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The Worker

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VOL. XII.—NO. 43.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 25, 1933.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FOR THE DAILY.

Slowly but Surely the Fund Increases.

Preparations for the Fair, which is expected to net thousands of dollars for this purpose, now call for most energetic assistance from all comrades.

The time is fast approaching for the holding of the Fair at Grand Central Palace for the benefit of the Daily Globe and all comrades are reminded that in order to make it the success we want it to be, each and every one must pull off his coat and go to work at once.

The Fair Committee needs immediately a large committee of comrades who will visit the trade unions and other organizations for the purpose of interesting them to take part in the work of the conferences and take tickets for the Fair. Those who are willing to help and are not already enlisted in the work should at once report to Secretary Butcher at the Labor Lyceum for this or such other service as they can perform.

Many comrades and sympathizers are at work getting presents for the Fair. The Committee wishes to make a report of progress in this matter in the next issue of The Worker and all who have presents are requested to bring or send to Secretary Butcher, not later than Jan. 24, a full list of presents obtained, with the names of the givers. Many thousands of presents should be collected in order to ensure the full success of the Fair. It is known that a good start has been made by a number of the comrades and the work must be energetically pushed.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association having decided to meet every two weeks until after the Fair, all members of the Association are urged to attend the next meeting, which will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on Monday, Jan. 26, at 8 p. m. There is much important work to be done.

New members may be proposed at any regular meeting of the Association. Any person who has for six months or more been a member in good standing of the Social Democratic Party (or, as called in other states, the Socialist Party) may become a member by buying one or more shares of stock at \$5 each. Each member has one vote, regardless of the number of shares held.

Amounts Pledged.

Following is a statement of amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund up to Jan. 19:

Table listing names and amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund, including D. Stern, J. Kalina, Henry Suppl, etc.

Total pledged, \$7,586.50

Cash Receipts.

The following accounts have been received as payments on pledges or as cash contributions:

Table listing names and amounts received as cash contributions, including Dr. I. Ortman, Dr. P. Ortman, etc.

SOCIALISM A DRAWING CARD.

Cooper Union Packed Two Successive Evenings.

At Meeting for the Daily on Thursday and at Wilshire-Seligman Debate on Friday the Crowd of Eager Hearers Exceeded the Great Hall's Capacity.

The attendance at the Cooper Union meeting for the daily on Thursday last week and at the Wilshire-Seligman debate in the same place on the following evening go to show what a firm foothold the movement has taken in this city and how much keener and more general is the interest in Socialism now than ever before.

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

Table listing names and amounts for cash contributions, including Tunitz, Chas. Gunner, etc.

Total cash receipts, \$4,207.00

BROOKLYN CONFERENCE.

The first meeting of the Brooklyn Daily Globe Conference was held Jan. 17 at the Socialist Club. Comrade Butcher presided. Julius Bychower elected Financial Secretary and John Libsick Corresponding Secretary.

INTIMIDATION ATTEMPTED.

Comrade Sam Elges, Secretary of the Bronx Agitation Committee of the Social Democratic Party, is complaining of the impudent officiousness of the new police administration, as are many others connected with the labor movement.

CHASE AT WASHINGTON.

Comrade Joseph Wood of Washington, D. C., writes: "John C. Chase of Massachusetts spoke before a specially arranged meeting of the Railway Society of Washington last Sunday. The meeting was a great success. In a short time Washington will boast of a Socialist club of several hundred members."

REPUBLICANS FORCED TO ACT.

Massachusetts Socialists Show Their Power.

The Three Socialists in the Legislature Drive the Republican Majority to Take Up the Coal Question—Carey and MacCartney Scathingly Condemn the Policy of Delay.

A TYPICAL INSTANCE.

Striking Illustration of One of the Ways in Which All Great Capitalist Concerns Are Linked Together.

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WILL NOT DEBATE.

Challenge to S. B. Dutcher Is Declined.

"Impartial" National Economic League Does Not Care to Take Any Risks with Socialists.

WORK IN YORKVILLE.

The general meeting of the districts affiliated with the Yorkville Agitation Committee (26th, 28th, 30th, and 32d) in the Eighty-sixth Street Clubhouse last Saturday was very well attended.

STATE COMMITTEE OF NEW JERSEY.

The last regular meeting of the New Jersey State Committee was held on Sunday, Jan. 11, at 124 Market street, Newark. All organized counties except Mercer were represented.

MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

One More Circular from President Parry.

Voices the Sorrows of the Smaller Capitalists, Pressed Down by the Trust and Harassed by the Workers.

BUY UNION-MADE GOODS.

The Executive Committee of Ladies Tailors' Union No. 330 asks us to call the attention of all workers in this trade to the fact that there is a strike on in Chicago and that ladies' tailors are requested to keep away from that city until further notice.

CHICAGO LADIES' TAILORS' STRIKE.

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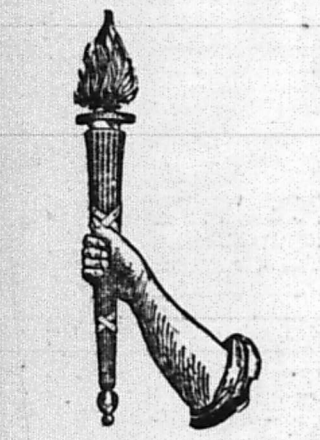
The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 104 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

We beg the comrades not to ask The Worker to publish announcements or reports of rallies, drawings, guessing contests, and the like. The publication of such matter is a violation of the postal laws and would furnish the government with an excuse for revoking our newspaper mail permit.

