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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## OBSERVATIONS

### FROM A SOCIALIST STANDPOINT ON CURRENT TOPICS.

**The Duke of Abruzzi Scooping Them In—"Moralists" Should Have Good Memories—The "Boston Traveller" Hiding Behind a Cloud of Dust—Beware of the Enemy's Praise.**

The Duke of Abruzzi, a member of the royal family of Italy, is about to go into the banking business. Enamored of the million charms of Miss Catherine Elkins the Duke's marriage with the American heiress will at one stroke accomplish what the Italian Government has been trying on a slower path. The Italian Government has promoted emigration to the United States with the hope that a tangible number of Italians, after having made some little money here, would return home and deposit their savings. It was a banking scheme. The Duke takes a shorter and a more lasting cut across lots. Not only he will scoop in millions at one scoop, but, through the heiress, keep his tentacles on the railroads, and mines, etc., of the land, and keep up scooping. Italy always produced clever bankers.

From his prison cell, where he is confined for raising his voice against the labor-killing militarism of France, Gustave Herve says in his "La Guerre Sociale" of the 10th of this month:

"Six thousand men and women citizens met last Saturday at the Saint Paul Hall to protest against the Morocco brigandage committed by the French Government. A 'light sprain' that compels me to keep indoors, prevented me, much to my sorrow, from assisting at the solemn occasion."

With these humorous remarks as an introduction, Herve proceeds, most "fanatically" to cow-hide the powers that be, and the Edwards who are "unfamiliar" enough to treat such outrages as the Morocco outrage with oratorical kid-gloves.

America should commend to the attention of the Holland Socialists, Dr. Frederick Van Eeden, said to be "an eminent Dutch physician and sociologist." Dr. Van Eeden has discovered or invented a new definition of Capital. According to him "Capital is a surplus laid up against the coming of a hard time." According to this definition J. Pierpont Morgan normally operates with "savings," and when hard times come on he draws upon his reserve—"Capital." The Dutch are not usually considered droll. The "eminent Dutch physician and sociologist" Van Eeden is a brilliant exception.

As a moralist the New York "Evening Post" is decidedly bizarre. It lectures Roosevelt on the immorality of accepting a "third term" after he declared he would none of it. And yet the "Post's" pet Cleveland did that very thing. He first said he wanted only one term, and yet, after being once elected, he ran twice more, with the water of moral admiration running down both corners of the "Post's" mouth. But such is the "morality" that must be looked for from a paper that recommends "the rifle-diet" for the Working Class.

"Stop Thief!" and not "Socialism and the Family" should be the title of the article published in the Boston "Traveller" of the 10th of this month. When a paper that upholds the present social system of childless fathers and mothers, and in which prostitution is a social institution—when such a paper sets up the cry of the "sanctity of the family" against Socialism every sane man knows in what direction to look for the "family wrecker."

Like master, like man. The Philadelphia police is breaking up Zionist meetings. No doubt the police consider Zionism to be a sort of high explosive. Unfamiliar with the word, they must think "Zionite" is the Latin or Greek for "dynamite." They are to suppress dynamite meetings, consequently Zionite ones shall not be. The police are the men of the capitalists. Like man, like master.

Let no ungrateful heart pronounce Capitalism an unqualified nuisance." A procession of six labor leaders, headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers, has marched up to the President of the Senate and the

Speaker of the House, with a minimum demand for four laws, anyone of which is a denial of the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor." What educational power, if not that of Capitalism, could work so effectively as thus to force the hand of seven pet labor lieutenants of the Capitalist Class?—Capitalism is all right: give it rope.

One would not believe it possible, yet it is a fact, the New York "Times," in this year of grace 1908, defines the Socialist as a man who does not wear a clean collar, and who does not take a bath.

"When the enemy praises your leader, beware of that leader," is a maxim as old as Greek statesmanship, which the coal miners have now a splendid opportunity of testing. The gladsome shout and congratulation of Mitchell that has gone up from the capitalist press everywhere because he succeeded in making it impossible for a general soft coal strike to be called, but leaving each little mining district to settle with the bosses "without interference from the national mine workers' organization," should show them in whose hand-wagon he rides—theirs or the mine owners?

Preparatory, it would seem, to the nomination of "Bryan and Hearst," by the Democratic national convention, Mr. Bryan is giving interviews in which, forecasting the Democratic platform, he advocates most of the principles of Hearst's Independence League. No wonder the Republican leaders are giving evident signs of nervousness. "Bryan and Hearst" will give them "the time of their lives," to keep their fences from being broken through.

Under a flaming headline: "Most Bloodthirsty of Agitators Are the She-Dogs of Anarchy," the Los Angeles, Cal., "Times" of the 15th instant gives the pictures of the talented Socialist lecturers Miss Elizabeth G. Flynn and Miss Rose Pastor Stokes, grouped together with such wild-eyed agitators as Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre. The sub-head is even more blood-curdling. It is "Fanatical Women Anarchists, With Their Daring Crimes Oustripping Their Red Brothers, Have Become Terror of the World's Police." Such conduct as that of the "Times" justifies the theory that the capitalist class of the land is seeking to prepare the ground for an attempt, upon a national basis, of what the Goldfield, Nev., capitalist class Terrorists tried but substantially failed in accomplishing—the lynching of everyone who exposes their iniquities. Why not begin with Roosevelt and Senator La Follette?

Long after their novelty has worn off, the pay-as-you-enter cars introduced by the City Railway Co. yesterday will be remembered with gratitude by the Socialist. There is a capitalist humbug to the effect that the better off are its employees. Now, according to its reports, the City Railway Co. lost something like \$3,000,000 last year in uncollected fares. The new cars having made this impossible, the Company should now be \$3,000,000 better off a year; and its employees—why, their wages should simply go soaring! Safe to say, they will not—the conductors may even expect a cut. The new cars will thus serve to knock out one more economic fallacy: whence the gratitude which the Socialist will feel for them.

William N. Amory is a crook—a very crook man. He crookily discloses the circumstance under which the "intrepid Jerome" suddenly "lost enthusiasm" in his proceedings against rich criminals entrenched behind rich corporations. The downfall of Jerome looks tragic. It is not tragic; it is brilliant. It is a brilliant warning of what is to be expected of the "intrepidities" that bourgeois movements spawn.

The glory of great men is almost as much in the keeping of their foes as of their friends. The Duke of Montebello, a member of that military coterie whom Zola contributed so much to pillory in the Dreyfus affair, objects to have the remains of his "illustrious grandfather, Marshal Launes," rest in the Paris Pantheon on the ground that Zola's body was placed there. Thus the vestiges of the Dark Ages, whom Zola withered, contribute to keep his memory green.

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## THREE CHEERS FOR THE "LABOR-SOCIALIST"!

Not long ago—it is not so long since C. W. Post of Battle Creek, Mich., burst upon the horizon—The People had occasion to pitchfork this apostle of capitalism as an egregious clown and ignoramus on economics. The gentleman affords the Socialist Movement a fresh opportunity to pitchfork him, this time as a dealer in statistical "green goods."

Mr. Post is now before the public with a four-column dysenteric article, which he has published simultaneously West and East and North, against the "Labor-Socialists." The Labor-Socialists are called all manner of names, among other things they are called home-stealers, and the "Home-owning class," who Mr. Post declares, "heavily outnumber the Labor-Socialists," are summoned to take their stand right away, if not sooner, against the predatory Labor-Socialists whom he sketches as follows:

"If any man has worked and been economical and self-denying and has bought a home, take it away and divide up the proceeds among those who are unthrifty, drinking, profligate or simply 'failures.'"

According to the Census for 1900, the total number of homes in the land was 16,187,715. Furthermore, according to the same Census, the number of homes "owned" was 7,259,362, leaving 8,928,353 of the homes unowned. If we go no further, and look at these figures only, already Mr. Post's "heavily outnumbering 'Home-owning' class" sinks into a decided minority, there being a majority of over 1,000,000 who do not own their homes. But there is worse in store for Mr. Post's "heavily outnumbering 'Home-owning' class."

A man may "own" his home, yet that ownership may be a snare and a delusion: it may be, in fact, a millstone around his neck. Hetty Green admitted she did not care to buy land; she was

satisfied with taking mortgages on land. A wise woman in her Post-Capitalist generation—leave to others the empty glory of "ownership" with all the burdens of taxation, etc., that that ownership carries with it, and keep for yourself the substance. The mortgaged "owner" has the shell, the mortgagee capitalist takes the kernel. Obviously, one knows little if he only knows how many homes are "owned"; his knowledge does not become accurate until he knows how many of these homes are unencumbered. The same Census answers the question. Of the 7,259,362 homes "owned" there were, free from encumbrance, only 4,761,211. In other words, out of the total of 16,187,715 homes in the land, the "heavily outnumbering 'Home-owning' class" sinks into a still more pitiful minority, the actual majority of the "non-home-owning" class towering up to 11,426,504 in excess of the "Home-owning" fraternity.

When one turns to Mr. Post's own State of Michigan the facts bump equally hard against the gentleman's nose. The total number of homes in Michigan is 548,004; of these only 193,190 are free from encumbrance, leaving a overwhelming majority of 454,904 actually or virtually owned by somebody else.

As is well known, homes that are actually owned are not crowded. The families are small, the inmates few. Crowding and congestion is found only in the unowned homes—the mortgaged, especially the hired ones. Calculating the total population of the land at 80,000,000, and making the generous allowance of 4 members for every actually home-owning family there would be 19,044,844 of these preferred beings to 60,955,156 who would fall under Mr. Post's category of "unthrifty, drinking, profligate or simply 'failures'."

Whichever way Mr. Post turns he is caught. To him there is not even an

alternative. He is in a hole, with the wind and hail and sleet blowing in upon him from all sides. His "heavily outnumbering 'Home-owning' class" dwindles into nothingness in sight of a 60,955,156 majority of "unthrifty, drinking, profligate, or simply 'failures.'" Mr. Post's statistics are "green goods."

But Mr. Post is not simply a dealer in statistical "green goods." Nothing better can be expected from his tribe; nor is that anything new, or particularly encouraging. What there is decidedly encouraging is the fact which the gentleman takes four columns in a large number of papers to prove, to wit, that vile calumny of Labor and Socialism is all the weapon his tribe has to fight the Labor-Socialist with. This is encouraging.

It is so in larger as in smaller matters—when Wrong finds its arguments shattered, and every bone in its body broken by Reason, it ever drops argument and takes to personal slander. The move is an evidence of intellectual bankruptcy.

When Mr. Post, rearing himself upon his bogus "heavily outnumbering 'Home-owning' class," pronounces the Labor-Socialists an "unthrifty, drinking, profligate, or simply 'failures' class" because they do not own their homes, the gentleman labels that actually "heavily outnumbering" class of our population whose industry builds up the land, and the fruit of whose industry is plundered, in fact by the class that stands exposed as the "unthrifty," the "drinking," and the "profligate," and whose only success is in producing failures and panics. When one's foe displays mental bankruptcy in a conflict one may well feel cheered. Such bankruptcy is a harbinger of victory to us. It is a proof of the soundness of our position: it is a sign of approaching collapse with the foe.

Three cheers for the Labor-Socialist!

## BREWERY WORKMEN

### ARE ON WARPATH AGAINST PROHIBITION.

**Issue Public Spirited Call Proving The Utter Unselfishness of the Craft Union Organization—Do Not Object to Slave Market, but Oppose Too Many Idle Slaves.**

Tacoma, Wash., March 14.—The International Union of Brewery Workmen is engaged in a tussle with the Prohibition movement. It declares the temperance fanaticism to be disastrous to the economic interests of the whole nation and calls upon the "Public in General and Organized Labor in Particular" to rise and save the Brewery workers from losing their jobs. Jobs are what these men want, not freedom.

In the circular issued there is embodied all that is grossly selfish, crassly stupid and detestably hypocritical in the principles of organization for so-called "economic" purposes only—the organizations of the American Federation of Labor type.

The brewery workers' union, according to the professions in their circular are the watch dogs of the American workingmen's right to take a drop of drink; they are more interested in this question than the average worker himself. At any rate they are certainly making a louder noise. The brewery workers are, it is said, intent on demonstrating their purely patriotic public spirit. In line with this purpose they ask what the temperance fanatics would do with the hundreds of thousands who would lose their jobs if the industry were stopped. They are afraid that many men and women would be dumped upon the labor market. They are not so much concerned about the fact of the existence of such a market. But they don't want it overstocked. They say it is all right to have slavery but do not have too many slaves out of work.

