

Join The Union
of Your Craft

The Socialist

THE WORKINGMANS PAPER
A CARTOON WEEKLY

Join The Party
of Your Class

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

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The Man Without a Country



He built the ROAD—
With others of his CLASS, he built the road,
Now o'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,
Chasing a JOB, spurred on by HUNGERS goad.
He walks and walks, and wonders why
In H—L, he built the road.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONVENTION

What changes do you think are necessary in the party organization?

Practically none. The forms of organization count little. If the spirit of Socialism is present, the more forms will adapt themselves to the needs of the growing body. As we need changes, they will be demanded and made. The great thing now is to educate the wage workers, create in them an intelligent class consciousness, awaken them to action and then organization will follow.

One point in general as to organization: Whatever changes are made should be in the direction of democracy and against all centralization of power. We are not only Socialists, but Democratic Socialists.

For this reason a central party organ would be dangerous, place of prestige and undue influence in the National Committee or National Board of Control.

For this reason also changes are to be commended which will safeguard Referendum votes, and explicitly define the methods of taking same. Too often now a central committee is able to manipulate the party will as expressed in the Referendums. The Socialist Party is introducing the Referendum. It should introduce it right.

What, if any, action should be taken towards setting forth a working program for such members as may be elected to office within a capitalist government? Should such a program be attached to the platform, embodied in a separate and explanatory document, or entirely omitted?

We are not in immediate danger of electing such officials, except in municipalities. In any case, it is more important that such officials be well grounded in the fundamental principles of Socialist economics than that they be supplied with a Procrustean bed of proper things to do, called a "working program."

Whatever is to the interest of the working class, that I will do! is one pledge of every Socialist nominee. If he is not intelligent enough to decide for himself what is to the interest of his class in any given conditions, he is not fit to be a Socialist nominee.

In my judgment, it is better that we do not win elections, even in municipalities, for some years to come. The majority of our membership are so raw in the Socialist arena and so soaked with capitalist notions of politics and economics, that it will be better for us to pass through several campaigns of education before we win political campaigns. In fact, our political campaigns have their chief function for the present as means of education.

Have you any suggestions as to the mode of conducting a campaign that represent the Socialist Party on the public platform?

Control them by controlling the selection of them. After a speaker is selected, he must be given freedom of expression. Here, again, it is all important that the fundamentals be understood. If a man is educated in the principles of scientific Socialism, his utterances will need no control. If he is not, no methods will control him. He is a ship without a rudder.

I can suggest no better way of selecting speakers than the present. Local and state committees must decide according to their best judgment. They will make mistakes and correct them. The final test will be the educated instinct of the comrades, which will not long tolerate any serious departure from proletarian principles.

What action, if any, should be taken towards securing uniformity of action by Socialists elected to municipal positions?

Let our Municipal Committee's report be published, embracing a full discussion of this matter. This will serve as a helpful stimulus to such comrades toward reaching Socialist decisions on all pending questions. But no "Rules and Regulations" for a Socialist legislator or executive when occupying a capitalist office! If the comrades are so deficient in judgment

as to select and elect a "chump," they and the party ought to be punished by his blunders, and so learn better.

Should there be any special expression of attitude towards the farmers or negroes? If so, what? Yes, something as follows:

Resolved, That the negro wage slave is robbed of the greater part of his product, the same as the white wage slave, and the Socialist Party is his only hope of emancipation. We therefore welcome the negro vote as we do the vote of all wage slaves, without respect to color, sex or nationality, and we advocate active propaganda and organization among the negro population of the United States.

Farmer Resolution.

Resolved, That the small farmer has no hope of deliverance from his present hard conditions except by uniting with the wage workers' political organization, the Socialist Party. The small farmer must recognize that the United States is no longer an agricultural but a manufacturing country, and that therefore the dominant, typical class is the class of wage workers, the wage class that must save society. We call upon the small farmers to look beyond their own class, to recognize the supreme class struggle between capital and wage labor and to join hands with that class which alone can bring freedom from all economical bondage.

