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No. 127

LOCAL PLATFORMS AND SOCIALISM.

The Washington or Seattle Platform.

(Conclusion)
It is better to appeal over and over again to the class interests of the working class, even if we fail many times, than to appeal to the class interests of the middle class once—and have the middle class accept that appeal.

It is better to appeal to fall with our own class than to appear to win with some other class.
As was pointed out in the preceding article on this subject in "The Socialist" of December 21, the ideal Socialist platform should be true, clear, complete; that is, it should be revolutionary, clear, uncompromising. Let us now inquire whether the Washington State platform answers these requirements. Is it revolutionary? Is it clear? Is it uncompromising?

I choose this platform as the third in this series of typical local platforms, for the following reasons: 1st. The Washington platform is so distinct a type from the other two (the Los Angeles and the Massachusetts kind); 2nd, because the Washington or Seattle platform is, next to the national platform, perhaps the best known local manifesto of any Socialist organization in this country; and, third, because it was perhaps the first Socialist platform that cast away all "immediate demands" and all parleying with "intermediate" principles.

This platform has been through a good many campaigns (at least six or seven, in its original form or with some immaterial modifications), and its adoption has been invariably followed by a significant increase in the Socialist vote and a more significant straightening up of the economic science of the men who have stood upon it or supported it.

This appeal to OUR people opens with the ringing words of the Communist Manifesto: "Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain (win)." It closes with the basic principle upon which the cooperative commonwealth will be sustained—"To every worker the full product of his toil." In these two sentences, clear and concise, the keynote of this platform is sounded; no man can mistake them; no workingman can read them or hear them without a responsive thrill to their inherent right and might.

The platform is divided into twelve terse paragraphs. Each of the first nine paragraphs endeavors to state clearly a fundamental principle of the Socialist philosophy—one of the Socialist axioms. Each paragraph leads up through a clearly defined series of principles to the culminating fact that the Socialist Party is the party of the working class. The first paragraph declares the self-evident truism that labor creates all wealth. With this premise laid down, each of the other declarations becomes in its order a Socialist truism or axiom that no workingman of intelligence will attempt to deny.

The 10th paragraph states clearly and completely the position that the Socialist Party will hold when in office, namely, that it will conduct all the affairs of government solely in the interests of the producing class and with a view to strengthen this class in its struggle against the capitalist class until capitalism is absolutely abolished. That declaration is clear, brief, and comprehensive. It covers the whole ground; it yields nothing; it does not appeal to the middle class nor to the capitalist class; it states the Socialist demand fully, straightforwardly, outspokenly. The 11th paragraph, as an immediate corollary to the tenth, pledges the party to conduct all public affairs in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class. The final paragraph appeals to all workingmen to study Socialism and to vote with their class from now on until the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth and the abolition of classes.

Thus, there is in this platform not a word of compromise, not a suspicion of temporizing, not a single departure, apparent or real, from fundamental Socialist principles.

It is straight goods, unadulterated, undiluted, unabashed. It is nothing, if not revolutionary; it is nothing, if not uncompromising; almost every detail of its form and expression promotes clearness and precision.

As a manifesto for Socialist agitation, as a document in aid of Socialist primary education, as a declaration of working-class political principles, it is certainly far superior to the Union Labor platform of Los Angeles or the municipal ownership (and state Socialism) platform of the Massachusetts towns. The Washington platform simplifies the issues, it clarifies the discussion, it unifies the agitation. On such a platform, solidly grounded on the basic principles of absolute Socialism, no "crooked" man can stand straight, nor any straight man stand crooked. Such a platform may be a stumbling block to the wobbly politician, but to the sincere and unflinching Socialist it is solid ground whereon to meet every capitalist or middle-class adversary.

The Washington platform proceeds upon the principle that all questions concerning the constructive steps, if any, to be taken by the Socialists in local affairs, in advance of the Co-operative Commonwealth itself, are questions to be dealt with when the party gets into office locally; they are not questions that should be utilized as a step-ladder with which to climb into office, nor as an appeal to the "half-baker" to boost its fellows in, so that we can have a chance to dole out soup-houses and ice-cream and coal yards and three-cent fares and other platonic plasters for organic evils, utopian pills for fundamental disease that are crying for drastic surgery and not for soothing syrups and salves. When we Socialists go into office, let us try to go in through the wide-open front door of the social revolution, and not through the back door of municipal ownership for suffering taxpayers, nor the cellar window of free hospitals, city employment bureaus, and other forms of political and palliated capitalism. If we keep throwing our political clubs into the fruit trees, and if we keep aiming at only the best fruit, we will get plenty of the poorer fruit, anyway, without trying for it—and we will get all the fruit in good season; but if we put in time shying sticks at the poorer fruit lower down on the tree, we will never get the best fruit—until we cut the whole tree down or let the ripe fruit rot off.

All platforms that contain immediate demands for palliatives and amelioratives are adopted on the assumption that such measures make "practical" politics. They tell us that we are idealists if we don't demand something easier and nearer at hand than the social revolution. But we appeal to the experience of the past. Karl Kautsky, certainly one of the clearest Socialists of the present day, tells us in the December number of the International Socialist Review, that the English laborers during recent years have adopted this so-called "practical" politics, and that as a result the proletariat of England—

"stand lower as a political factor than the laborers of the most economically backward country in Europe Russia. It is the real revolutionary consciousness in these latter that gives them their great political power. It is the renunciation of revolution, the narrowing of the interests of the moment (will Comrade Spring of California please note this), the narrowing of interest to the interests of the moment, to the so-called practical politics, that have made the latter a cipher in actual politics."

Comrade Kautsky, later on in the same strong article, says: "The ethic of the proletariat flows from its revolutionary efforts, and it is these which have strengthened and enabled it. To this revolutionary idealism we must above all things cling fast." The best way in which to retain this revolutionary idealism is to keep our platform revolutionary, uncompromising, clear. I agree with Comrade Untermyer when he says that these measures usually advocated in our immediate demands belong much more to the domain of the crushed middle class, and not to the working class. It is true, as he says that—

"we must define our position on these questions. But in defining them, we can choose the form of a resolution, the same as we (The Socialist Party of America) did on the trade union, the

negro, and the injunction question. Such a resolution is as good a campaign document as a platform, and does not lead to the confusion which the immediate demand tail has caused to our platform. The issue to be fought out in this or the next presidential election will be Capital versus Labor. Let us go into the campaign with a platform that makes this issue and relegates all other demands to their proper position in a resolution to be used for municipal campaigns alone. And let our national platform be a simple declaration of war between Capitalism and Socialism."

The comrades of Washington assembled in state convention were convinced of the wisdom of this kind of platform not only in national affairs but also in state affairs; and the comrades of Seattle stood for this single-demand platform also in municipal elections. They resolved, that their platform should be a simple declaration of war and of the principles that made that war inevitable. If others would ask to know our position on other questions, we refer them to our resolutions wherein the party has defined its position, not for the purpose of attracting the opportunists but for the purpose of shedding light on discussed questions.

