

XIV.

REPORT

ON

THE ACTIVITY OF THE DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRACY



COPENHAGEN
PRINTED BY RUD. BOEHM
1914.

THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT AMONG THE DANISH WORKING MEN.

THE Danish Social Democracy dates from 1871, when a section of the „International working men's association“ was established in Denmark. Since that time, the Party has existed without any interruption, though, owing to the changing circumstances, it was found necessary to alter its original form of constitution. This section of the „Internationale“ was dissolved in 1873, in consequence of a police-order, but the organization was then changed into independent trade unions, and soon after, a centralization was established. For some time, the workmen were only organized in this way, a Central Committee, elected by the unions, being charged with the political activity, but in 1878 a special political organization was instituted, the „Socialdemokratisk Forbund“ (the social democratic federation). The connection between this federation and the unions, however, continued, and still continues, so that, in this country, the Trade Unions form a part of the organization of the Social Democracy; moreover, the social democratic Press is, at the same time, owned and published by the professional and political organizations of the working men.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

The Social Democratic Federation is the political organization of the social democratic Party in Denmark. By means of this organization (congress, central committee, and managing committee) the political agitation is exercised, and from it the tactics and the

policy of the Party principally originate. But, as already mentioned, there exists a connection between the trade unions and the Federation, and, as the members of the unions, fortunately, consider themselves to be members of the Party, the number of members within the political organizations does not represent the absolute strength of the Party; this number is, however, rather large in proportion to the size of the country.

In all electoral districts, branch affiliations of the Social Democratic Federation exist. In every provincial town, and in a considerable number of the rural communities, such affiliations have been established. At the end of 1913, the total number of associations having adopted the programme of the Danish Social Democracy, was 429 and the number of members 57,192. (For comparison's sake we add that in 1910, at the time of the International Congress, the number was 360, with 47,000 members). The political unions in an electoral district are, further, united into district organizations charged with the joint action within an electoral district, and the country is, moreover, divided into 15 districts of agitation comprising the unions of the territory concerned; by means of these districts of agitation, our political propaganda is planned and conducted according to the decisions come to in joint deliberation with the organizations of the districts.

The single sections of the Party pay a fixed contribution to the districts of agitation, and another fixed contribution to the administration of the Party; the Socialistic Press, moreover, pays an additional sum. The accounts of this organization of the whole country showed for the years 1910—11—12—13 a total balance of 224,000 Danish crowns. (1 Danish crown = 1 sh. 1 d.)

By means of the activity of the districts of agitation, nearly 2500 meetings of agitation have been held, at an expense of about 20,000 Danish crowns.

A special collection is made every year to pay the agitation at the political elections. This so-called

„electoral fund“ is also collected in the unions, and the yearly outcome is about 15—16,000 D. cr.

Out of this fund, the expenses of the election for the Folketing (the Chamber of Deputies) in 1913 were paid, amounting to 33,919 D. cr.; it is however, to be noticed that many of the unions, especially in the provincial towns paid, in part or wholly, the local expenses, so that the total expenses of putting up social democratic candidates for the folketing in 68 constituencies were 43,231 D. cr.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY.

Since 1849, the male population of Denmark has been in possession of the suffrage for the Rigsdag (the Danish Parliament). Originally, all men over 30 years of age, were voters both to the Chamber of Deputies and to the Senate, but in 1866, the constitutional law was changed so that a privileged class of electors was created. These electors mostly belong to the landed proprietors. Both sections of the Diet are to agree with one another concerning a bill, which only then becomes the law of the land.

According to this change, the landsting (senate) now consists of 66 members. Of these, 12 are appointed for life by the King (the Government). The rest are chosen by special electors, one half of which are elected by all ordinary electors (men from their 30th year), and the other half by the highest tax-payers in the following way: In every rural community (there are about 1100), first, one special elector is chosen according to the manner of proceeding of the ordinary election, and, secondly, the highest tax-payer of the community is, as a consequence of this sole capacity, the second special elector. In this way an owner of a large estate is f. inst. in possession of absolutely the same political influence as the totality of the electors of a community (the average number of which is 360 electors). Over against the 1100 *elected* special electors, 1100 owners of large estates, or other very rich men, are special electors, without being

themselves elected at all, only in consequence of their exceptional wealth.

