

Great Farmer Discussion Between Editor Untermann of the "Appeal," and Editor of "The Socialist," Begins This Week

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No. 143

## OUR GLORIOUS SELF MADE MEN



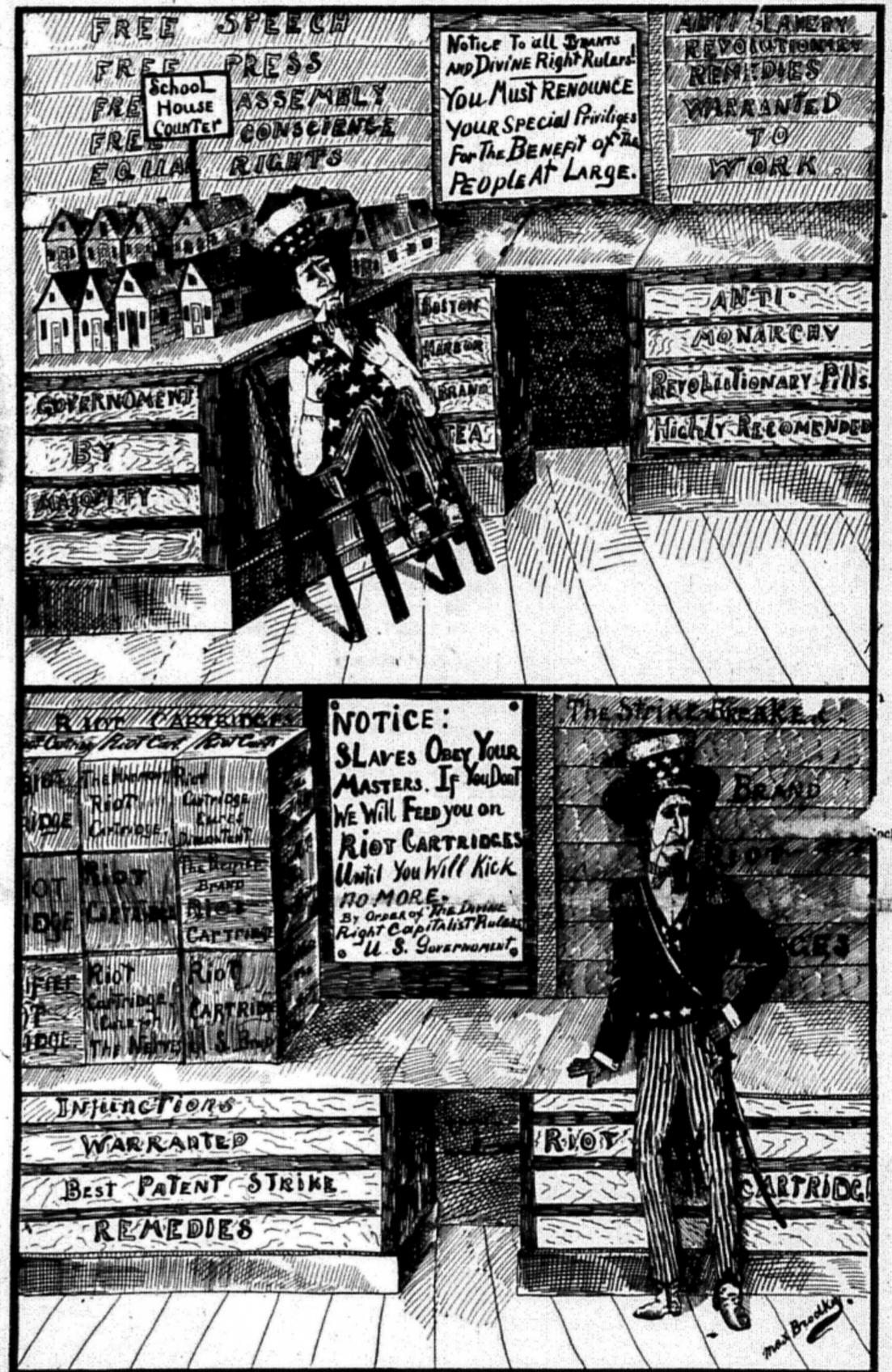
WHAT ABOUT THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO DRAG THE MACHINE?

