

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY

## OFFICIAL BULLETIN

Issued Monthly by the National Committee at the National Headquarters, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Volume IV



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Number 6

### NATIONAL NOTES

Every speaker in the field reports from each point visited "the largest Socialist meeting ever held, and financial returns surprising." The following letter from Comrade Willett, State Secretary of Ohio, is typical of a number:

"Charters were granted January 26, 1908: Canton, Ohio, 10 members; East Liverpool, 8 members; Coshocton, 17 members; Collinwood, 8 members; Lore City, 33 members. One member at large was admitted. Reports come from five other towns, that a local is going to be organized. Everything booming in Socialist agitation, about ten times the amount of work this month than there was a year ago. Locals are now nominating members for the National Committee and electing State Committees. If organization continues the rest of the year as it began, Ohio will be the best organized State in the Union."

By recent referendum in Arizona, P. W. Gallentine of Globe was elected a member of the National Committee, and J. G. Kroon of Globe was re-elected State Secretary.

State Secretary Bell of Texas writes as follows: "We hope to get a chance in a few days to send you a list of locals to date, and when we do so it will warm the cockles of your heart. Have sent out sixteen charters already this month, adding about 220 members to the roll. The thing is turned loose here, and with an assistant we are only able to attend to about half the correspondence that comes in daily. We are snowed under, that's all."

Charters have been granted by the National Office to Locals Dexter, six members, and Solano, ten members, both in New Mexico.

The comparative statement of dues received at the National Office during the month of January for the last three years is as follows: 1906, \$4,153.60; 1907, \$1,591.95; 1908, \$1,885.00. The month just closed shows not only a large increase over corresponding months, but exceeds all previous records, topping the high record of October, 1907, by \$168.00.

**National Constitution, Sec. 5, Art. 10.** "The railroad fare of the delegates going to and coming from the convention shall be paid from the National treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership."

In accordance with the above, National Committee Motions No. 21 and 25, 1907, provide for a one assessment of 35 cents, to be levied upon each member of the party, the same to be paid during the months of February and March.

The special assessment stamps have been shipped in bulk to the respective state secretaries. It is suggested to the locals that the greatest care be exercised in the handling of these stamps, as the state committees are held responsible for the return of either the stamps or the amount represented thereby.

John C. Chase, National Organizer and Lecturer, reports the largest Socialist meeting ever held in Grand Rapids, Mich.; collection, \$36. A good local was organized at Muncie, Ind., and a rousing welcome by the striking street car men. On January 29 fourteen new members joined Local Fort Wayne, Ind.

Finnish locals have been organized at Frederick, S. D., 13 members, and Newport, N. H., added 24 members during the month.

As a result of recent state referendums, C. C. Ross of Oklahoma City and A. S. Loundermilk of El Reno were elected members of the National Committee, and O. F. Branstetter of Norman was re-elected state secretary of Oklahoma.

Henry R. Kearns, Elm street, Arlington, and William Walker, 655 S. Park street, Elizabeth, were elected members of the National Committee, and W. B. Killingbeek of Orange was re-elected state secretary of New Jersey.

W. R. Snow of Huntington has been elected state secretary of Arkansas.

J. E. Nash, state secretary of Minnesota, reports the following locals organized since January 1: London, 6 members; Byron, 9 members; Staple, 9 members; Holdin, 7 members; St. Hillaire, 7 members; Greenbush, 10 members; Nora, 11 members; Shevlin, 5 members; Goodland, 10 members, and Weme, 10 members, a total of 94 members. In the meantime five locals have renewed activity and paid up back dues.

Comrade Sladden, state secretary of Oregon, writes as follows: "I am glad to state that the last month, January, has been the most prosperous that has been encountered in this state. Dues being paid on over eleven hundred members, while every indication would point to February keeping up the same gain."

Otto Pauls, state secretary of Missouri, writes: "Business is getting very lively in Missouri now, and the work is covering me up. Organized a dozen locals in January, and more in sight. The workers act as though some one had stuck a pin in them, and we propose to get them into organized shape, so they will stay put."

State Secretary Richard Krueger of Washington writes as follows: "So far as we have a record in the state office regarding increase of membership during January, this increase is 201 new members. The new members admitted by the various locals should bring this up to 300. Indications now are that this ratio of increase will be kept up, and probably improved upon."

By recent referendums, Robert V. Hunter of Freeport was elected a member of the National Committee for Maine and A. M. Stirton of Hancock a member of the National Committee for Michigan.

The state convention of New Jersey will be held at Elizabeth, May 30-31. The following were elected delegates to the National Convention by the state organization of New Jersey: Fred Kraft, G. H. Headley, J. M. Reilly, H. R. Kearns, George H. Goebel, W. B. Killingbeek and M. F. Fackert.

Comrade D. Burgess, National Committee member of Washington, reports that owing to a mistake in the Tacoma postoffice a number of his letters have gone astray or been considerably delayed in transit, and this accounts for the fact that he has been reported as not voting on several National Committee motions.

Those comrades interested in Socialist plays and the advance of the Socialist stage, and this is considered in many quarters a valuable vehicle for propaganda, should write "The Socialist Stage," a new monthly publication, the first number of which will contain articles by Courtney Lemon, Edwin Markham, Horace Traubel, Julius Hopp, Leonard D. Abbott, Julia Romm and others. Address 131 West Twenty-third street, New York, N. Y.

National Organizer Stanley J. Clark reports very successful meetings all along the line in Louisiana. Organized locals on the 12th and 16th at Orange, 12 members; at Lafayette, 39 members.

**A Few Words from Indiana.**—Richmond Local: "Movement here is on the boom. Increased our membership to 63, and still coming."

Local Marion: "Send me immediately by return mail \$1.00 worth of membership cards, as I have none at present, and just received fifty new members in our last two Sunday meetings, which are being held in the Grand Opera house."

By recent referendum Jas. F. Carey, 699 Washington street, Boston, Mass., was re-elected state secretary.

The following locals were organized in Oklahoma during January: Hughard, North Fork, Ocate, Avard, Tishomingo, Yeager, Wocharty, Kiowa, Ashland, Goodwin, Elm Grove and Kaw City. Comrade MacLachlan, state secretary of Utah, reports four new members at large, and charters granted to ten locals between January 23 and February 12. Total number of new members added, 128.

Local Sparks, Nev., reports that upon the resignation of a member of the city council, in place of having an election the appointment for the unexpired term was made upon petition. The signatures of 107 signers out of a possible 121 in the ward were secured for the Socialist candidate. The two miners' unions unanimously indorsed the Socialist candidate. The claim is made that Sparks will be the first town in the nation to come absolutely under the control of the Socialist party.

From Local Beaumont, Tex.: "Things are getting in good shape here; from eight paid-to-date members in July, 1907, we rose to the number of 38. There are only two city tickets in the field—Democrat and Socialist. This is the first time we have had a municipal ticket."

Rovnost Ludu, a semi-monthly Slovak publication, will be changed to a weekly beginning with the month of March, and will appear every Tuesday. Price, \$1.25 per year. Address 638 Loomis street, Chicago, Ill.

The Socialists of South Dakota will hold a mass state convention on April 7 at Pierre, S. D. The state convention of Indiana will be held at Hauser Hall, Indianapolis, March 15, beginning at 9 a. m.

State Secretary Graham of Montana reports as follows: "So far this month we have organized five new locals, with indications of having two more before the week is over. The State Agricultural College at Bozeman has accepted dates for Comrades Henry Laurens Call and John C. Chase."

Local Mesa, Colo., reports: "Our local met last Saturday and the comrades all cheerfully responded to the call for special 35-cent assessment for convention expenses. There are 14 members in good standing, and every one paid up promptly, making \$4.90, which I forwarded to our state secretary this morning. Would suggest that the National Committee adopt this plan of special monthly assessments for raising the campaign fund."

**Notice to Italian Comrades and Others.**—The number of inquiries for a paper published in the Italian language have been increasing right along. La Parola Dei Socialisti, a weekly paper, started publication on February 25. The price is \$1.00 per year. Address 145 Blue Island avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Socialist Sunday schools are now in successful operation in several cities, and inquiries regarding the conduct of the same are constantly being received. Until further notice such inquiries may be addressed to Miss Josephine Gross, 776 North Oakley avenue, Chicago, who is secretary of the Woman's Socialist Branch, and will be pleased to supply information. A new publication designed to reach the young folks, and supplement the work of the Socialist Sunday schools is about to be issued, entitled "The Little Socialist Magazine." For further information, address Herman Kellett, Lawrence, Mass.

National Organizer John M. Work, since last report, organized locals at Salina, Utah, 22 members; Richfield, 12 members; Monroe, 29 members; Marysville, 8 members. National Organizer Stanley J. Clark, since last report, organized locals at Wipfield, La., 20 members; Red Oak, 8 members, and Biceville, 6 members. National Organizer George H. Goebel, since last report, organized locals at Bayonne, N. J., 6 members, and Derby, Conn., 8 members.

The National Office receipts for dues for the month of January was \$1,885. This sum exceeded the previous high record of October, 1907, by \$168. The receipts for dues for the present month February, are \$2,178.55, an increase over January of \$293.55.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1908.

John Wiberger, San Francisco, Cal.	3.00
Workmen's S. & D. B. F. Branch	
14, Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00
C. Kessler, National Military Home, Kansas	5.00
H. Nietert, Armells, Mont.	5.00
Local Blair, Nebraska	1.25
Local Cleveland, Ohio	10.00
"H"	150.00
Webster Greenway, Columbus, Miss.	.25
H. Kennedy, Bisbee, Ariz.	1.75
M. Doyme, Cleveland, Ohio	2.00
L. Schapiro, New York City	5.00
Ira Van Valkenberg, Jerome, Ariz.	5.00
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.	5.00
Wm. Dreyer, Detroit, Mich.	.50
N. Summers, Vienna, Va.	.70
	\$214.45

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS' DEFENSE FUND DURING JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1908.

R. Maier, Adams, Mass.	\$ 1.65
New York, Moyer-Haywood Protest Conference	800.00
	\$801.65

### Report of Action by National Committee on Motions Nos. 2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12—Motions Nos. 8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15 Submitted

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 4, 1908.

To the National Committee.  
Comrades: Herewith is submitted National Committee Referendum No. 5, Motions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12:

**MOTION NO. 8—BY ED. MOORE OF PENNSYLVANIA.**

"That the National Secretary shall be instructed to issue subscription lists to the Locals for the purpose of raising money to conduct the Presidential campaign. One-half of the money collected on these lists shall be retained by the Local, 30 per cent of it shall be sent to the State Organization, and 20 per cent of it shall be sent to the National Secretary."

**COMMENT.**

"Confusion, embarrassment and a small return for the efforts made, result from State, Local and the National Organization issuing separate subscription lists. Systematic and concentrated effort will be attained by the National Secretary issuing the subscription lists, and all the organizations will have more money to do the work in their field."

**MOTION NO. 9—BY ALGERNON LEE OF NEW YORK.**

"The National Committee of the Socialist Party accepts the proposition made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party and expresses its sincere hope that the unity of the Socialist forces of the United States may be effected on a sound and lasting basis. In order to realize this hope in the most direct and speedy manner, it decides as follows: The incoming National Executive Committee is hereby designated as a committee of the Socialist Party to confer with the Special Committee of seven elected by the Socialist Labor Party. Its meetings for the purpose shall be held in conjunction with the first meeting for the transaction of its ordinary business as National Executive Committee, not later than the third week in March, 1908, the place and exact date to be agreed upon by the National Officers of the two parties. The two committees in conference shall seek to prepare a plan of union which, in the judgment of both of them, will be acceptable to the membership of both parties, based upon the cardinal principles of modern Socialism and especially upon the resolutions of the International Socialist Congress; such plan of union shall then be submitted to both parties for approval or rejection by general vote of the members; and in the event of its adoption by both, the union shall be carried into effect as speedily as possible, in accordance with a procedure to be agreed upon and embodied in the plan of union."

**COMMENT.**

"No one can realize more fully than I the difficulties that lie in the way. But I believe we of the National Committee would represent the facts of a large majority of our Party members if we did not meet the S. L. P. in good faith in a serious effort to overcome those difficulties. If, in the ensuing conference, neither side seeks to magnify minor points of tactics and method or impose humiliating conditions upon the other, it is my hope that a genuine union can be established. In this belief I drafted the accompanying motion and submitted it to our State Committee, and that body, after careful consideration, voted that it be presented as a joint motion by the New York delegation in the National Committee. It may be in order to state our reasons for proposing that our incoming N. E. C. be designated as the Conference Committee on behalf of our Party. It will be necessary to hold a meeting of the Executive anyhow within a very short time in view of the approaching Convention and the campaign which will follow. By combining the two we save an extra expense of several hundred dollars which would otherwise be incurred for the railway fare and expenses of a Special Committee. Since the Executive members are chosen with a view to their fitness to administer Party affairs, we are confident that they will be fully competent to deal with this matter as any specially elected committee could be. Indeed, as they have been placed in a position of special responsibility for the welfare of the Party, we believe that they will therefore be the more careful as well as able to take account of the interests of the Party in the proposed Conference."