In the provincial towns, the ordinary electors, the men over 30 years, elect a number of special electors fixed according to the number of ordinary electors, and, then, that part of the ordinary electors who during the last year paid taxes according to an income of 2000 Danish crowns, or more, elect an equally large number of special electors — thus, out of the propertied class.

In Copenhagen, the ordinary electors elect one special elector for every 120 electors, and then a equally large number of special electors are chosen by those electors who during the last year paid taxes according to *an income of 4000 Danish crowns*, or more.

In this way, then, a body of special electors is created, composed, first, of a number of electors among whom many belong to the propertied class, and secondly, of men exclusively belonging to the wealthy and very wealthy.

The final election of the senators takes place according to the proportional method. The consequence is that the propertied class is sure to obtain more than one half of the seats, and formerly, they had an advantage more, namely, the senators elected by the King. But in 1901, the King acknowledged the system of Parliamentarism, i. e., the Cabinet is always to be chosen in conformity to the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, and from this time, the crown has elected senators following the policy of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, so that only three conservative senators, elected by the King, now remain from before 1901. Originally, of course, the senators, elected by the King, were to be a conservative guarantee, but they may now serve for creating, little by little, a democratic majority within the Senate.

The Folketing (Chamber of Deputies) is composed of representatives elected by all men over 30 years of age; but this equality is, at present, only a theory,

because the constituencies contain very unequal numbers of electors, and the result of an election is much influenced by this circumstance, to the injury of the Social Democracy. The candidates are elected by simple majority, and there are no re-elections, so that, in the process of time, alliances have been contracted in order to prevent the reactionary parties to gain influence by means of actual minorities.

The Social Democracy has, therefore, of late years, been acting in concert with the Radical Party, and by means of this co-operation, at the election in 1913, a radical-socialistic majority was gained in the Folketing; this was a victory of great value, a change of the Danish Constitution having been under discussion for some years.

The following table elucidates the political position after the election of 1913. — The Folketing consists of 114 members. The number of voters is about 488,000.

Election, May 20, 1913.

	Candidates	Votes	Seats obtained
Social Democrats	68	107,400	32
Liberals	80	100,300	44
Conservatives	89	81,400	7
Radicals	61	68,000	31
Independent Conservatives	10	6,000	0

That the 87,000 conservative voters obtained only 7 seats is owing to the circumstance that the other parties were unanimously in favour of a constitutional change aiming at the introduction of a general, non-privileged franchise; candidates were, consequently, put up so as to make the totality of the not conservative parties vote against the conservatives.

The subjoined figures, furthermore, prove the absolute, irresistible progress of the Social democratic Party during more than 40 years.

	Candidates	Seats	Votes
1873	5	0	274
1878	1	0	767
1881	2	0	1689
1884	3	2	6806
1887	4	1	8406
1890	10	3	17232
1892	15	2	20094
1895	21	8	24508
1898	23	12	31872
1901	30	14	49972
1903	55	16	55593
1906	62	24	76566
1909	73	24	93079
1910	54	24	98721
1913	68	32	107400

As mentioned above, the chief task of the Danish Parliament has been, for some years, the discussion of a Bill concerning a change of the Constitution. A general and non-privileged franchise was to be introduced. Of course, the Social Democracy, being a minority, was not able to carry through its own programme; it might, however, exercise a very essential influence on the abolition of the privileged franchise.

Since the victory of parliamentarism in this country, in 1901, and the appointment of a liberal Cabinet, the Social Democratic Party has never ceased to claim a solution of the intended constitutional change in accordance with the programme of the Government: political equality, regardless of station in life, income, or property. The Social Democracy has brought in several bills concerning constitutional and electoral changes, and, ultimately, favourable results were obtained during the parliamentary session that began in Oct. 1912.