Next, this call of the "unselfish" pleads that all attached trades be kept under the yoke. Temperance would set so many men free; but the meek and lowly brewers want to slave, and slave at beer making in preference to anything else, and they want the public to help let them be willing slaves.

The brewers have decided that politics are worth while in a labor union

when politics benefit the brewers. But if the politics do not bring the slightest grist to their mill they decide that there is no use. Let the other fellow fight for himself. Such is the spirit of the craft union. And such is also the stupidity and impotency of that form of organization. Each for himself and nobody for anyone else.

It is reported that the Master Brewers are thoroughly in accord with the pleadings of their workmen. The bosses also recognize that it is much more profitable to have men employed, than it is to see their beer go stale and flat and see the hops rot. There is complete unanimity of opinion between master and man on this point—the brothers, capital and labor, are embracing each other. Thus there is the fullest kind of A. F. of L. brotherhood between employer and employee. The Master Brewers had given the command and the serving Brewery brothers have obeyed the order. Such a combination has the cheek to parade as a labor organization and unblushingly solicit the workingman's support.

### SCANDINAVIAN S. L. P.

#### Scandinavian Federation Organizes New Branch in Chicago.

Chicago, March 16.—Yesterday afternoon March 15, while Section Cook County, S. L. P., was busy merry-making, a new branch of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized with 14 members at a meeting in Bowman's Hall, 58th and Aberdeen streets, in the part of the southside known as Englewood.

The speakers at the meeting were Ad. S. Carm and E. T. Holmes. Twenty pamphlets and twenty copies of the Arbeteren were sold.

### FORGING AHEAD IN SPOKANE

#### Start a Local Organization of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Spokane, Wash., March 11.—A large meeting of Servians and Slavonians was held in this city on March 9, and a local branch of the Industrial Workers of the World was organized. The Local starts with thirty-five charter members and promises to have a good growth. The men intend to procure literature which voices the cause of the workingman. They realize that the dozen or more papers in their own language do not represent the toiler's side on questions concerning him and will probably make a move to start a paper of their own.

There is a large field for such a pa-

representing Indianapolis stood behind Comrade Berg. He further pointed out that a democratic organization cannot stand for such procedure and he again urged the delegates to vote for the resolution demanding a referendum vote.

Several delegates from other parts of the State took the same position, including their Sec. Treas. Reynolds, who spoke in favor of the resolution. He stated that he was not satisfied with the action of their National Committee and judging from the members of the Socialist Labor Party, whom he had come in contact with, he certainly believed them to be honest, intelligent men with whom he would have no objection to unite.

Several spoke in opposition, but Strickland spoke in opposition several times, even when he was not entitled to the floor, and it was then that the chair had difficulty in suppressing him. Strickland said that he had no objection if the Socialist Labor Party was willing to join the Socialist Party in this State, which he knows is out of the question. He then said he would like to know what the S. L. P. had to offer the S. P. here.

Another delegate took the floor and informed the chair that a member of the S. L. P. was present and asked that he be given the floor to tell the delegates what they had to offer.

Before touching upon the question put to me, I answered some of the other objectors who had previously spoken. I pointed out the reason for the split and also the reason why the S. L. P. did not attend the Unity Conference held in 1900. I showed why the National Committee of their party had voted down the conference and was just launching upon the question of the party press when the Rev. Strickland objected, saying I was taking up too much time and not confining myself to the question they put to me. Although the call "hear him" came from different parts of the hall, I did not continue where I broke off. Not wishing to do anything that might spoil any good impression I may have made and realizing that I should be thankful to have had the floor at all, I confined myself entirely to the question asked.

I told them the truth, I did not varnish matters at all. I told them how few there are of us in this State, but I did not fail to point out that it was not a question of numbers that was involved but a question of principle.

I also pointed out that it was not a question of uniting the two parties in Indiana, but nationally, and that it is the duty of every local, county and state organization to assist in bringing about a Unity between the two parties.

In conclusion I asked the delegates to lay aside all personal feelings and to carefully weigh the matter before voting.

Another delegate now offered a substitute to the motion to the effect that the convention go on record as endorsing the action of their National Committee. The substitute being seconded, the discussion began again. The Indianapolis delegation still insisted on the referendum. The Rev. Strickland now followed a new line which won the day for him. He played the rest of the State against the Indianapolis local. He faced this delegation, which was sitting on the left side of the hall, and began to upbraid them, stating that it was clear that the S. L. P. had done its work among them, and that if they did not like to get their instructions from Chicago they could take them from New York. He was greeted with hoots and laughter, told to "sit down," and some one called out, "You are the whole thing."

The poor chairman had his hands full, Strickland, seeing what he was up against on the left, turned to the right and said, "I'll talk to you comrades awhile." An Indianapolis comrade, who had strayed over to the right, took up his chair and walked over to the left amid laughter.

The substitute was finally put to a vote and was carried. The opposition demanded to go on record individually as opposed to the substitute, and they all went to the secretary and signed their names. So the matter was ended that day, but not for long, I am sure.

The S. L. P. is censured for saying that the leaders, or at least most of them, of the S. P. are not Socialists, and this was cast up to us in the convention. The action of Strickland last Sunday has proven the truth of our statement more eloquently than words could ever do it. Before this question came up the convention adopted a resolution which demanded the initiative and referendum for the people, yet when the same principle was to be applied in their own

(Continued on page 5.)

## BREEDING "SCABS"

### THAT IS RESULT OF TACTICS FOLLOWED BY BROTHERHOOD CARPENTERS.

**Drive Men to "Unfair" Jobs Where Later on They Are Glad to Join Them—How One I. W. W. Man Keeps the Pure and Simpleton Guessing and Busy Also.**

Over here in Jersey City there is one I. W. W. man who has given the labor fakirs of the city, yes of the county, more to think over and worry about, than all the rest of the I. W. W. men put together. This is not said to the discredit of the other I. W. W. men. Not at all. It only emphasizes what one man has done.

D. H. Schoneleber, a member of Local No. 67, I. W. W., is a carpenter by trade, and a good all around mechanic at that. He has had experience with pure and simple craft unionism and declares that it is no shield to labor. The I. W. W. he considers to be the only economic organization of labor worthy of a workingman's attention and membership. Now he makes no bones of this fact: he is I. W. W. first, last and all the time.

Recently "Dick" went to work for Hankens & Sons, and for a few days was not molested and then the shop steward asked to see his card. Dick yanked out his I. W. W. card. "What's this?" asked the steward. "My union card," said Dick. "Ain't it all right? I guess you'll find it paid up to date." "Well," said the steward, "this organization ain't affiliated with the Building Trades Council and we don't recognize that as a union card."

"All right," retorted Dick. "It's up to you." The steward turned to some of the other men and said: "Boys, it's up to you." They all liked Dick, and they said nothing, only shrugged their shoulders. "Well," said the steward, "I'll see the boss about it." Dick continued at work.

Nothing more was said until one day the boss called Schoneleber aside and said, "Say, Dick, I thought that you were a union man?" "And so I am," said Schoneleber, "but although I have showed my card to the lads the steward and other officers say they won't recognize me nor my union." The boss said that his was a strictly "union" job, and that so far as he was concerned he thought Dick a good enough union man, but as he wanted no trouble on the job he would advise Dick to make his peace with the delegate. Dick took his tools and said, "Boys I am a better union man than any of you, because my union is a workingclass union. I was willing to work with you and uphold the scale, but as you won't work with me, I will go elsewhere and if it is an unfair job don't forget that it was you who forced me to go there." Well Dick is working all right.

The Building Trades Council dominates in all building trade affairs. They had been chasing Schoneleber from job after job, so one day he asked why not he pay a per capita to the B. T. H. and have his union recognized. This was a ploy for the B. T. H. They got around it by claiming that, as Dick had at one time been a member of the Brotherhood he would have to pay a fine of \$20.00 before they could recognize him at all.

The carpenters are getting it in the neck in Hudson county. It is an open secret that when a Jew or Pollack sought admission to the union he usually ran up against a black ball. Then mind you, the man black-balled is a "scab." Well, if he is, who has made him that? The consequence is that there will soon be more "open shop" workers in the county than "union" ones. Union carpenters are glad to take a job in an open shop and it is hinted that many a one of them works below the scale.

The Building Trades Council is a Socialist Party classic illustration of industrial unionism in pure and simple form. Fact is the B. T. H. is nothing more nor less than a clearing house for the mutual scratching of backs by the craft delegates.

Jerseyman.

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# UNITY

Address Delivered By DANIEL DE LEON, at New  
Pythagoras Hall, New York, February 21, 1908 : :

Stenographically Reported by Sidney Greenberg.

Workingmen and Workingwomen of New York:—

Almost immediately upon the issuing of the Unity Resolution by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, a number of acquaintances, and many who were no acquaintances, approached me with the request for a public expression of opinion in *The People*, from me, on the more. I declined. My reasons were that, in my editorial capacity, I had no right to comment upon an act of the National Executive Committee; and that in my individual capacity I had no right to space in *The People* until the matter should come before the Party membership on referendum. I yielded, however, so far to the request of my friend Epstein, our chairman here to-night, as to express, from this independent platform, the views that I have on this subject. All this precaution notwithstanding, and seeing that, somehow or other, the adversaries of the Socialist Labor Party have incarnated in me my Party's virtues, I shall take the additional precaution of stating right here, at the start, and expressly, that I do not here represent the Socialist Labor Party; that I am not speaking in its name; that I do not stand here in my official capacity in the Party and not even as a Party member. I speak here simply as one of the many people active in the Socialist Movement, and merely exercising the right of thought and speech. In pursuit of this line of procedure I shall consider the subject of Unity the way a traveler from Mars would do—objectively, unbiased by the rancors that participation in conflicts frequently engenders, but equipped with certain general information as to basic Socialist principles.

The first thing that that traveler, coming from Mars, landing upon earth, here in the United States, would notice on the field of Labor was the existence of two distinct political parties, both calling themselves Socialist, both having the word "Socialist" in their names, and both heralding the "Socialist Republic", but each setting up opposing candidates, each actively taking the field with opposing propagandists, and each claiming that it, and not the other, is entitled to the voters' support. The traveler from Mars must be supposed to be equipped with some general knowledge of men and things, and also of history. Such knowledge will warn him against considering such a sight, as the one I just described, as necessarily absurd. He will know that such a thing as two, or even more, bodies, having the same goal and yet bitterly combatting each other as to methods, is nothing strange in history. Being versed in history and in the philosophy of history, the traveler from Mars will be aware that different sets of people will frequently believe their goal to be identical, and will give it the same name, and yet, unconscious to most, but conscious to some, the goals are, in fact, not quite identical, the difference in goals being fatefully manifested by the differences in methods. For instance, the traveler from Mars will realize that the concept of a "Socialist Republic", whose central, or Directing Authority, that is, its Government, is to consist of the Representatives of the several industries and branches of occupations, must needs be a goal somewhat different from the goal presented by that concept of a "Socialist Republic", the Government of which is to consist of a majority, or even a totality, of Socialist, instead of Democratic and Republican Congressmen, members of Legislatures, or Aldermen. The traveler from Mars, aware that only the former goal is Marxist, will, accordingly, experience no surprise at seeing in America two opposing parties, flying the colors of Socialism. On the contrary, he would see in the opposing tactics the reflex of the different goals; and he would consider, not absurd, but perfectly legitimate, and true to history, the existence of the two warring political bodies. But surprise is in store for our traveler the moment he takes in a more comprehensive view of the two parties and of the Socialist field.

The traveler from Mars will not confine his observations to America. He will extend them over the International field. The moment he does, there will be a surprise for him, that will compel closer scrutiny, and will result in revelations and conclusions that will cause him to change his opinion, and then wonder at the sharp division existing in America.