**COMMENT BY FRED L. SCHWARTZ OF PENNSYLVANIA.**

"For nearly two years certain locals of the Socialist Party have passed resolutions calling upon 'J' 'S' 'O' 'U' 'I' 'A' 'S' 'I' 'O' 'N' 'J' 'O' 'I' 'U' 'N' 'I' 'O' 'N' 'S' to have this question submitted to a referendum vote. To my mind it appears from these facts that the rank and file of the great majority are either indifferent to this question, or don't want unity with the S. L. P. It is also a well-known fact that wherever 'unity conferences' have been held with the latter organization it has resulted upon a 'party' owned press endorsing the W. W. and the 'abolition of State autonomy,' and there is not much assurance that these matters would not be brought into a national unity conference. We are on the verge of a 'National Campaign,' and if this motion is adopted, it will mean that our time will be taken up discussing 'unity' with an organization that is about dead, instead of doing the work that this campaign will require. I submit that if there is anything to unify with, that a proposal should come from the rank and file of the S. L. P., if there is any left, and I insist that the rank and file of our Party should signify its willingness to confer, which, judging from the lack of endorsements 'unity resolutions' received, it has not shown. I for one will not shoulder the responsibility of the possibility of throwing the Party in strife and which may end in a 'split.' I hope, therefore, that this motion is defeated, and let the rank and file express its will upon this question."

**MOTION NO. 10—BY VERNON F. KING OF MICHIGAN.**

"That the National Committee elect a Committee of seven of their own membership to confer with similar committee from the S. L. P."

**COMMENT.**

"Comrades Hanford, Hillquit and Berger all have personal grievances against the S. L. P., and De Leon in particular. If our N. E. C. is sent, the S. L. P., because of early training, will distrust those comrades and the result will be in doubt. As to Comrade Berger, he has expressed the opinion that unity is not desirable, and in my opinion should not serve on the Conference. While I shall vote yes on Comrade Lee's motion, I believe the same should be so

amended as to show our good faith, and that we actually desire unity. Lee's motion to send Berger, Hillquit and Hanford (all good comrades) to promote unity, is the height of folly; but if a scrap is contemplated, and we desire men to fight, the selection is good. For my part I desire to see unity without sacrifice of the principles of the S. P. upon some sensible base and what our Party to go into this conference in good faith and make one more event that will help in the accomplishment of our historic mission."

**MOTION NO. 11—BY VICTOR L. BERGER OF WISCONSIN.**

"That the sections and members of the Socialist Labor Party be invited to join our Party individually or in sections, and make their applications to our respective locals. All persons applying to pledge themselves as individuals to accept our platform and our tactics."

**COMMENT.**

"I am absolutely opposed to so-called 'unity conventions,' fusion conferences or pow-wows of any kind. Past experience has taught me that such conferences do not tend to bring about unity, but usually create bad blood. This would be especially dangerous in the case of the Socialist Labor Party. The leaders of the S. L. P. will simply reiterate their old hackneyed phrases against the American Federation of Labor and 'craft unionism.' And they will also preach in favor of a monopoly press, that is, in favor of giving the Party Pope or the Party Cardinals a monopoly of the party paper and shutting out all other opinions. Our Party is infinitely better off by having different shades of Socialist opinion represented in the various Party papers. We are willing to accept the members of the S. L. P. in spite of their past record and the dubious outlook for their behavior in the future. We are willing to accept them hoping that most of them are capable and willing to learn by reading something besides a few impossible leaflets and to learn also by practical experience. And hoping, further, that our Party will grow so much that it will be able to give them the opportunity of reading good literature and getting practical experience."

"However, a unity convention or a unity conference would undoubtedly degenerate into a sort of talkfest to the mutual enjoyment of the Party tautologists on both sides, but to the great damage of the Organization and the cause. It would even be possible that by clever maneuvering with various Party papers, the handful of Marxian theologians could suppress the organs of our green and impossible members to give the S. L. P. another lease of life for six months or a year. That happened as a result of the first I. W. W. Convention. Besides, judging from the conditions in Milwaukee and Milwaukee is supposed to be one of their chief nests—the S. L. P. has not members enough to man a unity convention and Comrade De Leon may have to apply to us to lend him some champions. And this would be a very awkward situation for both sides. We want no conferences and no conventions of that kind, but we are in favor of admitting the members of the S. L. P., provided they accept our platform and tactics."

**MOTION NO. 12—BY A. M. SIMONS OF ILLINOIS.**

"That any committee that may be elected to consider any unity proposition with the Socialist Labor Party be instructed that all questions of policy and tactics must be left to the United Party, and that they be instructed to reject all propositions involving any agreement on such questions."

**COMMENT.**

"It is impossible for me to believe that this proposal of unity would offer us a good faith. Up until within a few days of the submission the same mass of falsehoods and vilification directed against the S. P. filled the organs of the S. L. P. that have long been characteristic of those columns. Moreover, this move, coming just at the time when the S. P. with solid front is growing faster than ever in its history, when it is adding more members each month than the present total membership of the S. L. P., when the city of Chicago alone adds as many every three months, gives the impression that this offer of unity is made for the purpose of disrupting the S. P. and hindering its advance, in the hope that out of the resulting muddy waters the S. L. P. may draw a few fish. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that just at the moment when the W. F. M. was in the hottest fight of its history the same men who are now calling so loudly for 'unity' did their best to disrupt that Organization. The tactics of the S. P. have been tried and tested, and have been approved by an overwhelming majority of the membership. To introduce a handful of men who are in sharp antagonism to those tactics would only serve to sow dissension. Theoretically, everyone is in favor of unity, but sometimes unity is best a cure by division. The forcing together of hostile elements does not mean unity, but dissension, and ultimately disruption."

"Yet if there is an overwhelming sentiment on the part of the membership of the S. L. P. and the S. P. for unity of the two bodies, we must make the experiment, and I should not seek to impose an obstacle. But I would seek to secure that unity with as little of friction as possible. The best way to do this would be for those members of the S. L. P. who believe that the tactics of the S. P. are correct to join it as individuals. The next best thing to this is to see to it that the deliberations of the 'unity committees' stir up as little dissension as possible. This is the reason for my motion."

Motions Nos. 10, 11 and 12 were submitted as amendments to Motion No. 9. Vote will close Feb. 25th.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 5, 1908.  
Comrades: Herewith is submitted report of National Committee Referendum No. 2, Motions Nos. 2, 3 and 4:

**MOTION NO. 2—BY EMIL HERMAN OF WASHINGTON.**

"I move that the action of the N. E. C. in declaring Nebraska unorganized be annulled and that the National Secretary be instructed to sell dues stamps to the regular S. P. of Nebraska, of which J. P. Roe is Secretary."

**VOTING "YES."**

Illinois	Berlyn
Kansas	Willett
Louisiana	Van Brook
New Hampshire	Drew
Tennessee	Yess
Washington	Herman
Wyoming	Hastings
Total	7



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## VOTING "NO."

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Bechtel
Arkansas	Le Fevre
California	Edmiston
Colorado	Lewis, L. M.
Connecticut	Hull
Florida	Pettigrew
Idaho	Rigg
Illinois	Collins
Indiana	Simons
Iowa	Shank
Kentucky	Dobbs
Maryland	Culp
Massachusetts	Williams
Minnesota	Behrens
Missouri	Mable
Montana	Reilly
New Jersey	Headley
New York	Arland
North Dakota	Lampman
Oklahoma	Hegel
Pennsylvania	Schwartz
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Texas	Clark
Vermont	Payne
Washington	Berger
Wisconsin	Thompson

### NOT VOTING.

California	Holloway
Colorado	Bull
Connecticut	Toomey
Indiana	Arnold
Illinois	Morse
Kansas	McAllister
Maine	Fox
Massachusetts	Carey
Michigan	Konikow
Minnesota	King
Missouri	Wilen
New York	Shankel
Ohio	Vander Porten
Oregon	Devine
Oklahoma	Rodgers
Oregon	Bentley
Pennsylvania	Axelson
South Dakota	Barzee
Utah	Maurer
Vermont	Moore
Washington	Knowles
West Virginia	Syphers
Wisconsin	Dunbar
Wisconsin	Burgess
Wisconsin	Gillespie
Wisconsin	Heath

**TENNESSEE (VOSS)**—"I believe that the majority vote of a State should be only that of which Art. XII, Sec. 4, of the Constitution covers the case."

## MOTION NO. 2—BY GUY WILLIAMS OF MINNESOTA.

"I move that the National Secretary be empowered to disburse the assets of the National Office out of the Official Bulletin, from January to November, 1908, except when three months or more elapse between the meetings of the National Executive Committee, in which case they shall be resumed after the third month."

### VOTING "YES."

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Bechtel
Arkansas	Le Fevre
California	Edmiston
Colorado	Bull
Connecticut	Hull
Florida	Pettigrew
Idaho	Rigg
Illinois	Berlyn
Indiana	Collins
Illinois	Simons
Illinois	Stedman
Iowa	Shank
Kansas	Willetts
Kentucky	Dobbs
Louisiana	Van Brook
Maryland	Culp
Massachusetts	Carey
Massachusetts	Konikow
Minnesota	Williams
Missouri	Behrens
Montana	Schenkel
New Hampshire	Mable
New Jersey	Reilly
New York	Headley
New York	Arland
North Dakota	Lampman
Ohio	Devine
Oklahoma	Hegel
Oregon	Rodgers
Oklahoma	Barzee
Pennsylvania	Axelson
Pennsylvania	Maurer
Pennsylvania	Moore
Pennsylvania	Schwartz
Tennessee	Voss
Texas	Clark
Utah	Payne
Utah	Syphers
West Virginia	Gillespie
Wisconsin	Berger
Wisconsin	Thompson
Wyoming	Hastings

### VOTING "NO."

California	Lewis, L. M.
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Washington	Herman

### NOT VOTING.

California	Holloway
Connecticut	Toomey
Indiana	Arnold
Illinois	Morse
Kansas	McAllister
Maine	Fox
Michigan	King
Minnesota	Wilen
New York	Vander Porten
Oklahoma	Bentley
South Dakota	Lampman
Vermont	Dunbar
Washington	Burgess
Wisconsin	Heath

**MOTION NO. 4—BY SEYMOUR STEDMAN OF ILLINOIS.**

"I move that the Executive Committee make provision for securing the data necessary for a campaign handbook for the impending National election."

### VOTING "YES."

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Bechtel
Arkansas	Le Fevre
California	Edmiston
California	Lewis, L. M.
Colorado	Miller
Connecticut	Hull
Florida	Pettigrew
Illinois	Berlyn
Illinois	Collins
Illinois	Simons
Illinois	Stedman
Iowa	Shank
Kansas	Willetts
Kentucky	Dobbs
Louisiana	Van Brook
Maryland	Culp
Massachusetts	Carey
Massachusetts	Konikow
Missouri	Behrens
Montana	Schenkel
Montana	Mable
New Hampshire	Drew
New Jersey	Reilly
New Jersey	Headley
New York	Arland
North Dakota	Lampman
Ohio	Devine
Ohio	Rodgers
Oklahoma	Bentley
Oklahoma	Hegel
Oregon	Barzee
Oregon	Axelson
Pennsylvania	Moore
Pennsylvania	Schwartz
Tennessee	Voss
Texas	Clark
Utah	Payne
Utah	Syphers
Washington	Herman
West Virginia	Gillespie
Wisconsin	Berger
Wisconsin	Thompson
Wyoming	Hastings

## VOTING "NO."

Idaho	Riggs
Minnesota	Williams
Pennsylvania	Maurer
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Total, 4.	

### NOT VOTING.

California	Holloway
Connecticut	Toomey
Indiana	Arnold
Indiana	Morse
Kansas	McAllister
Maine	Fox
Michigan	King
Michigan	Wilen
Minnesota	Peach
New York	Lee
New York	Lee
South Dakota	Lampman
Vermont	Dunbar
Washington	Burgess
Wisconsin	Heath
Total, 15.	

Motion is therefore adopted.

**MOTION NO. 13.**  
"In order that the American Socialist movement may fittingly commemorate the life, labor and death of Karl Marx, I move that the March 14th, 1908, be designated as a memorial day to our departed comrade; and that all locals of the Socialist Party be urged to hold memorial meetings upon that date, commemorating the growth of Marxism, Socialism and the development of the Socialist movement, since the death of the greatest economist known to the modern world."

**COMMENT.**  
"This being the date of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, it is fitting that memorial should be held by our Party locals. In case meetings commemorating the Communist are arranged close to the date here mentioned, both purposes may be joined. By means of such meetings, the attention of both press and working class may be fixed upon the principles of Marxism, Socialism, the hope of the working class will close March 3, 1908."

**MOTION NO. 5.**  
"That the action of the National Executive Committee, at its session of Dec. 14-16, 1907, with reference to the question of emigration and immigration of working people and to the resolutions of the Stuttgart Congress thereon, be disapproved."