This is how men are "self-made." It is at the expense of how many unmade men? This talk of self-made men is sickening! How did Hill and Schwab and Carnegie and Lipton make themselves and their billions? Only by the sweat and blood of the wage workers whom they robbed.

The Socialist Party stands for the millions of wage workers who have made these "self-made" masters, and who will unmake them too. Caesar was a "self-made" man, millions of chattel slaves made him. Charlemagne was a self-made man, millions of serf-slaves made him, Carnegie is a self-made man, millions of wage slaves made him.

As chattel slavery and serfdom have gone down in the forward march of the Human Race, so wage slavery, with its hideous tyrannies and hypocrisies is doomed.

## A CHANGE IN BUSINESS



"UNCLE SAM LAYS IN A NEW STOCK OF GOODS."

There was one act passed at the last session of congress which may prove more far-reaching than the ratification of the Cuban treaty, or the authorization of the Panama canal, but which scarcely received a notice in the columns of the daily press.

Laboring men have begun to realize the fact that to-day the machinery of government is in the hands of the capitalist class. They have been forced to understand the truth of what Clarence S. Darrow says in his recent book, "Resist Not Evil:"

"But in reality the prime reason for all the armies of the world is that soldiers and militia may turn their guns upon their unfortunate countrymen when the owners of the earth shall speak the word. And these unfortunate countrymen are the outcast and despised, the meek and lowly ones of the world, the men whose ceaseless toil and unpaidefforts have built the forts and molded the cannon and sustained the soldiers that are used to shoot them down.

"To say that these armies and frowning forts and gattling guns are needed to maintain peace and order is to admit at once that the great mass of men are held captive by the more powerful few. Organized soldiers and policemen, courts and sheriffs, with guns and forts and jails, have the greatest advantage over the disorganized mass who can not act together, and who know not which way to turn to keep outside the meshes of the law. Not one in a thousand need be trained to arms and authority to keep the unorganized mass in the place reserved for it to live. The purpose of guns and armies is to furnish the few an easy and sure way to control the mass."

Hitherto, these armies in America have been largely made up of militia under the control of the various states. There was always a possibility that in some of these numerous states there might be a government not wholly obedient to the capitalist class. The tendency of laborers to express themselves at the ballot box, as shown by the rapidly increasing Socialist vote, testifies to the fact that the day is not far away when some state governments will be controlled by those who produce the wealth and feed and clothe the people of the nation. If this time ever comes it is certain the militia can not be used to shoot down laboring men.

The national government, however, is so firmly entrenched behind customs and constitutional provisions established in the interest of the ruling class, that these rulers feel positive that this government may for a long time to come be depended on to defend their interests.

At the last session of congress a law was passed TAKING THE CONTROL OF THE MILITIA AWAY FROM THE VARIOUS STATES AND VESTING IT IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Workingmen have of late shown considerable hostility to the idea of enlisting in the state militia. Some means must be found to insure the continuance of an army for the defense of the profit-taking class. So a clause was included in the law providing that, if necessary, EVERY ABLE-BODIED MAN COULD BE SWORN INTO THE REGULAR ARMY AND COMPELLED TO SHOOT DOWN HIS

(Continued on Page 2)



HANNA TO MANUFACTURING ASSOCIATION.

Come Home Brother, Stop That Noise, You Will Get Him Mad- and He will Use That Terrible Weapon Against Us.

# The American Farmer and the Socialist Party

A Running Debate Between Ernest Untermann, Associate Editor of "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, and Hermon F. Titus, Editor of "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. Debate to be Closed by Karl Kautsky, Editor of "Die Neue Zeit," Berlin, Germany. Published in "The Socialist," Beginning May 3, 1903.

## Introductory Explanation

The occasion of this debate was the removal by the National Executive Committee of the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party of the United States from St. Louis to Omaha, and the coincident election of an Executive "Quorum" representing agricultural states.