In 1910—12, new military laws especially favoured by the left, liberal, party, had occasioned an unjust distribution of taxes, and this policy much weakened the influence of its partizans, who feared the coming

elections. They were only in possession of one half of the seats in the Folketing. The Government, then, proposed a change of the Constitution, a programme received with absolute sympathy by the majority of the Danish people. A comparatively democratic constitutional Bill was then produced in Oct. 1912 by the liberal Government, the leading principles of which were as follows:

The privileged franchise to be completely abrogated.

The two Chamber system to be maintained.

Both Chambers to be elected by equal and general franchise, though in different ways.

Women and men to be electors and eligibles from their 25th year.

The Senate to be elected on the basis of the Local Boards (or by electors somewhat older than those of the Chamber of Deputies).

The servants to be electors (they had formerly been excluded from the franchise).

The Bill was adopted by the radical Left, and by the Social Democrats, it being impossible to carry through our own electoral programme. The Senate, however, refused to discuss it, by means of a conservative majority of one vote (34 against 32).

In May 1913, the ordinary elections for the Folketing were to be held, and the above mentioned constitutional Bill became the electoral platform of the three parties claiming a general and equal franchise. However, the liberal Party having very often, during the last twelve years accommodated itself to the wishes of the conservatives, many electors had lost confidence in this party and were of opinion that the liberals might ultimately become traitors to the intended constitutional change, if they, again, got possession of the majority.

Some liberal politicians, at least, were more or less opposed to the proposed constitutional Bill. Hence, the tactics of the Social Democrats were to be conducted in such a way as to prevent the victory of the conservatives in as many constituencies as pos-

sible, and, above all, to elect socialists and radicals, but liberals only, when absolutely necessary. The result of the election was, that the democratic parties gained 114 seats in the Folketing, and that an absolute majority of 63 deputies was created. Treason was no longer possible: the question was to be solved on a democratic basis; if not, a new failure would weaken the liberal Party very essentially.

Then new difficulties arose, the liberal Party refusing to take charge of the government. The Social Democracy was now invited to enter the ministry, eventually together with the Radicals, but refused to do so, because the problem to be solved being common to the three parties, it was natural that the largest group, the liberals, was to continue governing, with the support of the minor groups. The liberals, however, declined again, and, at last, the intermediate party, the radicals undertook to form a cabinet, the Social Democrats having promised their aid as to the carrying through of the constitutional change.

The Bill so strongly sanctioned by the electors was now again brought before the Rigsdag (the Parliament) Sept. 1913. The Chamber of Deputies adopted the Bill, but not the Senate. In the meantime, one of the Senators elected by the King died, and a radical was appointed in his stead. The Landsting now numbered 33 adherents and 33 opponents of the constitutional Bill; as the chairman, however, does not vote, the majority was now on the side of the adherents, the chairman being a conservative.

After protracted deliberations, the three democratic Parties finally adopted the constitutional Bill, with some amendments. Its general contents were now as follows:

The members of the Chamber of Deputies to be elected by all Danish women and men who have completed their 25th year.

The members of the Senate to be elected by all Danish women and men who have completed their

35th year (the present electors of 30—35 years retain their electoral right).

The Folketing (Chamber of Deputies) shall number 120 members. A provisional law of election is to be adopted, to be revised later on.

The Landsting (Senate) shall number 70 members. Of these, 54 shall be elected directly, and these 54 senators then propose, according to the proportional method, 16 Danish citizens to be appointed senators by the Government.

The possession of the electoral rights shall in no way whatever be dependent on any payment of tax, or any other form of privilege.

The Bill was adopted by the Folketing with over 100 votes, but the conservative members of the Landsting then had recourse to a quite exceptional means in order to prevent the Bill being adopted by the Landsting. According to a section of the Constitutional Law, a voting can only be valid, when more than one half of the members of the Landsting participate in it. The conservative members, 31, and one sick, then stayed away from the meeting. Instead of coming, they sent a letter to the chairman, stating that they intended, in this way, to prevent the adoption of a law introducing a general franchise without offering any real guarantee as to the rights of landed proprietors. In consequence of this „striking work“, the Bill could not be adopted, since not over one half of the members were present. (The chairman does not vote).

