations will be taken from many places where organizations of labor have entered the field of politics.—Editor.

With a Labor party once triumphant, or once largely represented in the law-making department of the government, it finds itself placed in a position of grave responsibility.

MAKING GOOD.

Before this it had contended for general proposals, now it must write these proposals into definite laws. These laws must fulfill the campaign promises; that is, they must actually produce the results for which their supporters will have voted. These laws must fit into other laws already in operation, or they must provide for the repeal of such previous laws as are in conflict with the new program.

These laws must be constitutional. If they are not drawn in the form required, and if the provisions of the laws are not found to be in harmony with constitutional provisions, then the courts will set aside the labors of the legislature and the seeming victory will have been in vain. These laws must be made brief. They must avoid needless technicalities and should be written so plainly that an ordinary citizen will be able to understand them, as the only guarantee that the courts will not be able to misunderstand them.

WIDE INFORMATION.

As the legislation required by the demands of labor necessarily deals with the gravest industrial and commercial problems, wide information becomes immediately necessary, if the constructive work is to be wise and sane, and having been once put on the statutes will be found possible actually to build them into the institutions and usages of the country. It will be found impossible for a Labor party to assume this responsibility and effectively do this work, unless it comes to its tasks with a realization of its importance and with special preparation for the work.

ORGANIZING THE WORK.

In the British parliament every member representing the Labor party is immediately assigned, on his election, to a position in some one of the various and numerous committees. He is furnished with the literature bearing on his work. He is provided with guidance in searching the libraries and in every way offered opportunities to become thoroughly informed on the particular topics which must be dealt with by the committee of which he is a member.

It would be hard to find a single problem of serious importance to the British empire to which some Labor party member of parliament has not given long and careful study. The committees subdivide their work and each person undertakes to keep personally in touch with the persons, the organizations and the interests involved, and to have up-to-date information as to the wrongs which should be righted and as to the means by which this should be accomplished.

AN AMERICAN BEGINNING.

In many of our states special legislative research departments have been organized and equipped for the express purpose of gathering from the ends of the earth current information for the use of the legislators.

STICKING TOGETHER.

Everywhere, where labor has become a factor in the public life of any country, the parliamentary caucus has come immediately into existence, and as it proceeds in its work becomes a most remarkable and a most effective educational as well as constructive agency.

In most countries each Labor candidate elected to such a legislative body has become a candidate by entering into an agreement that on his election he would become a member of such a caucus and in all matters pertaining to the pledges made by his party in its platform utterances to be guided in his final ballot in the enactment of laws by the majority vote of his party caucus. In all other matters to which the organization is not so pledged, its members are accorded the fullest liberty of individual judgment and action. As to the particular matters calling for

is left to the majority vote of the party caucus.

Probably no institution of the Labor parties, certainly nothing in connection with the work of the Nonpartisan league of the North Dakota farmers, has been more vigorously assailed than the existence of this caucus.

The caucus appoints its committees. The caucus authorizes the drafting of its bills. The caucus acts upon the reports of its committees on the legislation proposed. Its measures are discussed, referred, rereferred, rewritten, revised, by order of the caucus, again and again, until beaten into final shape. When the majority of the caucus has decided that any particular measure, in the form which it finally takes as the result of such a proceeding, is essential to the carrying out of the program, for the sake of which the organization itself was brought into existence, then the Labor members, or in North Dakota the League members, go in a body to the legislative hall and vote as a unit for the measure so agreed upon.

WHY THE ATTACK.

The complaint against such a program always comes from the people who are opposed to the measures to be adopted, and who seek by an attack on the caucus to discredit the measures. Such a proceeding would not be necessary if it were possible for them instead to attack the wisdom of the measures themselves.

In all legislative bodies where such caucuses are not supposed to exist, they either exist under cover or a "party boss" with a staff of corporation lawyers provides the legislation, introduces the bills, "cracks the whip" and "delivers the goods" in behalf of the great private interests. It is the very people who have submitted to the "boss rule" of an individual representing great private interests that have objected most loudly to the caucus method of crystallizing into fixed form for final action the campaign programs of the Labor parties.

AN EFFECTIVE GUARD.

It may be said for such a caucus that, while corruption funds may reach now and then a member, it can not do so under the scheme of the caucus without exposing the perfidy of such a member beyond any possibility of question, and while now and then improper influences may lead individuals to abandon their pledges, no matter how sacredly given, in actual experience the legislative caucus is the surest method known to political science under which campaign pledges may be effectively supported and honestly enacted into law, once they have won approval at the ballot box.

THE GOVERNOR'S LUNCHEON.

Wherever Labor parties have been organized and administration work has fallen into their hands, regular conferences between those in public office and responsible for carrying on the government have been widely adopted. In North Dakota each Monday noon a luncheon is given by the governor and other state officers to the heads of various departments, in which programs and policies of the gravest importance are frankly made the subject of mutual counsel and advice. Visitors, magazine writers, special students, who have visited these luncheons, declare them to be the most democratic method of procedure, as well as the most effective means of obtaining unity and efficiency in the management of public affairs.

Labor parties, or once largely representing as a minority within any government, everywhere proceed to carry on their work by mutual consultation, by seeking the widest information and by acting finally on the joint judgment of those who have been committed to the purpose of the party.