### The Position of the "Appeal."

In defending this removal Editor Untermann made use of the following language ("Appeal to Reason," Feb. 14, 1903):

"The backbone of the American Socialist movement is in the Middle West (the Omaha region). The center of the class-conscious, working-class movement is there." . . .

"There is now more danger to the Socialist movement in the great cities than in the smaller cities of the Middle West and its farming majority." . . .

"The class-conscious farmers, the rural proletariat of this country, are the sincerest and truest guardians of the interests of the working class and never more so than at the present moment."

The American farmers, unlike the European, have been through one continuous struggle against capitalist oppression for a century. And they have now reached a stage where nothing can swerve them from their purpose of abolishing capitalism. Once they adopt the Socialist platform, they are the most revolutionary element in our ranks." . . .

"In the country Socialist's hands the word would be safer than the word of any other comrade."

### Position of "The Socialist."

On this "The Socialist" (Feb. 22, 1903), commented:

"This may be true, but it has yet to be proved. The whole farmer question has to be threshed out in the future. Meanwhile, it is undeniable our greatest strength in actual votes as well as our historic and economic basis, lie in the wage-working class."

And again, March 8:

"This much is certain, that the farmer is too little instructed in the principles of Socialism to be given the leadership of the Socialist Party at the present stage of progress. . . . The truth is, the farmer will probably be the last to come up to the real Socialist program. The Socialist Party in the United States may be said to stand at the paring of the ways. Either it may attempt to win the great body of organized labor as the central element of the working class, or it may turn toward the great body of the farmers as the strategic political factor. If it does the latter, it will separate itself from the International Party known as the Socialist Party, and will start out for itself on an unknown path, very much as the People's Party did. On the other hand, if it decides, as we have no doubt it will, to take the well-established Laws of Economics as its guide, and form a party composed primarily of wage-workers, in full accord with the historic movement known as Socialism, it will go forward to certain growth and to certain victory. As we said a few weeks ago, the farmer belongs with us, but he must join a wage-workers party, not the wage-workers join a farmer's party. We have had a farmer's party, let us now have a workingman's party."

## THE RURAL PROLETARIAT

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Synopsis of Argument.

- I. Introduction.
- II. Comrade Kautsky's Position.
- III. Where I stand.
  - A. The Economic Development of the American Rural Proletariat.
  - B. The Political History of the American Rural Proletariat.
- IV. Conclusion.

### I. INTRODUCTION—DEFINITION OF RURAL PROLETARIAT.

In the language of the "Communist Manifesto," a proletarian is a "laborer who lives only so long as he finds work, and who finds work only so long as his labor increases capital." The success of the Socialist movement depends on the union of the proletariat of a nation in the Socialist Party. As the "Communist Manifesto" points out, the circle comprising the proletariat is necessarily widening with the progress of capitalist evolution.

"The lower strata of the middle class—the small trades people, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and PEASANTS—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is

carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. THUS THE PROLETARIAT IS RECRUITED FROM ALL CLASSES OF THE POPULATION."

But the dissolution of the old society goes still further. Says the "Communist Manifesto": "Further, . . . entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress. Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of the old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, that holds the future in its hands."

I have quoted our old historical document for the purpose of stimulating those comrades to a renewed study of its contents who are now trying to restrict the term "proletarian" to the city wage-workers. The desire to be exact in one's definitions, so vividly expressed by the "Seattle Socialist," is perfectly legitimate, and even necessary for our best success. But we must always remember that the term "proletarian" means something else in the United States in 1903, than it did in Europe in 1848. If our two great leaders pointed out at that early date that a majority of the nation must join the proletariat in order to transform capitalist society into a Socialist society, it is certainly a matter for mild surprise that a man should be severely attacked and marked out for suspicion, when he tries to carry out their testament at the present stage of capitalist evolution.

Of course, our movement must always remain proletarian. But the "Communist Manifesto" itself points out that it must be proletarian in the sense that the interests of the proletariat must at all times be made the sole basis of our efforts. But it must not, and can not, be made a working-class movement in the sense that only the wage-working proletariat should join it. Such a movement would be abortive, because it would not become politically supreme at the time when its supremacy would be most needed. There will always be plenty of proletarians with capitalist minds, ready to oppose their class-conscious fellow proletarians. If we were to keep all sympathizers of a non-proletarian character out of the movement, we should force them into independent capitalist parties, and retard our own progress.