The Government then dissolved the Landsting, and, at the election, the three democratic parties united their votes in order to oppose the conservative party. The necessary election of special electors having taken place, the final result was, as expected, that, owing the complicated electoral method, no great displacement of mandates had been obtained, but there was now a sufficient majority of senators in favour of the constitutional Bill, namely 27 of the left Party (liberals), 7 radicals and 4 Social Democrats, in all 38 votes, and only 28 conservative opponents.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE LEGISLATION.

Some particularly important points of our general participation in the legislation shall now be mentioned.

THE LOCAL FRANCHISE.

For more than 40 years, the Local Boards were elected, as to the majority of the members, by a small number of the highest tax-payers. In 1909, for the first time, this privilege was abolished. At present the tax-payers, women, and men, from their 25th year, are local electors. *Married women are considered to be tax-payers*, if their husbands pay the tax. Nobody has more than one vote. This very important step in advance is, of course, due, in a high degree, to the Social Democrats, and the law in question was adopted after the democratic victory in 1901.

The Social-Democrats have, moreover, been promoters of a number of increases of salaries with regard to the functionaries of the postal, telegraphic and railway service, and with regard to the men working in the military establishments, and the forests belonging to the State, etc.

As to social provision and insurance, the Social-Democracy has contributed, directly, and indirectly, in a constantly increasing degree to the legislation in this direction.

To all men and women over 60 years, who are partly or wholly unable to work, an old age pension is paid in case of indigence. This public support has not the effect of the ordinary poor relief, namely the loss of the political and civic rights. The expenses are, at present, 12 millions of Danish Crowns yearly. (1 Danish Crown is nearly = 1 sh. 1 d.).

THE AUXILIARY FUNDS.

In every community, there is a so-called *auxiliary fund*, the managing committee of which is elected by

all men and women of the community over 25 years of age. Out of this fund, indigent citizens are assisted, in order to avoid the poor relief proper. The State contributes 250,000 crowns per year, and the Communities, too, concede annual grants.

OUT-OF-WORK FUNDS.

Such funds have been established in connection with the Trade Unions. They are conducted by the workmen. The State contributes one half of the men's own contributions (at present 1 million Danish crowns per year), and the Communities also pay certain contributions. The laws concerning these funds have been proposed by the Social Democrats.

Sick-clubs: Such clubs exist throughout the country to insure people with small means against sickness. They are conducted by a committee elected by the members, and the State pays a contribution in proportion to the number of members (at present, 3 mill. crowns per year).

ASSISTANCE TO WIDOWS' CHILDREN.

In 1913, a law was adopted on the suggestion, of some years' standing, of the Social Democracy, according to which widows with dependent children, as a rule under 15 years, (exceptionally until the 18th year) may receive a yearly aid, not involving the effects of poor relief.

This assistance is paid as follows:

100 crowns a year, until the child's	2d year
80 — — —	12th —
60 — — —	14th —

The indigence of the widow is determined according to her income and fortune. A widow is considered indigent, when her fortune does not exceed 4000 crowns with an addition of 500 crowns for every child under 14 years, and when her yearly income does not exceed two thirds of the amount

exempted from State tax (800 cr. in Copenhagen, 700 cr. in the provincial towns, 600 cr. in the country districts, with an addition of 100 cr. for every child under 14 years of age) —

In this way, a widow in Copenhagen may have a yearly income of 732 cr., and receive assistance according to this law.

The expenses are divided between the State, the municipalities, and the rural communities. They are calculated to be 2 mill. cr. a year.

Similarly, the law concerning natural children has, of late, been much ameliorated to the advantage of the mothers and the children.

There exists, moreover, a law on insurance against accidents concerning men working in factories, at engine-building, in the farms, and forests, at sea, etc., the *whole* expense of which is to be paid by the employers.