BUY CHRISTMAS SEALS.

Campaign Against White Plague Is On.

The following proclamation has been issued by Rupert Blue, Surgeon-General, United States Public Health Service: "Over 150,000 Americans die annually from tuberculosis. This is an appalling waste of life when we consider that tuberculosis is a preventable disease. Moreover, because this loss of life occurs almost entirely in the ranks of the young adult population, health authorities the world over have come to consider the control of tuberculosis as still the most pressing health problem confronting them.

"Every year the National Tuberculosis Association by selling Red Cross Christmas Seals raises a considerable sum of money to be used in a nationwide campaign to combat tuberculosis. This year a special effort is being made to interest school children in this work and December 5th, 6th and 7th have been designated as days on which the seals are to be sold in the public schools, synagogues and churches.

"Because of the seriousness of the situation, I trust that the campaign this year will be particularly successful."

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF UNREST.

The causes of the world-wide unrest are mainly economic. Some peculiarly bad clause in the Peace Treaty, some error of the politicians, some manipulation of militarist reaction, may be the spark which will set the

world ablaze. But the fundamental cause of the conflagration lies deep down in the economic system. The workers of France, Italy, Great Britain, America, will rise, in revolt, not really because injustice is being done to the workers of Germany or Hungary or Russia, but because in every country it is becoming increasingly difficult for the workers to live any longer under an economic system devoted primarily to the making of profit.

This is not to say that a majority, or anything like a majority, is consciously demanding the overthrow of the capitalist system. Socialism of any constructive sort remains, probably in every country, the creed of a minority. But even the majority which has not attempted to formulate a constructive opinion has changed. The pre-war industrial system rested upon the general acquiescence of the workers in the subordination of their personality to the needs of industry as interpreted by capitalists and employers. It was possibly only because it was able to treat labor as a thing instead of a number of persons, and because labor, though it kicked occasionally, as a rule acquiesced in that treatment. To-day, nearly everyone has a higher idea of himself than he had before. Nearly everyone makes not only higher material claims, which are hard enough for capitalism to satisfy, but also higher human claims, which it has no means at all of satisfying, and which most of its protagonists do not even attempt to understand. We are face to face with the fact that the war has taught the workers in almost every country to assert their human claims by putting forth the vast economic strength which hitherto they have not known how to use.

To-day, men are refusing any longer to believe that they are made for industry, and are asserting vehemently that industry was made for all men, and must adjust itself to, and comply with, human needs. That is the real meaning of the world-wide unrest, the real moral of the repeated strikes, from whatever, immediate causes they may spring.

The question, then, for statesmen in all countries is whether the economic and social system can transform itself so as to comply with the new human standards of value by which it is being judged. If it cannot, it will go to pieces, not perhaps this year, but next year or the year after, or within the next decade.

A NATION OF BEGGARS.

Vienna.—A nation of beggars—that is what, according to the "Arbeiterzeitung," German-Austria has literally become. The value of the krone, which in normal time was twenty cents, is now less than one cent. Even a millionaire, supposing his money to be invested at 5 per cent, draws an annual income of only \$500.

There are some 10,000 governmental employes in Austria, whose monthly earnings are 500 kronen, or only \$5.00 in American money. Even the most highly skilled and best paid workmen today receive not more than 2,000 kronen monthly. That is \$20, or less what unskilled workers in the United States receive per week.

A primary reason for this sad state of affairs, the "Arbeiterzeitung" points out, is the fact that the Entente insisted upon prohibiting Austria from joining any larger economic unit, such as Germany, for instance, but rather isolat-

it completely. The country is now dependent entirely for its foodstuffs and for its coal upon other countries, while its own industries have completely collapsed.

With the material impoverishment of the country, of which the ridiculously low value of the krone is symptomatic, has come a mental and moral impoverishment, so that in its attitude toward other countries, especially those

of the Entente, German-Austria has adopted the servile attitude of the beggar. The spirit of the people has been broken.

Oscar Bjorneberg of Hanska was New Ulm visitor last Wednesday.

Iver and Gilbert Fladmo and Oscar Thordson of Hanska transacted business in New Ulm one day recently.

A Thing of The Past

The Necessity for War Time Flours has passed but the necessity of getting the most possible nourishment for one's hard earned money is greater than ever. To spend wisely one must buy flour of proven quality —

THAT'S ANGELINA

made by

New Ulm Roller Mill Company
 NEW ULM, MINN.

FREE!

FREE!

TWO DAY TRACTOR SCHOOL

To teach the mechanical operation of the

MOLINE-UNIVERSAL

TRACTOR

December 4th and 5th

at the

City Clerk's Former Office

NEW ULM, MINNESOTA

Two reels of moving pictures will be run in connection with this school on Dec. 4th at the Lyric Theatre in addition to the regular program to show the working and power facilities of the Moline Tractor. This school is open to all—not only Moline-Universal Tractor Owners. Every farmer is urged to attend as he is sure to profit by it.

Remember the dates and place, December 4th and 5th at the former City Clerk office.

This school is arranged thru the local Moline-Universal Tractor Representative

FRED A. FISHER