**VOTING "YES."**

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Bechtel
Arkansas	La Fevre
Connecticut	Applegate
Illinois	Berlyn
Illinois	Collins
Kentucky	Dobbs
Massachusetts	Konikow
Minnesota	King
Missouri	Williams
New Hampshire	Schenkel
New Jersey	Headley
New Jersey	Reilly
New York	Lee
New York	Vander Porten
Ohio	Devine
Ohio	Rodgers
Oregon	Axelson
Oregon	Barzee
Pennsylvania	Maurer
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Tennessee	Voss
Texas	Clark
Texas	Payne
Washington	Herman
West Virginia	Gillespie
Wyoming	Hastings
Total, 30.	

### VOTING "NO."

California	Richardson, N. A.
California	McDevitt
Colorado	Miller
Florida	Pettigrew
Idaho	Rigg
Iowa	Work
Missouri	Behrens
New York	Arland
Oklahoma	Hegel
Pennsylvania	Schwartz
Utah	Syphers
Wisconsin	Berger
Wisconsin	Heath
Wisconsin	Thompson
Total, 14.	

### NOT VOTING.

California	Cole
Colorado	Bull
Illinois	Stedman
Illinois	Simons
Indiana	Arnold
Indiana	Morse
Kansas	McAllister
Louisiana	Van Brook
Maine	Fox
Maryland	Culp
Massachusetts	Carey
Michigan	Wilen
Minnesota	Peach
Montana	Mable
North Dakota	Lampman
Oklahoma	Bentley
Pennsylvania	Moore
South Dakota	Knowles
Washington	Burgess
Total, 29.	

Motion is therefore adopted.

**CALIFORNIA (McDevitt)**—"A vote in favor of Comrade Lee's motion would look like a disapproval of the N. E. C.'s attitude toward the immigration issue. If Comrade Lee's comment were the motion I should be inclined to vote for it; the comment is clear, but the motion is subject to several interpretations. The proper motion, it appears to me, would be to refer the immigration question to the National convention. It will probably get there, anyway."

"I agree with the N. E. C.'s position on this issue, but I also agree with Comrade Lee that their manner of putting their position on record is not by any means the best manner. At the same time I cannot favor a motion disapproving their action. Which is their action? Is it the comment? Or is it the motion? The motion is subject to several interpretations. The proper motion, it appears to me, would be to refer the immigration question to the National convention. It will probably get there, anyway."

"So far as I can ascertain, there is a decided majority sentiment in California in favor of supporting union labor in its demand for some restriction of Oriental immigration—obviously an imported immigration, as the official investigations have proved. The same is true of Oregon, without any question, and also of Washington, and of course everyone knows the attitude of the Socialists of British Columbia, as represented by Comrade Hawthornthwaite in the Provincial Parliament. This sentiment is developing, first because of the economic pressure that grows with a developing capitalism, and secondly, because of the increasing harmony of action and interest between the organized Socialists and organized labor. Most of the Socialists of San Francisco and Los Angeles appreciate the necessity of co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist Party in support of such purely labor questions as the standard of living, the scale of wages and the existence of the industrial organization of labor."

**MASSACHUSETTS (KONIKOW)**—"I hope Comrade Lee's motion to repudiate the decision of the N. E. C. upon the Stuttgart resolution will find the support of all the members of the Nat. Com."

"The question is not whether we side with the N. E. C. in their stand toward the immigration question or not; the question is whether the N. E. C. has the right to commit the whole Party to a certain principle or tactics. The N. E. C. should remember that it is elected to execute the decision of

the party according to accepted party tactics and principles. Only in case of emergency, this committee may act independently. In this question, there was no need of any haste, for the party convention is only a few months off. A resolution adopted by the International Congress should certainly deserve as much respect as to leave it to the members of the party or to a larger representative body to adopt and the more to repudiate it."

"What if our coming N. E. C. would by chance consist of L. W. W. adherents who in their honest enthusiasm for progressive trade union tactics would pass a resolution endorsing the L. W. W. as the only trade union organization to be supported by the party? Why, if we permit the N. E. C. to proceed in endorsing or repudiating one or the other principles of tactics upon which the Party has not yet passed its opinion, we are drifting into dangerous waters. I therefore ask the members of the Nat. Com. to vote for Comrade Lee's motion; to vote for it does not mean to endorse the Stuttgart resolution, it only means to reprimand the N. E. C. for unnecessary haste and for overstepping their rights and duties."

"As Comrade Lee has said, the immigration question has never yet been thoroughly discussed, and I would request our Nat. Com. member to hold it to be his duty at least to read that Stuttgart resolution. After reading it, I have hardly any doubt the members will be convinced that such a resolution cannot be summarily dismissed by half a dozen of our comrades, even if they are members of the N. E. C."

**OREGON (BARZEE)**—"On Motion No. 5, relative to action of the N. E. C. on the Stuttgart resolution, I am not in any sense a policy man when principle is at stake. At this time the Socialist Party is grappling too much after reform measures."

"Reform measures belong to reform parties; if the Socialist Party has any purpose at all it stands for revolution. Let us stand out strong and plain for the complete change that must come in the course of social evolution as a result of inventions, discoveries and the fact that the revolution is industrial and the old parties will not be allowed reforms. We will get more by demanding much, and not be disgraced with reforms that are only palliative in their nature."

"Let the Socialist Party of the United States stand for a complete change and we will not get our party off on any sidetrack."

**PENNSYLVANIA (SCHWARTZ)**—"I vote 'No' on Motion No. 5, because the action of the National Executive Committee in referring to a referendum vote of the membership if desired, and it's likely that the next National Convention will take this matter up. If it is true that there is 'much division of opinion among the Party members in this country over the question of immigration, the best way to settle it is to wait and see what their opinion is and which may be expressed through the channels referred to above."

"To the best of my knowledge not one local has passed resolutions taking exceptions to the views of the N. E. C. on this question; in fact, the first objection I heard raised against the move of the N. E. C. on this motion, and since that I read Comrade Konikow's views in 'The Worker,' while at the same time I have read in the Socialist press more numerous writers express themselves favorably to the action of the N. E. C."

"Personally I endorse the position of the N. E. C., yet this is not why I am voting against it, because I want to hear the voice of the rank and file."

**TENNESSEE (VOSS)**—"I vote 'Yes' on Lee's motion because I think it ought to be referred to the National Convention; or to a general referendum of all the membership in good standing."

**TEXAS (CLARK)**—"I vote 'Yes,' simply to give a more open discussion on the subject."

**WISCONSIN (BERGER)**—"Capitalism has reached different stages of development in the different modern countries. It is therefore ridiculous and impossible for any legislation to be passed by the N. E. C. no matter how wise its members may be, to lay down hard and fast rules for the guidance of the Socialist parties of every country."

"This is especially clear, if we consider how these International Socialist congresses are made up in reality. There are some delegates who are sent by the various Socialist parties and Japanese and Hindoo representatives. But the main body of the International Congress is made up of men and women who are well-to-do, and can afford the expense of the trip—and who by their very standard of living and their environments are more or less out of touch with the real labor movement. This holds good not only for the American delegation, but also for many of the others. Such delegates, of course, really represent nobody but themselves."

"Besides, as I said before, the International Socialist Congress is not intended to be an international council of the kind who told the faithful what they were to believe and what they were not to believe. Our International Congress is rather an academic institution for the exchange of ideas that are not binding on any country to which they would be harmful."

"And the Asiatic question, the question of Chinese, Japanese and Hindoo immigration, is one that mainly concerns colonial countries and particularly English speaking nations. I mean America, Canada and Australia."

"It is, therefore, rather an assumption on the part of the French, German and Austrian delegates to the International Congress that there never was any Asiatic immigration, and in all probability never will be—at least to legislate on the question for the United States, for Canada and for Australia. For us the question of Asiatic immigration is vital; it is not a simply question of strike breaking, as Comrade Hillquit put it. It is a question of strike breaking as far as European immigration coming from the countries with a slight capitalistic development and a low standard of living is concerned. Chinese, Japanese and Hindoo immigration is a question of strike breaking and lack of organization alone. It is also an ethical question. If we open the doors to China—as the Stuttgart resolution requires—we should be sure to get four or five million yellow men from the surplus of its population every year, and the Mongolians would absolutely conquer us, not only by their low standard of living, but also by their fecundity."

"The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held a few weeks ago in Norfolk, Va., unanimously went on record against any and all Asiatic immigration. The trades unions demand that the Chinese exclusion act now in force be amended by Congress so as to include the Japanese and all other Asiatic nations."

"I say again, Hillquit had no right to pledge our Party to the acceptance of the Stuttgart resolution without first asking the Party for its opinion on that question. Hillquit had no right to pledge us, and we ought not to stand pledged."

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 18, 1908.  
Comrades: Herewith is submitted National Committee Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 14, by J. Von Brook, National Committee member of Louisiana.

**MOTION NO. 14.**  
"I move that the Socialist Party stand firmly against any compromise of principles or fusion or alliance with any other party at present or in the future, and ignore the fact that members of other parties are or may be called Socialists; but that the Socialist Party gladly invite all those who believe in its principles to become affiliated members."

**COMMENT.**  
"The Socialist Party has become too well grounded in the proper principles of Socialism to risk any chance of becoming less strong. I conscientiously believe the Socialist Party cannot be weakened except through some such manner as compromise or fusion or alliance. Having stood by its principles until it is becoming a power for the good of the laboring class, we should be very careful to do nothing that will injure the Socialist Party in any way. Any man or woman believing in Socialism as the remedy should be willing to lay aside all prejudice and if he or she join any Socialist Party, to join the strongest."

Vote will close March 10, 1908.  
Chicago, Ill., Feb. 19, 1908.  
Comrades: Herewith is submitted report of National Committee Referendum No. 4, Motion Nos. 6 and 7, by Algernon Lee, National Committee member of New York and Thomas C. Devine, National Committee member of Ohio.

**MOTION NO. 6.**  
"That the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee be instructed to make arrangements for placing and keeping in the field at least one woman speaker as a member of the staff of National Organizers and Lecturers; her duty to be to forward the propaganda of equal rights and political rights, as advocated by the Socialist Party and especially as indicated by the resolution of the International Congress at Stuttgart, and also to assist in the efforts of the Party and the trade unions to organize and educate the women wage-workers."

### VOTING "YES."

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Bechtel
California	Richardson
California	Cole
California	McDevitt
Colorado	Bull
Connecticut	Applegate
Florida	Pettigrew
Idaho	Rigg
Iowa	Shank
Iowa	Work
Kansas	Willetts
Kansas	McAllister
Louisiana	Van Brook
Maryland	Culp
Massachusetts	Carey
Massachusetts	Konikow
Minnesota	Williams
Missouri	Behrens
Missouri	Schenkel
New Hampshire	Drew
New Jersey	Headley
New York	Arland
New York	Lee
North Dakota	Lampman
Ohio	Devine
Ohio	Rodgers
Oklahoma	Hegel
Oregon	Axelson
Oregon	Barzee
Pennsylvania	Schwartz
Pennsylvania	Maurer
South Dakota	Knowles
Tennessee	Voss
Texas	Payne
Utah	Syphers
Washington	Herman
West Virginia	Gillespie
Wisconsin	Thompson
Total, 39.	

### VOTING "NO."

Illinois	Berlyn
Kentucky	Dobbs
Michigan	King
Wyoming	Hastings
Total, 4.	

### NOT VOTING.

Arkansas	La Fevre
Colorado	Miller
Illinois	Collins
Illinois	Simons
Illinois	Stedman
Indiana	Arnold
Indiana	Morse
Maine	Fox
Michigan	Wilen
Minnesota	Peach
Montana	Mable
New Jersey	Reilly
New York	Vander Porten
Oklahoma	Bentley
Pennsylvania	Moore
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Texas	Clark
Vermont	Dunbar
Washington	Burgess
Wisconsin	Berger
Wisconsin	Heath
Total, 21.	

Motion is therefore adopted.

**KENTUCKY (DOBBS)**—"I have no objections to a propaganda among women by a woman for equal political and civil rights, but I believe the Party's money at this time can be spent in projects offering much greater chances of strength to the movement."

**MOTION NO. 7.**  
"I move that further discussion on the present split of the Nebraska Socialist Party be deferred until the National 1908 Convention, insofar as they themselves, the Nebraska comrades, are able to harmonize, affiliate or reorganize."

### VOTING "YES."

Alabama	Baldwin
California	Cole
California	McDevitt
Colorado	Bull
Connecticut	Applegate
Illinois	Berlyn
Kansas	McAllister
Kansas	Willetts
Massachusetts	Konikow
Massachusetts	Carey
Minnesota	Peach
New Hampshire	Drew
New Jersey	Headley
New York	Arland
North Dakota	Lampman
Ohio	Devine
Ohio	Rodgers
Oregon	Axelson
Oregon	Maurer
South Dakota	Knowles
Tennessee	Voss
Texas	Payne
Utah	Syphers
West Virginia	Gillespie
Wisconsin	Thompson
Total, 25.	