To help forward the farm labourers, a law has been adopted which has been very much ameliorated by the efforts of the Social Democracy: the *Law concerning the small holders*. The State contributes annually up to 5 million cr., to be used as loans in order to acquire small freehold farms of at least 1 hectare; mostly, the area is about 3 hectares. The loans are paid out in sums up to $\frac{9}{10}$ of the value of the farm.

A law protecting the foreign farm labourers coming to Denmark during the working season has been adopted, and is essentially due to the collaboration of the Social Democracy.

Other questions, too, have been brought to the front by the Social Democracy, among which the military problem deserves a special mentioning. Denmark is split up in many small islands, and it is, hence, quite inconceivable, that this small country can maintain a really effective defence, a view which for many years has been predominant among the majority of the population, outside of the conservatives. When, however, in 1901, the liberals had taken charge of the government, the military party claimed an arrangement

of the measures of defence. A parliamentary commission then examined the question, and liberals and conservatives came to an agreement. The military expenses were to be very considerably increased, though no expert dared assert that Denmark would in this way obtain any tolerably sufficient military security. For this reason, the Social Democracy, as is known, maintained its fundamental principle, *disarmament*, with the result, that the elections procured for the Social Democracy an increase of 17000 votes, and that the number of peace friends is constantly augmenting. The military party, however, being in the majority, was able to carry through its plans, and the Social Democracy has, for the present, confined itself to a policy of opposition, by means of which we may, later on, obtain more favourable results.

Among other independent motions made by the representatives of the Social Democracy, we shall quote some that have not yet obtained any definitive solution:

The 8 hours' working day.

Dinners to school-children, with State aid.

Abolition of nobility, titles, orders, and rank.

Public and gratuitous attendance on the sick.

The elective franchise to begin from the age of 21.

The franchise to be extended to women and servants.

Fiefs, family estates, entailed estates, to be abolished.

Radical improvement of the military administration of justice.

The State to take charge of the manufacture of sugar.

Improvement of the primary schools.

Continuation schools for pupils from 15—20 years of age.

As to the last point, our agitation had made a former government collect particulars respecting the state of this question abroad, and a state subsidy of 15,000 crowns was voted by the last Diet as a contribution to communities wishing to establish such schools.

Our parliamentary activity has, thus, not been without favourable results, but the most important part of our political agitation is, of course, our continuous criticism of capitalism, together with our positive schemes for changing, really and radically, the present social conditions. In this way, the people is taught political thinking, and a revolutionary spirit, striving to destroy capitalism, developed within the operative classes.

LOCAL ACTIVITY.

Besides our activity within the Diet, and our efforts to obtain as many parliamentary seats as possible, the Social Democracy has, of course, during many years, participated in the local elections.

As already mentioned, all tax-payers are local electors. In Copenhagen, however, an annual minimum income of 800 Danish crowns is required, in order to become a tax-payer; outside of Copenhagen, all are, theoretically, to pay tax; but, in reality, a certain number are exempted.

The last local elections took place in March 1913; the Social Democrats numbered 160,800 votes, 35000 more than in 1909. About 1200 Social Democrats became members of the Local Boards, 300 more than in 1909. In many provincial towns, they are now in the majority, and in others, not far from being predominant.

In Copenhagen the Local Board consists of two sections: the „Citizens' Representation“, and the so-called „Magistracy“. This combined municipal representation numbers, for the time being, 27 Social Democrats (55181 votes), 22 conservatives (44528 votes), 5 liberals (10065 votes), and 1 clerical (3557 votes); in this way, the Social Democrats are in possession of one mandate less, and obtained 3000 votes less than the other parties taken together.

The „Magistracy“ consists of 9 members, and constitutes the administrative factor of the Local Board of Copenhagen. At the same time, the magistracy

may refuse submitting to the resolutions of the Citizen's Representation. The President of the Magistracy is appointed by the Government. 4 members are mayors, elected for life by the Citizen's Representation, and 4 are aldermen, likewise elected by the Citizen's Representation, but only for 6 years. The Magistracy actually numbers 3 conservatives, 3 social democrats, 2 liberals and 1 independent.