Present indications are that The Globe Fair to be held in Grand Central Palace from March 28 to April 5 will be an unparalleled success. Comrades should consider that, once expenses are covered—and that is already much more than assured—every additional effort means so much net increase in the fund for the establishment of our Socialist and trade-union daily.

For the benefit of several locals that have rather hastily adopted resolutions on the subject, we would call attention to the fact that the meeting of the National Committee next week is regularly called under the provisions of the second article of the national constitution of the party.

The success of last week's Cooper Union meeting for the Daily Globe shows how eager the people of this city are to listen to Socialist speakers. This makes it the more to be regretted that our city organization has allowed the time to slip by without holding a protest meeting in regard to the coal famine.

A lot of "society women"—that is, women of the capitalist class—up in Connecticut, having nothing better to do, are going to hold a great cat show. As one of the features of the entertainment they at first proposed a competitive trial among kittens to see which could kill a mouse quickest.

through respectable society and the mouse-killing match was called off. Meanwhile, both the ladies who wanted to see the mouse-killing and those who were horrified at the idea continue to dress themselves with laces and jewels out of dividends coined from the blood of workmen killed in preventable "accidents," from the year-long agony and degradation of shop girls, and the ruin of children's lives in the factories. Such is the conscience of the capitalist.

THE COAL-TARIFF FIASCO.

Exactly as we predicted. The removal of the tariff on coal has done nothing and evidently will do nothing to solve the present coal question. A London dispatch of Jan. 16 says: "The remission of the coal duties by the United States Congress still appears to have little or no effect on the British market."

When coal is being sold at an extra profit (not only a profit, but an extra profit, over the usual one) of five dollars, ten dollars, or even more per ton, the removal of a duty of 67 cents can have no appreciable effect.

We pointed out, long ago, that while the tariff system has undoubtedly helped in past years to foster the growing trusts, the trusts have now reached a stage of development in which they no longer need its assistance. Granted even, as the free-traders say (and it is only part of the truth), that "The tariff is the mother of the trusts" killing the mother will no longer injure her full-grown monstrous progeny.

The fatuity and imbecility of the Democratic party has once more been proven in this instance. Instead of firmly demanding measures that would give real relief to the sufferers from the coal famine, they clamored for so paltry a thing as the removal of the tariff. The Republicans took the wind out of their sails by granting it. Baer and his friends have not lost a cent by the step and Roosevelt and his friends think they have gained some votes.

THE WORK OF NATIONAL PARTY OFFICERS.

"Above all, when a decision is made, let it be accepted by its opponents in good faith, not as final, but as having, until revoked, the authority of the party which is greater than any of us, and let a fair chance be thus given us to learn by experience whether the decision was a wise or a foolish one."

It was the duty of the National Secretary and the Local Quorum of the National Committee, taking office under a constitution framed upon the state autonomy plan, scrupulously to respect the limitations put upon them and, if the system was unworkable, let it show its own weakness, leaving no one an opportunity to impute its failure to their misconduct.

We realize that the blame should not fall wholly upon Comrade Greenbaum and the members of the Local Quorum. They were placed, in many respects, in a difficult position, and it might be hard to say whether some of their supporters or some of their more critical have been the more responsible for their failure. If we recognize the failure and the cause of it, however, the apportionment of blame is a minor matter.

Indianapolis should have a fair test, which it has not had, so far. We may probably take it for granted that next week's meeting of the National Committee will result in a complete change in the personnel at national headquarters. Whoever may be chosen as National Secretary and Local Quorum for the following years, it is absolutely necessary that the National Committee should make clear to them the character of the offices they are to assume and the limitations which they must observe. They must understand that they are expected to work in good faith in accordance with the party constitution, and that they should be the last to agitate against it—as was done, for instance, in the very inopportune "semi-annual report."

Of course this is a strong statement; it is the statement of the extreme or typical case; but, with that qualification, it is a true statement of the characteristic mental attitude of the majority of the active Socialists of that time.

This habit of thought once served a good and necessary part. Fanaticism has its function. But before 1890 it had outlived its usefulness. Just as certain physical characteristics, normal in the child, become symptoms of disease if they persist in the maturing youth, so the fanatical tendency (and the tendency, which it implies, to hero-worship or extreme deference to the opinion of leaders), once serviceable to the cause, is now a thing zealously to be guarded against.

It is especially for the benefit of and in response to occasional requests from the newer party members, who know De Leonism only as a word of evil and of vague import, that we have given space to this definition of it in its two related phases—on the side of the leader and on the side of the follower.

THE LESSONS OF DE LEONISM.

We had occasion two weeks ago to deprecate the light and inaccurate use of the word "De Leonism" in recent party discussions. It may not be amiss to repeat a part of our remarks—bracketing a few words that we now insert:

"The word 'De Leonism' is justly odious to Socialist ears [—to the ears, at least, of all who have been in the movement as long as four years]. To impute De Leonism to a comrade is to make a very grave charge indeed against him—to accuse him, if the word be taken in its true sense, of deliberate and systematic and malicious dishonesty prompted by personal and base motives. Yet in *** party discussions this word has been so lightly handled about that it has lost much of its offensiveness and most of its definite meaning."