Should the present "trade union resolution" stand? If not, how should it be changed?

Yes, with an additional resolution, somewhat like this:

Resolved, That the trade unions at this moment stand at the parting of the ways. The capitalist is making supreme efforts to capture them by spies and hired leaders, by flattery and negotiations, by insulating on the common interests of labor and capital, by alarmist appeals against Socialism and Socialist agitators.

On the other hand, the strategic move has arrived for the Socialists to outmaneuver these capitalist tactics by making the most strenuous efforts to educate the trades unions in Socialist economics. We therefore reiterate our former resolution and call upon all comrades to join their respective unions with a view to saving them from capitalist control.

We urge our comrades to point out three things to their trades union brothers. (1) That the great combinations of capital in vast industries, embracing many trades, make it impossible for mere trade organizations to succeed as formerly and render it necessary for unions to be organized along industrial rather than trade lines. (2) That the growing power of concentrated capital renders even the best organized labor unions more and more impotent and must make it evident that only by united action on the political field can labor achieve any permanent benefit for itself. (3) That nothing short of the Socialist program, abolishing the wage system itself, will be of any use as a political demand.—Herman F. Titus, Editor The Socialist, Seattle, Wash., in the National Socialist Review for April, 1904.

The press dispatches announce that two distinguished Russian diplomats are coming over here to create a favorable sentiment for Russia among the American newspapers. The Russians know a good thing when they see it. So do our great capitalist newspapers, which have become the paid pleaders of capital, whose motto is, "Money talks."

"Nothing To Lose But His Chains"



Actual picture of Henry Maki a striking miner of Telluride, Colorado, arrested because he was not working, though he had money in his pocket, condemned to the chain gang as a vagrant, and finally, because he refused to work in a sewer when ordered to do so, CHAINED TO THE TELEGRAPH POLE as you see.

What do you think of it, workers of America? Is liberty dead in this country? Yes, for wage workers, dead long ago.

What will help you? Vote your own emancipation and capture the power of government for yourselves. Nothing else will restore the ancient freedom and free our flag from desecration. Did you vote a Republican or Democratic ticket? Then this is what you voted for,—to chain yourself and your brother in slavery.

Cincinnati is the largest local tobacco market in the world. The Tobacco Trust has created consternation among the "independents" in that city by swooping down on them and controlling the market before they were aware that the trust was after them. The trust has also cornered almost the entire crop at Marysville, Ky., another large tobacco market. The "independents" are raising a big howl, but they virtually admit that the days of individual competition in their business are numbered.

John Mitchell still insists that the interests of labor and capital are identical. He has now evolved to the point where he talks of the rights of capital. When John was a coal digger, and even for some time after he became president of the N. M. W. of A., he talked only of the rights of labor. It is strange how much broader and more liberal one becomes in his ideas of capital after he has hob-nobbed awhile with humanitarian employers, eminent divines and clever politicians. A few more years as ambassador to the court of capitalism will make John a firm believer in the bosses' idea of running their business to suit themselves.

Those Democrats who are making for Willie Randolph Hearst's "barrel" probably have in mind the old saying, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Willie's "barrel" is a condition. Grover's clever patch is a theory.

It is a pity Prof. Kincaid was pitted against a learned ignoramus last Sunday night in the debate on the question, "Has Darwinism Been Sustained?" Kellogg, with "D. D." and "I. L. D." to his name, actually declared that when oxygen and hydrogen are burned together in the blow-pipe, the two gases cease to exist and all that was left was light, heat, electricity. Prof. Kincaid treated him with silent contempt, contenting himself with the ironical remark, lost on the pachydermatous "D. D., I. L. D., that if any one had discovered how to annihilate oxygen and hydrogen, he should hasten to announce his discovery to the scientific world and achieve everlasting fame. This is the same Dr. Kellogg who was put forward by the National Economic League as their champion writer and debater. He knows just as much of economics or Socialism as he does of chemistry, and he is just as ignorant of his ignorance.