Of course, our activity in the Local Boards has left many traces. These boards conduct the allotment of subsidies according to the Old Age Pension Law, distribute poor relief, etc.; and the more our influence increases, the more the subsidies increase, and a greater humanity prevails. In Copenhagen, these expenses now amount to $7\frac{1}{2}$ mill. cr. a year. The Old Age Pension amounts to more than 500 cr. yearly per married couple. The average sum is about 285 cr. In 1900—01, the average was 158 cr. Since this year, these expenses have risen about 133 per cent. and a corresponding increase has taken place in other municipalities where the Social Democrats have gained influence.

The School department is also directed by the Local Board and has been subjected to very considerable improvements. In Copenhagen, and a number of other towns, a so-called Middle-School has been established, in connection with the municipal schools, and, likewise, advanced practical and classical schools, *at the expense of the community*. Talented children may in this way receive *gratuitously* the instruction necessary for being entered at the University. The expenses of the School department of Copenhagen are $5\frac{1}{2}$ mill. cr. per year, and the number of pupils 56,000.

Hitherto, the School department of Copenhagen comprised schools where a small monthly payment was charged, while others were entirely gratis. From April 1, 1915, all these schools are to be gratis schools, so that, for the future, all children may be gratuitously instructed. This change has been suggested by the Social Democrats.

The attendance on the sick, too, has been essentially improved. Everywhere, the hospitals have been enlarged and ameliorated. In Copenhagen $4\frac{1}{8}$ mill. cr. per year are expended on the sick. The daily expense is, for one patient, 4 cr. 15 öre, but the citizen's of the town only pay 1 cr. and 20 öre, and the members of sick-clubs not more than 60 öre per day.

These examples show one side of the activity of the communities; on the other hand, the representatives of the Social Democrats, of course, aim at a still more general taking possession of different institutions, in order to accelerate a movement which we consider to be of great importance and advantage to the working men, and to society at large.

From 1911, the tram-car service was to be carried on by the municipality of Copenhagen. Since that time the position of the functionaries has been much improved, and the profits have risen considerably. Better wages, shorter working hours, better medical attendance, a fixed number of holidays, etc. have been the result. The municipality at present pays to about 2000 functionaries 600,000 cr. more *than the private company*.

Furthermore, Copenhagen and the majority of the other communities carry on water-, gas- and electrical-works, slaughterhouses, market-halls, etc. and everywhere, the increasing influence of our Party is felt, so that the working men and women are now absolutely better off than formerly. The poor, the sick and the old are better provided for, the soundness of the social democratic principles is better understood, and our merits more generally recognized.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

The invitation to establish a section of the „Internationale“, and thereby to create the Social Democratic Party was published in a social democratic newspaper, the first number of which appeared in 1871. This was the beginning of our press, edited by means of

contributions from the Trade-Unions, and even now no social democratic newspaper is published in this country outside of the Press Organization of the Party.

The totality of the social democratic newspapers, with their printing-offices, are owned jointly by the Trade-Unions in Copenhagen and by the Social Democratic Federation. The highest authority of this press is a committee of representatives elected by these associations, and by the joint organizations of the towns where the newspapers are published. These representatives elect a chief manager, and an inspecting committee, which takes charge of the daily administration. The editor of the principal newspaper „Social-Demokraten“, published in Copenhagen, is chosen, once a year, by a Copenhagen Committee of representatives.

The regulations of the Social democratic Press provide that the newspapers are to be edited according to the social democratic principles and that all articles etc., transmitted to the editor by the leading Committee of the Party, are to appear in the paper.

The Social Democratic Press in Denmark consists of 46 dailies, of which, however, only 15 are leading papers, and the rest of them branch papers, but with independent titles. 12 are printed in printing-offices owned by the corresponding newspapers.

The total daily issue is 130,000 copies. More than 1000 persons are occupied in the different offices, and the wages paid were, last year, 1,300,000 Danish crowns (1 Danish crown = about 1 sh. 1 d.).