It is not our intention to go over what is now fortunately becoming ancient history nor to retrace again the facts that justify the definition of De Leonism we have given. A considerable proportion of those who are now party members went through the bitter but wholesome experience in the old S. L. P. that led to the split and reorganization of 1890; they, from personal knowledge, will testify that our expressions are not too strong. Hundreds more of those who, for one reason or another, stood by De Leon at that time, have since been forced to repudiate his methods; among them are included many who were, and were recognized by him to be, veritable "pillars of strength" to him in that conflict; and their denunciation of him is as much more bitter as it is fresher than ours.

De Leonism was—and still is, within its greatly narrowed scope—just what we have described. The personal ascendancy of a man given to the use of such methods was the chief proximate cause for the split. Had he, holding the same opinions, been an honest man, or had his influence been less, there can be little question that the division of the movement would have been avoided and that the differences of opinion would have been settled and the party tactics gradually modified, by a process of internal change, to suit altered conditions and new responsibilities. But "if" is, of course, an idle word. It is easy to see that the very "narrowness" of the old S. L. P., its semi-sectarian character, which made possible or inevitable the rise and temporary domination of a De Leon, was a necessary safeguard, in the earlier days, to the integrity or even the existence of the party. The blackest soundbites in history have done their part in the forward movement of the world. It is good to remember that. But it is good to remember also their soundbites and to know just what was his character, that we may not lose the lesson of their

story. A just abhorrence of Robespierre should not confuse our judgment of the Belgin of Terror. What concerns us now, in this matter, is not to denounce De Leon anew, but to define for our present and future guidance the lessons of De Leonism.

Just what was it in the mental attitude, the habits of thought, of the rank and file of the S. L. P. before 1890 that made it possible for a malicious and self-seeking trickster to become the spokesman and the apparent leader of the party? We have described it as a "semi-sectarian narrowness." It may be more closely defined:

We believed, not only that a person who differed with us on minor questions of economic theory or political practice could not possibly be right, but that he could not possibly be sincere; when we found a person so dissenting (especially if he was in our party or showed sympathy with its general purposes), instead of meeting him in fair argument, instead of even simply attributing his disagreement to prejudice or ignorance or stupidity, we thought it necessary to ransack his record and the records of his associates till we found some discreditable fact, which we then confidently accepted as the explanation of his dissent and the proof of his dishonesty.

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THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE.

Our business system has its base on one small thought that's out of place. The newest trifle—nothing much, of course. The truth is there—who says it's not? Only—the trouble is—you've got The cart before the horse!

You say that unless a man shall work Right earnestly, and never shirk, He may not eat. Now look—the change is small. And yet the truth is plain to see, Unless a man eats, and frequently— He cannot work at all.

And which comes first? Why this is plain. The man comes first. And, look again— A baby; with an appetite for it! You have to feed him years and years And train him up with toll and tears Before he works a bit!

So let us change our old ideas And learn with these advancing years To give the horse before we ask for speed. Not set the hungry horse to run And tell him when the race is done Then he shall have his feed! —Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

For information about the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania address the State Secretary, J. Madison Barnes, 1205 Arch street, Philadelphia.

Mosquito Bites By PETER E. BURROWES. The difficulty of seeing ourselves in one under which two sets of American white politicians have labored, but in common. It is true that we have been often shown up to each other in the heat of the hustings; yet it was fiercely, and by our adversaries; and human nature does not feel itself called upon to identify its picture either in the rogues' or the fools' gallery, nor in every street cry of "stop thief."

Confiscation, which has been so long discussed with disgust by our opponents in public meetings, is gradually being stripped of its terrors as a horrible theory and has entered into the life of many American cities as a condition reasonable, necessary and right when citizens are perishing for lack of coal and railroad companies are enjoining it under their very noses for a rising market. A few more coal strikes like this and the fetish of the rights of private proprietors under all circumstances to hold anything they have a mind to will be a badly damaged as to look like an old Chinese junk. To be sure, the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may be appealed to in favor of the cities that are confiscating company coal; but if the Supreme Court is ever appealed to it will decide that it is constitutional rather to die of coal in the other fellow's car than to take it home and live.

Low, Baer, and Markle! Upon these three the eyes of the millions who inhabit the great Manhattan refrigerator have been turned for mercy; but found none. Business is business; and even if their few well-worn platitudes of pity and "I assure you" could warm the city, they would surely not have been used even these. "Be ye warm" is not their business, but "Ye must buy." Follow sufferers, we are now beginning to find out which of these two, the capitalist or the workman, can be most easily dispensed with. Had the whole Baer family perished this winter, no one would have lacked coal.

The working people of Cuba are miserably poor. In Havana they are still on the hungry look for food and getting shot, by recently developed bourgeois firm-hand-patriotism for not finding it. Very, very poor and helpless are "the free competitive production slaves" of Cuba; like their brethren of all capitalist countries. But Cuba itself, that is, the bond owners recently arrived there, is holding a fine gilt-edged era of prosperity, until the victims begin to think. As the workers of the million-peopled cities must think first, we know here in New York, just how long the people of Cuba are to wait and want and how long the bondholders are to blout.

That Van Dyke burned in the "Gould fire" the other night was Gould's Van Dyke. He brought it up and there's an end on't as things go. A Marullo, a Coraggio, a Raphael may belong to the Goulds, and except those imbedded in the walls of the great national structures, it is easy to see that all the world's art treasures may, or must, eventually be stored in the garrets of the millionaires. This ignorant, incompetent and tasteless right of the Palestine of private property over the world-artist and the world's art is not the least among the eminent unfitnesses of the private man to run the world.