What the outraged workers in Colorado will do for Peabody next November will be a plenty, but what they will do for Peabodyism in their eagerness to down Peabody will make the master class smile all over themselves. It is time the working class were thinking of elevating themselves instead of always trying to down the miserable tools of the capitalist class. If there were no Peabodyism in Colorado there would be no Peabody.

Rev. Howard Melish, of Cincinnati, the bold fighter of gambler, graft and gang rule, has been "called" to a larger field of work. He has gone to Brooklyn to fight the "head center of official corruption in America." As a

fighter of effects, Rev. Melish has no equal except Dr. Parkhurst, but he is as ignorant of the causes which are producing the effects he deplores as eloquently as Roosevelt or Bryan is of the cause of trusts.

A number of Catholic bishops in their annual conclave at Washington, announce that the Catholic church is the only antidote for Socialism. A few years prior to the French revolution which overthrew the despotic rule of monarchy a number of Catholic dignitaries also announced that the Catholic church was the greatest power to destroy democracy. The church will be as powerless against industrial democracy as it has been against political

democracy. The workers will be more loyal to their stomachs when a great unemployed problem comes on us than they will be to the church which will give them a stone when they ask for bread.

Gov. Odell, of New York, has denied that he made an attack on trades unions in one of his recent speeches. He says he believes in unions that are conducted on the right principle. To be sure, he does. So does Parry and even Peabody. They don't object to "good" unions. What they are opposed to is the unions which seek to enforce their demands. Then they become "bad" and un-American, and must not be tolerated in a "free" country.

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HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE SOCIALIST PARTY. tion, and quietly dropped out of exist-

Its History up to the Convention of 1901.

The narrow policy of the Socialist Labor Party had the double effect of disgusting many old-time workers in the movement who withdrew from the party in large numbers, and of making the organization unpopular to the majority of newly converted Socialists.

This movement that century a new socialist movement gradually emerged. The Socialist Labor party, it was called, was the most varied and the most radical of the new socialist groups. It was the weekly paper of J. A. Wayland, editor of the Appeal to Reason, both of which were published in New York. The Appeal to Reason, both of which were published in New York. The Appeal to Reason, both of which were published in New York. The Appeal to Reason, both of which were published in New York.

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16,000 was required. The members of the National Democracy had opened the doors of their party to anyone who was a former and even a young provincial politician, and they had been in the hope of exploiting their connections with the Reichstag.

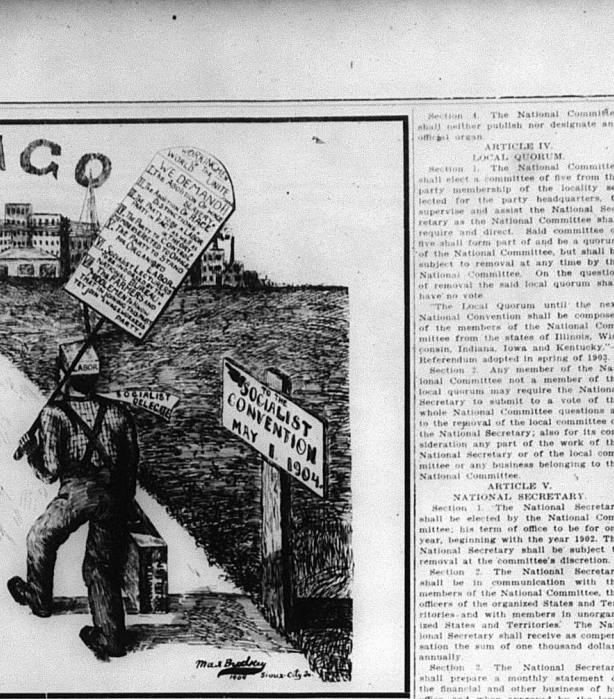
But side by side with this movement of mass recruitment, there was a party growth in numbers and strength. The National Democracy had three sections: the Socialist Labor Party, the Nationalist Party, and these, together with some prominent individuals, formed the Nationalist Party, headed by Victor I. Berger of Milwaukee. The Nationalist Party was to substitute ordinary Socialist propaganda for the National Democracy's