The Party, moreover, publishes a satirical weekly.

Owned jointly by the professional and the political organizations, the Social Democratic Press in Denmark, thus, constitutes, as it will be seen from what precedes, a strongly centralized unity, which system has proved itself to be of the greatest benefit to the strenght and solidity of the Party, especially because it has created a political and economical basis that has enabled the Party to display an exceptional energy and activity.

II. THE PROFESSIONAL MOVEMENT.

Though general information has been given above concerning the origin of the Danish Trade-Unions, and their intimate connection with the policy and the press of the Danish Social Democracy, and though further particulars may be found in the reports to the International Secretariat, it will, however, be suitable to our purpose to add a few special details.

The professional central organization: The co-operating Trade-Unions of Denmark comprise 56 unions with 1255 sections, and 6 separate unions comprising each a single town. At the end of 1913, the total number of members was 114,698. The number of members in the preceding years was as follows: 1910: 101,572; 1911: 105,269; 1912: 107,067.

Outside the Central Organization, there existed at the end of 1913, 30 organizations, of which 16 were Trade-Unions, and the rest, independent unions in Copenhagen. These organizations number 454 sections with 31,485 members.

Consequently, the number of professionally organized workmen is now about 146,000, while, at the Congress of 1910, the number was about 120,000.

The aggregate fortune of all the organizations was at the end of 1913, 5½ mill. Danish crowns. — The out-of-work funds, connected with the unions, were, at the end of 1913, in possession of 3,353,000 crowns.

During the years 1910—13, the strike and lock-out subsidies paid to the members amounted to 2,061,405 cr.

In order to meet these expenses, a contribution of 11 cr. 50 öre was imposed on every member within the Central Organization. The rest was paid by the organizations.

177,869 cr. have been paid to foreign countries.

MOVEMENT OF WAGES.

	1910	1911	1912	1913
<i>Number of unions</i>	42	46	41	46
<i>Number of members:</i>				
Without conflict	33968	42769	26667	36873
Strike or lock-out	2067	15264	4419	8026
Total number. . .	36035	58033	31086	44899
<i>Results:</i>				
Number of members having obtained an increase of wages without conflict	16975	35895	17739	29950
After conflict	1859	13132	4360	3622
Total number. . .	18834	49027	22099	33572

III. CO-OPERATION.

There exists a very wide-spread co-operative movement in Denmark, originally created by the farmers, and constituted partly by co-operative buying and selling societies, and partly by co-operative farming societies (dairies, slaughter-houses, breeding of horses, of swine, sale of eggs, etc.). In Denmark there were in 1909 about 1200 co-operative dairies, dealing with 2620 mill. kg of milk. (The whole production of milk was over 3400 mill. kg.) These dairies paid 225 mill. cr. for the milk; of these, 34 mill. cr. were profit.

There are about 40 co operative slaughter-houses.

Of co-operative buying and selling societies there are over 1300, with over 188,000 members, and a yearly sale amounting to more than 62 mill. cr.

The majority of these societies are united into a Joint-Society, which undertakes the wholesale business, and carries on different manufacturing industries. This Joint-Society numbers over 184,000 members, and the balance account amounted in 1912 to 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ mill. cr.

This co-operative activity presents no political character. Very many social democrats are members; as, however, this movement originated among the farmers, it has especially been of importance to the left party, though it has never directly supported this party.

Since the international socialistic Congress in 1910, the workmen have, in Copenhagen and other towns, established a number of co-operative societies, which are making good progress. These societies, too, are not political, though, of course, the majority of the members are social democrats

The Social Democracy has, moreover, established several manufacturies.

In Copenhagen there exists a Workmen's Bakery, a Workmen's Mill, and a Workmen's Butchery, representing a total value of 600,000 cr. — The share ca-

pital, for the greater part paid by the Trade Unions, is 14,000 cr.

The Workmen's Brewery „Stjærnen“ (The Star), with a mineral water manufactory, has a value of 1¹/₄ mill. cr. The share capital has been jointly paid by the above named Workmen's Bakery, and by the organizations.