John C. Spooner, the gushing geyser of Wisconsin, has been caressed by the Senate. This gentleman is the most characteristic type now existing of the mature American politician. And our political system, which has proved false to everything else, will not even be true to itself if Spooner comes short of the presidency. He possesses all the virtues of the other successful trade patriots whose soul is only a few phrases and a flag. Having no goal but the nearest barricade of his class, his mental range is an alternate swing from success to scorn. No man in the Senate so well represents the Babylonian spectre of imperial capitalism as he. The impending conquest of America's millions by the colossal magnitude of the dollarocracy are set forth in the armed files and banners, the sardonic contempt, the grip, tenacity, and eloquence of Spooner.

Mr. Mondell, a Republican of Wyoming, objected to the remission of the coal tax on the ground that it would admit competition and so injure the coal industry of his section. The Senators, to a man, will stand in competition to produce the cardinal virtue of capitalist economy. But with what Mr. Mondell calls the coal industry, that is, the division of the profits, there must be no competition. The trust for profit sharers, the anarchy of disorganized personal dependency for laborers. With the shield of protection the capitalist patriot repulses the foreigners from Canada who mine coal and speak English, in order to help the American laborer coming from the Himalayan mountains who cannot speak English and knows nothing of trade unions. Our magnificence as a nation rests upon our defenceless men competing.

A window cleaner residing on the Bowery has been fined ten dollars for wanting to see Mr. Morgan. Now as there are a great number of other people in the city who want to see Mr. Morgan, it would be confidentially advise them to say nothing about it. Luxurious that sort come here; for though the cat may look as a King, the species known as American citizens must not even want to see Mr. Morgan except he has ten dollars about him or a stomach for prison diet.

The face of the poor old "Sun" (a newspaper which was once a feature in New York's morning rush) is covered all over with a new plume "trust busting." In view of the well known fact, so often proved by the "Sun" itself, that there are no trusts in this country, it seems odd that the "Sun" should chamber itself so of a vulgarly phrased impossibility. But the poor editor has been going on a wooden leg ever since his row with Big Six, and whether he takes his ed-

itorial walks abroad in literature, science, politics, religion or art, you see, instead of the broad foot of the elder Dana, the sharp, small puncture of his wooden peg. The "Sun" is no longer even technically honest where it can hit the working democracy of America. Socialists laugh with him at this trust busting; but it is because we know the absurdity of it, while Dana, because he thinks it might be done, and because he thinks that common people are going in for the busting.

THE CONSERVATISM OF THE PEOPLE.

By Horace Traubel.

After you have made all the row you choose to make about the violence of the people suppose you think a little about the peacefulness of the people. After your police and your sheriffs and your Pinkertons and your soldiers have done their best and their worst, go among the people, get away from the disciples of slander and force, and take a look for yourself out into the disturbed world. And when you do this I know what you will see. You will not see war. You will see peace. You will not see a people easily aroused to a quarrel. You will see a people slow of anger and patient to a last degree. You will not see a people full of quibble. You will see a people guileless and unsuspecting. Such things you will see. And you will not see them here and there, playing a role of exceptions. You will see them everywhere. And you will realize that the people have used you well. Used you far too well.

Now you will not wonder at the violence of the people. You will wonder at the peace of the people. You will consider that you have for so many years been allowed to eat of the fruit of exploitation. You will touch the coat upon your back. You will ask: "How is it that this coat is still on my back? Why is it that some play with a better right to it than I have has not taken it from me?" You will see the omnipresent social wrongs. And you will wonder why the people do not revolt. You will believe that the people are meek. You know you would not tolerate for one minute the insults you heap upon the labor of the world. And yet you do not resign your mastership.

You may even think yourself superior to the men you have robbed. Most of us do. We hate the man we injure. Yet is not hard to rob. Especially if the someone robbed consents to be robbed or wishes you to rob him. And that is the point. The people to-day wish you to rob them. They provide the way and you bring the will. They are so peaceful they would rather let you rob them than resent your robbery with some act of violence.

Is your victim weak because he is weak? He is weak because he is strong. He is humble because he is noble. He does not lack the wit to rob you. He lacks the disposition. This is not because he is your superior. It is because he has had a better chance to practice honesty. Your money, your power, has left you no margin for honesty. Your increments are all in your way. But labor keeps man close to essentials. Essentials make man honest. The first lesson of the soil to labor is an exercise in righteousness.

Man is very patient. He has been lashed, driven and starved. He has gone down to premature graves. All that Van Dyke burned in the "Gould fire" the other night was Gould's Van Dyke. He brought it up and there's an end on't as things go. A Marullo, a Coraggio, a Raphael may belong to the Goulds, and except those imbedded in the walls of the great national structures, it is easy to see that all the world's art treasures may, or must, eventually be stored in the garrets of the millionaires. This ignorant, incompetent and tasteless right of the Palestine of private property over the world-artist and the world's art is not the least among the eminent unfitnesses of the private man to run the world.

One of the most hopeful signs of the approaching dissolution of capitalism, as a natural power in state and civilization, is the impatience even of our high-placed judges to get into commercial gabbling with the other successful law breakers of the community. A whole string of them, while yet on the bench, are taking office and enjoinments from banks, companies and corporations. When shame dies on the bench, the political corpse is ready for the Socialist undertaker.

Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 124 William street, New York.