the Rochester resolution, but they rejected the recommendation of the liberations of the joint committee, and they rejected the Nationalist Party as well, so that if either of these resolutions were adopted, the party as a whole might reject it and the party would be split. The Nationalist Party insisted upon the retention of the national organization.

The Nationalist Party made a long and a prolonged and heated debate, and the Nationalist Party was rejected by a vote of 1,366 against 1,366. The Nationalist Party was elected with full power to arrange the Nationalist Party, and the Nationalist Party of the Rochester factor. To seal the Nationalist Party, the Nationalist Party

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The debate lasted 15 minutes. The vote was taken, showing fifty-three in favor of the motion to adjourn. The speaker then announced that the majority report was ready. As soon as the vote was taken, the convention hall in a body, in accordance with a prearrangement, adjourned to the colonization faction. The latter adopted its platform, elected its officers and then adjourned. The organization subsequently established two insignificant branches in Washington and Baltimore.



of July, 1941, it was found that the all party organizations in such way as the National Committee shall direct.

of July, 1941, it was found that the organizations participating in it represented an enrolled membership of no less than 10,000. The system of representation of the party name and the STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

headquarters gave rise to prolonged and, at times, heated controversies. The representatives of the Social Democratic Party insisted upon the retention of

and on the ground of expediency, the United Socialist Party of America, with 1,284 delegates, holds 173 seats, while the United Socialist Party of America, with 1,284 delegates, holds 173 seats, while the United Socialist Party of America, with 1,284 delegates, holds 173 seats.

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Whether it is in the hope of dissuading the American element from joining for any other reason, the name Socialist Party of America was adopted by the National Party, not only by the pro-union members of that party, but by the overwhelming majority of the Socialist-Labor Party, which was the dominant movement in this country was thus consequently assumed that name. The National Party, which was the movement in this country was thus consequently assumed that name. The National Party, which was the movement in this country was thus consequently assumed that name.

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tion or Chicago faction found itself in a minority position. The National organization, on its own presidential campaign, had been defeated in the field factor was in the same position with regard to the candidate. President Eugene V. Debs. The warping factor was the fact that the National Committee in attending meetings decided upon the only course possible was to support the candidate of the joint ticket and the maintenance of the joint ticket and the maintenance of the joint ticket and the maintenance of the joint ticket.

Notwithstanding this inauspicious situation, the National Executive Committee conducted an energetic and successful campaign for the election of its delegates to the National Convention. The delegates to the National Convention at Indianapolis were elected by a large majority.

The trade union movement and industrial workers of America were the emancipating factors of the wage work movement. The wage work movement was the natural result of capitalist production and the wage work movement was the working class movement.

the political parties, the work of both of them is the Social Democratic Party for a long time has been the most successful and accomplished more toward economic and political reforms than the other. It has prolonged negotiations of the past. The Social Democratic Party has been more closely, and their vague feeling of the campaign there was to more reason for the existence of the two factions, and the convention of all Socialist organizations was held in the Springfield factory, several times, and in fact, all Socialist organizations in the United States, the organized States and Territories; to call national nominating conventions and to elect delegates to the national convention of the party; to submit questions to referendum; to receive semi-annual reports from the State and Territorial committees to make reports to national conventions.

Section 2. The National Committee shall have the right to call for the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all State organizations and to the national convention.