In summing up, we may claim these advantages for the Washington platform: (a) It is revolutionary, uncompromising, complete, and clear. (b) It harmonizes the agitation of the party members, and puts a check on utopianism, sentimentalism, opportunism. (c) It will tend to unite the two sections of the Socialists of the country by reducing the issues to the fundamental ones. (d) It makes Socialists out of the new voters, and better Socialists out of the older adherents of the party. (e) It keeps the class lines clear and unswerving, the class struggle firm and unflinching. (f) It warns off the opportunist politician, the capitalist bamboozler, and the Democratic demagogue. (g) It stands for Socialism pure and simple—nothing more and, above all, Nothing Less.

FORWARD MARCH.

SEATTLE PLATFORM.

"WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS; YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!"

We, the Socialist Party of Seattle, in convention assembled, proclaim our allegiance to the Socialist Party of America, and to the Socialist Party of the State of Washington.

We affirm our unflinching adherence to the principles and the program of international revolutionary Socialism. In presenting our candidates for municipal office to the working class voters of Seattle we base our appeal upon the following declarations as our PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES:

1. Labor produces all wealth.

2. Under the present economic and political conditions labor's share in the wealth which it creates is merely a mean and uncertain subsistence.

3. So long as the present organization of industry remains the capitalist class will monopolize the machines of production and will appropriate through the wage system, the wealth created by the working class.

4. This appropriation of labor's wealth by the capitalists is so complete that it enables them to live in luxury and idleness.

5. As a necessary consequence of this exploitation of the laborers by the capitalists—appropriation of all property out of the hands of the tool property into the private ownership of the holders of capital, there is an inevitable war between the interests of the working class on the one hand and the interests of the capitalist class on the other.

6. This class struggle between the wealth-makers and the wealth-takers will endure so long as our present system of production for profit continues.

7. In this conflict between the workers and the capitalists labor is disarmed on the economic side, all the instruments of producing and distributing wealth being owned and controlled by the holders of capital.

8. There is only one weapon with which the working class can successfully oppose the capitalist class—and that is the BALLOT.

9. This fact demands as an inevitable conclusion the organization of the working class into a political party that shall be, everywhere and always, distinct from and opposed to every political party not founded entirely upon the interests of the working class. The Socialist Party is organized to meet the demand, and is therefore the party of the working class.

10. The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system of wage-slavery is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it does, the Socialist Party is for it; if it does not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

11. In accordance with this principle, the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the municipal affairs of Seattle in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class.

12. In conclusion, we appeal to all workingmen to study the principles of Socialism, to vote with their class at all elections until they overthrow the power of capitalism, abolish industrial classes in society, terminate forever the class struggle and inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth based upon this fundamental principle of justice: TO EVERY WORKER THE FULL PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR!

THE QUORUM DISEASE.

The communication from E. Ballard Dunn, of the Local Quorum of the National Committee, which we publish to-day, completes the circle. Already Putnam and Roche had spoken. Dunn now sings the same song. This makes three, a majority, of the Quorum. Comrade Hoehn disagrees. So probably does the fifth member of the Quorum. But these two don't count on a vote. They are in the minority. No doubt also Secretary Greenbaum is with the majority. It is known that in a recent disagreement in the Quorum, Putnam and Dunn stood with Greenbaum and now Roche. Greenbaum's office assistant, has been elected on the Quorum to fill a vacancy. These four constitute the St. Louis group which is trying to obliterate the Socialist Party in favor of an Independent or Union Labor Party.

These few men, together with Job Harriman, seem to have caught the same disease at the same time. Their symptoms are all alike. There is a slight indication that De Leon is coming down with the same malady. But Socialists in general seem to be immune. This is fortunate, for a contagious disease like this might have carried off a number of our best workers before it had run its run.

The chief symptom of this new disease is the speaking of a new language. Singularly enough, all those attacked speak this same new language with about equal facility. It might almost be said to be a song, it is so simple, it has so few variations, a sort of chant, a recitative. It strikes hardly more than one tone throughout Harriman struck it, Putnam and Roche echoed it and now Dunn re-echoes it.

The burden of this hypocritical song is this: The material interests of the Labor Unions lie in the Socialist program, therefore they will come to it sometime and there is no use in a Socialist Party. It does not seem so very entrancing stated thus nakedly. In fact, it seems that the logicians call a "non-sequitur"—it does not seem to follow. But these lawyers have a faculty of intoning their new discovery in quite an attractive manner. They talk with that supreme confidence which always accompanies a delusion. They ignore facts with sublime nonchalance. They have a theory, and if the facts don't fit the theory, so much the worse for the facts. It is almost impossible to treat this iteration and reiteration seriously. It has all the marks of a monomania and those who have caught it will recover in due time. That the proposition is meeting with almost no response in the Party as a whole is pretty good proof of two things. First, that it is in the nature of a delusion, a possession which has seized a few minds. Second, that the party at large is in a pretty healthy state and not easily susceptible to contagious diseases.

THEORY AND FACT.

Theory: There is a great Union Labor Party arising.
Fact: There is none visible.

Theory: The material interests of a Labor Union Party compel it to adopt Socialist principles.
Fact: It never has.

Theory: The Socialist Party is based on an idea only.
Fact: The Socialist Party is an organization of the workers based on their material interests.

Theory: Material interest, without knowledge, will lead the Labor Unions to Socialism quicker than material interest with knowledge.
Fact: Material interest, without knowledge, blunders into the ditch of Fusion and confusion. Witness San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Theory: The Labor Unions represent the working class.
Fact: The Labor Unions represent a divided working class.

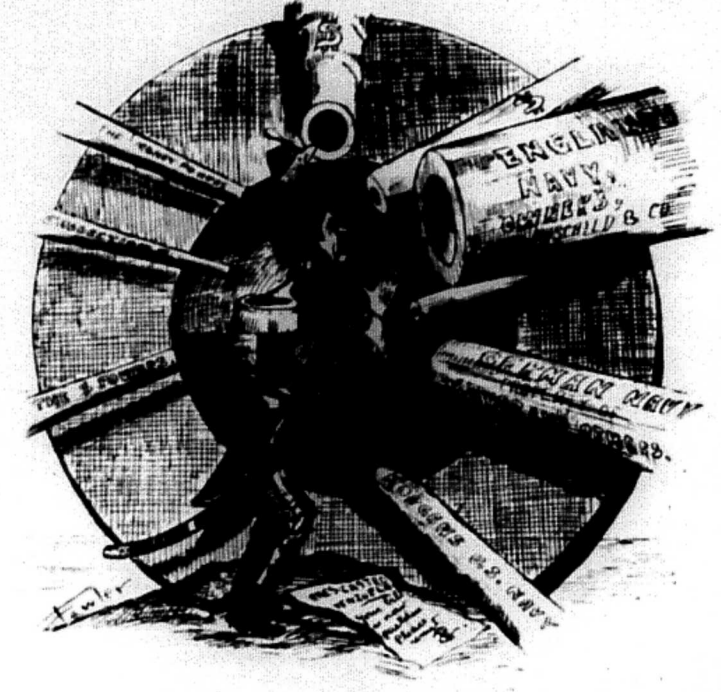
Theory: There are only two attitudes toward the Labor Unions, "Fight or Fusion."
Fact: There is a third and best attitude, Friendly support.

Theory: The Labor Unions are wholly bad or wholly good.
Fact: The Labor Unions are good on their own field, the economic or industrial, and bad on the field which does not belong to them,—the political.