### VOTING "NO."

California	Richardson
Idaho	Rigg
Iowa	Work
Kentucky	Dobbs
Maryland	Culp
Minnesota	King
Minnesota	Williams
Missouri	Behrens
Oregon	Barzee
Washington	Herman
Wisconsin	Berger
Wisconsin	Hastings
Total, 12.	

### NOT VOTING.

Arizona	Bechtel
Arkansas	La Fevre
Colorado	Miller
Florida	Pettigrew
Illinois	Collins
Illinois	Simons
Illinois	Stedman
Indiana	Arnold
Indiana	Morse

Iowa	Shank
Louisiana	Van Brook
Maine	Fox
Michigan	Wilen
Missouri	Schenkel
Montana	Mable
New Jersey	Reilly
New York	Lee
New York	Vander Porten
Oklahoma	Bentley
Washington	Hegel
Pennsylvania	Moore
Pennsylvania	Schwartz
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Texas	Clark
Vermont	Dunbar
Washington	Burgess
Wisconsin	Heath
Total, 27.	

Motion is therefore adopted.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 25, 1908.  
Comrades: Herewith is submitted National Committee Referendum No. 8, Motion No. 15, by Ira Culp, National Committee member of Maryland.

**MOTION NO. 15.**  
"I move that the action of the National Executive Committee on the Emigration Resolution of the Stuttgart Congress be endorsed so far as that resolution applies to laborers coming from Oriental countries, or others backward in economic development, where the workers of such countries have themselves, as a body, to be unapproachable with the philosophy of Socialism."

**COMMENT.**  
"I make this motion because I think more than mere sentiment and adherence to a policy is necessary to settle this question. The law of self-preservation, the first law of nature, will point out the best course, not only for the workers as wage earners, but also for the class-conscious proletarians in a world movement of universal economic emancipation."

"From the position of a citizen of the world, unacquainted with the various nations in different stages of economic development, the most primitive hand-tool stage to the most complex machinery stage in the hands of the most saving machine in the world, I believe that the best way to proceed is to extract profits from the workers, the trust, the international resolution might be all right; but if intelligent self-interest of the workers, not only of this country or of a few countries, but of all countries, is to indicate the way we ought to take, we ought to struggle for economic freedom, then, in my opinion, it is absolutely dead in principle."

"If the Socialist party is to follow the line of that resolution, it is certainly fortunate that there are not enough Socialists to effect the resolution along that line, nor ought the party become strong enough to do so as long as capitalism lasts. As long as that a majority of the workers, under the present system, will never pass into the camp of a party advocating it. If the party does follow that line it will lose all right to the claim that it is the only party that has an intelligent grasp of the situation, and the questions that demand a solution; surely the question of immigration is one of those questions."

"I do not blame the majority of the delegates to the Stuttgart Congress for passing that resolution. They came from countries in which the workers are benefited by emigration, because it gives those who remain at home less competition; nor are they injured by immigration, because there is



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL BULLETIN

## REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(Continued from Page 2, Bulletin.)

"The workers here would have to be much better scientific Socialists, i. e., would have to have a much better ability to apply the principles of economic determinism and be much better organized before it would be safe for the Socialists to advocate that policy."

"If the Socialists should advocate that policy and such advocacy be followed by throwing open our gates to Orientals, the workers, under the leadership of the minions of capitalism, would drop Socialism like a hot poker. If it were an essential of the class struggle, it would be different. Let capitalism throw the gates open to the Oriental, which it surely will, then let us utilize that action showing its real spirit, in turning the workers solidly against capitalism."

Motion is therefore defeated.

ALABAMA (BALDWIN)—"I am opposed to all unions or fusion with any party whatsoever. If the S. L. P.'s wish to join the Socialist Party let them come as any other persons. Understand that the 'latch string of the Socialist Party is always on the outside,' and anyone may enter who wishes."

ARIZONA (GALLENTE)—"I vote 'No' on Motion No. 9, for the following reason: Being thoroughly conversant with the fundamental principles of the S. L. P. (as promulgated by its party solons), I feel confident that unity between it and the Socialist Party cannot be effected without a complete surrender of certain party principles, and tactics from one side, which would mean absorption. Believing that neither party would agree to such a proposition, I contend that holding a unity convention would be a waste of time and energy."

FLORIDA (PETTIGREW)—"I feel it is my duty to comment on my vote in favor of Motion No. 9. The principle of unity is correct. I consider Socialism and strive for its advancement and triumph. I don't consider what is for the advantage of the Socialist Party or the S. L. P., as against the other, notwithstanding the past unpleasant relations; a union will come some time. It may be started or accomplished by this conference or it may be by S. L. P. members individually joining the Socialist Party locals."

The S. L. P. asked for this conference, and the conference will help the cause of Socialism if they prove to be sincerely and fraternally in earnest, but if the conference only shows that they are after some advantage for their party, it won't hurt our Party. The comments of all who oppose this conference are fully justified by past events, but future events will not be like the past, and the sooner we get a majority and the Co-operative Commonwealth the sooner will we be happy and free, but we must not cripple or kill our own Party by any concession or compromise that would violate any essential principle of International Socialism. The final result of this conference depends on the vote of all of us. The majority should rule. If any Socialist is against majority rule I don't know it. If anyone is opposed to majority rule could he be a Socialist?"

MAINE (HUNTER)—"I vote 'Yes' on Motion No. 9, because I believe it is the duty of the N. C. to try to bring about unity with the S. L. P. in an effort to bring that entire organization into the Socialist Party, so that with a united front we can use all our energies for the emancipation of our class from capitalist control."

MINNESOTA (WILLIAMS)—"I vote 'Yes' on this motion, having been so instructed by the State Executive Committee. I doubt the advisability of uniting with a body which has for years sought only to retard the growth of the Socialist Party and who now, that their future is apparent to even themselves, hope to succeed by 'boring from within' where they so dismally failed to bore from without. If they really wish to unite with the 'crooks,' 'fakers,' 'stoop-pigeons,' 'graffers,' 'ostriches,' 'kangaroos,' 'skunks,' etc., etc., whom they say compose the Socialist Party, it would do no harm to meet them half way, perhaps."

PENNSYLVANIA (SCHWARTZ)—"I am strictly opposed to this motion, because it attempts to do something which the rank and file of our Party do not want. I refer to the 'unity' resolutions adopted by a half dozen more locals and which did not receive the required number of indorsements to have this matter put to referendum, and am not going to cram this 'unity' business down the throats of the Party members. Their will is supreme and the best way to show that they want 'unity' with the S. L. P. will be by a referendum vote."

VERMONT (DUNBAR)—"I vote 'Yes' on Referendum No. 5, Motion No. 9, but from the tone of the communication received from the S. L. P. I have little hope of anything being accomplished by the proposed conference."

WISCONSIN (HEATH)—"There is an old Scotch proverb that runs: 'If a man fools me once, shame on him; if a man fools me twice, shame on me.' This is a pretty good proverb to have in mind about this time, when some emotional members would like to rush us into the latest S. L. P. trap. After all our experience in the past with the S. L. P., it is regrettable as it is surprising that a so-called unity proposition could for a moment be brought before our Party for serious consideration. Where have the DeLeonites ever shown 'faith' if they have they ever hesitated in their malignant enmity towards us, unless there was some sinister end to be gained? The S. L. P. is now the merest remnant. It has nothing to lose by stirring up a 'unity' haggie, and may even win the sympathy of some of our inexperienced or emotional followers. Let the S. L. P. run its course. To set our National Executive Committee to work on a 'unity' haggie is simply to dignify its latest effort to fool us."

MOTION NO. 10—BY VERNON F. KING OF MICHIGAN.

"That the National Committee elect a Committee of seven of their own membership to confer with similar Committee from the S. L. P."

MOTION NO. 9—BY ALGERNON LEE OF NEW YORK.

"The National Committee of the Socialist Party accepts in principle the proposition made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, and expresses its sincere hope that the unity of the Socialist forces of the United States may be effected on a sound and lasting basis. In order to realize this hope in the most direct and speedy manner, it decides as follows: The incoming National Executive Committee is hereby designated as a Committee of Socialist Party members, and the National Executive Committee of seven, elected by the Socialist Labor Party, its meetings for this purpose shall be held in conjunction with the first meeting for the transaction of its ordinary business as National Executive Committee, not later than the third week in March, 1908, the place and exact date to be agreed upon by the National officers of the two parties. The two committees in conference shall seek to prepare a plan of union which, in the judgment of both of them, will be acceptable to the membership of both parties, based upon the cardinal principles of modern Socialism and especially upon the resolutions of the International Socialist congresses. Such plan of union shall be submitted to both parties for approval or rejection by general vote of the members; and in the event of its adoption by both, the union shall be carried into effect as speedily as possible, in accordance with a procedure to be agreed upon and embodied in the plan of union."

VOTING "YES."

Arkansas ..... LaFevre  
California ..... McDewitt  
Colorado ..... Miller  
Connecticut ..... Applegate  
Florida ..... Pettigrew  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... King  
Minnesota ..... Williams  
Missouri ..... Peach  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 17.

VOTING "NO."

Alabama ..... Baldwin  
Arizona ..... Gallentine  
California ..... Cole  
Colorado ..... Buie  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Indiana ..... Collins  
Iowa ..... Work  
Kansas ..... McAllister  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Louisiana ..... Van Brook  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... Williams  
Minnesota ..... Peach  
Missouri ..... Behrens  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 35.

## NOT VOTING.

California ..... Cole  
Indiana ..... Arnold  
Louisiana ..... Morse  
Michigan ..... Van Brook  
Montana ..... Mable  
New Hampshire ..... Drew  
North Dakota ..... Lampman  
Tennessee ..... Voss  
Washington ..... Burgess  
Total, 9.

MOTION IS THEREFORE DEFEATED.

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VOTING "YES."

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California ..... McDewitt  
Colorado ..... Miller  
Connecticut ..... Applegate  
Florida ..... Pettigrew  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
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Texas ..... Payne  
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Total, 17.

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Alabama ..... Baldwin  
Arizona ..... Gallentine  
California ..... Cole  
Colorado ..... Buie  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Indiana ..... Collins  
Iowa ..... Work  
Kansas ..... McAllister  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Louisiana ..... Van Brook  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
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Minnesota ..... Peach  
Missouri ..... Behrens  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 35.

## NOT VOTING.

California ..... Cole  
Indiana ..... Arnold  
Louisiana ..... Morse  
Michigan ..... Van Brook  
Montana ..... Mable  
New Hampshire ..... Drew  
North Dakota ..... Lampman  
Tennessee ..... Voss  
Washington ..... Burgess  
Total, 9.

MOTION IS THEREFORE DEFEATED.

ALABAMA (BALDWIN)—"I am opposed to all unions or fusion with any party whatsoever. If the S. L. P.'s wish to join the Socialist Party let them come as any other persons. Understand that the 'latch string of the Socialist Party is always on the outside,' and anyone may enter who wishes."

ARIZONA (GALLENTE)—"I vote 'No' on Motion No. 9, for the following reason: Being thoroughly conversant with the fundamental principles of the S. L. P. (as promulgated by its party solons), I feel confident that unity between it and the Socialist Party cannot be effected without a complete surrender of certain party principles, and tactics from one side, which would mean absorption. Believing that neither party would agree to such a proposition, I contend that holding a unity convention would be a waste of time and energy."

FLORIDA (PETTIGREW)—"I feel it is my duty to comment on my vote in favor of Motion No. 9. The principle of unity is correct. I consider Socialism and strive for its advancement and triumph. I don't consider what is for the advantage of the Socialist Party or the S. L. P., as against the other, notwithstanding the past unpleasant relations; a union will come some time. It may be started or accomplished by this conference or it may be by S. L. P. members individually joining the Socialist Party locals."

The S. L. P. asked for this conference, and the conference will help the cause of Socialism if they prove to be sincerely and fraternally in earnest, but if the conference only shows that they are after some advantage for their party, it won't hurt our Party. The comments of all who oppose this conference are fully justified by past events, but future events will not be like the past, and the sooner we get a majority and the Co-operative Commonwealth the sooner will we be happy and free, but we must not cripple or kill our own Party by any concession or compromise that would violate any essential principle of International Socialism. The final result of this conference depends on the vote of all of us. The majority should rule. If any Socialist is against majority rule I don't know it. If anyone is opposed to majority rule could he be a Socialist?"

MAINE (HUNTER)—"I vote 'Yes' on Motion No. 9, because I believe it is the duty of the N. C. to try to bring about unity with the S. L. P. in an effort to bring that entire organization into the Socialist Party, so that with a united front we can use all our energies for the emancipation of our class from capitalist control."