The "Communist Manifesto" furthermore shows that the peasants also will become proletarians. I need, therefore, not give any new definition of rural proletariat. That of the "Communist Manifesto" applies also to the rural proletariat, and the "Manifesto" itself says so.

But the "Seattle Socialist" has quoted Kautsky against me. Now, apart from Marx and Engels, no Socialist writer has influenced my thought more deeply than Kautsky.

I consider myself a pupil of Kautsky, and I hope he shall have no reason to be ashamed of me. Before I state the results of my own investigations in regard to the American rural proletariat, let me, therefore, first give a summary of Kautsky's general position in this question.

(Continued next week.)

## COMMENTS ON UNTERMANN'S DEFINITION OF "RURAL PROLETARIAT."

This discussion was precipitated by Editor Untermann's assertion in the "Appeal" of Feb. 14, that "The class-conscious farmers, the rural proletariat of this country, are the sincerest and truest guardians of the working class."

If this assertion be true, it is of immense importance to have a clear and definite knowledge as to who these "class-conscious farmers" are. If they are the sincerest and truest guardians of working-class interests in the United States, we want to find them and entrust our interests to them.

Has Comrade Untermann enlightened us?

His definition is most conspicuous for its general and indefinite character. Even the definition of "Proletariat," quoted from the "Communist Manifesto," is that of 1848. He made no reference to the fuller and more explicit definition given by Engels in the edition of 1888.

"By Proletariat," says Engels, "is meant the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live." (Communist Manifesto, Chapter I, Note a.) The definition of 1848 means precisely the same and Marx himself uses almost identical language in his 25th chapter of "Capital."

Accepting this definition of "Proletariat," who are the Rural Proletariat, those who are "reduced to selling their labor power in order to live," those who "have no means of production of their own"?

Who but farm laborers can meet that definition? Not even the tenant farmer is so reduced as to have "no means of production" and so as to have no commodity to sell but his labor power. In the sense of Proletariat, as defined by Marx and Engels, where is your Rural Proletariat?

Do you mean, for example, those farm laborers who tramp from Kansas to the Dakotas every summer, selling their labor power to the wheat farmers at the later and later harvests? The census gives no hint of their number and the ballot box rarely receives their votes.

Do you mean those wage laborers who sell their labor power to the owners of the truck patches and dairy farms adjoining all our cities, of whose existence also the census scarce takes note, except as "population"?

No! Evidently you do not mean these at all. Proletariat in the precise sense of wage-workers, as Marx and Engels define it, is too exclusive. Therefore, the above definition of Comrade Untermann resorts to those statements of the "Manifesto" which describe "the lower strata of the middle class," and especially "the peasants," as "sinking gradually into the proletariat."

Well, does he mean those who have sunk into the wage-working class, or

those who are sinking, to whom we are to turn as "the sincerest and truest guardians of the interests of the working class." If he means those "peasants" who have already sunk into the wage class, will he point out what statistical evidence we have of their existence as Socialist voters?

If he means those "peasants" who are sinking into the wage class, that is, "the lower strata of the middle class," the small farmers, in fact, let him say so plainly and unmistakably. We shall then know that he means that the small farmers of the United States are "the sincerest and truest guardians of the interests of the working class."

This is, in fact, what his argument must be aimed at. He quotes the "Manifesto" again as prophesying that "when the class struggle nears the decisive hour" "a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class," but he does not add Marx's own suggestion as to who would constitute that "section," as follows: "In particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole," that is, the "intellectual proletarians," like Comrade Untermann, and like Marx himself.

But the announcement of this fact is a very different contention from that which Comrade Untermann is maintaining, namely, that small farmers constitute "the sincerest and truest guardians of the interests of the working class."