President Jordan of Stanford University is undoubtedly one of the most brilliant of present-day American college professors. We alternate between admiration and annoyance at his treatment of social questions; but we can forgive him much for the suggestion contained in this little passage which we quote from his essays on the social effects of war, recently published by the American Unitarian Association of Boston: "Doubtless it will not ruin a nation. Doubtless it will not destroy its vitality or impair its blood. Doubtless a dozen wars may do all this. The difference is one of degree, alone; I wish only to point out the tendency. That the death of the strong is a true cause beyond cavil or question. The 'man who is left' holds always the future in his grasp. One of the great books of our new century will be some day written on the selection of men, the screening of human life through the actions of man, and the operation of the institutions men have built up. It will be a survey of the stream of social history, its whirls and eddies, rapids and still waters, and the effect of each and all of its conditions on the heredity of men. The survival of the fit, and the unfit, in all degrees and conditions will be its subject-matter. This book will be written, not roughly and hastily, like the present fragmentary essay, still less will it be a brilliant effort of some analytical imagination. It will set down soberly and statistically the array of facts which as yet no one possesses; and the new Darwin whose work it shall be, like his predecessor, open to every man in the gathering of 'all facts' that can possibly bear on the situation." When such a book is written, we shall know for the first time the real significance of war.

Three of the articles in the January number of the "International Socialist Review"—"The American Labor Movement," by G. A. Hoehn, "Who Said 'Scab?'" by John Murray, Jr., and "The California Situation," by M. W. Wilkins—deal with a matter of lively present interest. Under the title "Trade Unions and the Socialist Party," the editor writes very forcibly on the same subject. We reproduce the issue of "The Worker" which contains the issue of "Why Co-operatives Have Failed" by Murray E. King is an excellent answer to a question that still—though not so much as three or four years ago—troubles many new Socialists. A. M. Simons contributes an extensive review of Bishop Spalding's book on "Socialism and Labor." Ernest Untermann's review of recent events in Germany is well worth reading.

We wish to double the circulation of The Worker in the next six months. Will you help us? —Keep a few copies of Lee's "Labor Politics" circulating in your shop or your union. You can get ten copies for 20 cents or fifty for 85 cents. Socialist literature Company, 124 William street, New York.

THE COMING PUBLISHING TRUST.

Millionaire Munsey Lays Down the Lines of a Social System Radically Different from That Which Socialists Strive For—Which Will Workingmen Choose?

Mr. Frank A. Munsey, millionaire and owner of half a dozen magazines and three daily papers—the New York "Daily News," the Boston "Journal," and the Washington "Times"—recently spoke on Journalism before the students of Yale University. In the course of his remarks he made several statements that tend to show what may be expected to happen with the publishing business of the United States in the very near future.

"If I read the signs of the times aright, three or four years will show great strides in this respect. In fact, it is my belief that the newspapers, the magazines, the books, and all the periodicals of one kind and another will be published by about three or four concerns."

These "three or four concerns" will of course be under the complete control of the capitalist class and they will then be able to mold and shape public opinion in the true imperialistic fashion. The Socialist press and some other few exceptions will then alone remain to voice the protests of the working class in their struggles and trials.

Here is another admission made in the same speech which speaks volumes: "That you will be a salaried worker instead of a proprietor there is little doubt. This thought may take a good deal of sunshine out of the picture, but in reality it will not work to your disadvantage. You will escape the wear and tear of proprietorship—how very solicitous for others!—and your earnings will doubtless be as great or greater."

"You will lose only sentiment. Indeed, I see nothing but a splendid future for the newspaper man, with an average income well exceeding that of the lawyer, the doctor, or the clergyman."

"Men endowed with the ability to run successful enterprises of their own will still be factors in affairs, and will be better off in our new economic system than they have been as independent units in the industries and commerce of America."

"The modern tendency towards combination has created much uneasiness, but I am confident that this popular anxiety is not well founded."

"Each period in the march of time must work out its own systems. That they will be worked out equitably, and in the best interests of all, there is no doubt."

"It is simply a matter of readjustment to new ways of doing things, and the process will not be half so troublesome as it now looks to be. Difficulties are usually at their worst when in the prospective." (This latter sentence is very true and we Socialists can say the same to those who pool-hoop the idea of the Co-operative Commonwealth.)

"In the new order of things men will be free from the worries and anxieties of financing their enterprises." (But what—oh, what, we ask—will become of the incentive? "The organizations themselves will bear this burden, and it is a burden, by the way, that has broken the heart and crushed out the life of thousands of individual proprietors.")

to decide which system he favors. The Republican and Democratic parties being controlled by the capitalist class will of necessity help toward the establishment of a "benevolent feudalism" as fancied by Mr. Munsey. The Socialist (Social Democratic) Party, composed of members of the working class, stands for the introduction of the Co-operative Commonwealth, under which the industries of the nation will be democratically owned and managed by the workers and in which each and every individual will have an equal opportunity to develop all his faculties and be assured of the product of his labor.

The need of the hour is the study of Socialism by the members of the working class, both men and women, for this question is sure of gaining importance as the time goes by, and the more you become convinced of the correctness and justice of our position, then come and join us in the endeavor to establish a new and higher system of society, under which the workers would be free in fact and not in name only.

CHARLES UFERT, West Hoboken, N. J.

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS.

- 1. Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and sever their relations with all other political parties. 2. The officers to be elected are: (a) A Chairman at each meeting. (b) Recording Secretary. (c) Financial Secretary. (d) Organizer. (e) Literary Agent. 3. Order of business. (a) Reading of the minutes. (b) Admission of new members. (c) Communications and bills. (d) Report of Organizer. (e) Reports of committees. (f) Unfinished business. (g) New business. 4. A monthly payment, computed on a basis of five cents for each member, for the maintenance of the National organization, shall be paid to the National Secretary. Local branches may levy dues if they so choose, or may raise funds altogether through voluntary contributions and pay National dues out of their general funds. 5. A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, the names of persons participating, together with five cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter; after receipt of which, upon approval of National Committee, charter will be granted. 6. Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the transaction of business or the discussion of political and economic questions. 7. Semi-annual reports of the membership and the financial condition of each local branch, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary. 8. Any person living in a city or locality where no local branch exists may apply directly to the National Secretary for admission to the Party, enclosing one month's dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.