Father Hagerty Sends New Year's Greeting

Editor The Socialist.
NEW YEAR'S GREETING.
TWO OF THE NEWLY-ELECTED STATE REPRESENTATIVES HAVE APPLIED FOR ADMISSION TO OUR LOCALS AND, IF ADMITTED, WILL GO UPON THE FLOOR OF THE ARKANSAS LEGISLATURE AS AVOWED SOCIALISTS.
THOS. J. HAGERTY.
Van Buren, Ark., Dec. 29, 1902.
These men were probably among those elected by the 8,345 "Independent" voters in Arkansas.

This Venezuelan Business



Capitalist Cannon Collect Capitalist Dividends

"Governments Are only Committees of the Capitalist Class," said Marx.

What does all this excitement about Venezuela mean? This little ruler, Castro, what has he done?

Why, it is all very simple. Some bonds issued by a former government in that Spanish-American "republic" have not been paid. These bonds are held by Englishmen and Germans. The governments of these countries are collecting the debts of their subjects. Cannon are always at the service of dollars. A battleship is simply a big policeman. Only between nations they can still arrest for debt, it appears. Or, at any rate they can levy on custom receipts and other visible possessions of a nation. So this is what is going on in Venezuela. The International policemen are executing the orders of a self-constituted International court.

The people—especially the working population of Venezuela—those who work the coffee or cocoa plantations, are not the least concerned. Nor are the working class of America. It is all simply none of our business. It is a fight between the exploiters

Theory: The Labor Unions will become Socialists faster if the Socialist Party disbands and joins the unions.
Fact: The Labor Unions are becoming Socialists by hundreds and thousands. Proof: Read "The Miners' Magazine" and "The American Labor Union Journal."

Theory: The Socialist Party does not represent the class struggle.
Fact: The Socialist Party represents nothing else. It is organized on no other lines.

Theory: The Labor Unions represent the class struggle.
Fact: They represent a class struggle, not the class struggle.

Theory: E. Val Putnam and M. Ballard Dunn represent the Socialist Party.

The Reverend Mr. McLafferty, the Tacoma (Wash.) public librarian, who refused to allow this paper on file as "dangerous to the work-people," now has a scheme of his own to assist that neglected class. According to the reporter, the Reverend Mr. McLafferty "feels that there is a large class of people in the city, the working class, shop and mill men, among which the public library should have a large mission, but which it now fails to reach to his satisfaction, and he has therefore initiated a movement, original, with himself, looking toward this end."

So the Reverend Mr. McLafferty has mailed letters to all the manufacturers in that city requesting their co-operation to increase the circulation of "thousands of the best books among working men."

This is the same progressive and original guardian of workingmen's interests who recently refused to accept a gift of Karl Marx's "Capital" to be placed on his shelves. And now he wonders workingmen don't patronize his expurgated Sunday school library! Just as so many of his holy kind wonder workingmen don't attend their churches.

We desire to inform the Reverend Mr. McLafferty that by some inadvertence, probably the carelessness of one of his non-reverend subordinates, a copy of "The Socialist" of Dec. 21, was on file in the Ta-

coma Library as late as Jan. 3. If such a slip occurs again, Reverend Sir, we shall report you to those manufacturers as trying to mislead their "work people" and make Socialists of them.

We trust you will never dare admit to your virgin library any books written by that terrible German of whom Prof. Ferri, president of the European Society of Criminology, has written as follows:

"It was Karl Marx who, in 1859, in his 'Critique de l'economie politique,' and even before then, in 1847, in the famous 'Manifesto,' written in collaboration with Engels, nearly ten years before Spencer's 'First Principles,' and finally in 'Capital' (1867) supplemented, or rather completed, in the Social domain, the scientific revolution begun by Darwin and Spencer." (From "Socialism and Modern Science," International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane St., New York. Price 75 cents, page 94.) But don't send for that book, holy man. It's as bad as "Capital." It will certainly corrupt those dear working people of yours.

No free people nor Republican institutions are in danger from Europeans. England and Germany are no more likely to destroy freedom than the United States. So let us see straight and not get excited. It is none of our funeral. The workingman will get his little wage—just a living, no more, no less, whether foreign capitalists collect their bonds of Venezuela or not, or whether the Monroe Doctrine survives or not.

The army and navy, policemen of the nations, are just the protectors of property and no concern of the propertyless.

Germany and English have just as much right in South America as Americans have in Africa or Asia.

Under Protection or Free Trade--All the Same! Legislation Can't Check Evolution!

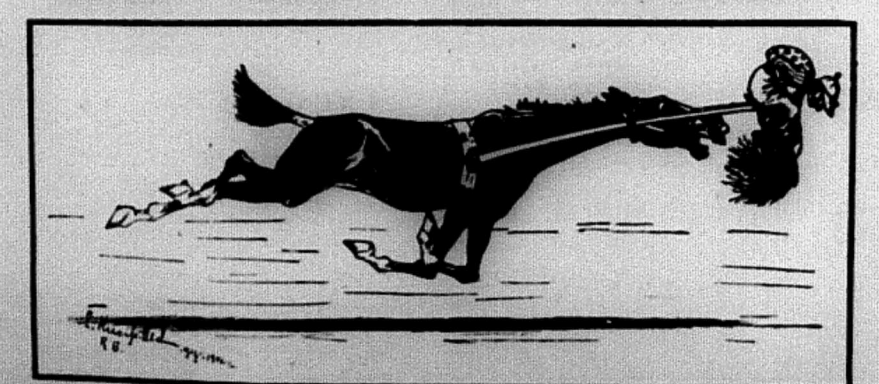
Unky, of Protection is the Muvver of Trusts Whose Little Dirle is 1!

TRUSTS EVERYWHERE!

Under Protection or Free Trade--All the Same! Legislation Can't Check Evolution!



PROFIT SHARING WITH WORKINGMEN



Jockey Morgan on the Great American Racehorse
The Way to Make Him Go.
The Steel Trust Sells Its Own Stock to Its Employees--If They Won't Strike for Five Years.

SOCIALISM OR UNIONISM -- WHICH?

Discussion Continued by Members of the National Committee. Hoehn and Dunn Take Opposite Sides.

LOCAL QUORUM NOT A UNIT.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 31st, 1902.
Editor Seattle Socialist.

Dear Comrade: I have read your criticism on the fusion proposition of Comrades Putnam and Roche, who, although members of the National Quorum, pledged to uphold the banner of the Socialist Party, defend the "Frisco political" "cow-trade."

In your criticism you say:

"It seems almost as if Harriman and the little St. Louis group on the National Quorum had conspired to transmit the Socialist Party into a Union Labor Party. Just at the time when the Socialist Party is securing a phenomenal growth, just at the time when the great American Labor Union in national convention has declared for socialism, just at the very hour when the American Federation of Labor itself has lacked only a few votes of supporting a Socialist resolution, just when the Central Labor Unions in scores of cities are passing similar resolutions of co-operation in the Socialist Party, when not a single instance of a growing Labor Union Party can be found in the United States, this is the time our national officials take to advocate the abandonment of the field by the Socialist Party in favor of a mythical "fusion" and political action class lines" by Labor Unions.