The use of the term "Rural Proletariat" seems to me confusing and misleading, unless we mean the Farm Laborers. If we mean Small Farmers, one of the lower strata of the middle class, let us say Small Farmers and not twist the classic term, Proletariat, out of its well established meaning.

Comrade Untermann himself coins a phrase that fits his "peasant" class very well, when he says: "If we were to keep all sympathizers of a non-proletarian character out of the movement, we should force them into independent capitalist parties, and retard our own progress." "Sympathizers of a non-proletarian character" may well describe the small farmers, indeed. But let us cease to call them proletarians. They are not proletarians until they have sunk into the class of those who have no means of production of their own and who must sell their labor power in order to live, as Engels says.

Comrade Untermann betrays his real definition when he says, "Our movement must not and can not be made a working-class movement in the sense that only the wage-working proletariat should join it." That is, let us welcome the "Rural Proletariat" which is not a "wage-working proletariat."

Very well. Let us understand then, that "Rural Proletariat" means "Peasants," "one of the lower strata of the middle class," a proletariat that is not wage-working, "sympathizers of a non-proletarian character," in a word,

## A CHANGE IN BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 1)

FATHER, BROTHERS, OR SONS, who might be demanding better conditions for themselves and their families. If he refuses, he can be sent to the penitentiary.

Even this was but a beginning. In order that there might not be any doubt about who were to be attacked by these armies, another step was taken by the war department. The regular army and state militia at the present time is armed with the Krag-Jorgensen rifle. The cartridge which has hitherto been used has contained a steel-covered bullet which can be thrown by the smokeless powder charge behind it a distance of nearly two miles.

This cartridge was prepared to shoot a man similarly armed—an equipped professional soldier like the man who handled the Krag-Jorgensen.

Recently a new cartridge has been issued which, by this time, has been distributed to nearly all the state and national arsenals. This cartridge substitutes for the long steel bullet previously used, two round 30-caliber bullets (about the size of buck shot). These bullets are only effective at a distance of about 100 or 200 yards, but within that distance the great twist in the rifling of the gun causes them to separate and give all the effect of a scattering charge.

This sort of cartridge is of use only against men armed with nothing save their bare hands. It can be used against only those who, helpless and unarmed, are standing ready as targets.

THIS CARTRIDGE WAS ISSUED FOR THE PURPOSE OF KILLING UNION MEN. What do the union men of America propose to do about it?

Striking will not help in this case. Lobbies at Washington will do no good. Indeed, it might be well to ask what the present lobbies were doing when this infamous measure was passed, that they did not even raise a voice against it. This would be a good thing for union men to investigate.

There is one way to meet this and all other similar attacks from a capitalist government, and that is to capture that government and use it in the interest of the working class. THAT IS WHAT THE SOCIALISTS PROPOSE TO DO.

A. M. SIMONS.

Small Farmers. Kautsky makes no such confusion. When he means Small Farmers, he says Small Farmers. When he means Wage Laborers on Farms, he says Rural Proletariat.

This term "Small Farmers" itself needs the most careful definition derived from observed facts in the United States. The records of such facts are scanty, but an approximation to a definition will probably be reached in the progress of this discussion.

### DEBATE SUNDAY NIGHT.

Next Sunday evening, May 3rd, at Carpenters' Hall, there will be a debate on the subject, "Resolved, That Socialism as at present advocated is an impossibility." Professor E. E. Van Voorhees, of Port Orchard, will do his best to uphold the affirmative, and Comrade William McDewitt, registrar at the University of Washington, will support the negative.

This debate grows out of the challenge carried for some time in "The Patriarch." Local Seattle presented Mrs. Irene Smith some months ago as a speaker to uphold the negative of the question submitted in the challenge; but the challenger, at that time concealed under a nom de guerre, refused to meet a woman in debate, but stated that he was ready to "chew a morsel of the tougher sex." Comrade McDewitt then accepted the challenge on behalf of Local Seattle. He declares that if Professor Van Voorhees is going to do any "chewing," the chewing will try to prove as tough as possible. Socialism is always a tough proposition, anyhow—for the man who goes up against it.

### BALLARD NOTICE.

Ballard, Wash., April 28, 1903.