MINNESOTA (WILLIAMS)—"I vote 'Yes' on this motion, having been so instructed by the State Executive Committee. I doubt the advisability of uniting with a body which has for years sought only to retard the growth of the Socialist Party and who now, that their future is apparent to even themselves, hope to succeed by 'boring from within' where they so dismally failed to bore from without. If they really wish to unite with the 'crooks,' 'fakers,' 'stoop-pigeons,' 'graffers,' 'ostriches,' 'kangaroos,' 'skunks,' etc., etc., whom they say compose the Socialist Party, it would do no harm to meet them half way, perhaps."

PENNSYLVANIA (SCHWARTZ)—"I am strictly opposed to this motion, because it attempts to do something which the rank and file of our Party do not want. I refer to the 'unity' resolutions adopted by a half dozen more locals and which did not receive the required number of indorsements to have this matter put to referendum, and am not going to cram this 'unity' business down the throats of the Party members. Their will is supreme and the best way to show that they want 'unity' with the S. L. P. will be by a referendum vote."

VERMONT (DUNBAR)—"I vote 'Yes' on Referendum No. 5, Motion No. 9, but from the tone of the communication received from the S. L. P. I have little hope of anything being accomplished by the proposed conference."

WISCONSIN (HEATH)—"There is an old Scotch proverb that runs: 'If a man fools me once, shame on him; if a man fools me twice, shame on me.' This is a pretty good proverb to have in mind about this time, when some emotional members would like to rush us into the latest S. L. P. trap. After all our experience in the past with the S. L. P., it is regrettable as it is surprising that a so-called unity proposition could for a moment be brought before our Party for serious consideration. Where have the DeLeonites ever shown 'faith' if they have they ever hesitated in their malignant enmity towards us, unless there was some sinister end to be gained? The S. L. P. is now the merest remnant. It has nothing to lose by stirring up a 'unity' haggie, and may even win the sympathy of some of our inexperienced or emotional followers. Let the S. L. P. run its course. To set our National Executive Committee to work on a 'unity' haggie is simply to dignify its latest effort to fool us."

MOTION NO. 10—BY VERNON F. KING OF MICHIGAN.

"That the National Committee elect a Committee of seven of their own membership to confer with similar Committee from the S. L. P."

MOTION NO. 9—BY ALGERNON LEE OF NEW YORK.

"The National Committee of the Socialist Party accepts in principle the proposition made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, and expresses its sincere hope that the unity of the Socialist forces of the United States may be effected on a sound and lasting basis. In order to realize this hope in the most direct and speedy manner, it decides as follows: The incoming National Executive Committee is hereby designated as a Committee of Socialist Party members, and the National Executive Committee of seven, elected by the Socialist Labor Party, its meetings for this purpose shall be held in conjunction with the first meeting for the transaction of its ordinary business as National Executive Committee, not later than the third week in March, 1908, the place and exact date to be agreed upon by the National officers of the two parties. The two committees in conference shall seek to prepare a plan of union which, in the judgment of both of them, will be acceptable to the membership of both parties, based upon the cardinal principles of modern Socialism and especially upon the resolutions of the International Socialist congresses. Such plan of union shall be submitted to both parties for approval or rejection by general vote of the members; and in the event of its adoption by both, the union shall be carried into effect as speedily as possible, in accordance with a procedure to be agreed upon and embodied in the plan of union."

VOTING "YES."

Arkansas ..... LaFevre  
California ..... McDewitt  
Colorado ..... Miller  
Connecticut ..... Applegate  
Florida ..... Pettigrew  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... King  
Minnesota ..... Williams  
Missouri ..... Peach  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 17.

VOTING "NO."

Alabama ..... Baldwin  
Arizona ..... Gallentine  
California ..... Cole  
Colorado ..... Buie  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Indiana ..... Collins  
Iowa ..... Work  
Kansas ..... McAllister  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Louisiana ..... Van Brook  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... Williams  
Minnesota ..... Peach  
Missouri ..... Behrens  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 35.

## VOTING "NO."

Arkansas ..... LeFevre  
California ..... Richardson  
Colorado ..... Miller  
Connecticut ..... Applegate  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Iowa ..... Shank  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... Konikow  
New Jersey ..... King  
New York ..... Walker  
Ohio ..... Lee  
South Dakota ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Rodgers  
Vermont ..... Knowles  
Washington ..... Dayn  
Total, 20.

MOTION IS THEREFORE DEFEATED.

ALABAMA (BALDWIN)—"I wish to be recorded as not voting on Motion No. 12, hoping No. 11 will prevail, making the latter operative."

FLORIDA (PETTIGREW)—"The idea of unity is correct, but I do not favor a surface unity with a basic foundation of division under it. Comrade Simons' comment on his motion is a good one. I favor a free press. We should not prove by our action that we are more despotic than any other style of government. It may be best to have two Socialist parties. It is possible that some member of the Socialist Party may act so autocratic and damaging to our cause that I might want to offer a motion that he be requested to withdraw from the Socialist Party and join the S. L. P. Would it not be best for our cause that every comrade who spends more time and energy in trying to expel members than he does to get more members, to leave us and join the S. L. P.?"

KANSAS (WILLETS)—"There is but one right way to join the Socialist Party, and that is to come up any other way is a liar and a thief."

"For God's sake, let's not have anything that smells like fusion; we want all the members we can get. If they are willing to come up the straight and narrow way, equal opportunities for all, but special privileges for none."

KENTUCKY (DOBBS)—"While I am opposed to any modifications of our Party policy, I am not opposed to any conference, in my opinion, in forbidding any conference committee we may name to consider all the factors entering into this question of unity with the S. L. P. The Lee motion providing for a referendum of both parties adhering to the platform of the Socialist Party may betray the S. L. P. by agreeing to unsatisfactory S. L. P. terms. For one I would prefer that our committee be left free to make recommendations which the Party may adopt or reject as it sees fit."

MOTION NO. 11—BY VICTOR L. BERGER OF WISCONSIN.

"That the sections and members of the Socialist Labor Party be invited to join our Party individually or in sections, and make their applications to our respective locals. All persons applying to pledge themselves as individuals to accept our platform and our tactics."

VOTING "YES."

Alabama ..... Baldwin  
Arizona ..... Gallentine  
California ..... McDewitt  
Colorado ..... Buie  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Indiana ..... Collins  
Iowa ..... Work  
Kansas ..... McAllister  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Louisiana ..... Van Brook  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... Williams  
Minnesota ..... Peach  
Missouri ..... Behrens  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 17.

VOTING "NO."

Alabama ..... Baldwin  
Arizona ..... Gallentine  
California ..... Cole  
Colorado ..... Buie  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Indiana ..... Collins  
Iowa ..... Work  
Kansas ..... McAllister  
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Maine ..... Hunter  
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Michigan ..... Williams  
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Missouri ..... Behrens  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 35.

## VOTING "NO."

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California ..... Richardson  
Colorado ..... Miller  
Connecticut ..... Applegate  
Illinois ..... Berlyn  
Iowa ..... Shank  
Kentucky ..... Dobbs  
Maine ..... Hunter  
Massachusetts ..... Carey  
Michigan ..... Konikow  
New Jersey ..... King  
New York ..... Walker  
Ohio ..... Lee  
South Dakota ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Rodgers  
Vermont ..... Knowles  
Washington ..... Dayn  
Total, 20.

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FLORIDA (PETTIGREW)—"The idea of unity is correct, but I do not favor a surface unity with a basic foundation of division under it. Comrade Simons' comment on his motion is a good one. I favor a free press. We should not prove by our action that we are more despotic than any other style of government. It may be best to have two Socialist parties. It is possible that some member of the Socialist Party may act so autocratic and damaging to our cause that I might want to offer a motion that he be requested to withdraw from the Socialist Party and join the S. L. P. Would it not be best for our cause that every comrade who spends more time and energy in trying to expel members than he does to get more members, to leave us and join the S. L. P.?"

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VOTING "YES."

Alabama ..... Baldwin  
Arizona ..... Gallentine  
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Illinois ..... Berlyn  
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Total, 17.

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Missouri ..... Behrens  
New Jersey ..... Schenkel  
New York ..... Lee  
Ohio ..... Vander Porten  
Texas ..... Payne  
Vermont ..... Dunbar  
Washington ..... Herman  
Total, 35.

MAINE (HUNTER)—"I vote 'Yes' on Motion No. 12, because I have entire faith in the good judgment of the membership and believe they can decide on the questions of tactics better than a small committee."

MARYLAND (CULP)—"I vote for this motion, because it is possible that one of the unity motions will prevail. If such is the case I think it is very important that there be definite instructions so that there will be no doubt as to what is to be expected from us."

MICHIGAN (KING)—"We are invited to unite on the definite phase of International resolutions."

"We at least can stand on these, and this should be the instruction, nothing more, nothing less."

WISCONSIN (HEATH)—"I am not only opposed to all dickerings or parleying with the S. L. P., but especially to this plan, which would permit of a union first and then a disruptive internal fight afterward, that might upset all the ground we have gained. The mover of the motion seeks by it to block the game of the De Leonites, but it would give them ten-fold greater chances for mischief."

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 27, 1908.

National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party.  
Mr. Henry Kuhn, National Secretary pro tem, P. O. Box 1576, New York, N. Y.—Greeting:

"In accordance with my letter of January the 16th, in which I stated: 'In the event of further action (upon proposition submitted by you), you will be advised,' I herewith transmit copies of National Committee motions 9, 10, 11 and 12, in the form as submitted under date of February the 4th, and a copy of the report of the action taken by the National Committee on said motions, dated February 26th."

"I take this opportunity to transmit a copy of the annual report of the National Secretary's office for the year 1907."

Respectfully yours,  
(Signed) J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary.

Tacoma, Wash., Jan. 31, 1908.

Dear Comrade—I desire to submit the following court decision and facts leading up to the same, and inasmuch as the same is of vital importance to the Socialist Party organization, and sets up a precedent for the future, I will ask you to kindly publish the same in the Weekly Bulletin:

One Dr. Steiner, a resident of Seattle, had filed papers with the proper city authorities of Seattle as a candidate on the Socialist ticket as an alderman of the Thirteenth ward of the city, paid his fees of \$10 and was about to go before the people as such candidate at the approaching primary election. The regular party organization applied for an injunction on the ground that said Dr. Steiner was not a regular party member, because he was one of those former members of the party who suffered expulsion by the revocation of the charter from Local Seattle. Although he presented to the court a membership book stamped up to date and in every other respect was qualified to be a candidate, and waged a bitter contest against granting of injunction, Judge Morris of the Superior court decided after the case had been fully presented in all its phases by the introduction of National constitution as well as state constitution and the party records, that said Dr. Steiner is not a member of the regular party organization and therefore not entitled to have his name appear as a candidate of the Socialist party. In granting the injunction asked for, the judge pointed out that in a case of this kind the only remedy is to make new application for membership, the same as others have done who were expelled from the party when the charter had been revoked.

LETTER FROM LOCAL MONACA, PA.

Monaca, Pa., Feb. 3, 1908.  
Mr. J. Mahlon Barnes, Nat. Sec. Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade: I received the copy of Comrade Thomas' letter, in reply to the resolutions of Local Beaver County. Thank you for same.

The letter merely bears out the contentions of the resolutions, and, in fact, strengthens them. The writer, after making a few comic passes at the terminology of the resolutions, and a parading of much verbosity, comes to what is dubbed the explanation, which is quite characteristic of the source from which it emanates.

The right to express an "individual opinion" seem to be the criterion advanced. But if a comrade wishes to express his or her "individual opinion" on a matter of "individual nature, why not express it publicly and openly in the Party press? Why express it to a few, by judiciously sending communications to the various parts of the country? Does this not concern each and every individual member of the Party? Could not the Party press have served this purpose better, and even with the greatest amount of economy? Besides giving all the members an opportunity of considering such an opinion.

No. 11 will prevail, making the latter operative."

"The idea of unity is correct, but I do not favor a surface unity with a basic foundation of division under it. Comrade Simons' comment on his motion is a good one. I favor a free press. We should not prove by our action that we are more despotic than any other style of government. It may be best to have two Socialist parties. It is possible that some member of the Socialist Party may act so autocratic and damaging to our cause that I might want to offer a motion that he be requested to withdraw from the Socialist Party and join the S. L. P. Would it not be best for our cause that every comrade who spends more time and energy in trying to expel members than he does to get more members, to leave us and join the S. L. P.?"

"There is but one right way to join the Socialist Party, and that is to come up any other way is a liar and a thief."

"For God's sake, let's not have anything that smells like fusion; we want all the members we can get. If they are willing to come up the straight and narrow way, equal opportunities for all, but special privileges for none."







# Letter of Comrade Hillquit and Draft of "Declaration of Principles."

New York, Feb. 20, 1908.

Dear Comrade Barnes: As a member of the Committee on Platform elected some time ago by the National Committee, I herewith submit a draft of a Declaration of Principles, which you may consider as a minority report.