"Possibly the St. Louis comrades may be somewhat discouraged by the election results, being in the only state so far heard from to get less Socialist votes than in 1900. But they should not imagine Missouri to be the whole country. They should rather be led to distrust their own methods and conclusions and resolve to get into line with the onward movement in the rest of the states. No, comrades, in the N. Q., the Labor Party is not here, but the Socialist Party is here and here to stay."

As a member of the National Quorum of the Socialist Party, I most emphatically refuse to accept any responsibility for the actions of Roche, Putnam or any one else. The Quorum neither discussed the San Francisco affair, nor did it take any definite action or express any opinion, but referred the whole matter to the next National Committee meeting to be held in January.

Comrades Putnam and Roche now go before the comrades of the country with their fusionist and confusionist arguments without any authority whatever, except that as party members. The question of "Union Labor Party" came up in the St. Louis Local meeting of Dec. 7th, on motion of Putnam to start some local fusion move, but the motion was almost unanimously opposed by the local comrades, at least none were present, but for some reason did not express an opinion (which is something unusual), neither did Secretary Greenbaum.

I hold that it would have been their duty to uphold the Socialist Party platform and tactics. They have not been true to the unwritten pledge taken and word of honor given by them when placed into their present position of trust by the Socialist Party.

Local St. Louis will settle this question in its monthly meeting Jan. 4th. Undoubtedly you will hear from St. Louis later on.

Why did Roche, Putnam, etc., not listen to the voice of the St. Louis comrades? I am sure they will not find ten comrades here who endorse their attitude. Why did they disregard the action of Local St. Louis and not await the final action of the Socialist Party of St. Louis of which they are members?

As to the St. Louis comrades, I beg leave to say that they are not in the least discouraged over the late election results, on the contrary, they are encouraged, for the reason that in spite of all the contemptible work of the Democratic Party and the S. L. P. that made us change our name twice within five weeks before election, we stood our ground and today the Socialist Party is the third party in St. Louis and in the State of Missouri.

As to a "Union Labor Party" sentiment in St. Louis—I do not know of any, although I am as well acquainted with the local movement as any Quorum member. Steinbiss, the Democratic heeler, and National Secretary of the Building Trades Council, is doing some "Union Labor Party" agitation for Millionaire Hearst's Democratic presidential nomination boom—can't Putnam and Roche see the danger line? One more step and they could join hands with Steinbiss and Hearst!

In conclusion I wish to say: Comrades Putnam, Roche, et al., had the perfect right to take the attitude they are now defending, but before doing so, it would have been their duty to resign as members of the National Quorum, especially so when they rushed into print before their own local had any chance to discuss the matter and decide the question. It seems they were very much in a hurry to work up some "U. L. P." sentiment.

As a member of the Quorum I shall insist that the National Committee in its January meeting take prompt and decisive action in this matter.

I assure you that I am most heartily in favor of the position taken by the Seattle Socialist and am convinced that the Socialist Party throughout this country will not fail to give the proper answer.

Yours for Labor and Socialism,
G. A. HOEHN,
Member Local Quorum Socialist Party.

THE LESSON OF THE CALIFORNIA SITUATION.

In the consideration of the so-called "California Situation," we find ourselves confronted with conditions which necessitate an entire recasting of our previous concept of the class struggle.

The Labor Movement in America has been peculiar in that the trades union movement came into existence previous to the Socialist Party and attained powerful proportions before the agitation of the Socialists was at all a factor in the movement for the emancipation of the workers. Those who laid the foundations of the Socialist Party seeing in the then existing program of the trades unions a limitation which held the activities of the trades unionists entirely within the conflict between the capitalists

and wage workers of particular crafts, and which limited their action on matters of legislation and general governmental policy to resolutions and petitions transmitted to the United States by the ballot alone, for the complete control of the powers of government, and through that means, the abolition of the capitalist system of production, lay the freedom of the working class. The formation of the Socialist Labor Party was the result.

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

Through the years that have succeeded the first formation of the Socialist Labor Party has come an endless conflict within the party itself, between those who stood grandly upon what they termed, "principles," and those who, having a faint glimmering of the real principles of the class struggle, sought for a closer alignment with the trades unions, but at the same time made their efforts abortive by failing to adopt their political and economic program to the immediate interests of the trades unions, for whose methods they had really little, if anything, but pity and contempt.

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

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

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

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

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

The Socialist of the De Leon schools uses as his principal arguments such words and phrases as, "fakir," "labor skate," "labor lieutenant," "traitor," "organized scabbery," "institution of capitalism," etc. All those in the trades union movement who do not happen to be of their particular opinion regarding the salvation of the working class are dubbed in the above manner, and the whole trades union movement itself is given the name of "organized scabbery," against which the "stalwarts" are battling as much as they battle against any other "institution of capitalism."

The De Leonite has at least been open in the advocacy of his opinion, however wrong he may have been in principle. The seceders, however, have occupied a hypocritical position from the outset, an hypocrisy shown in the use of such terms as "tactics," "boring from within," "finding common ground," etc. By resolution and declaration they have loudly declared their oneness with the trades unions while they have secretly wished upon the occasion of every strike or other conflict between organized labor and organized capital, that the strikers would lose, in order that they might, "get their eyes open"; they have hoped for and prophesied the breakup of the unions and the general flocking of the defeated into the ranks of the Socialist Party. And in this I speak from experience for I have taken part in many such party "outrages" (a bitter admission), and while I have never gone the length of hoping for defeat, I have figured out to my own satisfaction (and how few there are who have not), the ultimate collapse of the trades union movement and the riding on its ruins of the Socialist Party triumphant.

But to return to the phraseology of the seceders. In the term "tactics" we at once brand ourselves as opposed to the trades unions. If the difference between the De Leon forces and the seceders was one of purely tactics, why this deadly conflict? Men do not fly at each other's throats in a discussion solely of the methods. No, it was not a question of tactics, it was a question of principle. The De Leonite was opposed to the trades union upon

principle; he looked upon them as hostile to the welfare of the workers, as mere capitalist institutions. The seceders, on the other hand, did not agree with this reasoning and they set themselves up in opposition. They called their move one of "tactics," it is true, and so regarded it, for in the school wherein they had learned their philosophy they had been taught that the Socialist Party was the only emancipating force and upon that theory they naturally looked upon the trades unions as bodies outside the party and to be regarded much the same as other organizations in the body politic. But regardless of their theories it was nevertheless a question of principle over which they were contending.

Now, if the Socialist Party is truly a wage workers' party, it should have no "tactics" towards the trades unions. The trades unions are either an integral part of the class struggle and therefore part of the Socialist movement, or they are, according to the theory of De Leonite, capitalist institutions. If we attempt to hold a certain set of "tactics" toward the trades unions we place ourselves upon the same plane with the Democratic and Republican parties which live on by tactics and not by principle. And why if the trades unions are engaged in the same mission as ourselves (which we declare in our trades union resolution), need we "bore from within," why must we seek common ground, with them? If we are one in principle with the trades unions, why should we seek converting their members to our philosophy to destroy their faith in their own organization? And if already we are one in principle, why must we needs take some action before we are on "common ground" with the wage workers, the trades unions? Logically reasoning, we should be there without the necessity of any further action on our part. If we are not we are only in the road and will be brushed aside.