Dear Sir and Comrade:—Please announce in the columns of "The Socialist" that Comrade Selbert will speak next Sunday evening at 4 p. m. in Maccabee Hall.

Comrade William F. Hellestad of Redmond spoke last Sunday to a small but appreciative audience. Comrade Hellestad is a good speaker and thoroughly class-conscious.

If all the comrades of Ballard would put their shoulder to the wheel we could have the banner local in the state.

J. C. ROBBINS.

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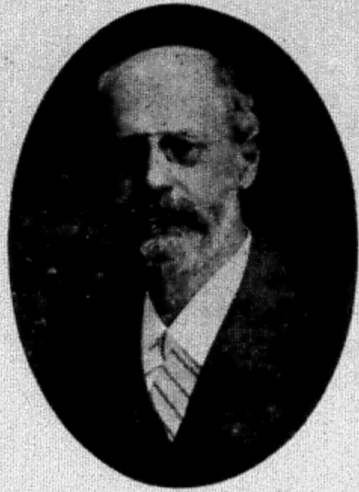
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# THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By Karl Kautsky, translated by J. B. Askew. (Sole translation authorized by the author.)



## PART I.—SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

### Chapter VI.—Democracy.—(Continued.)

#### Its Limitations in Cities.

In the same way, municipal Socialism finds its limitations in the existing order of state and society, even where universal suffrage prevails in the communes. The commune is always tied down to the general economic and political conditions, and can not extricate itself from them singly. Certainly, in municipalities, in industrial districts, the workers may get the administration into their own hands before they are strong enough to capture the political power in the state, and they are then in a position to eliminate from this administration at least the most objectionable features of hostility to labour, and to introduce reforms which can not be expected from a bourgeois regime. But these municipalities soon find their limits, not simply in the power of the state but also in their own economic helplessness. It is for the most part poor districts, almost exclusively inhabited by the proletariat, which are first won by the Social-Democrats. From whence can they obtain the means for carrying out their great reforms? As a rule, they are limited in the levying of rates by the laws of the state, and even where this is not the case they can not go beyond a certain limit in the taxation of the rich and well-to-do, without driving these, the only inhabitants from whom anything is to be obtained, away. Every thorough-going reform leads, among other things, to new rates and taxes, which will be found disagreeable, not only to the upper classes but also to the wider circles of the population. Many a municipality, which was won by Socialists or reformers standing very close to them, is again snatched from them by reason of the rates question, though their administration was exemplary. Thus it was once in London, thus recently at Roubaix.

#### In National Politics, Too.

But the political field! There, these limitations are unknown, and do we not find there an uninterrupted progress of labour protection laws; does not every Parliamentary session bring us now limitations of capitalism? And does not every election increase the number of our representatives in Parliament? Does not, thereby, our power in the state, our influence with the Government, grow slowly, but steadily and continually? Does not, thereby, capital become more and more dependent on the proletariat? Certainly, the number of factory laws grows from year to year. But if one looks closely into the matter, these laws will be found to be simply an extension of those already existing, to new sections of the proletariat—to shopmen, to barmen, to children outside the factories, to home workers, to seamen, etc. (an extension mostly of an insufficient and doubtful nature)—not an increasing strengthening of protection where it already exists. If, however, one considered how fast the capitalist mode of production extends its sphere, how fast it lays its hands on one trade after another, one country after the other, it will be found that the extension of labour protection follows at a far slower pace, that it nowhere overtakes the expansion of capitalism, but only with difficulty hobbles after it. And while the extension of the latter goes ever faster and faster, the former comes always more and more nearly to a standstill.

If, however, the progress of labour protection is small in extension, in depth it is almost nothing. In 1847 in England, under the pressure of the Chartist movement and the rapid impoverishment of the textile workers, the ten hours day was won for women and young persons; that is, practically for the entire workers in the textile industry. Where have we advanced since then over the ten hours day?