The first thing to strike our traveler's eyes will be the International Socialist Congress. As I am speaking here on the East Side, the term Sanhedrim may be appreciated. He will see the International Sanhedrim of Socialism. Landing, as our traveler is supposed to do, quite recently, his eyes will alight upon the Stuttgart Socialist Sanhedrim, and upon that his attention will be next focused. The startling sight will immediately strike him of the two warring parties in America being both seated in the Congress, and even represented on the International Bureau. "What does this mean?" he would ask himself, astonished. His astonishment would compel further inquiries. Inquiry would reveal a number of facts. Three of these facts would be leading ones.

The first leading fact that he would discover is that the Russian Socialist Revolutionary organization, the methods of which are essentially terroristic, has long enjoyed a seat in the Congress. One of the statutes of the Congress requires of its constituents the recognition of "political action", as expressly distinguished from the Anarchist claim that "physical force" is also of the nature of "political action". The "physical force" as "political action" Anarchists are barred from the Congress; the Russian Socialist Revolutionists are admitted.

The next leading fact to be discovered by our traveler would be that the British Independent Labor Party, which demanded of the Congress that it amend its statutes so as not to require of bona fide Trades Unions the recognition of

the class-struggle, was seated at the Congress. The recognition of the class struggle, besides being an express statutory provision of the International Congresses, is a basic principle with Socialism. Christian Socialists, who deny the class-struggle, are barred from the Congress. Although obviously denying the class-struggle, the Independent Labor Party was seated in the Congress by a ruling of the chairman of the Bureau, Vandervelde, to the effect that economic organizations of Labor recognize the class-struggle *de facto*.

The third leading fact that our traveler would stumble against is, if anything, more startling than either of the two others—the granting of a seat on the International Bureau to the Zionist-Socialists. Socialism is essentially international. Nativism or nativistic aims are repugnant to Socialist thought. Socialism, being essentially practical, does recognize the material fact of existing races and nationalities. Indeed, the constituents of its Congresses are grouped accordingly. But, at least not before the Stuttgart Congress, was ever a body of men, whose first aim is the restoration of a nationality like the Zionist-Socialists, or Socialist-Zionists, recognized as entitled to a place in the International Congresses of Socialism. In the very nature of Socialist-Zionism, the Socialism in its program can not be a thing to be striven after now; in the very nature of its program, the only thing upon which Zionist-Socialism can and must bend its present energies is the restoration of a nationality. That that can not be done without the "co-operation of classes" in that particular race goes without saying. Nevertheless, the Zionist-Socialists are to-day an integral body in the International Sanhedrim of Socialism.

Our traveler from Mars would wonder at all this, and at many other and similar facts that would jar upon his preconceived ideas of Socialism. His wonder will be all the greater when he looks around, and sees walls and balconies plastered with Marxian mottoes that sound at variance with the facts of his discoveries. And still greater will be his wonderment when he notices that the only picture exhibited at the Congress is the picture, and almost the only name he hears conjured by is the name of Marx. But our traveler from Mars is a man of sense, and disciplined thought. He does not adjust facts to a theory; he adjusts his theory to the facts. Seeing the facts do not square with his theory, he lays his theory by, marshals the facts, and re-casts his theory in accordance with them. In this task of re-formulating his theory our traveler is materially aided by two circumstances:

The first is the aspect presented by the continental parliaments, especially that of France—the one European country which our traveler from Mars knows proceeds with strictest logic, in the form as well as in the matter. He will notice that—differently from Germany, for instance, in whose parliament the various political groups, representing different grades of social development, are thrown in promiscuously—in the French parliament these groups are historically and scientifically assorted, presenting a picture that is an epitome of the country's history. He will notice, for instance that, at the Extreme Right, are the deputies who hold the views of the Ancient Régime—the "good, old days" when the King was master, the people slaves—deputies whose program is that of an Ultramontane monarchy, and who, no doubt, would reintroduce Inquisitions and "Dragonades" for the salvation of the people's souls. To the right of this little group, and moving toward the Left of the Chamber, the traveler from Mars would see the group of constitutional monarchists of various degrees and shades. To the right of these, and still further to the Left of the Chamber, he would see the republican bourgeois, and they, he will notice, extend over and hold the center. Again to the right of these, and still further toward the Left, he would perceive the more radical bourgeois republicans, shading off further to the Left into the Socialistic radical republicans. Finally, at the extreme Left of the Chamber he would perceive the "Mountain"—the Socialist deputation. Traveling his eyes from the Extreme Right to the Extreme Left he would see the condensed history of France pictorially reproduced,—at the Extreme Right the Ultramontane monarchy, that once swayed the whole parliament, crowded into a corner by the constitutional monarchy, which, one-time ruling supreme, has, in turn, been shoved to the impotent Right by the bourgeois republicans who now rule the roost and once extended from the right of the constitutional monarchy to the extreme Left, but who now have been crowded out of the Left by the new apparition of Socialism. Our Martian traveler will readily grasp the moral of the picture. It teaches him that the Left—the "Mountain"—heralds the future; that the center represents the present; and that the extreme Right is a memento of the past. The "Mountain" tells what will be; the Center what is; the Right what was.

The second circumstance that will aid our traveler in re-formulating his theory is a term with which his ears would become familiar through the debates at the International Congress, the committees, and on the International Bureau. That term is—"The Socialist family"; or "The members of the Socialist family", meaning thereby the groups of different views admitted to the Congress.

Putting together all the facts that he discovered, and digesting them by the light of the picture presented by the French parliament, together with the light shed by the term "the Socialist family", our traveler from Mars would conclude as follows—

"The International Socialist Congress is cast in the mold of considering as members of the 'Socialist family' all organizations—from the most rudimentary, like Zionist-Socialism, up to the most clearly and soundly revolutionary, like the Socialist Labor Party—provided they all aim, remotely or

approximately, mediately or immediately, at the overthrow of the capitalist system of production. By the recognition of all such bodies as legitimate members of the 'Socialist family', the International Congress establishes a basic principle of its own as the foundation for the unity of the 'Socialist family'. Basic principles, as a rule, are premises; in this instance the basic principle is not premises but goal. The International Congress considers the abstract goal to be the family bond for the 'Socialist family'. Upon that principle the Congress rears its organic structure. Furthermore, seeing that correct methods for the reaching of a goal are themselves a matter of development, the International Congress considers the 'Socialist family' as a nation, itself as the parliament of that nation, and the various constituent bodies of that parliament as reflecting the development of the several members of the 'Socialist family', in the same manner that the French parliament reflects the development of the French nation."

On the principle that truth is that which fits all the facts, it must be conceded that the conclusion of the traveler from Mars must be correct. The theory he sets up with regard to the "Socialist family" explains the broadness of the International Congress; it explains the tolerance in its midst of bodies in various stages of development. On the same principle that the parliament of the French nation tolerates as members of the "French family" a large variety of groups—from the "Mountain" down to the "Swamp",—the International Congress throws her maternal arms around all those whom, aiming at the goal of the Socialist Republic, she looks upon as members of the Socialist family—from the most rudimentary up to the most completely developed. On the same principle that the French parliament, schooled by experience, knows that elements once dominant were successively crowded to the Right by elements once considered "impossibilist", and which occupied the extreme Left, the International Congress takes in "Mountain" and "Vale", leaving to time to demonstrate whether the "impossibilist" "Mountain" of to-day, or the "possibilist" "Vale" is to be the force of tomorrow.

These being the conclusions, this the theory that our traveler from Mars would set up from the facts in the case, the result would be that he would cease to wonder at what he saw on the international field, but would immediately begin to wonder at what he sees in America. At first, before he took in the international lay of the land, and, guided by certain general historical experiences, he wondered not at the open hostility of the two parties in America, even thought such hostility to be true to history. Subsequently, however, having taken in the spectacle of the International Congress; having seen there the two warring American parties seated, without opposition by either; having taken cognizance of the attitude of the International Congress towards the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party, towards the class-struggle-questioning British Independent Labor party, towards the Zionist-Socialists, and on a number of other matters; having digested and interpreted all these facts together by the light of the principle regarding the "Socialist family", set up and followed by the International Congress; having done this, it was inevitable that our traveler from Mars should change his mind with regard to America, and be puzzled at what he saw here. The two parties of America being participants of the International Congress, he is bound to hold that they both adopt the theory of the International Congress regarding the "Socialist family". The theory of the International Congress regarding the "Socialist family" establishes the broad basis for concerted action. The application of the theory by the International Congress—proportional representation and freedom of agitational methods—points the way for the same application in America. Our traveler from Mars would wonder that the two American members of the "Socialist family", conduct themselves as such at the International Congress, but proceed here in America from a principle that denies such familyship.

But our traveler from Mars would not wend his way back home upon reaching this conclusion. He would prolong his stay on earth, and wait and watch developments. Presently he would have learned of the Unity Resolutions adopted by the Socialist Labor Party, and forwarded to the Socialist Party. I do not believe our explorer from Mars would have wasted any time in deploring that the overtures were not made by the Socialist Party, or in trying to smell "secret motives" in the move of the Socialist Labor Party. From his premises the move was due. It was over-due. It had to come from either quarter. It was so natural that he would have only applause for it—that applause which a thinking mind always has for a logical sequence. The move came. That is all that would interest our traveler and investigator. Soon as the move came a new train of thoughts would be forthwith begin to grind the fresh grist thrown into it. He would reason somewhat along these lines:—

The broad principles or basis for Unity is established by the International Sanhedrim; only details remain to be considered. These details affect only a *modus vivendi*. True, these details turn upon many a point that each considers vital; but, when true "members of a family" differ upon methods, it should not be hard for them to hit upon a means of agreement. No compromise even may be needed. If, indeed, they are "members of the Socialist family" the inevitable conclusion must be that each may realize some sense in the other, however temporary the sense,—the sense that the "Vale" must, by experience, be ready to concede to the "Mountain", and, inversely, the "Mountain" to the "Vale". The Socialist Labor Party is unquestionably the "Mountain". Ninety-nine per cent., if not the full hundred per cent. of its planks, methods and principles are certain to be in force when the Movement turns the lap to the "home-stretch". But, essential to the ultimate success of a Revolutionary Movement as may be and is the upholding, constant and clear to view, of all the means necessary on the day of the "home-stretch",

just so necessary may, before that day, and simultaneously, be the looser methods of the "Vale". Things that, superficially, looked upon, are considered as abstract essentials by the two warring parties, may, if, indeed, the two are "members of the Socialist family", be found to be, not so much a matter of abstract principle, as a matter of the practical distribution of functions—"Vale" and "Mountain" each fulfilling its special function, while the consciousness of working to a common end may act as an allayer of the inevitable irritation that to the impatience, typical with "Mountains" to raise the "Vale" to "Mountain" height, and the sluggishness, typical with "Vales", to prolong their flatness, may generate all the while.

Reasoning along these lines, our traveler from Mars, being a gentleman of an inquisitive and exploring turn of mind, would proceed to look into the several differences that each of the two parties considers as vital.

## PRESS OWNERSHIP.

Though not, perhaps, because he thinks that the issue of party press ownership is supreme, but, probably, because that issue affects material interests—always a delicate and anger-provoking subject—our explorer from Mars would, in all likelihood, explore that issue first.

The Socialist Labor Party position, he would discover, is that the press is the most potent weapon of a Movement. Word-of-mouth agitation is powerful and necessary; but it can be set up and stopped at a moment's notice. Not so with the press. It is the product of growth, of financial sacrifices, of long and strenuous endeavor. To forge such a weapon without the certainty of preserving control over it, is to forge a weapon that may at any time turn against the Movement; and then the whole work would have to be gone over again, and under greatly increased difficulties. The Movement must own its press, or the press will own it. Hence the Socialist Labor Party holds to the strict party-ownership of its press. Our explorer from Mars would not be likely to find any fault with this reasoning. On the contrary, he can not choose but accept it. But before deciding, he would turn to the Socialist Party and opposite position.

The Socialist Party rejects the principle of party-ownership of the press. Our traveler from Mars would at first find himself tangled up in what seems an inextricable tangle—such is the discord of the reasoning he would run across. He would run across the recognition of the importance of the press, and yet plump-and-plain opposition to party-ownership on the allegation that party ownership spells "tyranny"; and he would run across declarations of devotion to party-ownership, and yet opposition to the Socialist Labor Party position. Our traveler would have too keen an ear to fail to detect in much of the opposition to party-ownership the ring of material interests that feel themselves rebuked by the Socialist Labor Party position, and, consequently, feel themselves endangered. But our traveler is too wise a man to imagine that the material interests of a few individuals and corporations could dominate the broad membership of a wholly voluntary organization like that of the political party, except in spots. Our traveler would, accordingly, discard the reasoning advanced from the quarters of material interests, and seek to fathom the seeming mystery of the Socialist Party opposition to the Socialist Labor Party principle on this matter. Patient and conscientious investigation will reward his efforts. He will discover the mystery, and, in discovering it he will alight upon the grain of sense that lies imbedded in it.