The prevailing opinion that the Socialist movement was such is alone the emancipating force of the wage workers which we have really believed regardless of our trades union resolution, which were in fact in the last analysis adopted as a purely "tactical" measure and tolerated on that ground mainly, must now be considered in a light that shatters that theory to pieces.

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

The great fact involved in the California situation is there before us—a fact which has been in formation for a number of years in other parts of the country, but which has only now reached proportions sufficient to command our attention. This fact is the movement of organized labor, and the situation is not affected by the so-called failure of the Socialist Party in the past, because apparent failure is a concomitant of all new and untried efforts of the working class.

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

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

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

It is with this concept of the labor movement—a markedly changed one, I admit,—but still born of the inexorable logic of events, that I write on the "California situation" and it is also with this concept that I have stated that its proper consideration will require an entire recasting of our previous philosophy of the class struggle.

M. BALLARD DUNN,
Member Local Quorum National Committee Socialist Party.
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 1st, 1903.

ADDENDUM:
In the presentation of the above view of the questions before us I have purposely left out several phases of the development which has brought us to the necessity of deciding the question once and for all, not because they were unimportant in that development, but because thus left out was the organization once known as the Social Democratic Party, and which really had its birth in the hostile attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward the trades unions, and which more than any other one thing precipitated the split in the ranks of the S. L. P. Since, however, the S. D. P. has ceased to exist, being really assimilated in the union with the seceders (and of which only the trades union attitude remains), I deem it necessary to refer to it only in the way in which I have, as a tendency.

On the other hand might be cited the present position of the De Leon wing of the S. L. P. Utterly discredited, their position in this question has placed them entirely outside of the class struggle so far as any useful known as the Social Democratic Party, and which really had its birth in the hostile attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward the trades unions, and which more than any other one thing precipitated the split in the ranks of the S. L. P. Since, however, the S. D. P. has ceased to exist, being really assimilated in the union with the seceders (and of which only the trades union attitude remains), I deem it necessary to refer to it only in the way in which I have, as a tendency.

At the Regular Monthly Business Meeting of the Central Branch of Local Seattle, it was decided to issue membership cards. All members paying dues for the month of January will receive the cards.

W. HUMPHREY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

HOW SOCIALISM MUST BE ACHIEVED IN ORDER TO BENEFIT THE WORKING CLASS

By Charles Ufert,
(National Committeeman from New Jersey.)

If Socialism is to be of any benefit to the working class it must be brought about by that class. The only way that we can get Socialism is through the governmental powers. Therefore it follows that the working class in order to capture the power of government, must organize its own political party. That is the reason we of the Socialist Party lay stress upon the class character of our movement. What we want is that the WORKING CLASS SHALL BE THE RULING CLASS, and we maintain that that is the only way in which the working class can achieve its emancipation from wage slavery.

The A. B. C. Again.
Socialism as defined by the platform of the Socialist Party, is the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, i. e. the land, mines, railroads, factories, mills, etc.

Today these means of production are owned by a very small percentage of the people, who are known as capitalists. The working class which does not own the means of production must consequently go to the capitalist class and ask that they be permitted to use the tools of production. The capitalist is willing to employ the workers as long as he can make a profit out of their labor power. He is not concerned about the welfare of the workers beyond the fact that he needs their labor power and therefore pays them enough to keep them healthy together that they may produce wealth for him.

Never Ending Conflict.
Because of these facts there is a never-ending conflict between the capitalists who own the tools of production and the working class which must use these tools in order to live. This conflict is defined by Socialists as the class struggle. Socialism does not create the class struggle—it was here before the Socialist movement was here. It manifested itself in the period of chattel slavery, when there was a contest of interests between the slaves and slave owners; then when this system gave way to feudalism, there was the struggle between the feudal lords and the serfs who had to work the land which the feudal lords owned—and today the class struggle manifests itself between the workers and the capitalists and the working class.

The World Tragedy.
"All the world's a stage" is what Shakespeare said. The play or rather the tragedy that has been on the boards of this great stage for ages past is the class struggle. It is about time the workers would have the curtain rung down and put a grander and more beautiful play upon the boards. The working class is the only class that can end the class struggle because all other classes are interested in upholding the present system, while it is to the interest of the workers that it give way to a new system.

Socialism, real working class Socialism, would inaugurate a new and higher order of civilization. It would give to the workers, the creators of wealth, all the wealth that they produce, instead of a small fraction of that product which is their share to-day.

Capitalist Class Parties.
In order that the workers may receive the full product of their toil, they must become the owners of the means of production and distribution. Anything short of this is not Socialism. The capitalist class, fearing the awakening of class consciousness, the realization of an identity of interests amongst the workers, may try to alleviate such by offering something which seems like Socialism but which is about as far from it as is the north pole from the south pole. Whenever a proposition is put forth by the capitalists or their political parties, the Democratic and Republican parties, remember that it is a proposition by those who control those parties. These parties, as anyone who cares to see is aware of, are the parties of the capitalist class. Any action they may take is taken for the purpose of benefiting the class they represent.

It is not to the interests of the capitalist class to give the worker the full product of his toil—for if he would give him his entire product, there would then no longer exist a capitalist class. The CAPITALIST CLASS MERELY LIVES OFF THE PROFITS THAT THEY MAKE BY EXPLOITING THE WORKING CLASS. If they could get no more profits they would have to go to work in order to make a living.

End the Class Struggle.
We may now see why the Socialist Party demands the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution—for only through such a change being done as the abolition of the working class struggle terminate.

Under Socialism, when the people will collectively own the means of production, the capitalist and the worker will be one. Or to put it in another way, there will be no capitalists and no workers. Class distinctions being done away with, no one living off the labor of others, they will see a nobler and higher race of human beings. In the Cooperative Commonwealth there will be no class divisions and each and every member thereof will be a citizen of a free state—a commonwealth of, for and by the people.

Only One Way.
The only way we can obtain real Socialism then, is through the working class. In order that the working class may inaugurate the new system it must first become the ruling class—it must capture the power of government. Our object as Socialists must therefore be to educate the members of our class in the truths of Socialism and to prepare them for their historic mission—the substitution of Socialism for capitalism, the rule of all in place of class rule.

While to-day the workers may lean, "bowed by weight of centuries," as Markham says; while they may be looked down upon as an inferior class; while they may be scoffed at for their ambitions and desires; yet, to them belongs the future. They need not look up instead of down; they need not realize the strength of their class; and they need not realize that if they would unite on the political field that they would be the dominant class!

Well Under Way.
The movement for labor's emancipation is now well under way. All over the civilized world the working

(Continued on Page 4.)

FLASHES FROM ABROAD

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN

Friends of Labor in Germany.
The following extract from a speech made by Comrade Molkenbaur in the reichstag shows how the agrarian and clerical parties care for the working men, and what a good thing the new tariff bill is for the propaganda of the Socialists:

"The conservative Mr. Stettich has declared that the agrarians would be willing to make sacrifices for the widows and orphans of the working men, if the condition of agriculture were improved by higher duties on foodstuffs. That is an old song, but we don't believe in it any longer. At the time when the law for the insurance of the sick passed in 1883, the agricultural laborers were excluded from its benefits or account of the condition of agriculture. In 1885, the duties on cereals were trebled, and in 1887 they were increased fivefold, but still the agricultural laborers remained excluded from sick insurance. When in 1891 the amendment to the sick insurance law was proposed, agricultural laborers were excluded from its benefits or account of the condition of agriculture. In 1885, the duties on cereals were trebled, and in 1887 they were increased fivefold, but still the agricultural laborers remained excluded from sick insurance. 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PARTY NEWS

LOCAL NOTES.