Socialism and Trade Unionism. The following resolution was adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 31, 1901: "The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. "We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade union forces today, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end only when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on class-conscious lines, to join the Socialist Party and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

The Socialist Party is known in the State of New York under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch. —If you want to see the Socialist vote in New York doubled again next election, work for the Socialist daily. —See to it that every man who joins your local or branch subscribes for his party paper. It will serve the double purpose of giving him thorough education in Socialist principles and of keeping him interested in party work. —Now when we are reading so much in the daily press about railway service, rates, wages, and profits, is a good time to circulate Hanford's "Railroading in the United States," one of the best Socialist pamphlets ever written. Price, postpaid, 5 cents a copy; ten or more at 2 1/2 cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND LABOR PARTIES.

[We present under this heading some further communications on the question of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward labor parties, as brought to the attention of the party by the action of the San Francisco and Los Angeles comrades.]

III. [Extracts from editorial on "Trade Unions and the Socialist Party" in the "International Socialist Review" for January.]

The situation which confronts us at the present time in several portions of the country is about as follows: Under the combined influence of economic development and Socialist teachings the trade unions have simultaneously become of great strength and permeated with Socialist thought, the latter generally of a rather indefinite and confused character. The cry that labor must go into politics is taken up. A "union labor" ticket is placed in the field for the Socialist Party, at once confronted with the alternative as to whether it shall antagonize this "union labor" party, or whether it shall withdraw from the field.

Various comrades have by a process of what one might call "short-circuited" reasoning (to borrow a phrase from the vocabulary of the electrician) jumped to the conclusion that the Socialist Party is at once compelled to make terms with the Union Labor party, even at the cost of the complete sacrifice of the Socialist Party itself. Their reasoning generally runs something as follows: "The philosophy of Socialism demands that the powers of government be captured by a working class party. Here is a working class party. It can capture the powers of government. That would be Socialism; let us support it."

Unfortunately there are several breaks in this chain of reasoning. The weakest point, of course, lies in the claim that any party bearing the name of labor, and largely made up of organized workers, is necessarily a working class party. In the sense in which Socialists use the word, a working class party means, not so much a party made up of workmen as one based upon certain definite principles in accordance with the interests of the working class. If the working class membership is the only condition, there has scarcely been a party in existence that could not fill the bill. Hence an argument based upon the fact that these parties are made up of laboring men, whether organized or unorganized, is utterly beside the point and has nothing whatever to do with the matter in question. The fact that it is even offered by a Socialist shows a badly confused state of mind.

The only thing which determines whether a party is a working class party in the sense in which the Socialists use the word is whether it stands upon a platform expressing the mission of the working class as the future ruling class, and whether the attitude and spirit of the new party indicates that it is inspired by a conscious awareness of the functions of the working class in the production and distribution and the rulers of the social organism.

Judging by these standards not one of the so-called "union labor" parties has any right whatever to be called a working class party. Their principles are much more in accord with small capitalist interests than with those of the working class. Furthermore, when the Union Labor party professes Socialism, there is no reason why the Socialist Party should leave the field, or should renounce its name and organization. The Socialist Party is a national and international organization like the capitalism which it combats. The Union Labor party is almost invariably a municipal party, never more than a municipal party, and it would not be any very serious blow to capitalism while the more general powers of government remained untouched. Furthermore, such a capture at the expense of the disorganization of a wider party movement would be a dearly gained victory even if it were gained along Socialist lines.

In all this we see an exaggeration of the importance of the organized labor movement. There is not the slightest question but what the Socialist Party is and always must be on the side of organized labor when the latter is waging a class struggle, but it is equally on the side of such workers as the toilers in the sweat shops and the child slaves in the factory, the agricultural laborers and a mass of others far outnumbering those in the unions, for whom there is practically no possibility of organization. So far from the Socialist Party being but a side-show to the trade union movement, as some of the members seem to think, the Socialist Party, the Socialist movement and the Socialist philosophy are all infinitely greater than any trade union movement. There is not a point of the trade union movement which is not swallowed up and enlarged by the Socialist movement, and to let "the tail wag the dog" in the manner in which some comrades advocate would be a most ridiculous conclusion. In conclusion it must be borne in mind that the Socialist Party is a party of the working class and not of any fraction thereof. That to-day, if we are going to give up that class character which rests upon principle, it would be much less of a surrender to endorse the Allied party, which is made up equally of the laboring class and which has much more of a Socialist platform than has the Trade Union parties of some cities. But to do either would be a complete surrender of our position. The Socialist Party can have nothing in common with any organization which supports and cringes before a man like Eugene Schmitz, immediately after he has come from the defense of Tammany Hall, and who has given no reason whatever to believe that he has accepted any of the principles of the working class movement.

IV. [Local and resolutions adopted by Socialist St. Louis at the meeting of Jan. 4. The first resolution was carried, on division, by a vote of 30 to 9; the second was carried without division.]

