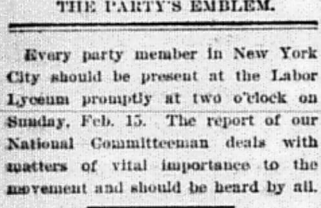


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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Every party member in New York City should be present at the Labor Lyceum promptly at two o'clock on Sunday, Feb. 15. The report of our National Committee deals with matters of vital importance to the movement and should be heard by all.

party affairs entirely into the hands of five agricultural states, states comparatively out of touch with the labor movement strictly so called, states in which the Socialist Party is young and inexperienced, states whose combined Socialist vote is only 9 per cent. of the total for the country and its ratio of increase during the last two years below the average for the whole country.

With this issue of The Worker we believe—at least, we hope—that we close the long discussion on the question of the policy to be pursued by the Socialist Party toward Union Labor parties. We have tried to be fair in our treatment of those who opposed us and advocated fusion, and have even refused publication to very many letters supporting our position, in order that, without taking up too much space, we might give the other side a full hearing.

Whether in actual warfare with modern nations the defensive marine of our commercial navy shall become submarine of the Holland type or not, submarine political committees for the saving of each other's reputations have become necessary institutions for the Republican and Democratic gentlemen of our capitalistic Congress.

Mosquito Bites By PETER E. BURROWES. Whether in actual warfare with modern nations the defensive marine of our commercial navy shall become submarine of the Holland type or not, submarine political committees for the saving of each other's reputations have become necessary institutions for the Republican and Democratic gentlemen of our capitalistic Congress.

AS TO HEADQUARTERS. If there is any one principle to be observed of which the integrity of the Socialist movement is dim, it is that principle upon which the referendum is based. With the control of party affairs resting in the rank and file, the opportunities of the dictator and trickster are reduced to a minimum.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries. St. Louis Globe-Democrat. A striking illustration of the number and the intensity of the ties which connect each nation of the world with the other is found at the present time in the case of Germany on one side and Venezuela and the United States on the other.

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

No one, I hope, will accuse me of laxity of adherence to uncompromising Socialism, still I must differ with most of the opponents of the Californian policy, not in their opposition to that policy, but in their line of argument.

There is only one thing we refuse to compromise: the endeavor of organizing an independent political power of the working class, with the purpose of conquering the public affairs from the bourgeois class. Every "compromise," however, tending to assist such endeavor is not only permissible, but even imperative to us.

By conquering the public affairs we do not mean the admittance of so-called labor men to office no matter by what means. No, if, for instance, the devilish Hearst plan to capture the labor movement by the Democratic party should be realized and so-called "labor men" brought to office, it would mean the end of our party.

It is to this danger now threatening our movement that our comrades ought now to pay the most stringent attention, against this danger they should concentrate all their efforts.

But in case the working class should attempt headlong to enter the political field independently as a working class, abstaining, however, from joining our party because they did not grasp yet the economic teachings of Socialism; if their aim and object in organizing such independent labor party should succeed, they will wrest the political power out of the hands of the capitalist class and its hirelings, the professional politicians, in order to use the power so acquired for the enactment of genuine labor measures and for the defending of the economic labor struggle against capital, even if it is only within capitalist society.

It should be, in such case, oppose the working class in its natural honest endeavor to fight its battle against capital on the political field—and oppose we must in case we will not come to an understanding with such party, there being no other alternative—it would not be less a crime than opposing it on the economic field!

a genuine independent labor political party IS Socialism—the only thing Socialists have to do NOW.

Never mind the social revolution of the future. It will and must inevitably result from the development of an independent political power of the working class fighting the capitalist class genuinely.

It is clear that a people's party, in which the class interests of the farm owners and small capitalists have a preponderating influence, always must remain on the basis of the present order of society, the private property in the means of production—the "freedom" of private production as matter how friendly to labor and how radical may be its professions.

And he proceeds to show concretely how in the very nature of the most simple interests of labor it has to undermine the very foundation of capitalism, wittingly, on the part of labor, or not.

Thus, the transformation towards Socialist production would impose itself upon a victorious proletariat even in the case it has not striven to it from the beginning but was simply moved by the logic of its class interests. In other words, capitalist production and political power of the proletariat are incompatible.

Thus, the Californian policy can by no means be condemned on general principles. On the contrary, a compromise with labor genuinely fighting capitalist politics, is the very thing that on general principles recommends itself to Socialists.

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the means for fulfilling that mission is the propaganda of Socialism; political action is one of the forms of such propaganda; and of late years it has become the settled conviction in the Socialist movement that such political action is most effective when conducted by the organized Socialist Party on strictly independent lines.