T. C. Wiswell will speak at Ross Hall, Ross, Sunday afternoon at 2:30.

On Friday night, the 16th, the Scandinavian Literary Society of Ballard arranged a debate between Mm. McDevitt of Seattle and Hans Hanson of Ballard on the question, "Is Socialism Practical and Will It Benefit Mankind?" Meeting was held in Macabees' Hall. Details next week.

Dr. Titus speaks before Ballard Local Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock, Macabees' Hall. Comrade Moore spoke there last Sunday. Ballard comrades are getting down to hard work which will continue to keep Ballard well up in the front rank for increase in Socialist votes.

Meeting at Carpenters' Hall Sunday night will be addressed by D. D. Whedon.

Local Seattle ordered some time ago 10,000 stickers advertising the Sunday evening meetings and they can be seen all over town.

NEWS AND NOTES.

Comrade Spring, after a month's service, has resigned as State Secretary of California and Comrade Hering has been appointed temporarily in his place.

Comrade J. Stitt Wilson is speaking again in Southern California.

Socialist chances in the Haverhill contest seem good. Republicans have a majority of 14 votes, but the Socialists will show that 18 blank ballots were counted for the Republicans.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., Socialists nominated a city ticket January 1st.

Mother Jones will tour Canada for the Socialists.

Father Hagerty is on a western lecture tour under the auspices of the American Labor Union.

Father McGrady is lecturing in Ohio and Eugene V. Debs in Oregon.

The 10th plank in the Seattle municipal platform, which was later adopted by the Washington State convention, grows more popular every day. This time Chicago comrades have embodied it in their platform.

The Socialist Labor Party of Philadelphia held a memorable meeting at the Labor Lyceum. Lucien Sanial of New York was invited as speaker. After relating some of De Leon's notorious work of destruction, Sanial expressed the opinion, and recommended that the S. L. P. of Pennsylvania should co-operate with the Socialist Party in the work of agitation. He thought that by 1904 there would be but one Socialist ticket in the field. His remarks were well received.—"St. Louis Labor."

In the last few months, Indianapolis papers say, so many workmen have left the Indiana militia that the politicians are seriously discussing the question of enacting a law to visit severe punishment upon unions and individuals who agitate against the I. N. G. Probably that is just what is needed to drive the remaining workmen out of the militia.—"Cleveland Citizen."

In Georgia the Democrats, the friends of labor, you know, have killed a child-labor bill proposed by the unions.

Reported that Socialists elected two aldermen in Derby, Conn. Two candidates for local offices in Ashton, Neb., were elected also one in Fayette, Pa., another in Canton, Kan., and their complete ticket in Kingston, Utah.—"Cleveland Citizen."

For hurrahing for the Socialist Party while under the influence of liquor a soldier in Germany was given 17 months in jail.

The enormous Socialist vote in Massachusetts has set the capitalist press a guessing and various reasons have been assigned therefor, but the prize guess is that of the Chicago Tribune, which attributes it to the "steady increase of foreign-born over the native population." A glance at the names of the candidates will of course show that the Tribune's guess is fairly correct. John C. Chasovvich, the candidate for Governor, is no doubt indebted in a large part to the vote of the resident Russian population for his total of 34,000, while John Quincy Adamski as Lieutenant-Governor, did nearly 7,000 better by raking in the Austrian Slovak and Polish vote in addition. As for the other candidates, we have only to mention the names of Coulter, Stutley, Clifford, Carlson, Monks, Patterson, Smith, Lynch, Clancy, Keenan, Basoworth, Barlow, Wrenn, Bingham and Richards, as showing beyond doubt their foreign extraction. We have never seen a roll of the "minute men" who fired "the first shot that was heard around the world" at Lexington in 1776, but we would be willing to make a small bet that seventy-five per cent of the names above given can be duplicated in that list. But no doubt the Tory Tribunes of that day considered those men as foreigners also.—"Chicago Socialist."

The Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners has reaffirmed the political policy of the convention of last year and pledged its members to "refuse all offers of political emolument to the hands of any of the old capitalist parties."

The First Regiment of the Louisiana National Guard has been disbanded because many of the members refused to act against the strikers of New Orleans, one whole company resigning in a body.

Comrades Hayes Barnes, Slayton, and others, organized a Socialist Local in New Orleans during the A. F. of L. convention.

Comrade P. J. Cooney, formerly of Montana, and a good friend of "The Socialist," spoke at the Socialist Club, Fulton street and Ralph avenue, Brooklyn, on Sunday evening, Dec. 23.

The Socialists of Luzerne County have decided to take upon themselves the publication of a weekly paper, to be known as "The Socialist," to be published in the interests of the Socialist Party of the anthracite region and Northeastern Pennsylvania. J. G. Roth has been elected Manager, and C. F. Quinn will be the Editor, while F. Schade, Sr., as Treasurer, will handle the financial side of the proposed enterprise. As soon as one thousand paid subscribers are secured at fifty cents per year, the first number will be issued. Subscriptions to this fund are solicited.—"The Worker."

"The Socialist," pure and simple and without addition, subtraction or multiplication, is presented, Comrade Roth, Seattle has the distinction of first raising that flag in the United States. Don't compel us to change.

LOCAL TULARE (CALIF.) DISOWNS "S. E. C."

Comrades: Whereas, The committee claiming to be the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California at San Francisco in September, 1902, was elected in violation of the Constitution of the party and being so elected is illegal and therefore has no authority and all acts done by it are illegal. Therefore be it Resolved by Local Tulare, That we refuse to pay any dues or moneys of any sort to said committee or recognize it in any way. Also Resolved, That our Secretary is hereby instructed to send all dues to the National Secretary of the Party until the state shall be legally organized and shall elect a legal Executive Committee; and Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent the National Committee, Locals of the State, the Committee elected at San Francisco and Party Press.

Adopted unanimously by Local Tulare, December 21, 1902.

WM. CARPENTER, Secretary.

THIS IS BUSINESS.

To the Members of the Socialist Party of California:

Comrades: Whereas, The State Executive Committee elected at San Francisco in September, 1902, was elected in violation of the constitution of the party and therefore is illegal and as Local San Francisco has up till the present time refused to elect a committee as required by the Constitution, therefore Resolved, That Local Tulare hereby calls upon the Locals of California for a vote upon the following:

1. Shall the State Executive Committee be removed from San Francisco? Vote yes or no.

2. If so removed, where shall the seat of the State Executive Committee be located?

Votes should name place wished, place receiving highest vote to be selected, and to immediately proceed to elect a State Executive Committee and act under the Constitution of the party adopted in March, 1902.

Votes should be returned to Local Tulare by February 1, 1903.

WM. CARPENTER, Secretary.