RESOLVED, That Local St. Louis reiterates its allegiance to the principles and tactics of the Socialist Party as adopted and agreed upon by the Indianapolis Unity Convention. We are fully convinced of the correctness and soundness of the Socialist Party tactics, and therefore must emphatically disapprove of and condemn any attempt to lead our movement into confusion and confusion with so-called Union Labor and Reform parties, thereby disrupting the Socialist Party at the very moment when the prospects are brighter and more encouraging than ever before, and when, by polling over 300,000 votes, our organization has become the third political party in the nation, and in many of the states and industrial centers has also become the recognized third party.

RESOLVED, That we call upon the Socialists and their sympathizers throughout the country to be on their guard, because the capitalist politicians are beginning to realize the seriousness of the political situation, and the onward march of the class-conscious workers is making strenuous efforts to do all in its power to sidetrack the Socialist movement by the organization of a Democratic "Union Labor" party for the purpose of misleading organized labor and catching the labor vote. Recent developments have shown that the Democratic millionaire and newspaper publisher, Hearst, of New York, with his New York "Journal" Chief, "American" and San Francisco "Examiner," assisted by a number of capitalist political hirelings in the labor movement, such as Secretary Steinbecker of the National Building Trades Council, and others, are already freely advocating the Democratic "Union Labor" fusion ticket with Millionaire Hearst as Democratic presidential candidate for 1904, and the Cook County Democratic politicians are making strenuous efforts to enlist President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers as candidate either for governor of Illinois or for the vice-presidential companion of Millionaire Hearst. RESOLVED, That the Socialist Party of St. Louis will continue the class-conscious political battle of labor in all future campaigns, and also its effective co-operation with the trades union movement.

less conflict within the party itself, between those who stood grandly upon what they termed "principles," and those who having a faint glimmering of the real principles of the class struggle, sought for a closer alignment with the trade unions, but at the same time made their efforts abortive by failing to adopt their political and economic program to the immediate interests of the trade unions, for whose methods they had really little, if anything, but pity and contempt.

This internal and irrepressible conflict finally reached a climax in the split of the Socialist Labor Party, dividing the party into two wings, one under the domination of De Leon and the other really unorganized so far as the single purpose was concerned, but holding mainly to the idea of a closer alignment with the trade unions.

The De Leon wing had become fanatic in its terminology, and the trade unions and continued its advocacy and support of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, an organization begun by the Socialist Labor Party for the express purpose of supplanting the already existing trade union movement. They predicted their arguments in support of this position upon the premise that the wage workers must be thoroughly conscious of the class conflicts of modern society and understand completely the historic mission of the working class in the abolition of these conflicts, before their organization as a class could be successful on either the economic or political field.

In opposition to this, the seceding wing set up the argument that the foundation principle of the philosophy of the class struggle taught us that the material interests of the wage workers would finally bring the trade union to the position of Socialism, just as those same interests had brought them to the beginnings of their craft organization. To be sure, there were few who comprehended the real line of demarcation between themselves and their former comrades, and by most it was considered as purely a matter of tactics, but it was nevertheless a question of principle which separated them.

It was this tactics theory which dominated the seceding wing and which finally instilled in the minds of most of its members, notwithstanding their published declarations and resolutions, an anti-trade union spirit which tolerated instead of opposing the unions, but which nevertheless looked upon them with contempt.

There grew up in this conflict of principles a phraseology which marked the real spirit of the contending elements and which gives a clearer idea than anything else of the forces which have been at work in the American Socialist movement and which have dominated it since its formation. The seceding wing and down to the present; when at last we see the forces lining up for a final struggle, upon the correct outcome of which rests the future of the Socialist movement in this country.

WHEREAS, Comrades E. Val. Putnam and James S. Roche have come out in the Socialist program of the country, not only defending the San Francisco political deal known as the Socialist-Union Labor party fusion movement, but also advocating the extension and expansion of said fusion tactics all over the country. WHEREAS, Comrades M. Ballard Dunn and Leon Greenbaum, have also publicly advocated the extension and expansion of said fusion tactics. WHEREAS, By their said action, Comrades E. Val. Putnam, James S. Roche, M. Ballard Dunn, and Leon Greenbaum, have acted in direct violation of our party's principles and tactics, defined by the national platform as follows: "The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class," and have disregarded the confidence and trust placed in them by their constituents who elected them members of the Local Quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Local St. Louis hereby disapproves of their action and kindly requests Comrades E. Val. Putnam, James S. Roche, M. Ballard Dunn, and Leon Greenbaum, and all those favoring their fusion with the Socialist Party, to resign as members of the National Committee and officers at the national office of the Socialist Party; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, failing to resign, we call upon the National Committee of the Socialist Party to remove them. V. In the consideration of the so-called "California situation," we find ourselves confronted, with conditions which necessitate an entire recasting of our previous concept of the class struggle. The labor movement in America has been peculiar in that the trade union movement came into existence previous to the Socialist Party and attained powerful proportions before the agitation of the Socialists was at all a factor in the movement for the emancipation of the workers. Those who laid the foundations of the Socialist Party, seeing in the then existing program of the trade unions a limitation which held them back from the complete control of the powers of government, and through that means the abolition of the capitalist system of production, lay the freedom of the working class. The formation of the Socialist Labor Party was the result.

In this organization, which was made separate and distinct from the trade unions and which sought not only to organize the wage-working class, but "those in sympathy with it," was made the fatal mistake of dividing the efforts of the workers in the class struggle and seeking to build up two forces, each claiming to be the emancipating force, each contesting the jurisdiction of the other, and each denouncing the program and policy of the other. True, this was disclaimed and denied by both sides at the outset and there really was a certain show of harmony, but the Socialist Labor Party had not yet reached sufficient proportions to be much more than the mere naming of a theory. With its growth came a contesting of the field, a struggle for power, and the real relations became apparent.