Now, it is quite possible that the situation in California, especially in the Schmitt campaign of 1901, was somewhat analogous to the Henry George campaign of 1886. That there really was something in the political situation of California that could not be appreciated by us in the East, I infer from the fact that such men as Harrison and Spring, who do not as a rule run away with their judgement, and who were known to be strongly opposed to the so-called fusion policy while they were with us, changed their views as soon as they reached the soil of the Golden State.

Had the advocates of fusion, therefore, merely sought to justify the particular case of the California comrades as the choice of the lesser of two evils, many of us might have been inclined to defer to their better opportunities for judging the situation, and the question might have been disposed of by the fact that our party has since grown to such proportions as to become an established factor in our national politics, and thus to obviate the necessity of fusion in the future, for good and all.

And here they are wrong in all respects. The Union Labor parties will not and cannot prove a lasting factor in politics; they will not and cannot take the place of the Socialist Party; and it would be very unfortunate for the labor movement as a whole if they should.

Let me make this somewhat clearer by a concrete example. Take a carpenter's union which has decided to go into politics as such carpenter's union, and has adopted a certain political platform and a Socialistic one.

At a time when the labor movement as a whole is as yet so weak that it only certifies an influence on the politics of the country, and the only existing politics are capitalist politics, the Socialist naturally claims abstention. When the labor movement reaches a higher stage of development and other radical reform movements spring up in connection with it, and so produce a political movement which bears in it the elements of opposition to capitalism, while the conservative Socialist movement is as yet in its infancy, the latter has no alternative but to support the former.

From this it follows that political cooperation with labor parties or other reform parties may be permissible and even wise at certain times, but that it requires the concurrence of two circumstances make it so: First, the Socialist movement as such must be too insignificant to be considered as an independent factor in politics; and, second, the movement supported by it must be a genuine, spontaneous, and powerful labor movement presenting a good field for the propaganda of Socialism.

This is the origin of all Socialist parties, and this is the great point which distinguishes them from trade unions. Both organizations are based on the class struggle; both are in the last analysis moved by economic motives; but one moves consciously, while the other may move unconsciously.

A Socialist party consists of class-conscious workmen, every one of whom has joined it with a full recognition of the fact that the interests of his class are unalterably opposed to those of the class of exploiters. One or scores of them may go wrong, but the party as a whole is bound to remain a working-class party; and there is not a single instance on record where a Socialist party as a whole was captured by capitalist politicians.

Similar situations might have arisen in this country at other times, for our movement here was until recently quite insignificant; and under similar conditions, we might have been compelled to act in a similar manner.

But such occurrences are always signs of the weakness of our movement, and can only be justified by the plea of necessity. When our movement becomes a political factor of significance, such occurrences have no justification. When organized labor goes into politics independently of the Socialist movement at a time when our party is well established and its aims and objects are well known, it does so not in ignorance of, but in opposition to, Socialism; it is then a reactionary movement, and in the interests of the purity of the labor movement itself, we must combat it.

careers in the fold of the one or the other of the old parties.

To sum up: Trade unions are organizations of trades for trade purposes; that is what they derive their name from. At times of great labor agitation such unions may temporarily disregard the primary object of their creation and may inaugurate a political working-class movement.

MORRIS HILLQUIT, New York, Feb. 9.

THE ANNUAL REPORT.

the political object was regarded with higher consideration than an immediate economic achievement; the political organization and its aims assumed precedence and superiority over the economic organization and this is best illustrated by the fact that while the National Committee appeal to the Socialist movement for financial funds, the Pennsylvania State Committee protested and issued a conflicting appeal for strike propaganda funds.

The American Labor Union. The manner in which the National Committee became involved in the controversy between the American Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor, may be briefly stated as follows: The convention of the American Labor Union was held at Denver, from May 26 to June 7, inclusive. The results of said convention are well known to your committee, and we rejoiced in common with all comrades throughout the country, over the addition to the roster of labor organizations that endorsed the International Socialist program.

The circumstances which have given rise to the party situation in California, are already quite well known to your committee and will be so much further elucidated by the comrades present here as to render any details unnecessary in this report. The issue involved has become fairly well defined and the efforts of both sides in California for vindication of their policy has forced the issue upon the attention of the party throughout the country.

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Realizing that your committee would appreciate the fullest possible information in regard to the troubles in San Francisco, we sent requests for information to an equal number of comrades on each side of the controversy in said city and the information thus obtained will be placed before you.

prevent fratricidal strife and fights in the labor movement, wherever possible. About one month after this we received a letter from Laramie, Wyo. dated July 21st, from F. W. Ott, a member of the Executive Board of the A. L. U., informing us that he was about to start out to organize unions of the A. L. U., and requesting a commission as organizer for the Socialist Party, and such financial aid as we could afford.