Unanimously adopted by Local Tulare, Dec. 21, 1902.

NEWPORT (KY.) PROTEST.

"The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. At the last meeting of Local Newport, Ky., the question arose in regard to this National Committee meeting and who was to pay for same.

Now, comrades, very near all of the money in the Socialist Party comes from the rank and file, some of whom have a hard time to keep up their dues in the organization and deprive themselves of something by so doing and we don't believe that this money should be expended without the best results could be gained.

Therefore the following resolution was adopted by Local Newport:

Whereas, The National Committee has called a meeting to be held in St. Louis January 29th, 1903, therefore be it

Resolved, That Local Newport see to it that no money be sent to St. Louis for that meeting and protest against same; and be it further

Resolved, That the questions before the party can be well taken care of by a referendum vote with a much smaller cost, and at the same time it gives the members a right to vote on questions as they ought; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to several of the Socialist papers, also to the State and National Secretaries for publication.

(GEORGE MESSNER, Secretary Local Newport, Dec. 30, 1902.)

COMING FAST ENOUGH.

Editor Socialist:

I can hardly endorse either the article of Comrade Benway or the views of those he criticises.

We have reached a point where we may declare confidently that Socialism is coming very soon, but the "time and season no man knows." Whenever I hear discouraging remarks, I reply: "It is coming faster than anything of importance ever traveled before."

My criticism on Comrade Benway is the mistake he is making in supposing that a panic would at this stage be of the least value to us. On the contrary, it would be an immense help to the Democrats. In all probability it would place the Democratic Party in power and delay Socialism just about four years. Given four years more of "prosperity," and we shall be the second party, then, possibly, but not certainly, a panic might help us. The rapidity with which we are now growing proves conclusively that a panic is not necessary to us.

In this connection I will further say that we are in no need of that great "unemployed problem" of which Comrade Wilschire speaks so often and so earnestly.

The great question for us is how to educate the voters as fast as they will benefit from it. I hope every state committee will take measures similar to those so pertinently urged by Comrade Moore, your state secretary.

Not but that I highly appreciate the fact that the ideal must precede the scientific. But let us not be childish always. Plato, More, Fourier, Owen, etc., must needs be before we could have a Marx, an Engels, or a Ferri. But Socialism would be in a weakly condition to-day, if it had no writers but the Utopians.

Let us give to every stage its due attention, and permit not one set of leaders to overshadow all others. We are now here by hundreds of thousands; we shall soon be here by millions. Let us, as becomes sober men, prepare for the great work before us. If we do not bestir ourselves, Morgan will have his part finished before we can get ready for him.

D. BOND, Science Hill, Kentucky.

Comrade von Braun, of Los Angeles, sends a statement signed by large comrades affirming that they "heard Don York denounce the Union Labor Party at the public meetings of the Local." This is in reply to York's statement last week that von Braun had misrepresented him when he wrote that York was no longer in sympathy with the U. L. P.

Evidently there is considerable pressure being put on the Los Angeles Local. But the "Los Angeles Socialist" in the last issue admits Local Los Angeles' action "has brought down upon its head the condemnation and criticism of every paper in the country." It also begs everybody to let by-gones be by-gones and to "get together." So be it, of course. But the storm-center now seems to be transferred to St. Louis.

The Social Revolution

By KARL KAUTSKY

PART I.—SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Translated for "Justice," London, by J. B. Askew (Sole Translation Authorized by the Author).

Chapter V.—The Softening Down of the Class Antagonism.

(Continued.)

But the capitalist class? This is today the paramount class. Does not it at least become more friendly to labor, like the Intellectuals?

I am sorry to say I have not noticed anything of the sort.

Certainly, even the capitalist class changes; it does not remain always the same. But what are the most important of its changes within the last decades?

On one hand we find a softening down—sometimes even a complete cessation—of the competition in which the capitalists of a single branch of industry are engaged throughout their particular country, by means of employment associations, trusts, etc. On the other hand, we see the accentuation of international competition through the rise of new capitalist countries, especially of Germany and the United States.

The employers' associations abolish competition among the masters, not only against the buyers of their products, but also against their workers. Instead of being confronted with numerous purchasers of their labor-power, the workers have now only to deal with a single master. How much the advantages of the employers are thereby increased, and also to what extent their opposition to the workers is thus accentuated, needs no further elucidation.

According to the last census of the United States, the wages of the workers in American industry have, during the decade 1890-1900, suffered an absolute decrease. If that is so, we cannot be far wrong in attributing it to the work of the syndicates and trusts.

In the same direction, moreover, works the growth of foreign competition. Here, too, in addition to the consumers, it is the workers against whose interests this development proceeds. Over and above the raising of prices by means of protective tariffs, which in their turn favor the formation of employers' associations, it is the increased exploitation of labor by which the capitalists seek to meet foreign competition. Hence the accentuation of their struggle against the militant organizations of the workers, political and trade union, which stand in their way.

Thus here, too, there is no softening down, but, on the contrary, an intensification of the class war.

To this may be added, as a third factor, the increasing fusion of the industrial capital with the money capital, with the haute finance. The industrial capitalist is an employer in the domain of production (this taken in the widest sense and including transport) in which the exploiter hired wage labor and extracts a profit out of it. The money capitalist is, on the other hand, the modern form of the ancient usurer. He draws an income from his money, which he nowadays lends on interest, not simply to needy private individuals as formerly, but also to capitalist employers, local authorities, states, etc.

Between the industrial capitalist and the money capitalist there is a great antagonism, similar to that between the former and the landowner. Like the ground rent, the interest on borrowed capital is a deduction from the profit. The interests of both kinds of capital are thus on that point antagonistic. Nor so they agree politically. Just as the great landowners today, in view of a strong, preferably a patriarchal form of government, because so far as they are a court nobility they are in a position to bring personal influence to bear on the monarch and thereby on the government; just as they, further, are enthusiastic for militarism, which provides their progeny with an officer's career, for which the bourgeois youth can always demand a government; so the money capitalist is in favor of a policy of brute force at home and abroad, so in the same way is the high finance enamored of militarism and a strong spirited policy both home and foreign. The lords of the money capital need not fear a strong State power, independent of the people and Parliament, since they can always dominate it as creditors and often, too, through personal court influences. They have, moreover, an interest in militarism, in wars and national debts, both as creditors and Government contractors, because the sphere of their influence, their power and wealth is thereby enhanced.

It is different with the industrial capitalist. Militarism, wars, national debts imply increased taxation, in which it has to bear a considerable share, or which increase for it the costs of production. War implies over and above this a slump in the production and sale of goods, business difficulties, often bankruptcy. If the financier is rash, extravagant, and a supporter of brute force, the industrial capitalist is, on the contrary, economical, prudent, and peaceful. A strong Government arouses his suspicions, all the more as he cannot directly influence it. Not a strong Government but a strong Parliament answers to his interests. In opposition to the big land-owners and the high finance he is inclined to Liberalism. His half-and-halfness is his too. Do ground rents, interest, taxes, limit his profit on one hand, then the rise of the proletariat threatens on the other the whole profit system. But even in his

relations to the proletariat, where the latter does not appear to him too menacing, he prefers the peaceful methods of "divide and rule," of corruption and attraction by means of philanthropic institutions, etc., to violent means of suppression. Where the proletariat has not yet struck out a line of political action of its own, there the industrial capital is only too ready to use it as a battering-ram and as a voting machine to increase its own political power. To the petty bourgeois the opposition between the industrial capitalist and the worker appears of less moment than that between the employer's profit on the one hand and the ground rent as well as the interest on capital on the other. The abolition of interest and the ground rent he looks upon as the solution of the social question.