The United States, a country nearly as large, in point of area, as the whole of Europe, does not yet present a homogeneous economic aspect. Capitalism has spread in all directions, but so young is the country that primitive opportunities still occasionally crop up even in regions where capitalism is strongest, and, so vast is the country's territory, that primitive conditions still assert themselves over extensive regions. Being versed in Socialist science, our traveler knows that such diversity of conditions, implying different stages of economic development, is bound to be reflected in a variety of mental stages of development. Such varying mental stages require different treatment. Being versed upon the process of sociologic formations, as well as upon economic phenomena, our traveler knows that a strong organization is dependent, not merely upon identity of class interests, but upon the degree of development that these interests have attained. A proletarian element, that still has strong navel-string connections with bourgeois interests, can not be as solidly welded as an organization of proletarians with whom such navel-string ligaments have been sundered; and, obedient to the biologic law of "natural selection", the non-proletarian element, attracted by the two sets of proletarian developments, will share the features of the respectively attracting bodies. The less class-developed a revolutionary element is, the less homogeneous it will be; the less homogeneous it is, the more torpid will be its sense of sacrifice; the more torpid its sense of sacrifice, the less focalized will be its efforts. Inversely, the more class-developed a revolutionary element is, the more homogeneous will it be; the more homogeneous it is, the more active will be its sense of sacrifice; the more active its sense of sacrifice, all the more focalized will be its efforts. These facts and reasoning would illumine the whole field to our traveler. They would explain to him why the Socialist Party strikes a posture of opposition to the Socialist Labor Party in the matter of the press.

The Socialist Labor Party being the "Mountain", has gathered in its camp a class-developed revolutionary element. That renders its membership homogeneous; their homogeneity quickens their sense of sacrifice; their sense of sacrifice focalizes their effort—with the consequence that they have been able to set up and uphold a press owned by themselves—not only a Weekly, but a Daily English Socialist paper—a magnificent monument of what organized well-developed class-consciousness can achieve. Our traveler would realize, on the other hand, that the less class-developed composition of the Socialist Party, lacking the homogeneity that quickens the sense of sacrifice and focalizes efforts, could not possibly set up a press owned by itself. Incapable of that achievement,

the Socialist Party was put to the alternative of either remaining tongue-tied, or accepting a press owned privately by individuals and corporations in their midst. Man adjusts his principles to his material possibilities. Seeing that the material possibilities of its composition disable it from producing its own party-owned press, the Socialist Party sings the praises of a privately-owned press. Furthermore, our traveler would realize that the very reason why the Socialist Party could not produce a party-owned press—the less-developed class-consciousness of its composition—is the reason why it believes that party-ownership spells “tyranny”. The tactical and theoretic agitation of a “Mountain” can not choose but appear tyrannical to the “Vale”, and the excusable confusion of thought is incurred of imputing the “tyranny” to the system of ownership.

Clarified on the matter, our traveler would conclude that, at least upon this head, his theory was correct as to the press question's offering no insuperable barrier for the establishment of a *modus vivendi*—always, of course proceeding from the International Congress principle regarding the “Socialist familyship”. The united party, recognizing the respective field of the “Mountain” and the “Vale”, consequently, also their respective capabilities, can leave each to regulate its own system of ownership. Mutual criticism would continue—sharp, if you please, but, being thenceforth conducted by bodies who practice the International Congress theory regarding the “Socialist family”, the harshness of the manner might be chastened to the profit of the matter. And as time passes and class-consciousness increases, such increasing clearness would lead in its train the qualities that will cast off the private-ownership and set up the party-ownership principle. At present when such development takes place, friction is the consequence, or rupture. In the united party the transition would be accompanied by no such disagreeable consequences. Accordingly, upon the head of the press, our traveler would conclude that unity can be effected without sacrifice of principle by either side.

#### AUTONOMY.

The next subject of division that our traveler would place upon the dissecting table is that of “autonomy”. The investigations made by him on the press-ownership would greatly facilitate his understanding of the reason back of the Socialist Labor Party and the reason back of the Socialist Party position, and arriving at a conclusion.

Our traveler from Mars has some knowledge of mechanics and a good deal of knowledge of the history of the American people. Mechanics teach him that there is in Nature a force called “centripetal”; that force drives matter toward the center; and that there is in Nature another force, called “centrifugal”; that force drives matter apart. He knows that these two forces are not opposed, but are supplementary to each other. It is due to the joint action of the “centrifugal” and the “centripetal” forces that our planetary system is kept in shape. Our traveler's knowledge of American history tells him that America has solved, in the matter of terrestrial government, the problem of yoking together the “centripetal” and the “centrifugal” forces, and making them promote the country's existence. Our system of Federal and State governments, respectively represent “centralization” and “autonomy”. The local self-government enjoyed by the several States is “autonomy”; the Federal government is “centralization”. Each system has its own sphere of action. The two combined keep the top spinning. Equipped with this knowledge our investigator from Mars will tackle the problem of Socialist Labor Party “centralization” and Socialist Party “autonomy” with a hopeful heart. As I just said, his investigations concerning the issue of press-ownership will lighten his work greatly. For the identical reason that an organization of “Mountain” elements will necessarily move in focalized shape, and, accordingly, exhibit the aspect of “centralization”, an organization of “Vale” elements is bound to move divergently, and exhibit the aspect of “autonomy”. It is not that the former starts with “centralization” as a matter of principle, and the latter with “autonomy”, also as a matter of principle. The traveler from Mars would realize that the fact is just the reverse. The one acts “centrally”, the other “autonomously”, as a result of their different compositions. He would also realize that, for the same reason that private-ownership of the press is a necessary transitional period with a “Vale” element, and party-ownership the necessary condition for the successful, or safe, “home-stretch”, “autonomy” has its transitory, and “centralization” its permanent function. Our traveler would furthermore and finally realize that, at the present stage of American mental conditions, only harm could come to the Movement from the prolongation of the dislocated operation of the “centripetal” and the “centrifugal” forces, which, at the present stage, should operate together. It would be no rare occurrence for our traveler from Mars, as he travels over the country, to meet thoughtful Socialist Party men, who dread nothing so much as the verification of the jubilant prophecy, so often heard from flighty Socialist Party quarters, that “the Socialist Labor Party is about to die”. It would be no rare occurrence for our traveler to hear thoughtful Socialist Party men and women declare: “The Socialist Party needs the Socialist Labor Party to keep our party straight!”

Our traveler from Mars would conclude, always proceeding from the International Congress theory regarding the “Socialist family”, that the two American members of that family, if they are really of one family, should find no diffi-

culty, on this subject also, to find a *modus vivendi*, to the advantage of both, seeing that an agreement would result advantageous to the Movement.

#### TRADES UNIONS.

Even the theory of the International Congress, regarding the “Socialist family”, might have failed to prove a workable foundation for our traveler from Mars to discover common ground, sufficiently solid, for the two American parties to arrive at a common agreement on the Question of Unionism. On this subject the “Mountain” and the “Vale” stood upon irreconcilable ground, and the International Congress had not yet reached sufficient maturity to bridge the chasm.

The Socialist Labor Party holds, and will ever hold, that, convenient, useful and even necessary though political action is to Socialism, the ballot alone is impotent to accomplish the Social Revolution.—The Socialist Party holds that the ballot is all-sufficient.

The Socialist Labor Party, holds, and will ever hold, that the only physical force, without which no ballot ever was or ever will be effective, available to the proletariat, and ample for its purpose, is its class-conscious and industrially organized economic Union.—The Socialist Party holds that the political organization is the all-sufficient revolutionary organization.

The Socialist Party looks upon the Union as a transitory affair; as an organization that capitalist development tends to wipe out; as a sort of Kindergarten in which to train Socialist voters; as a drilling ground for the class-consciousness of the working-class.—The Socialist Labor Party looks upon the Union as a permanent institution; the Socialist Labor Party looks upon the Union as an organization that capitalist development does not tend to wipe out, but that, on the contrary, capitalist development, on the one hand, deliberately seeks to perpetuate in its obsolete craft Union shape as the strongest bulwark for the continuance of capitalism, while, on the other hand, capitalist development unintentionally and unwillingly forces the workmen forward to reform their economic organizations upon a fit system, by itself marshaling the workers into the industrial battalions that ever more industrially organized capitalism itself furnishes the mold for. Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party does not look upon the craft Union as a drilling ground for the class-consciousness of the workers, but, on the contrary as bodies in which the class-consciousness, learned in the shop, can be, and generally is stamped out.

All this our traveler from Mars would know. He would have seen the horns of the two parties locked. Not an inch of common ground perceptible. Thus, he would know stood things a year ago. But he would conclude that since then the declaration of the Stuttgart International Congress on Unionism had thrown a bridge across the chasm, which before then, seemed impassable.

The declaration of the Stuttgart International Congress on Unionism, our traveler from Mars would know, is seriously defective in more than one respect. He would know that that declaration places the political abreast of the economic arm of the Movement, and thereby places the two in false perspective, seeing that the economic arm is the more important, first, because it is indispensable to the revolutionary act, and next, because it is the frame of the Government of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But our traveler would be fully aware of the fact that the Stuttgart declaration is the longest step the International Congress had yet taken in that direction. He would be aware of Vandervelde's introductory remarks to the volume of the reports to the Stuttgart Congress in which, taking a bird's-eye view of the situation, he observes that the fact is salient from the bulk of the reports that the question of the economic organization has assumed an importance not recognized even four years ago; that this fact is the phenomenon of greatest importance since the Amsterdam Congress; and that militant Socialism to-day sees in Unionism a fact of greater moment to the Revolution than the conquest of a few seats in the political parliaments. With these facts before him, our traveler from Mars would not be slow to perceive solid ground for a common understanding in America.

It is true, our traveler would be aware that the Socialist Labor Party voted against the Stuttgart Resolution on Unionism, but he would not be confused by that circumstance. Our traveler is versed in parliamentary practice. He is aware of the inferiority of the parliamentary system followed at the International Congress—its inferiority to the American; and he knows the false position such inferior parliamentary practice often places the voter in. Let me illustrate. Suppose that, in view of the disgracefully dirty condition of the streets that we have all had to wade through in order to reach this hall, some one were to move that a committee of twenty of us be appointed to call upon the Mayor to-morrow morning and remonstrate with him. I would immediately move to amend that the committee consist of only three men, upon the ground that I have seen large committees appointed who were wound up by the Mayor around his finger, and then, the committee being so large, each member threw upon the other the blame for their having been humbugged by the Mayor, and in that way all escaped responsibility for their poltroonery; whereas, if the committee is small, then such shifting of responsibilities is not so easy, and the committee is more likely to keep a stiff upperlip before “His Honor”. What is our, the American parliamentary method? It is to put the amendment first; if my amendment is lost I would then support the original motion as the next best thing. To put the original motion first is bad practice. If that is done, then I would be compelled to vote against the motion, and preserve my vote for when the amendment was submitted. Whereas in that other case, all those who favor my amendment would vote for it; and, if it is lost, we would all be unanimous for the original motion. Our traveler from Mars would know that the practice is upside down at the International Congress. He would, accordingly, know that the Stuttgart Resolution was the original motion, the joint S. L. P. and I. W. W. Res-

olution an amendment to the original motion, and that, according to the practice of the International Congress, the original motion, being put first, the S. L. P. was compelled to vote against it, and, seeing that it was overwhelmingly carried, the S. L. P. had no further opportunity to express itself; whereas, had the amendment been put first, and defeated, the S. L. P. would have supported the original Resolution as the next best thing. Our traveler, knowing all this, would discount the fact of the S. L. P. having voted against the Stuttgart Resolution on Unionism. He would see in that resolution and the circumstances of its adoption a long step forward in the right direction—the recognition of the necessity of the Union for the revolutionary act—a recognition which, though not yet accompanied with all the recognitions that flow therefrom, nevertheless, removed in fact the chasm between the two parties in America, and presented a common ground upon which to negotiate an agreement for the future conduct of both. Accordingly our traveler from Mars would have seen no impassable barrier under this head—always, of course, presupposing that both are loyal to the International Congress theory regarding the “Socialist family”.