Through the years that have succeeded the first formation of the Socialist Labor Party has come an endless conflict within the party itself, between those who stood grandly upon what they termed "principles," and those who having a faint glimmering of the real principles of the class struggle, sought for a closer alignment with the trade unions, but at the same time made their efforts abortive by failing to adopt their political and economic program to the immediate interests of the trade unions, for whose methods they had really little, if anything, but pity and contempt. This internal and irrepressible conflict finally reached a climax in the split of the Socialist Labor Party, dividing the party into two wings, one under the domination of De Leon and the other really unorganized so far as the single purpose was concerned, but holding mainly to the idea of a closer alignment with the trade unions. 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The prevailing opinion that the Socialist movement as such is alone the emancipating force of the wage workers (which we have really believed regardless of our trade union resolutions, which were in fact in the last analysis adopted as a purely "tactical" measure and tolerated on that ground mainly) must now be considered in a light that shatters that theory to pieces.

We are confronted now by the real principles upon which we split a few years ago and which at that time were not comprehended. The De Leon wing occupies one pole of this position. We must occupy the other or be crushed out. We must attempt to occupy a middle ground. We must fight out the issue before us on those lines and the details of the situation in California are but of small consequence. We must not again cloud a question of principles under the cloak of tactics.

The great fact involved in the California situation is there before us, a fact which has been in formation for a number of years in other parts of the country, but which has only now reached proportions sufficient to command our attention. This fact is the movement of organized labor on the political field in such numbers as to actually secure power, and the situation is not affected by the so-called failure of Union Labor parties in the past, because apparent failure is a concomitant of all new and untried efforts of the working class.

We are compelled to behold then in this movement of organized labor the power which we failed to note in the earlier history of the Socialist Party, the power which will make of organized labor itself (a deduction from our own philosophy) the political as well as the economic emancipating force of labor, and which in a few years will make impossible an outside organization. In fact, if our organization is to fulfill its function, it must shape things toward that end.

And from this we are again forced to the deduction that the trade union movement is the practical application of the only emancipating force and the development of society that force will take up the means which to it seems necessary to make emancipation possible. If the intelligence of the mass goes not beyond the resolution and the petition, then those of us who recognize their utility have taught to do but teach and wait for our teaching to take root, for true progress is only with the mass, and if we go ahead of the mass we will soon find ourselves alone.

And when that mass has absorbed those teachings, then still is our pace with the mass, for there are yet many pitfalls before the practical application of our philosophy, and if we are true teachers we will be with our pupils in the working out of the problems we have set for them to do.

It is with this concept of the labor movement, a markedly changed one, I admit, but still born of the inexorable logic of events, that I write on the "California situation," and it is also with this concept that I have stated that its proper consideration will require an entire recasting of our previous philosophy of the class struggle. [Note.—In the presentation of the above view of the questions before us I have purposely left out several phases of the development which has brought us to the necessity of deciding the question once and for all, not because they were unimportant in that development, but because I desired to state the argument as briefly as possible. The principle phase thus left out was the organization once known as the Social Democratic Party, and which really had its birth in the hostile attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward the trade unions, and which more than any other one thing precipitated the split in the ranks of the S. L. P. Since, however, the S. D. P. has ceased to exist, being really absorbed into the union with the seceders (and of which only the trade union attitude remains), I deem it necessary to refer to it only in the way in which I have, as a tendency.

On the other hand might be cited the present position of the De Leon wing of the S. L. P. Utterly discredited, their position in this question has placed them entirely outside of the class struggle, so far as any useful function is concerned, and they represent the fanaticism of a movement for the liberation of the wage workers which has become impatient at what it considers the slow progress of the mass.] M. BALLARD DUNN. St. Louis, Jan. 1.

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National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalist and not by the worker. This ownership enables the capitalist to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition of life, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate: 1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

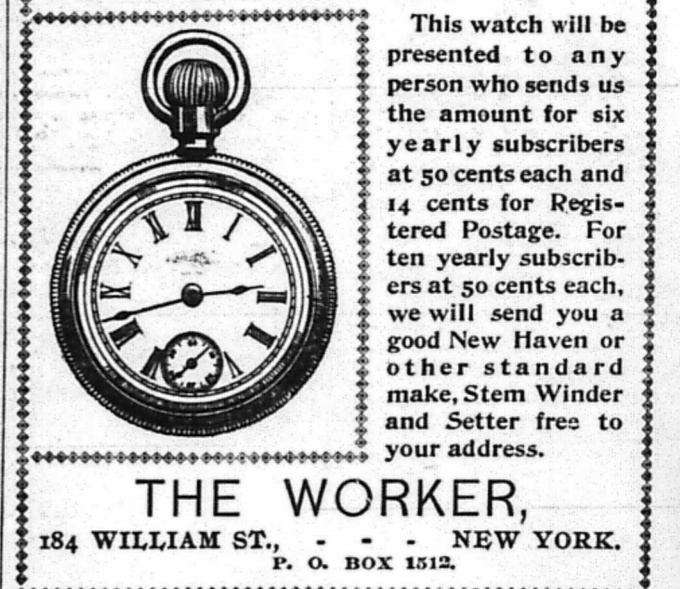
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor. 3. Working or national insurance of workers people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor. 5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women. 7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents. But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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