I have no fault to find with Comrade Work for having submitted his draft as a minority report. As a matter of fact, Comrade Work had reminded me several times of our joint task, but unfortunately my time had been so largely taken up with other matters that I kept on delaying this until, I suppose, I delayed it too long. I should have been glad to avoid the necessity of submitting another minority report, and should have preferred to indorse Comrade Work's draft if I could consistently do it. But, with all due deference to Comrade Work and to the several excellent features which his draft undoubtedly contains, I find myself unable to approve of it as a whole. I am not well satisfied with the style in which it is written, and I am forced to take exception to several statements and conclusions contained in it.

Comrade Work has entitled his draft a "Declaration of Principles," and I have followed his example. This title stamps the character of the instrument. It is not to be a political platform for propaganda purposes during the coming campaign only, but a brief definition of the Socialist Philosophy, a kind of profession of faith of our party. The office of a declaration of principles is quite distinct from that of a political platform. A declaration of principles should contain nothing but the fundamental tenets of modern Socialism, while a political platform must also have a reference to existing temporary and local conditions, and must contain at least a brief review of the political acts and omissions of the dominant parties and the ruling class during the period following the preceding elections. A declaration of principles is, as a rule, more or less fixed and permanent, and is amended only on rare occasions when the party views or tactics have undergone some essential change. Thus the Social Democratic Party in Germany adopted its first Declaration of Principles at Gotha in 1875, and retained it until the Erfurt Convention in 1890, and there is no indication of any present movement to change the Erfurt program. The programs of the Socialist Parties in Austria, France and other countries are changed as rarely. In this country, however, we have heretofore been in the habit of adopting new platforms for every campaign, and while the substance of such platforms has always been practically identical, we have simply been laboring every time to find new expressions for the same thought. This senseless procedure can be avoided, I believe, by adopting a permanent Declaration of Principles and supplementing it for the purpose of every campaign with a special platform dealing principally with the concrete political issues advanced in such campaign.

Our Declaration of Principles hence should be an intelligent statement of the Socialist Philosophy addressed to intelligent and reasoning men, and I believe that the primer style affected by Comrade Work is out of place in such an instrument.

Comrade Work's proposed platform, moreover, seems to be based upon one cardinal idea recurring in his draft again and again, the idea that "the workers are entitled to the full value of their labor." This phrase, which at one time was one of the stock phrases of popular Socialism, and is still occasionally being used with good effect in propaganda meetings, has long been discarded by scientific Socialism, and has no place in an authoritative declaration of Socialist principles. Under the prevailing method of production it is absolutely impossible to separate the work of the individual workman or to ascertain its value, and under the system of collective work contemplated by Socialism, it will be still more impossible. We Socialists contemplate to do away with exploitation and to make it impossible for any individual to appropriate the product of another's labor, but we recognize that the state, and especially the Socialist state, has large duties towards its aged, invalid and other helpless members, as well as certain duties toward the community at large, the performance of which will require the appropriation for that purpose of a considerable portion of the total product of the collective labor of the community; that portion will naturally have to come out from the products of the work of the active part of the population, and nobody will receive the full value of his individual labor.

I also doubt very much whether we are authorized today to enter into an agreement with the farmers on behalf of the coming co-operative commonwealth to the effect that the latter will lease or sell lands to them or purchase lands from them on the terms set forth by Comrade Work. Comrade Work's ideas on that subject may, on the whole, be just and practical as far as we know today, but they belong to the realm of speculation and have no place in a statement of scientific Socialism. Several other criticisms of the Work draft have been made in the communications published in the recent Weekly Bulletin. Some of them are, to my mind, too harsh, and others entirely undeserved. But there is, I believe, some justice in the remark that the proposed Declaration of Principles shows a tendency to cater too much to the middle class.

## Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party.

The short period which has elapsed since the birth of our Republic has witnessed immense changes. New economic

conditions have sprung up, new social relations have been created, new popular needs have been developed, and a radical readjustment of our industrial and political institutions has become necessary.

The United States entered on its national career as a farming country. Manufacture and commerce played but an incidental part in the early life of the population. But within the last century, and more particularly within its last decades, agriculture was gradually subordinated to the great modern factory industry. The centers of national activity were transferred from the peaceful villages to the large cities, and within the latter the methods of manufacture and commerce were thoroughly and rapidly revolutionized.

The modest workshop of former generations was superseded by the huge factory; the simple tool of the old-time mechanic developed into the gigantic machine propelled by the power of steam and electricity, while the railroads, steamships, telegraphs and telephones united the entire country into one great market for the exchange of goods. These marvelous improvements in our methods of production and distribution, together with the extraordinary abundance of the natural resources of the country, have resulted in immense benefits. The productivity of labor and the wealth of the Nation have increased a hundredfold, and the United States is today one of the richest countries on the face of the globe.

But, although this wonderful transformation is the result of the collective ingenuity and labor of the multitudes of workers of present and past generations, its fruits have been seized and appropriated by a small portion of the population—the capitalist class. The capitalists own, as their individual and private property, all of the land on which we live, together with the mines, oil wells and other natural treasures hidden in it, and most of the structures and homes erected on it; they own our railways, telegraphs and all other means of transportation and communication; they own our factories, machinery, and all the tools indispensable to the production of the necessities of life; they own the food, clothing and shelter of their fellow-men. In short, they own the country, with all its wealth and resources, while the great mass of the population, the workingmen whose labor has created our so-called "National" wealth and still maintains our national life, are virtually destitute of property, and depend for their right to work and live upon the will of the idle capitalist. The anomalous fact that a small group of capitalists are permitted to use all the country's resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of our lives the object of their competitive private enterprises and speculations, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time. In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are conducted in a planless manner through periods of feverish activity, during which the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly undermined, and periods of enforced idleness during which the workers are frequently reduced to starvation. The climax of this chaotic system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years. In its mad and reckless race for profits the capitalist class is bound to exploit the workingmen to the very limit of their endurance, and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance; it drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory; it snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars; it wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in the mines, railroads and factories; it drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed, and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice. To maintain their iniquitous rule over their fellow-men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominating parties and, through them, the elected public officials; they select our executives, bribe our legislatures and corrupt our courts of justice; they own and censor our press; they subsidize and direct our churches and colleges, they own the nation politically, intellectually and spiritually just as they own it industrially.

There is but one way to free our social system from all these grave evils, and that is to remove their common cause and source—the private ownership of the nation's wealth, tools and resources. To make the people free and independent in fact as well as in name, the people must take possession of their land, mines, wells, railroads, telegraphs, factories, machinery and all social tools of wealth production, and use and operate them collectively and democratically for the joint benefit of all members of the community.

And the basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within the very bosom of present capitalist society. The factory system, with its immense machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process, while the great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have had the effect of organizing the work and management

of some of our main industries on a national scale, and fitting them for national use and operation.

The task of so transforming our industrial system devolves primarily on the working class. The working class is the principal victim of the evils of the capitalist rule; it is numerically the strongest class, and it has gradually become the most useful and essential class in society. While the typical capitalist is rapidly degenerating into a mere parasite on industry, whose functions are limited to drawing interest and dividends, the paid wage workers of all trades in the fields of manual and mental labor are assuming the direction and operation of all phases of the industrial process. The working class, therefore, has the most vital and direct interest as well as the greatest power and ability to abolish the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is today engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capitalism; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against capitalism, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

To accomplish this great social task the working class must become conscious of its wrongs and remedies, and, above all, it must collect and organize all its members without distinction of trade, race, sex, nationality, creed or color, into a powerful party, distinct from and opposed to all parties of the propertied classes, for the purpose of conquering the powers of government, national, state and municipal, and using such powers to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation.

In the United States, as well as in all other civilized countries, the Socialist Party is the nucleus of such a workingmen's organization, and it is by that title that we call upon the workingmen of the United States and upon all fair-minded and liberty-loving citizens to join the Socialist Party, to vote its ticket and to support it in its efforts to bring about a higher, juster and nobler social order.

## COMMENT ON THE PROPOSED "WORK" PLATFORM, BY C. W. BARZEE, NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF OREGON.

We do not indorse the platform as proposed by National Committeeman John M. Work, because we believe it should not be contaminated with reform measures that may be stolen and incorporated in any capitalist platform. We do not want vote-catchers and bones of contention which detract from the force of Socialist teaching and misguide Socialist sentiment and education.

Actual knowledge and intelligence with the vote is the safeguard from overthrow and sidetrack destruction prior to the demise of capitalism. The platform should be concise, positive and conclusive, containing only the vital principles of Socialism.

If there be any science in the purpose of the Socialist Party, it means the complete overthrow of the capitalist-wage-slave system; hence is revolutionary in its nature.

If this be not the purpose, we had as well join hands with the reform element and proceed to patch up the present system without hope; for mankind is ever too ready to accept of palliative relief through the pain of necessity rather than press his cause for justice beyond economic evolution.

Indeed, we would be without hope were it not that the present system contains within its very self its own destruction. But, thanks to evolution that has brought us thither through all past changes, the new is builded out of the

old and decay restores itself out from that which is destroyed.

If the Socialist Party wants to fulfill its mission with honor to itself and with speedy justice to its constituents, and really desires immediate results favorable to the laborer under the present system, let it stand out boldly for revolution, and not depreciate concessions made from other sources than their own platform. Let us be as broad as the occasion demands.

Under these conditions we will not become embarrassed with non-Socialist measures that imply a desire for authority and a bid for non-Socialist-middle class votes in support of immediate demands that lend no real force to our intelligent progress.

If we demand all, much will be conceded; and with the triumph of a Socialist majority vote, will come the power to deliver the goods through economic determinism. We will make progress by moving slowly on this point.

The great battle must be fought out under the present system between the contending classes, capitalism and industrialism.

It is not the mission of the Socialist Party to engage in this battle, only as their individual interests demand in the struggle for existence, but to provide the remedy and a cure for the condition when the crisis terminates. This makes our cause inevitable.

Socialism, like the southern slave emancipation proclamation, must come with the demise of that which opposes it. Both knowledge and power must precede its coming, else we will find ourselves engaged in another civil strife for supremacy that will develop a military rather than an industrial government. The wily old foe of capitalism will not surrender his prey until completely overcome by the combined intelligence of the masses. Our weapon must be intelligent co-operation.

Let the Socialist Party dismiss all vote-catching reforms, together with "office itch" and desire for authority; abide our time for the social change, standing clear and clean for the overthrow of the wage-slave system, and social evolution will determine our cause with the accuracy of the planetary system, unspotted with contentious side issues, palliative measures and temporary reforms.

Yours for a permanent, progressive Socialist Party,

## REPLY OF COMRADE WORK TO COMRADE BARZEE.

Circleville, Utah, Feb. 21, 1908.

Dear Comrade: Replying to Comrade Barzee, I wish to say that the proposed platform does stand for the complete overthrow of the present capitalist system, in the most unmistakable terms. Apparently he wants something more than its complete overthrow.

His main objection, however, is to the minor and immediate measures. I thought that question had been settled by the 1901 and 1904 conventions. The impossibilists took the same stand which Comrade Barzee takes, and they left the party because we adopted a platform stating where we stood on minor and immediate measures.

If the men we elect to minority legislative positions sit still and take no stand on questions of immediate importance to the working class under the present system, they will not only be defeated at the next election, but they will also deserve to be defeated. They cannot introduce Socialism because they are in a minority. It is their duty to serve the interests of the working class in such minor ways as are possible, and always work toward the great end.

Since we have to take a stand on these minor questions when we are elected to office, why should we prondly hold our noses in the air and disdain to state in our platform what position we will take when elected? The workers have a right to know what position we will take.

There is, of course, ample room for difference of opinion as to whether cer-

tain particular minor and immediate measures are to the interest of the working class. If I am convinced that any of them are not to the interest of the working class, I will be the first man to advocate striking them out.

As for "office itch," I want the Socialist Party to elect just as many officials as possible, legitimately, of course. I want the responsibility of administration placed upon our shoulders. I want us to get the training necessary for the still greater duties that are to come. If we had had no previous administrative experience, we would make a fine comedy of blunders when we undertook to introduce Socialism.

## RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY LOCAL RENO (NEV.) BY UNANIMOUS VOTE.

Whereas, Numerous committees of the Socialist Party and S. L. P. have held fruitless conferences from time to time and in various communities for the purpose of considering conditions upon which the two parties could combine, and

Whereas, Experience has amply demonstrated that a union of the Socialist Party with the S. L. P. can only be obtained by embracing tactics which have proven to be impracticable and disruptive, rather than effective and constructive, and

Whereas, The superiority of the platform and tactics of the Socialist Party has been proved by its rapid growth and cumulative strength; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Socialists of Reno, Nev., Local Socialist Party, advise against involving the National Organization, or Membership in a Unity Conference with the S. L. P., but that, instead, copies of the Constitution and Platform of the Socialist Party be sent to the Committee of the S. L. P. for their consideration, along with an invitation to join the Socialist Party as individuals if they so desire.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Secretary, with request that it be published in the Weekly, and Monthly Bulletins.

Fraternally,  
P. SLAUGHL,  
Secretary.