Our traveler from Mars would, in this way, consider one by one the other and minor details, and his final conclusion would then be—

That the action of the Socialist Labor Party in adopting the January Unity Resolutions and presenting them to the Socialist Party was a proper, was a wise, was a noble act; it was an act of loyalty to the International Congress, of loyalty to the international proletariat in general, of loyalty to the American proletariat in particular. It is now up to the Socialist Party whether it, in turn, will act as properly, as wisely and as nobly; whether it, in turn, will act as loyally to the International Congress, to the international proletariat in general, and to the American proletariat in particular. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

#### RESOLUTION ON UNITY QUESTION.

Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party at its Session of January 6, 1908, and Rejected, without Consulting Their Membership, by the Business and Professional Interests Who Dominate the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

WHEREAS, The International Socialist Congress, held in Amsterdam in 1904, adopted under the title of “Unity of the Party” the following resolution:

“The Congress declares:

“In order to give to the Working Class all its force in its struggle against Capitalism, it is indispensable that in each country there should be but one Socialist party against the Capitalist parties, just as there is but one proletariat.”

“Therefore, all comrades and all factions and organizations which claim to be Socialists have the imperative duty to do all in their power to bring about Socialist Unity on the basis of the principles established by the International Congresses and in the interest of the International proletariat, to whom they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of their divisions.”

“To help reach this aim, the International Bureau and all parties of Nationalities where Unity exists place themselves at their disposal and offer their good services.”

WHEREAS, After this call was issued the various warring factions in the Socialist Movement of France—the Socialist Party of France, the French Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party and four Independent Socialist Federations of different parts of France—after some preliminary work of a Unity Conference, met in a joint Unity Convention in Paris and established the present Socialist Party (French Section of the Workers' International); and, likewise, the warring factions in the Social Democratic Movement in Russia—the “majority” and “minority” factions of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and the General Jewish Labor Union of Russia, Poland and Lithuania (The Bund) met in a joint Convention in 1906 at Stockholm, and organized the united Russian Social Democratic Labor Party; and,

WHEREAS, The experience of the Socialists of the above two countries, as well as that of other countries, where a united and developed party of Socialism exists, demonstrates—first, the possibility for all Socialists, recognizing the principles and decisions of the International Socialist Congress, to present with immensely increased effect a united solid front against the common enemy, the Capitalist, and to address a united, harmonious appeal to the Working Class which is so much more responsive when confusion, distrust and demoralization, created by internal strife and division in the Socialist camp are eliminated; and, second—it demonstrates the possibility of such co-operation based upon the recognition of the right of minority divisions of a United Party, to advocate their particular views through their own publications, and their own minority delegates to National Conventions and International Congresses; and,

WHEREAS, The necessity for a United Socialist Movement in America is ever more keenly felt, and the demands for it are ever more persistently and insistently voiced by the most active workers, the rank and file of both parties; and,

WHEREAS, The decisions of the recent International Socialist Congress, held at Stuttgart—both upon the matter of immigration, which recognizes the soundness of the Marxian motto for the Working Class, “Proletarians of all Countries Unite!” and, even upon the vital question of Unionism, which, while the Congress has not yet taken the advanced industrialist position, does take a position that clearly rejects the principles that the economic organization is a “transitory affair,” accordingly a position that holds that the economic organization is something more than simply a recruiting ground for votes and funds, but is essential to the revolutionary act of the proletariat—are, in so far as they affect the issues of the American Movement, of a character to present a more acceptable common working basis for the two parties; and in view also of the greater necessity for unhindered constructive Socialist work and greater opportunity for it furnished by the spreading of the present industrial crisis in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, in semi-annual session assembled, desiring to free the Socialist Labor Party in the eyes of the Working Class of America and of the International Proletariat, of its seeming share of responsibility for the divided, demoralized and retarded state of the Movement in this country, hereby take the initiative toward remedying such conditions, by electing a committee of seven members and inviting the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party to elect a committee of like number to a National Socialist Unity Conference, to meet not later than the third week of the month of March of this year, in order to consider whether Unity of the two parties of Socialism in America is possible, and on what special basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if such conference takes place and succeeds in agreeing on conditions for uniting the two parties, such decisions of the Conference be immediately submitted to a general vote of the membership of both parties for approval, and the date for the closing of such vote be such, that, in the event of the vote being in favor of the proposed basis of unity, steps be immediately taken that one joint National Convention, instead of two separate ones, be held to adopt—on behalf of the United Party and in conformity with the Unity basis accepted by the general vote—a platform, constitution and resolutions, and nominate candidates, etc., and finally,

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party of America, the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, and the leading Socialist and Labor publications in the United States and other countries.

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The Socialist Labor Party has undertaken a task of gigantic proportions in spreading the gospel of Socialism among the workers of the country. For many years we have carried on the publication of our papers and literature. Of the seed that has been sown much has fallen upon good ground, had it not the work could not have been carried on. The fearless and uncompromising position which the Party has taken has been justified in the past, is being justified now, and will be justified much more in the future. The successes that are yet to come depend upon what is done now. Depend upon you. The Movement asks for no favors from those opposed to the emancipation of the working class but it does ask for the support of the workers themselves.

At this time when, if ever, the propaganda of the Movement should and could be extended, we ask the co-operation of every reader in extending the circulation of the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. With the Weekly People in the hands of the working class that class cannot help but become more and more fit to take up intelligently the battle for its own emancipation.

If you are not a subscriber of The Daily People send fifty cents for a six weeks trial subscription. Get your friends to do likewise. If we fail to interest them and keep them on the list the fault will be ours. Give us the opportunity to show what we can do.  
WEEKLY PEOPLE.

## THE BURNING QUESTION OF TRADES UNIONISM

Price  
Five  
Cents

A Lecture Delivered at  
Newark, New Jersey, on  
April 21st, 1904, by

**DANIEL DE LEON**

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1908.

I live a rooster because of his crow and because he has spurs to back up his crow with.

-JOSH BILLINGS.

"OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL."

Among the great speeches that are being delivered in Congress, Senator Bailey's on the National Banking Laws occupies front rank as great-great, in the sense of wondrously silly.

The Senator declared that prices would adjust themselves to any volume of money, "because," said he, "the same amount of labor or commodities, other things being equal, would command precisely the same amount of money; and the same amount of money, other things being equal, would command precisely the same amount of labor or commodities."

"Other things being equal," is good. Seeing, however, that with the commodity labor, or labor-power, it is of the essence of capitalism that "other things are not equal," Senator Bailey's science is reared on a fallacy.

"Other things are equal," at least in the long run, with all commodities, except the commodity labor, or labor-power. If the production of gold is not plentiful, what that means is that the output of gold requires more labor-power than when the production of gold is abundant. In the long run commodities sell at their value; "other things remain equal"; exchange consists in giving value for value; a certain amount of gold, with more social labor crystallized in it, will exchange for a certain amount of cloth of equal labor-power, that is, will exchange for more yards of cloth than the same amount of gold would exchange for if the production of gold were more plentiful, and, consequently, less labor-power were required. But "other things are not equal" with the commodity labor-power. In the instance of that particular commodity, the perturbing cause, which causes prices to decline—an excess of supply not caused by a decline in the amount of labor-power crystallized in it—is not accidental, it is not sporadic, it is not subject to the tricks of speculation.

In the instance of that particular commodity, the "perturbing cause" is permanent; it is a feature and a necessity of capitalism. Indeed, Marx shows, that the historical starting point of capitalism consists in the settled permanence of that otherwise "perturbing cause". An over-supply, or excess of labor-power in the labor market is a capitalist necessity as a starter; and the starting necessity develops into a broadening feature of capitalism in the measure that capitalism takes fuller and fuller swing. Relatively, and, from period to period, absolutely, the excess of labor-power increases in the labor market. Like a man given to the stimulant of liquor, needs larger and larger quantities of the stimulant to keep him stimulated, capitalism, which needs an excess of labor-power to get on its feet, needs larger and ever larger quantities of the stimulant to keep it going.

The long and short of the story is that, under capitalism, there is one commodity, the commodity labor-power, the price of which does not, can not "adjust itself to any volume of money." If the volume of money is low, that is, if the value of gold is high, the permanently perturbing cause of an excess and increasing excess of labor-power will cause the price of labor (wages) to be depressed still more. If, on the contrary, the volume of money is high, that is, if the value of gold is low, that same permanently perturbing cause of an excess and increasing excess of labor-

power in the labor market will counteract the cause which, with all other commodities, would tend to raise the price; the price (wages) of labor-power will in fact decline. It is in this circumstance that the impossibility of the continuance of capitalism lies. Capitalism reduces human beings to the level of a commodity. "Other things remain equal" with all commodities, labor excepted. Seeing that the revolting fact of human beings being reduced to the level of things is one with which "other things," so far from "remaining equal," wax more and more unequal, even unto the breaking point—in view of that fact the Emancipation of Labor and the Downfall of Capitalism are mathematical conclusions. "Other things being equal," is but an intellectual opiate which Providence forces to the lips of the doomed Capitalist Class. Providence has a way of liking its doomed agents to be startled before falling. The opiate of "other things being equal" is working.

DOGERRY ON THE "EVENING POST."

The New York "Evening Post" is wrought at Mr. Gompers's demand for a law that shall prevent the Sherman Anti-Trust law from being perverted into a weapon of persecution against the Working Class. Such a move, the "Evening Post" declares, is "class legislation."

The Anti-Trust law, the "Evening Post" argues, was clearly meant against boycotts also, consequently the application to boycotts is not a perversion of the law. In support of its contention the "Evening Post" reasons as follows: In the decision in the Northern Securities case, the Supreme Court said that the Anti-Trust Act "declares to be illegal every contract, combination, or conspiracy in whatever form, of whatever nature, and whoever may be the parties to it, which directly or necessarily operates in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States." This declaration the "Evening Post" pronounces an absolute proof that the boycott operates "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States," because it injures the firm's business.

That the boycott is not meant for a sweet-scented bouquet to the firm against which the boycott is ordered goes without saying. But neither would a fire started on the firm's premises; nor a dynamite bomb blown up on its grounds; nor a midnight irruption undertaken with jimmies and dark lanterns; nor the surreptitious carting away of the firm's goods by any one member of the firm;—none of these acts would be meant for sweet-scented bouquets. Nevertheless, none of these performances falls under the Anti-Trust Act. They all fall within the Criminal Code—the first would be "arson," the second a felonious attempt to kill, the third "burglary," the fourth "embezzlement" or "theft," but acts "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States"—never! If the boycott is a crime, something in the nature of arson, murder, burglary or embezzlement, why do not the Courts deal with it as such? Perhaps the spectre of the employers' blacklist acts as a deterrent; perhaps the absurdity of such a notion is a still stronger deterrent.

Dogberry is in charge of the law department of the "Evening Post." To call Prince John a villain, Dogberry pronounced "flat perjury"; to receive money for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully, Dogberry pronounced "flat burglary." The "Evening Post's" Dogberry pronounces the refusal of workers to patronize a firm that refuses to patronize them an act "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States."

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

Washington society is much unsettled about the amours of the Duke of the Abruzzi and Miss Katherine Elkins, the multi-millionaire heiress of the mine and railroad magnate Stephen B. Elkins, Senator from West Virginia. The perplexity arises from the circumstance that the Duke is a member of the royal House of Italy; as such, he is a possible successor to the throne; finally, and by reason thereof, his marriage is subject to the approval of the head of the House, the King himself. Rumors have it that the King objects; Rumors have it that the King might not object, or does not object; Rumors explain that the King, as the guardian of the interests of Italy, is bent upon hitching the Duke to some scion of royalty whose alliance may help to prop up the Italian throne; Rumors also hint at the fact that millions may, could, would or should make amends for actual royalty. Raised upon this mass of conflicting Rumors is a still taller mass of Conjecture. Will the Duke marry anyhow, even if the head of his royal House should object? And, suppose the Duke be willing, would the heiress be also willing to purchase a hollow title? Thus perplexed by Rumor and Conjecture Washington society is in a turmoil.