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of the Socialist Labor Party, responded to the call. When the convention assembled in Indianapolis, on the 29th day of July, 1900, the following resolutions were adopted:

Socialist Platform

The Socialist party, the National Congress and the members reaffirm 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 conducting the business of government, and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private property into the means of production and distribution into collective ownership as a class in their struggle against the capitalist powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, disinterestedly supposed to all the parties formed by the property classes.

While we declare that the development of the capitalist system tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner in which this will be accomplished is dependent upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance that the Socialist party should

by the entire people. The ownership of the means of production rests simply and by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an important development of the productive forces, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalist to exploit the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing inequality of livelihood and the poverty of the masses. The existing class divisions are the result of the fact that the revenue of the working class is not the property of the capitalist class, but is applied wholly to the increase of

disseminate society into two starkly classed—the capitalists and wage-workers. The capitalists, who own the means of production, disappear in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalists and the working class, who are deprived of the means of livelihood by the capitalists the control of the means of production. The press, the schools, and enables them to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual and social inferiority, and political subservience and virtual slavery. The economic interests of the capitalists, and the control of the means of labor of the employees, to the impoverishment of the service and diminishing of the wages of the employees.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages of the employees, to the benefit of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. The abolition of the system of piece employment, sickness and want in old age, and the establishment of a system of insurance for the purpose to be administered under the control of the government.

3. The lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are waged, nations, islands, and continents are slaughtered and encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned.
4. The capitalists are not content to extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.
5. In the same economic cause, the workers of the world are divided. Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers, is active for the overthrow of this new and higher order of things.
6. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers may secure the full product of their labor.
7. The education of all children up to the age of 16, the opening of all municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
8. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
9. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

...ity is the working class. All other classes, and even more so, all other countries, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois Public Ownership parties, the leadership of the fragments of wealth-producing classes, cannot understand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are the representatives of the capitalist class.

"The workers can most effectively act as a class only by uniting with their constituents."

...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 movement as an attempt of the bourgeoisie to secure government control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security of application of other industries and not for the betterment of the conditions of the working class.

that be the abolition of wage slavery and the end of the economic oppression, and also assure him of the fellow workers' solidarity with the fight of the lawless and exploitation against the workers.

The two following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the National Committee at a general meeting at St. Louis January, 1932:

RESOLUTIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party of America, meeting in St. Louis, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party and the trade union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, and also assures him of the fellow workers' solidarity with the fight of the lawless and exploitation against the workers.

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be best conserved by allowing each of the various management groups to remain within its own sphere of activity with-
out the interference by any other group.
The Socialist Party will continue to
aid and encourage the development of
economic struggles of organized labor, re-
sulting in the abolition of the wage
system and the emancipation of the
countries engaged in the struggle, and will
continue to aid and encourage the
countries within the trade union movement.
The Socialist Party will continue to
show the sympathy and support of all trade
unions, and will not withdraw from
itself to be made the ally of any one
organization or to be used as a weapon
against another. We believe that we deem it
unwise to invite trade unions as such to be
involved in the struggle of the Socialist
Party.

ANTI-FUSION RESOLUTIONS. Whereas, The history of the labor movement of the world has conclusively demonstrated that a Socialist Party is the only political organization able to consistently and effectively support the political struggles of the working class;

Whereas, All "radical and reform" groups and the so-called "Socialist Labor Parties," have, after a brief existence, uniformly succumbed to the influence of the old political parties and have proven disastrous to the development of the labor movement; and

Whereas, The alliance of the Socialists with the old parties has

NOTES.

Negro Resolutions. Resolution adopted by the Socialist Party, July 25, 1961:

"Resolved, That no state or local organization of the Negro League, nor any individual Negro leader or member thereof, under any circumstances, have, combine or attempt to combine with any political party, organization, or refrain from making any statement or action to further the interests of candidates of such parties or organizations."

The Transcendental Passenger Association offer same rate to delegates to National Convention as the Eastern Lines. So the Pacific Coast delegates can get a round-trip rate equal to one

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Resolved, That we the Socialists of America, in National Convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and on-