## LETTER OF STATE SECRETARY LOCKWOOD OF MICHIGAN.

Whereas, Our Comrades of the S. L. P. have made a proposition to unite forces with us for the coming campaign and revolution, and

Whereas, Such unity of forces is essential if we ever expect to accomplish our purpose, therefore be it

Resolved, By the State Executive Committee of Michigan in regular meeting assembled, that we are most heartily in favor of the unity of the two Socialist Parties on a straight, clean-cut, revolutionary program. We believe the rank and file are ready for this move and that it is for the good of the Socialist cause. We further believe that members of both parties who have personal grievances should put these in the background, bury the hatchet, smoke the pipe of peace and then put on the war paint and present a united front to our common enemy, the Capitalist System.

We are proud of the fact that our State was the first to officially call for a united party, and still stand by our resolution passed at our State Convention July 4, 1906, and ratified by a referendum vote of our party and reaffirmed by succeeding conventions.

We hereby send fraternal greetings to our Comrades of the S. L. P. and a sincere hope that there will be in the coming campaign but one Socialist Party.

Furthermore, be it resolved, that we send a copy of these resolutions to be published in our National Party Bulletin, also a copy to the Appeal to Reason and to the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. Passed unanimously by the Executive Committee.

## Price List of Socialist Party Supplies Furnished by the National Committee. Postage or Express Prepaid. Cash Must Accompany All Orders.

	For 1	For 10	For 25	For 50	For 100	For 500	For 1000
<b>FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS</b>							
Applications for Local or Branch Charter.....			\$ .25	\$ .40	\$ .75		
Charters for Local or Branch—with mailing tubes....			1.00	2.75	3.00		
<b>FOR LOCALS OR BRANCHES</b>							
Application for Membership Cards.....			.10	.15	.20		
Membership Due Cards.....		\$ .10	.15	.25	.45		
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<b>FOR PROPAGANDA AND PARTY MEMBERS</b>							
Socialist Methods, 4 pages.....		.05	.10	.15	.20	.75	\$1.30
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Why Socialists Pay Dues, 4 pages.....		.05	.15	.20	.25	.85	1.50
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The above seven leaflets will be sent in complete sets at the following prices.....	1 Set	10 Sets	25 Sets	50 Sets	100 Sets	500 Sets	1000 Sets
	.10	.50	1.00	1.95	2.70	9.15	15.30

Every party member, new or old, should have a set of these leaflets. Every applicant should read "Socialist Methods," and the National Platform and Constitution before joining the Party.

Organization means something more than names on a paper. If you want a genuinely democratic movement the membership must be educated in the practical details. This will be necessary under Socialism. Begin now. Individuals, Locals and Branches will do well to keep a supply in stock and distribute liberally.

Remit by post office or express money order, payable and addressed to

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.



# ANNUAL ELECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY

## Report of the Election of the National Executive Committee and National Secretary

FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE	Arkansas	Arizona	Alabama	California	Colorado	Connecticut	Delaware	Florida	Idaho	Illinois	Indiana	Iowa	Kansas	Kentucky	Louisiana	Maine	Maryland	Massachusetts	Michigan	Minnesota	Mississippi	Missouri	Montana	Nebraska	Nevada	New Hampshire	New Jersey	New Mexico	New York	North Carolina	North Dakota	Ohio	Oklahoma	Oregon	Pennsylvania	Rhode Island	South Dakota	Tennessee	Texas	Utah	Vermont	Virginia	Washington	West Virginia	Wisconsin	Wyoming	Members at large	Total			
W. M. ARLAND, Corning, N. Y.	6	4	2	9	16	9				28	6	13	1	1	3	2	12	11	11	5	3	1			12	188	1	19	18	6	34	1			29	1			7	3	12	72	5	5004							
VICTOR L. BERGER, Milwaukee, Wis.	43	22	15	255	98	83	57	71	491	86	190	113	40	26	48	28	181	111	251	268	52	34	6	18	161	9	319	4	7	216	114	88	240	27	10	41	148	1	19	8	106	20	735	137	5	5004					
BERNARD BERLYN, Chicago, Ill.	9	15	6	67	23	50				22	368	35	39	59	5	9	4	40	43	29	47	10	16	3	68	3	192	16	10	136	23	60	6	13	7	21	2	1	19	5	56	6	39	13	1	1561					
J. O. BENTALL, Chicago, Ill.	6	2	4	40	18					5	132	24	110	7	5	24	7	20	30	34	31	1	1	1	7	26	20	14	20	23	62	8	14	3	25												1	745			
J. H. BROWER, Elgin, Ill.	1			20	4					3	158	22	25	12			1	4	11	4	9	1	23		1	101		7	9	56	7	9				42												1	544		
JOHN W. BARTELS, Chicago, Ill.	13	2	1	15	3	13				3	75	1	16	19	1	1	1	10	6	13	7	2	1	1	29		2	13	7	4	10				1													1	297		
C. S. BENDREY, Bartlett, Kan.	11	11	1	3	1					5	1	3	54	1			1	1	3	2	5	1		5	1	1	8	1	4	11	1	3				1												1	167		
GEO. BROADLEY, Oakland, Cal.	3			87	1					2		3	2				2		2	12			2	1	1	1	1	4	11	1	3				1			5										1	235		
S. J. BRONSON, Fayetteville, Ark.	74	1	2	9	5	2				11	1	4	4				10	5	9	7	13	9	1	4	25		3	5	5	6	18				5													1	344		
WILLIAM BROWN, Sheridan, Wyo.	2	1	3	11	6	6				11	1	4	4				10	5	9	7	13	9	1	4	25		3	5	5	6	18				5												1	369			
E. T. BEHRENS, Sedalia, Mo.	8		2	5	6	1				11	1	4	4				10	5	9	7	13	9	1	4	25		3	5	5	6	18				5												1	127			
FRED BURKE, Harrison, Tenn.	19	1		9	3	1				2	10		1				1	4	2	6	1	4		1	10		10		150	2	32				1			9											1	284	
H. H. CALDWELL, Dayton, O.	2			4	5					1	10	27	13	2	2		6	1											3	5					2			10											1	90	
W. M. CAMMOCK, Elkridge, W. Va.	2			2	1					1	3						6	1												3	5					2													1	190	
E. E. CARR, Chicago, Ill.	27	3	3	68	43	3				9	18	101	28	92	2	20	16	27	40	25	103	8	12	4	50	158	2	491			120	25	40	126	16	3													3	2326	
JAMES F. CAREY, Haverhill, Mass.	31	14	12	81	20	100				8	19	125	22	32	29	19	6	46	2	348	44	59		103	8	12	4	50	158	2	491			120	25	40	126	16	3								3	166			
WM. CARPENTER, Tulare, Cal.	11			61	4					8	1	2	2				2	3	6	5	3	6		5	3	2	1	9			5	8	7			1												3	116		
JOHN CHENOWETH, Middleton, Idaho	3	1		3	2					23	2	1	15	4	1	2			2	4	3	2	4		3	5		1	5			8	3	6															1	230	
KARL A. CHENEY, Cleveland, Ohio	1			4	1					6	1	5	1	4				2	3	5	3	6		1	1	1	11	9			142	3	2			1														1	741
STANLEY J. CLARK, Grand Saline, Tex.	40			4	1	1				2	13	9	6	16				3	1	8	6	4		1	1	3	25		4	1					4	243												2	741		
JOSEPH CLARK, Warren, Pa.	11			4	1	2				11	2	2	2	2				6	8	4	1	6		1	1	3	25		221			2	54																1	167	
TOM CLIFFORD, Cleveland, Ohio	13	2	1	3	2	4				11	2	2	2	2				6	8	4	1	6		1	1	3	25		221			2	54																1	392	
W. A. COREY, Los Angeles, Cal.	6	6	4	142	15	3				2	9	5	19	29	1	3	10	8	2	9	5	3	1	1	19	12		2	7	37	12	8			2	18	7	12	1									1	427		
PARKER S. CONDIT, Omaha, Neb.	3			5	1					13	1	5	8	2	1			2	1	4	3	4		1	1	5		1	5			2	7	5															1	90	
T. J. COONROD, Emmett, Idaho	2			13	2	2				38	7	8	12				1	1	2	9	6	14		1	1	4		4	25	23	6																		1	247	
IRA CULP, Vale Summit, Md.	2			2	5	1				6	2	5	1				62	2	1	3	1	1		1	1	4		4	1	1	3																		1	183	
THEODORE W. CURTIS, Boston, Mass.	1			4	1	12				4	1	1	1				126	2	8	1	1	1		1	6		19		1	7	3	4	13	2			11												1	262	
A. B. DAVIS, Geary, Okla.	7			3	12	1				15	5	4					2	5	3	7	6		6		6		10		1	155	3	8			5														1	299	
LEONARD DE VORE, Sioux City, Neb.	11	1	6	4	4					1	4	12	1				2	2	2	2	2		6		6		5		11	1	2				4														3	81	
CHARLES DOBBS, Louisville, Ky.	4			2	2	2				2	3	9	5	44			5		3	25	15	14		1	1	4		9		8	6	4	13			2	3	3											1	216	
MAURICE ELDRIDGE, Indianapolis, Ind.	1	1	4	32	6	1				4	47	33	13	5	7	2		2	3	25	15	14		1	1	4		9		8	6	4	13			2	3	3											1	339	
PHIL ENGEL, Denver, Colo.	4			2	11	27	6			3	31	15	7	4	7	1	1	3	33	13	9	6	5		29	19		2	9	19	4	28																	1	117	
G. E. ETHERTON, Kansas City, Mo.	1			5	5					1	35	3	23				6	34	25	1	4	3	4		63	1	289		1	31	3	1	65	1																1	707
F. FEIGENBAUM, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1			4	13	2	60			1	35	3	23				6	34	25	1	4	3	4		63	1	289		1	31	3	1	65	1															1	707	
A. H. FLOATEN, Denver, Colo.	103	24	11	231	150	37	15	41	266	82	176	184	28	36	24	38	87	51	145	12	201	61	40	9	10	137	5	243	5	23	127	187	109	216	7	30	4	147	32	17	18	127	24	162	31	2	3719				
C. F. FOLEY, Pottsville, Pa.	6			9	4	3				1	8	3	27	3			3	4	1					1	3		15		3	4	1	144																	1	255	
JAMES F. GANNON, Dover, N. H.	4			7	3					4	4	14					8	3	3					1	10	1	13		21	7	1	5	3																	1	454
E. FRANCIS GARY, Boise, Idaho	17	5	5	11	9	9				29	10	4	21	21	2	1	8	8	15	20	15	6	10		5	21		5		62	5	31	4	6															1	454	
P. R. GARRETT, Harrisonville, W. Va.	1			3	1	1				1	74	23	2	2	2			1	1						1	1		2	5		5																			1	170
ADOLPH GERMER, Mt. Olive, Ill.	17	16	10	95	12	54				26	20	6	12	51	3	15	18	13	23	18	60	1	161	6	16	9	54	147	10	118			24	28	38	173	6	8	15	59	9								1	1448	
JAMES D. GRAHAM, Helena, Mont.	1	4		6	3	1				10	7	2	9	4	3			4	7					1	104		1	13		1	2	4	3	4																	



NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 10, 1908.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 5, 1908.

To the National Committee: Comrades: Herewith is submitted the report of dates for holding the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

MAY 1, 1908—Arizona, Bechtel; Kentucky, Dobbs; Massachusetts, Carey; Montana, Mabie; New Jersey, Reilly; Oklahoma, Bentley; Pennsylvania, Schwartz; Pennsylvania, Moore. Total, 8.

MAY 3, 1908—Illinois, Berlyn. MAY 4, 1908—Missouri, Schenkel; Texas, Clark. Total, 2.

MAY 10, 1908—Alabama, Baldwin; Arkansas, Le Fevre; California, Lewis, L. M.; Colorado, Miller; Connecticut, Hull; Florida, Pettigrew; Idaho, Rigg; Illinois, Collins; Illinois, Simons; Iowa, Work; Iowa, Shank; Massachusetts, Konikow; Minnesota, Williams; New York, Ariand; New York, Lee; North Dakota, Lampman; Ohio, Rodgers; Oklahoma, Hagel; Oregon, Barzee; Pennsylvania, Maurer; Texas, Payne; Washington, Herman; Wyoming, Hastings. Total, 23.

MAY 11, 1908—Utah, Syphers. MAY 18, 1908—Missouri, Behrens. MAY 24, 1908—Oregon, Axelson. MAY 26, 1908—New Hampshire, Drew; Tennessee, Voss. Total, 2.

JUNE —, 1908—Wisconsin, Berger. JUNE 1, 1908—Maryland, Culp. JUNE 7, 1908—Wisconsin, Thompson. JUNE 15, 1908—Rhode Island, Carpenter.

JULY 4, 1908—Kansas, Willets; West Virginia, Gillespie. Total, 2. May 10 having received a majority of the votes cast, is therefore chosen as the date for holding the National Convention.