WORK, NOT SOUP.

It is with a laugh on the wrong corner of their mouths that the British capitalist papers report the meeting of the Battersea unemployed. Their laugh is of the sort that hides a sigh in the wrinkle of a smile—and well may they sigh. The workers are waking up to "John Burns, M. P., and Cabinet Member." At that meeting of the unemployed a letter was drawn up and ordered sent to John Burns. A passage of the letter runs as follows:

"We also think that your past experiences of the work of charity should have made it quite unnecessary for you to make further experiments like those on the Embankment to prove the utter futility of charity. Further, whilst agreeing that epigrams, quotations, and well-rounded sentences are admirable in themselves and diverting to a well-fed audience, they do nothing to fill the empty stomachs of the workers."

These be impudent words, from an impudent canaille, too impudent to enjoy vicariously the good things that are vicariously conveyed to them by the capitalist class, by bestowing them upon Mr. Burns. These be impudent words, for other and still more disagreeable reasons. The disagreeableness of the first consideration proceeds simply from that sense of sorrow that Philanthropy ever experiences at the sight of ingratitude. But "sorrows with bread," observed the wise Sancho Panza, "are bearable." Philanthropy may sorrow at ingratitude; but Philanthropy's paunch being well stuffed with bread, that sorrow is bearable, quite so. Less bearable, much less so, in fact, almost unbearable is the taste left in Philanthropy's mouth by utterances, backed with postures, that somehow or other assume the character of prophetic "Writings on the wall."

When a canaille begins to reject "soup" and to insist on "work," it will not be long before the "work" it insists upon will be enlarged to all that it implies—and it implies worlds. It implies, first, the Right to Work; it implies, secondly, the public ownership of the means of work, without which the Right to Work is a vapor; finally, it implies a certain kind of work, without which public ownership would ever remain a goal unreachd—that certain kind of work implied is the work of bounding, through the united political and economic action of the canaille, the barnacles that now indulge in the philanthropic luxury of ladeling out soup.

Obedient to the maxim: "The first shall be the last, and the last shall be the first," this last named WORK, must and will be the one to start with. It is all implied and embraced in the slogan: "Work, Not Soup!"

TRY A WHALE.

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina is of the opinion that the reason for the panic is that there was not enough money in the South. Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island is quite positive the panic was brought about because there was not enough money in the New York banks. Representative Cassel of Pennsylvania

has no doubt the panic was due to the harrying of the railroads. Representative Brownlow of Tennessee thinks that any blind man could see the cause of the panic is the high tariff. Senator Hopkins of Illinois discovers the cause of the panic in the disregard of the "fundamental principle" of live and let live. Senator Guggenheim of Colorado wonders how it happens people do not see that the cause of the panic lies in "over-confidence."

Representative Meyer of Louisiana lays the panic at the door of "Republicanism." Representative Powers of Maine points the finger of scorn at the Democratic party for being "the harbinger of hard times, ever." Senator Bailey of Texas considers the cause of the panic to be obvious, to wit, the financial question, and the financial question to be the easiest problem of all to solve. Senator Hansborough of North Dakota is quite positive that the panic is a puzzle, and finances a mystery. Representative Livingston of Georgia has modest misgivings to the effect that the Negro question has its fingers in the panic pie.

Representative McMoran of Michigan goes into astronomical speculations. He does not quite say so, but the inference is that sun-spots are the villains in the play. To not one of these, or the rest of the Congressional wisecracks who could be quoted, does the thought occur that wealth is to-day producible in quantities enough to afford affluence to all with very few hours of toil; secondly, that such abundance is not produced; thirdly, that the reason is that where wealth is produced for sale, and not for use, the output is beaten down by those who own the means of production; fourthly, that, under such circumstances, a diseased condition of things is brought about which breaks out in a number of maladies, and that these maladies periodically run into one another and take the shape of "panics"; finally, that the centre of the trouble being capitalist production, panics are but the heavy rappings of Socialist production, battering at the gate of our present social structure.

A certain university professor who had been quizzing his psychology class and found his students to be a lot of blockheads, is said to have dismissed them saying: "Gentlemen, it has been said that fish is good for brain-food. I advise this class to try a whale."

The Victoria, Australia, "Labor Call" says: "Several branches of the Political (Vic.) Labor Council have determined that the Socialist objective shall be again discussed at the Inter-State Conference. Our members should consider whether they are acting with even courtesy to the sister States in asking from Victoria an objective which Victoria herself spurns!" Whereup the Sidney, Australia, "International Socialist Review" cogently observes:

"The Labor Call—save the mark!—is the official organ of the Victorian labor movement. It is evident from the above except that the wire-pullers—'Labor' Ms.P., and prospective 'Labor' Ms.P.—are getting ready, as heretofore, to put a spoke in the wheel of the Socialists who are boring from within." "Why not leave the statesmen and queers to their own devices? Boldly enlist under the flag of Social Democracy, and help fight the upholders of Capitalism, whoever they may be!"

PARIS COMMUNE.

Milwaukee Workingmen Honor Event and Form Tableaux Depicting Labor's Struggle in Battle for Life.

Milwaukee, Wis., March 15.—The Socialist Labor Party gathered together last Sunday at Bohemian Turn Hall and held a meeting in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871. The occasion was given over to speech making in English and in German. The most striking event of the day was the groups of living pictures which were staged. These represented the graves of the dead Communards, in the background of which was unfurled the Socialist flag, showing that the spirit of the murdered revolutionists lives on. Other pictures were: a factory and a wage slave entering it; a wage worker being carried home on a stretcher; a workingman's family being evicted, and the future Socialist Republic. These all made a deep impression upon the people present and will not soon be forgotten.

The rest of the program consisted of recitations and musical selections. In the evening those present took part in dancing. In the afternoon the gathering unanimously resolved to send a message of sympathy to Gustave Herve, French Socialist, who has been sentenced in France for his speeches on Anti-Militarism.

A SPLENDIDLY UNCONVINCING ATTACK

"One of the first things in the making of a Czar, is to make him believe in it all," has said a noted student of Russian conditions. "One of the first things in the making of a docile wage worker is," similarly, "to make him believe in it all." Such is the principle on which acts Mr. John F. Stevens, one-time chief engineer at Panama, and now vice-president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R.

In addressing a meeting of the students of Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University's technical department, Stevens addressed men, many of whom probably, would sooner or later be employed on his own road. With this additional spur to his already great anxiety to scare-crow away the gathering class-consciousness of the working class in general, he delivered an excellent speech against Socialism. We say excellent, because it was so full of holes, that with but half an eye the audience before him must have been enabled to see the imps of crass ignorance and unreasoning prejudice peering out at them at almost every sentence end.

Lewis Carroll, many years ago, in the midst of a heated municipal campaign in England, wittily laid down the maxim that "A plain superficiality is one such, that if any two points be taken in it, the speaker will be found to lie wholly between those points." Mr. Stevens, put to the touchstone of Lewis Carroll's wit, has delivered himself of a plain superficiality.

"The so-called relation between capital and labor," said Mr. Stevens. If Mr. Stevens were in the pot of a cannibal horde on one of the islands of Fiji, would he then speak of the "so-called" relation between himself and his captors? Yet that self-same position, which is occupied by 80 per cent. of the people to-day, of being chicken pot-pie for the tooth of the capitalist exploiter, he calls "so-called."

Yet this relation, although "so-called," is of great "importance to our business interests, and therefore to the very life of our republic," declared Mr. Stevens. "Our" business interests, forsooth! Business is the endeavor of one individual to make all he can out of another. It is based in the first place on the exploitation of the workers out of what they produce; and in the second, on the efforts of one set of exploiters to exchange spoils with another, at a more or less profitable figure. As capitalism develops, the number of those who can engage in it is ever smaller and smaller. Lack of capital wipes out the others. "As capitalism develops, the function of controlling production, once performed by the "business man," becomes more and more transformed into the function of holding the workers in subjection. The working class to-day actually operates and runs every industry in the country. Jules Verne's Capt. Nemo could take the whole crew of "business interests" under the sea with him to-morrow, and no one would be endangered thereby; on the contrary, like a child who had been brought up lashed to a board, it would first feel the thrill of life when the incubus was taken off.

"It is true that the great mass of humanity is born to serve—and they will to the end of time," averred Mr. Stevens. True, the great mass of humanity, the normal, undegenerate, overwhelming majority will always serve, and be glad to. Service, not idleness, will, under a proper social system, be more and more the badge of worth and character. But service under an elected leader for the good of the community will bear none of the degrading earmarks which now distinguish service under a self-imposed master, for the good of his own private pocket. Nor does service imply that the server will always have at his elbow a non-serving parasite to despoil him of the fruits of four-fifths of his service—as he now has under capitalism.

"To keep property, even approximately, equally divided would require a redistribution about once a month," stated Mr. Stevens. As if Socialism attempted or contemplated any such thing! As if Socialism cared how much property anybody had—so long as that property did not carry with it the power to exploit others of the fruits of their labor! As if Socialism did not aim to increase the wealth of all to a point which would seem fabulous to three-quarters of the population to-day! The turning of the thousands of drummers, of insurance and other agents, of struggling bourgeois business men into productive pursuits, the utilization of the thousands of patients now suppressed or neglected by the capitalists; above all, the incalculable impetus the development of new machinery would receive under a free system of production, would so multiply wealth that there would be enough and to spare for all; and, everybody having enough, the minor inequalities due to personal characteristics or taste, would shrink out of sight.

"And to divide labor equally would be to try to give power into human hands which only the Almighty can exercise," continued Mr. Stevens, coming to the climax of his speech. "Again, nobody wants to—If the capitalist chooses to consider honest work a disgrace, as he does to-day, and refuses to work under Socialism, nobody will take a club to him to see that he performs his allotted portion. The problem is simple and solves itself. Here is the work to be done. For so much work you are credited with having added so much to the social store, and may draw out an equal amount in return. If you don't care to work—that's your business. When you have indulged your anti-work hobby sufficiently to have become a bleached white skeleton, the loss, along with the pleasure thereof, will have been all yours. Socialism does not pretend to legislate an absolute equality of work for all; what it does intend to, and shall do, is to establish the eminently equitable principle that he who does ANY work SHALL eat, but that he who does NO work shall NOT eat. And so Mr. Stevens waded through his talk, attempting to prove to his hearers that Socialism was wicked, was impracticable, and that the only thing for them to do was to "render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's, and unto God the things that were God's"—in other words, to put up all the work you could, take what the boss gave you, and hold your peace. Recently when the Railroad Y. M. C. A. Federation executive committee, composed of some fifteen HEADS OF RAILROAD DEPARTMENTS, met in Buffalo to discuss plans for spreading the organization among the men, The People earned some hard looks by exposing the whole R. R. Y. M. C. A. as a tool in the hands of the companies to keep the men docile and in subjection. It may thaw out the lookers of some of those looks to know that the splendidly unconvincing attack on Socialism above dissected, was delivered under the auspices of the New Haven R. R. Y. M. C. A., and subsequently published in "Railroad News," the official monthly organ of that body.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (looking as if the skies had closed over his head)—If I understand things right, your party—the Socialist Labor Party—will establish Socialism. UNCLE SAM—Bet your bottom dollar it will! B. J.—But that would be very bad. U. S.—Inasmuch as to which? B. J.—Don't you see? Under Socialism no one would have a chance to set up a little shop, say a little grocery— U. S.—One of those cockroach stores? B. J.—Well, call them "cockroach stores." They are cockroach stores, I'll admit. Nevertheless, the man who has one of them can on a summer day tip back his chair against his front door, take it easy, and boss things in his own shanty. And that surely is something. Under Socialism there could be no small stores. Big stores only would do the retailing. No one could have his own store. We all would have to be workmen.