The workmen's Milk Supply „Enigheden“ (Concord), was established, during a strike at a private, capitalistic Milk-Supply, by the Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund (Labourers' Federation), aided by different other Labourers' organizations in Copenhagen. The sale is considerable, and the profits good. About 150 adult workers are employed.

There is, furthermore, in Copenhagen, a Workmen's Life-Insurance, with reinsurance in the Insurance-Establishment of the Danish State, and a Workmen's Book and Stationery business „Fremad“ (Forwards), which is at the same time a publishing and a print-seller's firm. This undertaking was begun in Dec. 1912, and the sale of the first year amounted to 80,000 cr.

Outside of Copenhagen there are a number of bakeries, breweries etc., and, lastly, social democratic meeting-houses exist in Copenhagen, and all larger towns.

IV. OTHER FORMS OF ORGANIZATION.

As mentioned above there are in Denmark, in connection with the Trade Unions, out-of-work funds recognized by the Government. Of such organizations, there exist 55 with over 120,000 members. They are, as a rule, united with the Trade Unions and consequently comprise the whole of Denmark. In 1912—13, the members contributed 1,408,112 cr. and the State and the communities paid 1,196,650 cr. Subsidies to the amount of 1,650,000 were paid in

1912—13. The administration expenses were 240,410 cr., and the fortune, at the end of the year, 2,382,411 cr.

The sick-clubs, recognized by the State, as mentioned above, are voluntary, and especially intended for the workmen and equally situated persons. At the end of 1912, their number was 1523 with 749,635 members. The clubs are either limited to a profession, or to a community.

The contributions of the members amounted in 1912 to 5,713,601 cr. The State paid 2,442,213 cr. The expenses (pecuniary aids, hospitals, medicine, doctors, etc.) were in the same year 7,704,646 cr. The fortune of the clubs amounted, at the end of the year, to $4\frac{3}{4}$ Mill. cr.

Lastly, the Social Democracy has, by way of experiment, established different courses of instruction. In Copenhagen, socialistic evening-schools have been started especially for young workmen who are to be practically and theoretically instructed in our methods of agitation, and to obtain a good knowledge of economical problems, statistics, etc. — Provisionally, however, this experiment has not proved absolutely satisfactory, and we now intend to enlarge the whole scheme, which then, as we hope, will become more effective.

In Esbjerg, the socialistic organizations have established a socialistic People's High School. The pupils are to study and to stay at the school for five consecutive months. They may be admitted from all parts of the country.

The socialistic *juvenile* movement works in close connection with the Social Democratic Party, without being, however, directly subordinated.

This movement is organized into one federation with 61 sections, and about 6000 members. As to the agitation, we especially address ourselves to the youth between 14 and 18 years; and the questions discussed have mostly been those which are of direct practical importance. The *question of apprentices* has been thoroughly studied, particulars have been collected,

and a special agitation instituted. An energetic, anti-military propagandism is carried on everywhere, together with a general socialistic agitation, so arranged that it may suit the juvenile listeners. Moreover, the federation possesses a library, and has established courses of social instruction.

From what has been communicated above, it is hoped that a general idea of the social democratic movement in Denmark may be obtained.

Denmark is a small country, numbering only $2\frac{3}{4}$ mill. of inhabitants, so that our influence, compared to that of the social democrats of the great nations, cannot be considerable. But we strive incessantly and to the best of our ability to build up the substructure of the coming socialistic community, and to prepare the hour when capitalism shall cease, and a new social edifice be erected.

The Danish working men are proud of the fact that the social democratic movement in Denmark has its origin in the great revolutionary movement abroad, and in the first Internationale, and never have we ceased to emphasize that there is only one working men's movement, namely: *The socialistic movement.*

And our wish is to continue our collaboration with the socialistically organized workmen of the whole world, in order to fight for the emancipation of the working class by means of *Socialism.*

Th. Stauning,

Secretary to the
„Socialdemokratisk Forbund
i Danmark.“