The previous vote having resulted in the choice of Chicago as the city, the decision is therefore, as to time and place for the Convention, Chicago, May 10, 1908: If there is no objection raised or motion forthcoming upon the subject, Local Cook County, Illinois, will be requested to undertake the Convention arrangements. Fraternally submitted, J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

New York, Feb. 10, 1908. J. Mahlon Barnes, Chicago, Ill. Dear Comrade Barnes: In accordance with the recent instructions of the National Committee, I have transmitted to the International Socialist Bureau a statement of the general aspects and extent of the present industrial depression in the United States, with the request to secure for the same wide circulation in the publications of the various Socialist parties abroad affiliated with the Bureau. I herewith enclose a copy of the statement. Fraternally submitted, (Signed) MORRIS HILLQUIT.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

Greetings: The workmen of Europe are generally aware of the fact that the United States are in the throes of an industrial crisis, but, we believe, they largely underestimate its extent and intensity.

The capitalist press of our country has from the very beginning adopted the policy of concealing all alarming symptoms of our present industrial disorders or to minimize their significance and effect as much as possible. The acute financial panic of recent months, which presaged the collapse of the unstable industrial equilibrium in the United States, was pronounced by our dominant powers a groundless and short-lived flurry. The grave industrial depression which is now obviously settling in is being minimized by them as a temporary business embarrassment, and their subversive press is already filled with reports of returning prosperity.

The ruling classes have an obvious interest in thus attempting to hide the evidence of their impotency as directors of our industries, and to prevent a possible outbreak of popular revolt against their mismanagement of the affairs of the nation. But the Socialist workmen of the United States have no reason and no right to conceal the full extent of the misery into which this country has again been thrown by the selfish, planless and devastating methods of production of its much boasted "captains of industry."

We consider it especially our duty as our fellow workers abroad to present to them the existing industrial conditions of our country in their true light, and it is in the performance of this duty of solidarity and by no means from a narrow-minded desire to frighten away foreign labor competition from the shores of our country, that we express our conviction that what the United States are facing today is not a slight business depression, but a regular and probably prolonged industrial crisis.

Acute industrial depressions are neither new nor rare in this country of plenty. Ever since the United States have entered upon the career of capitalist production the periods of general industrial paralysis have been recurring in this country with sad regularity in cycles about sixteen to twenty years apart.

Since the beginning of the last century this is our sixth crisis, the former ones having had their inception in the years 1818, 1837, 1857, 1873 and 1893, and the main causes of these crises, their salient symptoms and general histories have been substantially alike and substantially similar to those which have characterized the industrial crises of Europe during the same period. Whatever might have been the special features and immediate causes of the earlier crises, their ultimate cause was in each case the planlessness of wealth production and inequity of wealth distribution under the present system, leading to overproduction on the part of the capitalists and underconsumption on the part of the workers.

All these crises were preceded by periods of extraordinary industrial activity, invariably marked by expansion of the markets, opening of new industries and immense expenditure of credit. They all culminated in enormous prices of commodities, high rents and reckless speculations, and they were all ushered in by financial panics followed by business failures, closing of factories, unemployment and misery of the working class.

And the present industrial crisis does not differ from its predecessors in any way. The "era of prosperity" just closed has lasted a number of years, and has furnished the never-failing text for all capitalist, political platforms, patriotic orations and pompous editorials of recent years. In the last decade all branches of industry were carried on in a volume and on a scale hitherto unattained in the United States. Huge corporations, trusts and combinations became the order of the day, and with them came the inevitable watering of stock and traffic in corporate securities. It is estimated that in 1907 the par value of such securities was no less than \$10,000,000,000, almost one-third of the total wealth of the country. Nor did the currency, banking and credit of the country lag behind the march of industrial expansion. Between 1898 and 1907 the United States produced \$3,200,000,000 of gold, about one-third of the entire output of the world, and fifty year period between 1700 and 1850; in 1907 there were no less than 14,000 banks in the country with a total of about

\$18,000,000,000 in deposits, and the greatest part of it was loaned out and seeking investment in the industrial field. The mines, mills, factories and other works ran in full blast, workmen of all trades were in large demand, and wages went up. When all the ordinary branches of industry were overstocked and overtaxed, our enterprising capitalist sought new fields, frequently embarking in mad and adventurous schemes and entraining flocks of trusting small investors with them. In all larger cities thousands of buildings were erected for purely speculative purposes, vacant land in the newer sections doubled and trebled in price, rents in the older sections were raised beyond all reason, and prices of commodities generally increased to an extent entirely unprecedented. In the ten-year period of 1896-1906, the cost of food alone increased over 20 per cent in average, and the cost of other necessities rose about 30 per cent.

Money was abundant in the country, great fortunes were made over night, speculation and gambling took the place of industry and commerce. And when the mad race had run its full course, the inevitable collapse came sudden and crashing. In the early part of 1907 it was found that the large stock manufactured in anticipation of future sales could not be moved; the retail dealers were largely "propped up" by the banks, and their obligations, an atmosphere of uncertainty and lack of confidence pervaded the market, credit was suddenly contracted, the house of cards, called our "financial system," was blown asunder by the first gust of wind.

In the months of October and November sudden "runs" were made by crowds of frightened depositors on many large financial institutions of the metropolis, including the well-known Knickerbocker Trust Company, and several banks closed their doors and thereby caused the suspension of numerous banking institutions in the country connected with them. The stock market, always responsive to the movements of the money market, experienced a violent drop in the values of all securities. The first symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis were thus clearly and unmistakably revealed, but our ruling classes, who had learned nothing from the experience of the past, persisted in treating the panic as a mere temporary disturbance of the currency system, to be removed by heroic measures. Our Morgans, Rockefellers and other high financiers came to the rescue of their distressed brethren by advancing them many millions on good securities and usurious rates of interest, and our Government, always solicitous for the interests of the capitalist class, deposited \$20,000,000 in various banks, to help them tide over the difficulties. The "runs" on the banks were temporarily stopped, and the end of the panic was officially proclaimed.

But the general industrial depression announced by the financial panic defied all official proclamations and declarations. The end of the year 1907 showed 10,265 recorded business failures with total liabilities of \$33,000,000 for that year as against 9,385 failures with liabilities amounting only to \$127,000,000. Most railroad extensions and improvements begun or contemplated were abandoned, and the industrial effects of the abandonment of that work may be readily realized if it is known that their estimated cost in New York and vicinity alone was about \$500,000,000. At the same time the freight and passenger traffic on all railroad lines was greatly diminished and thousands of railroad employes in all parts of the country were discharged or temporarily "laid off." The United States Steel Corporation, which is the official name for the great American Steel Trust, cut down its work and employes to about one-half, the tobacco trust closed many of its factories entirely, the Chicago Stock Yards, the Iron and Glass Works and other principal industries of America commenced to run part time or with diminished force, and in the building trades and building material factories employment became the exception, idleness the rule.

Unfortunately we have no definite data upon which to base a sound estimate of the entire extent of unemployment now prevailing in the United States. For December, 1907, the Department of Labor of the State of New York reported 34.3 per cent of all workmen in the State unemployed, as against 12.3 per cent for the corresponding month in 1906, and only 6.7 per cent for 1905. From insufficient reports from other parts of the country it is safe to assert that within the last few months the standing army of unemployed in the United States has been augmented by 1,000,000 or more workmen. And there is no lack of symptoms of a general misery of the workers. Within the last few months over a quarter of a million of foreign laborers, principally Italians, have precipitately returned to their homes. In January, 1908, our own immigration has exceeded immigration four times. But the unusually large emigration of workmen has served little, at all, to relieve the remaining workers, foreign or native. Already the charity organizations of all larger cities are beset by thousands of helpless applicants for food, clothing and shelter, and spontaneous unemployed demonstrations are springing up in all parts of the country.

All this we have not reached the acute stage of the crisis. We are only in its beginning, and cannot be foreseen. The former crises in the United States lasted variously from two to five years, and there is no reason to expect the present depression to pass in a shorter time. Our trusts and great industrial combinations, which in past management have, on the whole, proved inefficient as a factor in regulating production and removing the causes of industrial crises. They have, perhaps, brought in a little more system in the work for domestic use, but their production of surplus value has remained as planless as ever; they have proved themselves quite powerless to cope with the evils arising from the insufficient purchasing ability of the workmen, and they have intensified the element of stock speculation, which is the only cause for this periodical scourge of modern society.

And it is a significant fact that the steel and tobacco industries, in which the trusts have celebrated their greatest triumphs, also show the largest proportions of unemployed. The percentage of idle workers in the latter industry in the State of New York has been no less than 82.9 in December, 1907, as against 2.7 in the same month of the previous year.

The present situation in America, the classical country of trusts and combines, demonstrates conclusively that industrial crises are inseparable from the capitalist regime, no matter what form the latter assumes, and that Socialism is the only cure for this periodic scourge of modern society. In the meanwhile we shall in all likelihood have to pass through all the horrors of the past crises, through years of compulsory idleness and destitution, years of despair and starvation. And once more the working class of the country will pay the terrible penalty for the recklessness and greed of its masters. May the workmen of America profit by the hard lesson, and finally array themselves against criminal capitalist misrule, on the side of the International Socialist working class movement.

Fraternally submitted, by direction of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America. (Signed) MORRIS HILLQUIT, International Secretary.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL DENVER, COLO.

Resolved, That Local Denver, Socialist party, indorse the invitation of the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P., extended to our National Committee on behalf of Socialist unity in the United States;

Resolved further, That it is the sense of Local Denver that no editor or owner of Socialist papers, or members of N. E. Committee of Socialist party or S. L. P., should be a member of the proposed unity conference.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the N. E. Committee and all Socialist papers.

(Signed) HARRY W. EINSTEIN, Secretary.

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LETTER OF COMRADE ARLAND, NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF NEW YORK.

"I herewith enclose copy of letter to me from the Secretary of the State Committee of this State, and I am forwarding same to you solely because I am so directed. I am much surprised to learn of this resolution of the State Committee, for while I cannot quote the exact language of the same, our last State Convention adopted a resolution declaring against the holding of 'unity conferences.' Personally I am not in accord with the proposed motion and shall vote against it. I have seen the face of too many attempts at unity between the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party and I have too little faith in anything that may come from the ranks of our ancient enemy to believe that unity between the two parties is possible or desirable. To my mind there is one way, and one way only, whereby there can be unity between the parties, and that is by members of the Socialist Labor Party joining our ranks as individuals. Even then it will be hard enough to work shoulder to shoulder with, and to count as comrades, men who have slandered and injured us to every depth to which language or actions can descend. The Socialist Labor Party is dead and I am not in favor of a post mortem. Certainly I am not in favor of chaining ourselves to the corpse."

LETTER OF COMRADE APPLGATE, NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF CONNECTICUT.

"At the meeting of the State Committee held at Hartford, Sunday, 26th, it was moved and seconded that the National-Committee notify the National Executive Committee that this State Committee, desiring that unity be brought about between the S. P. and S. L. P., urgently requests them to do all in their power to come to agreement with the committee of the S. L. P., to the end that a referendum vote of the two parties may be taken. "The reason for this action of the State Committee is that the rank and file (so far as we can tell without a referendum) feel that the time has now come when unity must not be delayed. We know that in the past mud has been thrown in large quantities, and many of our prominent Socialists are still smarting from the blows they have received. These things must be forgotten now, and as we preach working class solidarity, we must make it a reality. The rank and file here in this State seem to be growing restless under this continued division of the Socialist forces. The members of the party are continually having it put up to them if Socialists can't agree among themselves, how can they expect others to agree with them. I know it will make a great difference in our votes here if unity is effected."

LETTER OF COMRADE HILLQUIT.

"Dear Comrade Barnes:—I notice from your last Weekly Bulletin that Comrade King, in commenting on his motion for the election of a special committee of seven to confer with the similar committee from the S. L. P., assumes that I have personal grievances against the Socialist Labor Party, and that I am opposed to a union of the two parties. Personally I do not care in the least whether the committee to be elected by our party be the National Executive Committee or an independent committee. But in order that my position on this important question may not be misunderstood, I wish to state that I am fully in favor of the contemplated unification of the two parties, provided that no conditions involving a change in our party principles or tactics attach to the proposed union, and that the comrades of the S. L. P. are willing to consolidate with us upon the general basis of principles and tactics established by the international Socialist movement, leaving the concrete issues and details to be formulated by a joint national convention, in which the comrades of the S. L. P. shall be entitled to the same proportionate representation as the members of our party."

RESOLUTION BY PARK CITY, UTAH

Whereas, We consider the present factional fight in the Socialist ranks to be injurious and detrimental to the best interest of the party;

Whereas, We fail to see any important factor at issue between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party; therefore

Be it resolved by the Socialist Party of Park City, Utah, That we favor a unification of the two parties and recommend a conference for that purpose, at the earliest possible date, so we may be able to put up a solid front in the campaign of 1908.

And that copies of this resolution be sent to the Official Bulletin and the Weekly People for publication. Fraternally, J. P. LANGFORD, Secretary.

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