U. S.—You understand, don't you, that "workingman" under Socialism is not what "workingman" means to-day, under Capitalism? B. J.—Yes, I understand that. The workingman under Socialism is a free being— U. S.—Who enjoys the full fruit of his labor; he is part owner in the Co-operative Commonwealth; he works under conditions that he himself has a voice in deciding— B. J.—Yes; whereas now he has nothing to say upon that; the Shop rules are determined by the employer, and the worker is treated as a galley-slave— recognize all that. And yet— U. S.—One moment! And you understand also, don't you, that the small shopkeeper is everything but a free man— B. J.—I know there are many thorns to that rose. U. S.—The small shopkeeper has to wear himself to a bone in order to make two ends meet— B. J.—I know that. U. S.—He is subject to a thousand and one vexations, inflicted upon him by the politicians— B. J.—That's so, I know it! Tho' I am not a shopkeeper myself, my shopkeeper friends have told me some very galling experiences. U. S.—The small shopkeeper travels on the ragged edge of ruin, carrying on a losing, hopeless competitive struggle against the large department stores— B. J.—I know all that; and yet— U. S.—The existence of the small shopkeeper is bound up in petty things, and he is bound to find his mind and his family's mind warped by his pursuit, and become petty— B. J.—I grant all that. U. S.—And yet you would like that petty, crawling "independence" that you see in the small shopkeeper? B. J.—Yes, I do. U. S.—When our forefathers kicked out King George, the political system that leaves room for petty lackeylords was overthrown. B. J. (very proudly)—Totally overthrown! U. S.—A new political system was set up, where, politically, all were alike! B. J. (still more proudly)—Yes, indeed! "No more political lords for us, whether big ones or little cockroach lords!" our Revolutionary Fathers would have said to a man with any such aspirations. "Good man, if a Cockroach Lordship is your aspiration, by all means join King George's red-jackets! You can't get Cockroach Lordship in the American Republic."

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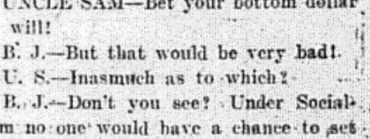
U. S.—And so say we Socialists to you now: "If what you aspire after is the cockroach independence of a cockroach little shop, then, by all means, don't vote for the Socialist Labor Party; no cockroach business is possible under Socialism; but vote for any of the other parties, it matters not which, if you ever reach your ideal, you will have the opportunity to fawn and crawl, and be subject to the vexations imposed upon you by the capitalists; you will have that opportunity to your heart's content." That's my answer.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## MUST HAVE THE PEOPLE TO KEEP POSTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please oblige by renewing my subscription, for which I enclose P. O. for \$2. 6d. To keep in touch with the scientific Marxian exposition and its application to U. S. A. conditions is not the least of a British Socialist's necessities.  
H. Myers.  
Dundee, Scotland, March 6.

## RECORD BREAKER SALES OF LITERATURE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Just a few lines from the North regarding some work done here. Since my last report I spoke before the Dome branch of the Western Federation of Miners. It was on January 8. After I finished my speech I sold 133 books. On February 1 I was before the Fairbanks branch and there sold 170 books. I got ten subs for the Weekly People and fifteen subs for The Industrial Bulletin. There is no better field for Socialism than Alaska.  
Carl Starckenberg.  
Fairbanks, Ala., Feb. 13.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUBS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We have just started a young people's club for Socialist work and study for boys and girls. We want to find out how other clubs of this kind are carried on by corresponding with such clubs or from your own information on this subject.  
W. J. Rogers, Sec'y.  
285 23rd St.  
Detroit, Mich., March 10.

## DOCUMENTS WANTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was told the other day that A. F. of L. musicians' organizations exact an admission fee of \$100 from all foreigners, no matter how good the union credentials they may bring with them. Some readers of The People may be able to verify this with documentary proof.

By the way, I heard a story of a Newark woodworker going to New York, and, as he sought work there, he tried to get in touch with the union of his craft. He found them all right, and they put him through a third degree examination. "Why did you leave Newark," etc., etc., and they didn't let him in. I am told that if a Newark carpenter, of the Brotherhood, comes here to work he has to pay a tax to the Building Trades Council—sixty-seven cents, I think it is.

All of this recalls very forcibly that I have somewhere read regarding the total absence of right and justice among savage men: the boundaries of their particular family or tribe being the limits of their idea of humanity. The craft union is worse, if anything: it shuts out craftsmen who seek admission to the union and then outlaws them.

Readers of The People who can supply constitutions, by-laws or other documentary evidences of such practices should send such documents to The People.  
Jerseyman.  
Jersey City, March 13.

## WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I know a family, American for generations. The husband had steady work for years at his trade. He was correctly described by an acquaintance in this way: "wears on his face a sign, 'No new ideas need apply here'." When the panic struck in October, he lost his job, hustled around and got another in another town at lower wages. As the panic rolled on he lost that job; again he hustled and got still another job in another town at lower wages still. He has this last job now, but is "hanging by the eyelids." It may go any time. His appearance has changed completely—he looks as if bricks had hit his head from four different directions at once. His home has been broken up twice since the panic. His face now says: "What have I done?" "I don't drink." "I don't chew." "I don't gamble." "I go to church." "I voted for Roosevelt." "I hate foreigners."

"I've always hated Socialists. I worship the flag. I haven't any children. I shout for prosperity. 'Oh, what have I done?' 'What does all this mean?' This man is but a type of thousands of others. It is to be hoped that the experience that they are now making will convey to them the information—"What does all this mean?"  
Hopeful Reader.  
New York, March 13.

## IGNORING PRESTON & SMITH.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On February 9 the Preston and Smith Release Conference of New York sent the following letter to Wm. D. Haywood:  
15 Spruce street, New York.

Headquarters—60 Cooper Square.  
New York, February 9, 1908.  
Miss Luella Twining,  
15 Spruce street, New York.

In behalf of the Preston-Smith Release Conference, I write to request Comrade Wm. D. Haywood's presence as a speaker at a meeting to be arranged by said conference at Comrade Haywood's earliest convenience. As the securing of suitable hall depends on your reply, and since the two comrades have languished in jail for a considerable time, the conference requests a reply at your earliest convenience.

It may here hardly be necessary to urge upon you the necessity of awakening the workers to come to the rescue of these two workingmen, no matter how obscure their names may be. You know their case and so does Comrade Haywood. The Conference therefore asks you to assist us in doing what the workingmen who are behind this Conference have joyfully assisted in doing for Haywood.

Hoping for a favorable reply, I am  
Fraternally yours,  
Theodore Herz,  
Secretary Preston-Smith Release Conference.

Till the present moment no answer has been received, either from Haywood or Miss Twining. His action in this matter is in accordance with his actions during his sojourn in New York when he absolutely ignored representatives of the Council who requested him to mention these two victims of capitalist law.

Perhaps it is bad politics to do so. But why doesn't this heroic champion of Labor explain his conduct towards these two workingmen?  
Theodore Herz,  
New York, March 13.

## ANOTHER "MISREPRESENTER" OF WILLIAMS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have read very carefully the lecture delivered by fellow-worker B. H. Williams before the Socialist Labor Party, at McMahon's Hall, New York city, March 2, 1908, as published in the "Bulletin," and I desire to make a few comments on the same.

Fellow-worker Williams quotes Marx as follows: "Only the trade union can set on foot the true political party of labor," and then goes on to modify the language of Marx to read: "Only the economic organization of the working class can set on foot the true political reflex of working class interests."

Here Williams substitutes for the phrase, "political party of labor," this other, "the political reflex of working class interests." Why did he do this? Maybe the reason can be found later on in his lecture where we read: "For the I. W. W. to set up a political party of labor in the ordinary sense would mean confusion and retardation for the movement, to say nothing of the corruption that would surely follow the advent of the adventurous labor politician." And again: "Will the I. W. W. set up a political party in the ordinary sense, and contest with the capitalist seats of government—legislative, judicial, and executive? I think not."

This means plainly that in the "opinion only" of Williams, the Industrial Workers of the World will never undertake to set up a national party to stand for the interests of the working class upon the political field. A national organizer of the I. W. W., authorized and empowered by his Executive Board, should be able to speak with authority on such an important matter and not content himself with simply expressing his "opinion only," especially

so since the I. W. W. has expressed itself officially on that very subject. The I. W. W. in the Preamble declares for both united political action and united economic action, for unity on the political as well as on the industrial field. This language of the Preamble implies as plainly as language can express it that there are two fields of action on which the working class must exert its energies—the one economic, the other political. And this language of the Preamble clearly means that the working class needs and that the I. W. W. will set up, "in the ordinary sense," a political party and contest with the capitalist seats of government—legislative, executive and judicial—and don't let Williams and Foote and all other anti-political actionists in the true and proper sense of that word forget it.

I am sorry to see the evident desire on the part of a few members to twist and torture the words of the Preamble from their true, their plain and proper meaning. But neither the endeavor of fellow-worker Foote to have the I. W. W. turn its eyes inwardly upon its own structure to find its political reflex, nor the attempt of Williams to have us see in "our press and the lecture platform" the "true political party of labor," as Marx puts it, or the "true political reflex of working class interests," as Williams has it, will ever succeed.

The efforts of these two fellow-workers in that direction, especially since the I. W. W. has expressed itself more than once upon this matter, appears to me to be disingenuous; and if there were the least prospect of their succeeding it would endanger the very life of the organization itself. Neither will Williams' argument that, "For the I. W. W. to set up a political party in the ordinary sense would mean confusion and retardation for the movement, to say nothing of the corruption that would surely follow the advent of the adventurous labor politician," hold good as against the setting up of a political party of labor, for if it is a valid argument against the setting up of a political party of labor that corrupt and adventurous politicians are apt to get into it, then the argument would be just as valid against the setting up of an economic organization of labor, for no economic organization of labor heretofore set up, with possibly one exception, has ever remained wholly free from the corrupt adventurer.

To advise an abandonment of the political field is to advise the workers to throw away one of their two powerful and equally necessary weapons. To advise a retreat from any field of action where the interests of the working class may be legally and effectively advocated and defended, in my opinion smacks of cowardice and should not be tolerated now, nor in the future, by the I. W. W.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization." Williams knows that the capitalist tiger operates not only in "municipalities here and there," but in all municipalities, states and nations; and he knows that the I. W. W. will need to protect its economic organization not only in "municipalities here and there" from the teeth of the capitalist tiger, but in all municipalities and all the time until that tiger is slain.

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally, and if the I. W. W. is to protect its economic organization, that is to say, fight for its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all, that to protect the life of the organization the I. W. W. will have to set up a political party that will be politically extensive with the boundaries of its economic organization.

The size of the political reflex or shadow of the economic organization must have some sort of proportion to the size of the economic body reflecting that shadow. It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect only a municipal shadow. No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, co-extensive with the economic body casting the shadow. The I. W. W. must and will cast its political reflex or shadow. The I. W. W. will see to it that a national political party of labor is set up, a party that will stand on the political field for identically what the Industrial Workers of the World stands for on the economic field.

James H. Arnold, Secretary,  
Local No. 73, I. W. W.  
Louisville, Ky., March 15.

To secure the DAILY PEOPLE regularly ORDER it from your newsdealer. As the paper is not returnable, your newsdealers must have a STANDING ORDER for it, or else they will not get it for you. INSIST ON GETTING IT.

## VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

S. P. Rank and File Begins to Demand Resignation of Usurping National Committeemen.

Kalispell, Mont., March 12th, 1908.  
Daily People,  
New York, N. Y.

Comrades:—At the last meeting of Local Kalispell, Socialist Party, the enclosed resolutions were passed, and I was instructed to forward them to the Weekly People and ask to have them published, if you can find the space to do so.  
Fraternally yours,  
E. G. Bjorneby, Recording Secretary,  
Local Kalispell, S. P.

[Enclosure.]  
Kalispell, Mont., March 8, 1908.

Dear Comrade:—The news that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party has turned down the proposition made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor party, fell like a bolt of lightning from a clear sky on the membership of Local Kalispell. So desirous were the members to enter protest that the regular order of business was suspended that a committee might be appointed to draft resolutions of protest against what seems an insult to the membership of the Socialist party of America.

In line with this feeling of deep disgust at the action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party whose action in this instance savors of "inner-circleism" rather than sound Socialist doctrine, the committee incorporated their sentiments in the following resolutions, which were unanimously endorsed by the local:

Whereas, The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America has seen fit to ignore the rank and file in refusing to consider the overtures of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor party; and

Whereas, In so doing they have ignored the wishes expressed by the Stuttgart Congress, urging the unification of all the Socialist factions in one class-conscious, revolutionary body; and

Whereas, This arbitrary action on the part of the National Executive Committee debars the rank and file from expressing their views prior to the National Socialist convention by referendum; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local Kalispell condemns in unmeasured terms such arbitrary action and demand the resignation of such members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America as had the unexampled gall to constitute themselves the "inner circle," and we call on our comrades of other locals in the State and nation to do likewise; and be it further

Resolved, If such officers shall refuse to resign, a referendum be called to impeach such members of the National Executive Committee as voted against unification.