Since the outbreak of hostilities between the A. L. U. and the A. F. of L., the champions of the American Labor Union have and still continue to designate the American Federation of Labor as "organized scabbery," not to mention other epithets of a coarser and more unflattering nature.

Regarding this, the question before us involved in the request of Comrade Ott, was what assurance we had should we authorize an organizer of the A. L. U. to act conjointly as organizer of the Socialist Party, that the Socialist Party would be disassociated from and relieved of responsibility for any hostile acts committed by him against the interests and organization of the A. F. of L. We decided that according to the resolutions adopted at the Unity Convention, we could not issue an organizer's commission to Comrade Ott; that in view of the fact that the fight of the A. L. U. against the A. F. of L. was being waged solely on political grounds; and that the partisans of the A. L. U. were actually organizing locals of the Socialist Party in conjunction with the National Committee or any subdivision of our party so far as we knew, the Socialist Party was thereby being made to take the battle between the A. L. U. and the A. F. of L.

In view of the wide publicity being given to this development and the fact that the silence and inactivity of the National Organization was being construed in every section of the country as a passive acquiescence in, if not approval of the programme of the A. L. U., we decided that the highest interests of the general labor movement of which the Socialist Party is but an integral part, required that we state the position of our party in no uncertain terms. As a result the Local Quorum on Aug. 2 issued its resolutions on the A. L. U. with which your committee is familiar.

The principle upon which the A. L. U. proposed to attack the A. F. of L. was identical with that raised by the S. T. and L. A. This is proven by the fact that the claims which they put forth in an advertisement of their comrades were identical with those asserted by the S. T. and L. A. And as if this were not sufficient evidence of its ultimate design, the convention of the A. L. U. launched all doubt by passing a resolution inviting a section of the S. T. & L. A. to affiliate on the ground of common interests, thus proposing a union of forces with an organization which has been and still is guilty of the foulest and most malevolent acts of disruption not alone against the trade union movement but against the Socialist Party.

All of the alleged grievances of the A. L. U. were cited by the Socialist Labor Party as its reasons for starting the S. T. & L. A. allying the economic organization with the political in an attempt to improve the former by making its methods conform to the program of the latter.

The error disclosed by this policy consists in the fact that our western comrades became impatient with the progressive "evolutionary" method of the existing trade union movement; utterly repudiated it as an emancipating factor, on the contrary declaring it reactionary; and they adopted a policy towards it calculated to "kill or cure."

What their concept was may be judged by the fact that the highest officers and most prominent spokesmen of the "new movement" declared as the main basis of their action, their conviction, that the trade union movement as at that constituted did not and could not "materially better the condition" of the wage-working class; that it was "antiquated," its policies and methods ridiculous and that it was "unable to protect its members."

The "Tradeunion Resolutions" adopted by the Unity Convention distinctly recognized the existing tradeunion movement as an emancipating factor of the wage-working class, and pledged the Socialist Party to its upbuilding and unification. It is for your committee to decide whether our acts have been in accordance with the policy outlined in said resolutions.

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Your Local Quorum and National Secretary both requested by various party organizations to state the position of the national organization, have carefully refrained from any expressions in an official sense (either through correspondence or otherwise) as committing the Socialist Party, having decided to refer the entire matter to the national committee as a whole for its decision.

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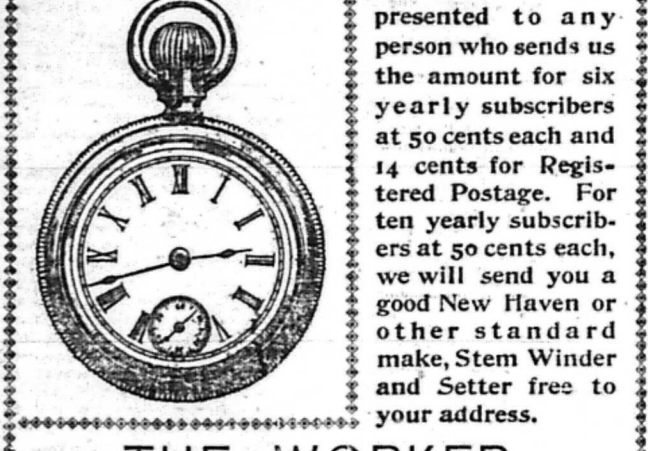
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We also sent out a letter of inquiry to all of the state secretaries, similar to one sent out a year ago, just prior to the meeting of your committee, requesting information about the general standing of the party in the respective states, and we included, among others, questions touching the existence of Union Labor parties. We have received replies from sixteen states, not including California, and in none of these, with the possible exception of Montana, are there any Union Labor Parties identical in any vital respect to those in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

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