The opposition, however, between finance and industry ceases now more and more, since with the advance in the concentration of capital finance gets an ever-increasing hold of industry. An important cause thereto is the increasing suppression of the private employer by the joint stock companies. Well-meaning optimists see in this a means to "democratize" capital, and thus gradually, and in a peaceful manner, without exciting attention, to change it into national property. As a matter of fact, it is a means to transform all the money of the middle and lower classes, which they do not require for immediate consumption, into money capital, and to place it as such at the disposal of the big financial money capitalists in order to buy out the industrial capitalists. It thus increases the means whereby finance can concentrate industry in the hands of a few money lords. Without the joint-stock company system the big financiers could only control those businesses which they had bought with their own money. Thanks to the company system they can make numerous businesses dependent on themselves and thus acquire such of them which they would not otherwise be able to purchase for lack of cash. The whole fabulous power of Pierpont Morgan & Co., who, within the space of a few years, have concentrated railways, mines, the greater part of the iron works, in one hand, and have already monopolized the most important ocean lines of steamers—this sudden capture of supremacy in industry and transport of the most important civilized nations would have been impossible without the joint-stock company system.

According to the London Economist, five men, J. D. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, J. Pierpont Morgan, W. K. Vanderbilt and G. Gould, possess together over £150,000,000. They, however, control more than £1,500,000,000, while the entire capital which is deposited in the banks, railways, and industrial companies of the United States amounts to but £3,500,000,000. This, thanks to the company system, they control nearly one-half of this capital on which the entire economic life of the United States depends.

Now, as always, moreover, the crisis which will not fail to reach America will expropriate the small holders, and increase and strengthen the property of the bigger ones.

The more, however, money capital gains control over industry, the more does the industrial capital, too, take on the methods of the money capital. To the private employer, who lives side by side with his workers, the latter are still human beings, whose welfare or the reverse can hardly remain quite a matter of indifference to him. If he is not totally hardened. But to the shareholder there only exists the difference of the workers are to him nothing but so many figures in a computation, in whose result, only he is interested to the highest degree, since it can bring him increased comfort, increased power, or a diminution of them and social degradation. The rest of the consideration for the worker, which the private employer could still preserve, is in his case non-existent.

Money capital is that species of capital which is the most favorably inclined towards the use of violent means; that which earliest combines into monopolies, and thereby acquires unlimited power over the working class; that which is farthest removed from the workers; it is that which drives out the capital of the private industrial employer and gains an ever-increasing control over the entire capitalist production.

The necessary consequence of all this is here, too, the accentuation of the social conflict.

A recent editorial in De Leon's "People" is causing considerable comment. It is proud as blind as the Delphic oracle, but on this is clear: he admits the S. L. P. attitude on the Labor Union question may be wrong. It seems to be a bid for union with the Independent Labor Party faction in our ranks. But he will have to hurry for there won't be any of that stripe left to unite with. Since Lucien Sanial left him, De Leon must be long-some. But it would be a circus indeed to see De Leon courting the American Federation of Labor with Harriman, Putnam, Roche and Dunn as companions.

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I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied class, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties; that I endorse the platform and constitution of the SOCIALIST PARTY, and hereby apply for admission to membership in said party.

Town and Date..... Age..... Name..... Occupation..... Residence..... Name of Member who Received the Application.....

Our Century Club.

Several now working for membership in Our Century Club are running week and week. Now, that the holidays are over, is a good time to begin again. Don't need to wait for a New Year's resolution. It's too far ahead, but begin now and three subscriptions each day for the next thirty days would see every one of our one hundred and fifteen workers members of the Club and the book with its pictures in the hands of the book-binder.

Every time you get some one to subscribe for "THE SOCIALIST" it brings him nearer Socialism. From all sides we hear that it makes Socialism. So if you want to help Socialism, one of the best ways is to get subscribers for this paper.

Following is a list of those who started people on the right road, and the subscriptions they have sent up. Only those who have secured "subs" since the list was published three weeks ago are given.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| No. 1—W. B. Heckman..... | 766 |
| No. 2—A. Lackey..... | 107 |
| No. 3—E. E. Lattimer..... | 101 |
| No. 4—"Uncle Sam"..... | 144 |
| No. 5—D. Burgess..... | 129 |
| No. 6—Geo. W. Scott..... | 146 |
| No. 7—E. C. Martin..... | 135 |
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| Wm. O'Keefe..... | 22 |
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| F. M. Smith..... | 25 |
| C. F. Vanderhoof..... | 23 |
| C. D. Stedelin..... | 15 |
| F. J. Lavanier, Ky..... | 13 |
| L. H. Clark..... | 12 |
| Wm. Humphrey..... | 11 |
| Jos. Lawrence, Calif..... | 11 |
| J. J. Hawkins..... | 9 |
| Harold Burns..... | 8 |
| Wm. De Lilly..... | 8 |
| J. C. Robbins..... | 6 |
| W. E. Boggs, Kansas..... | 5 |
| Jas. A. Easton, Nev..... | 5 |
| T. R. Hopkins..... | 5 |
| H. Menzel..... | 5 |
| W. M. Voils..... | 5 |
| H. B. Jory..... | 3 |
| Dan Parmenter..... | 2 |
| E. E. Vall..... | 2 |
| Herman Culver..... | 2 |
| W. G. Critchlow, Ohio..... | 2 |
| W. E. Stache..... | 1 |



Under the heading "Good Suggestion" the Caldwell (Kansas) "Republican" prints the echo of "Prosperity": "Tramps and beggars have become a serious nuisance in Caldwell this early in the season. Two or three days last week two cripples worked the town to a show-down, both on crutches. One had a leg off, the other simply carried crutches and used them at odd times to work up sympathy. These gentry make their calls at dwelling houses after the men have gone to work and as the women are afraid to refuse them generally get what they ask for. It is time some means were adopted to protect our women from the lazy brutes. The city should pinch every one as soon as he shows up and put him to work on the streets, under an overseer with a black-skin. Give the women a loaded gun. Put a telephone in your houses, so the ladies can send for help if needed. Buy a bulldog. Set a bear trap. Put poison on the back door hand-out—just enough to make the loafer sick—a little tartar emetic, for instance. A few doses will give relief."

We have returns from Texas, sent in by State Secretary E. B. Latham, as follows: Our estimate last week was \$500:

R. O. Galloway for comptroller, \$25; M. T. Bruce for Treasurer, \$275; J. W. Kuykendall for Land Commissioner, \$458; J. E. Gibson for

Superintendent of Public Instruction, \$341; Clear for Railroad Commission, \$251; McBride for Attorney-General, \$261. Vote for governor and Lieutenant-Governor will be canvassed by the State Legislature which convenes next month. Fraternally, E. B. LATHAM, Gainesville, Tex., Dec. 31.