A. J. Chapman,  
O. W. Johnson,  
W. E. Ahrens,  
—Committee.

## S. P. Man Demands Referendum on Unity Question.

Vancouver, B. C., March 12.  
Comrades:—The International having urged upon the necessity of all Socialists uniting into one common organization to meet the common enemy of every member of the working class, and our comrades in the S. L. P. having invited us to meet them in a Unity Conference, it is up to us to find out why those self-styled "leaders" of the S. P. are opposed to it.

This is not the time for mincing matters; that time has long since passed. It is time now to examine the roots of the evil, let the results be what they may. I have been mixed up in the fight, if it has the right to be dignified by that title, out here in Washington and British Columbia for the last five years or so, and I find that the anti-unity element are those having "axes to grind," or, in other words, material interests controlling individuals.

I find that private owned papers constitute material interests among some of the self-appointed leaders at least out here on the Pacific Coast. How it may be in the Eastern and Middle States I do not know, but taking it for granted that general principles are the same the world over, I conclude that the private owned press has something to do with the anti-unity action of at least some of the "leaders" in the East.

I stated in the first part of my letter that we have been called upon to unite against the common enemy of our class. And of whom, then, is this enemy composed. There are in our organization (not in our movement—they may never enter there) a bunch of professional or semi-professional parasites who emit periodical bunches of "hot air," or who issue "every little while" an advertising sheet whose columns are mostly filled with get-rich-quick schemes, "sure cure for

men" buncum, "Little Giant" headache powders, "How I risked my life for Moyer and Haywood," and other "propaganda" of a similar nature. These men are intentionally or otherwise (it doesn't matter which, the effect is the same), enemies of our movement. And any man or set of men who oppose unity in the ranks of the workers is their enemy. The masters are uniting against us. Comrades, it is now up to us to get rid of our "leaders" and bare our arms for battle. The place is here, and the time is now for unity of forces. Insist on a referendum being taken on this question, comrades. It is up to us to do it. Our leaders refuse to submit it to us to vote on.

Congratulating our women comrades in New York for having asserted themselves in such a positive manner on this matter, and trusting that the locals of the S. P. will act as vigorously and as promptly, I remain,  
Yours for Unity and the Revolution,  
J. N. Boul.

## The Peoply Located.

Jersey City, N. J., March 17.—It is not my intention to squirt malignancy or insinuation toward my colleagues. Billingsgate and prejudice have never, and will never, solve a single problem in all the world's history.

It is about time our party took stock of its resources and tactics. It was my opinion for a long period—I am thoroughly convinced that my opinion was a simon-pure delusion—that the S. L. P. absolutely refused to unite. I have since come to the conclusion that such a pertinacious attitude was applicable to the S. P. But I am constrained to draw a line of demarcation when I charge the S. P. with absolute refusal to unite. I will tell you why. There are men in our party who actually believe that they are endowed with such a superabundance of erudition that they can assume the responsibility of determining the advisability and inadvisability, the validity and invalidity of certain proposed acts, without submitting such propositions to be decided upon by the rank and file; and then they have the brazen effrontery to tell us proletarians to beware of a Pope in the S. L. P. If the recent action upon unity by the National Committee of the Socialist Party isn't papacy pure and simple, then I'll have to secure a dictionary which states contrariwise.

Some of my colleagues might charge me with heresy, but the moment they do so they will have stopped reasoning. The "International Socialist Review" of February, 1908, has a few words to say apropos of the question of unity. The Review writes previous to the decision of the N. C. of the S. P. It comments upon the resolution which was introduced by Algernon Lee, member of the National Committee of the S. P. of New York State. The resolution provided that the incoming N. E. C. of the S. P. be designated as a committee of seven from the Socialist Party to meet with the committee from the S. L. P. to discuss terms of union.

"This motion," continues the Review, "has already received the endorsement of the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party." It must be admitted that the Socialist Party of New York State acting as it did through its State Committee, was very candid and sincere. The objectivity or gist of their resolution was by all means a step in the evolution toward Socialist unification.

The aforesaid Review in alluding to Algernon Lee's resolution has this to say: "If the Socialist Party were to vote down Comrade Lee's motion it would put itself in a false position before the Socialists of other counties and the unorganized Socialist sympathizers of the United States." If our party refuses to negotiate, it will fairly be held responsible for the failure to unite. The rational course seems to be to go into the conference, and then stand for the right of the membership as a whole to run the affairs of the consolidated party in accordance with the will of the majority."

Since the N. C. of the S. P. absolutely refused to negotiate, it therefore stands conspicuously self-convicted of its failure to unite. The Socialist Party, boasting as it does, of its preponderous membership—preponderous when compared with the S. L. P.—believes it has solved the tactical problem of a political Socialist party. When I say Socialist party in this instance, I mean the papal N. C. of the S. P.

The Review in that same item on unity continues by comparing the membership of the S. P. to that of the S. L. P. "If the 2,000 will not unite unless the 30,000 will reverse their tactics and methods in some such way as was suggested by Local Redlands, California, then the responsibility for the failure of union will rest on the Socialist Labor Party, and more desirable members of that party will be likely

to leave the sinking ship and join the Socialist Party." It is fallacious to reason from the premises that because the S. P. is numerically stronger than the S. L. P., that the S. L. P. is a "sinking ship" for that reason. I can recall very distinctly how some of our members after the election of 1904, prophesied that the "ship (S. L. P.) would not survive to see another Presidential election."

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

G. W. B., RED BLUFF, CAL.—Send \$4.55 to Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, this city, for the Swan Sonnenschein & Co. edition of "Capital"—about \$4.20 for the book and 30 cents for stamps. It will be imported for you.

SOCIALIST LABOR PRESS, EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.—The statement on page 56 of "Value, Price and Profit" that, in the illustration given, "if the workingman receives four shillings," the rate of profit would sink to 33 1/3 per cent. is an error. It should be "50 per cent." Whether the error was in the original manuscript, or whether it is one of those "improvements" that too smart-by-half compositors occasionally make, we have no way of ascertaining. The error shall be expurgated from the next edition.

E. S. E., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Be not rash in judgment. When a non-Socialist flares up in denunciation of Socialism, it does not necessarily follow that he is a "dye in the wool" foe. It often happens that people, who are themselves doubting, flare up at those who at least share their doubts. Cautious treatment is ever wise. Only when the facts warrant the conclusion that the non-Socialist who flares up is a foe indeed, should he be treated as such. Once a foe is unmasked—fire!

A. B., NEW YORK.—Unfortunately, but unavoidably, there are too many people, who, though unable to think, are ever spouting "Marx!" "Marx!" But the same thing happens to "Industrialism." The man who says: "Forget Marx!" because such misuse is made of Marx's name, would also say "Forget Industrialism," seeing fools and schemers misuse that word also. The fact is nobody says: "Forget Marx!" but people, the crudities of whose notions and the visionariness of whose plans, feel at every turn the cold steel of Marxism enter their souls.

"THEO," CHICAGO, ILL.—The point is well taken. It is not "capital," but the now capitalistically owned and operated plants of production that will be owned collectively. The point was covered in a last week's Letter Box answer.

E. J. B. G., MALDEN, MASS.—The "poll tax" is a vestige of property qualification for the suffrage in the land. The error is common that the American Revolution established manhood suffrage. It did not. Being a bourgeois Revolution, the American Revolution conditioned the ballot upon property. Later, chieftain to further development, the proletariat gained the ballot. The "poll tax" is a vestige of the old state of things.

"ENQUIRY," JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Austin Lewis's quotation from the English translation of "Socialism from Utopia to Science," is from The People, organ of the S. L. P., and that is the paper he refers to.

N. J., NEW YORK.—Of course, the Volkzeitung would not publish anything for the information of the rank and file on the photo-engravers. Only about two years ago, an employe of the instalment dealer in furniture, Bauman, behaved so outrageously in his collection at a workingman's house that the workingman's wife died. All the city capitalist papers published accounts of the affair. The "Volkzeitung" hushed it up. Why? Bauman advertised in that paper. See the connection between the two affairs?

G. O., HOLLAND, MICH.—The trick of the rose-water, or so-called Philosophical Anarchist is to state a common principle in such bombastic form as to impart to it a semblance of great novelty. We once heard a "Philosophical (!) Anarchist" deliver an oration in which he said: "Take murder, for instance; we say if a man wants to commit murder he may do so, and take his chances." That sounds terribly radical, doesn't it? And yet there is nothing radical in it. That's just what happens to-day, and has always happened, and always will—the murderer does his deed, and TAKES HIS CHANCES.

I can recall very distinctly how some of our members after the election of 1904, prophesied that the "ship (S. L. P.) would not survive to see another Presidential election."

A. C., DENVER, COLO.—These are the wheels within the wheels: The Civic Federation runs the A. F. of L., without consulting the A. F. of L. rank and file; the A. F. of L. runs, through its placemen and beneficiaries, the National Committee of the Socialist Party, without consulting that rank and file; finally, that National Committee, by a decided majority, runs the Socialist Party, again without consulting its rank and file. Accordingly, the Civic Federation runs the S. P.

R. W., SACRAMENTO, CAL.—Now to your last question—The term "Labor and Capital are enemies born" is correct. Capital means the privately owned plant of production. Capital, therefore, starts with and has to be fed at the expense of Labor. Implied in the term are "Capitalist Class and Working Class."

A. W. M., NEW YORK.—Now to your second question—There is no such thing as the control of the flow of gold between countries. When "credit" grows shaky in one country it seeks to steady itself by importing gold. There is no system in the matter. Next question next week.

T. O. P., MUNCIE, IND.—Now to your last question—One thing it is to brood over "old fights"; another thing is to ignore them altogether. The former is bad, the latter worse. He who does the former becomes monomaniacal; he who does the latter denies the importance of history.

J. F. B., BOSTON, MASS.—Now to your third question—Where 10 needs 2 to be multiplied with, in order to produce 20, the 2 is as valuable to the result as the 10. Now, then, if there is a "superior worker" and an "inferior," and the work of the "inferior" is necessary to the "superior," the "inferior" is as necessary as the "superior." The idea of higher pay to the "superior" is but an illustration of how moral standards adjust themselves to material possibilities. Where material possibilities are not sufficient to furnish both with an ample reward, the "moral standard" is what we have today, with the practical result that the highest reward falls to the least deserving. Under Socialism, where an abundance is producible, the "moral standard" adjusts itself to the improved material possibilities. Next question next week.

E. W. C., BELLINGHAM, MASS.—Now to your second question—Commodities are not always sold at the cost of production. If they were the capitalist could never pocket any profit. Off and on commodities are sold at and even below the cost of production. Those are cases of distress. Commodities are sold, in the long run, at their value. Their value consists, first, in the labor-power crystallized in the raw materials used in their production, and, secondly, in the new labor-power crystallized in the new commodity. The profits of the capitalist consist in the unpaid for labor. Next question next week.

R. G. A., WORCESTER, MASS.—The Catholics of the Philippine Islands are divided into two opposing camps. One, the older camp, recognizes the Pope; the other denies the papal authority. The former are distinguished by the name of the Roman Catholic Church, the latter by the name of the Independent Philippine Church. As to their relative strength, the Independent Church is vastly the more numerous.

B. R., BUFFALO, N. Y.—The translation did not arrive.

ALL OTHERS.—Wait till next week.

R. J. K., MONTREAL, CANADA; J. Y., LOWELL, MASS.; M. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W.; G. A. M., TORONTO, ONT.; S. R., ST. LOUIS, MO.; J. H. F. J., CANTON, O.; C. R., PUEBLO, COLO.; A. L., SOMERVILLE, MASS.; M. J. T., PASCOAG, L. I.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; S. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; F. P. J., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; D. C. L., BANNINGS, CAL.

I must even confess that I myself was one of the dupes. While the Socialist Party seems to be a pretty substantial ship, it must, however, be condemned to the junk heap of tactical failures, sooner or later. If the Socialist Party could survive