The Second Republic in France had in 1858 settled the working day for all workers in Paris at ten hours, in the rest of France at eleven hours. When recently Millerand (on paper, and in a very inadequate way) got the Chamber to pass a ten hours day for those trades in which women and children work along with men (consequently not for all industrial establishments), this was looked on as a remarkable achievement, of which only a Socialist Minister could have been capable. And yet, he gave less than the English legislation of fifty years ago, since he allowed the ten hours day to apply even to children, for whom, in England, as early as 1844 a day of six and a half hours was fixed.

Already the Geneva Congress of the "International" in 1866 had demanded an eight hours day as the first step towards all fruitful social reform. Thirty-six years later, at the last Congress of French Socialists at Tours, a delegate was found to oppose the acceptance of the eight hours day as one of our immediate demands. He wished simply "measures preparatory to the introduction of the eight hours day." And the man was not laughed at, but was able to stand as a candidate in Paris at the last election!

It would seem that the only progress we make in social reform is as regards the modesty of the social reformers.

#### Decay of Capitalist Democracy.

But how is that possible in face of the increase of Socialist representation on public bodies? The answer is simple, when this fact is not taken alone, but the reverse side of the medal is also considered. Certainly the number of Socialist deputies grows, but at the same time the bourgeois democracy decays more and more. Very often this last manifests itself externally in the decrease of its vote at the elections, but more often it is shown in its inner decay. It becomes more and more cowardly, and weak of character, and only knows one means of combatting reaction—that is, to declare itself ready to carry out reactionary measures itself—a thing it really does when it gets into power. That is the present-day method of Liberalism of gaining political power.

When Bismarck saw his rule tottering, he prolonged the legislative periods of the Reichstag from three to five years. It was a desperate reactionary measure which roused a storm of indignation. In France, however, the last Radical Ministry of Republican defence, with a Socialist Ministry in its midst, asked, on the eve of the elections, for the prolongation of the legislative periods from four to six years and got it from a Republican majority. But for the Senate, this reactionary measure would have passed into law.

But bourgeois Liberalism does not simply disappear in proportion as Social-Democracy grows, but simultaneously with the increasing influence of Social-Democracy in the different Parliaments, the influence of the Parliaments themselves wanes. These two phenomena proceed

together at the same time, but have no direct connection with each other. On the contrary, Parliaments, where there are no Social-Democrats, as for instance, the Saxon or the Prussian Diets, decline in influence and efficiency much more rapidly than is the case with others.

#### Decline of Parliamentarism.

For this decadence of Parliaments there are various reasons. We can not, however, regard as the most important among them anything pertaining to the Parliamentary machinery and technique, which could be altered by an alteration in the rules of procedure, or in the sphere of Parliamentary powers; the most essential lie in the character of the classes who through Parliament influence the Government.

If Parliamentarism is to flourish it must have two things. One is a strong united majority, and, second, a great social aim, for which this majority is energetically striving, and towards which it also drives the Government. Both were to hold at the heyday of Parliamentarism. So long as capitalism represented the future of the nation, it was supported in its struggle for emancipation by all sections of the population which had any Parliamentary importance; above all, by the mass of the intellectuals. The majority of the petty bourgeois, even the workers, followed, too, the bourgeois lead.

Thus arose Liberalism as a homogeneous party with great aims. The struggle of Liberalism for Parliament and in Parliament lent the latter its importance.

Since then, that development has commenced, which as described already drives the proletariat which acquires a class consciousness of its own, as well as a section of the intellectuals and of the petty bourgeois, and of the smaller peasant proprietors, into the Socialist camp, and makes the remainder of the petty bourgeois and the peasants absolutely reactionary, while the most energetic elements of the industrial capital units with the high finance, which never attached great importance to Parliamentarism although it understands how to use it—as *vide* Panama.

In this way the Liberal party falls to pieces, without the ruling class being able to form another great Parliamentary party of a homogeneous character capable of taking its place. The more reactionary the propertyed classes grow, and the less homogeneous they become, the more they split up into small parties, the harder it becomes to bring together a solid Parliamentary majority. More and more is a majority only possible in the forms of temporary coalitions between the most divergent political parties—coalitions which rest on very insecure foundations, because not inner ties, but merely considerations of external efficiency, form the motive—coalitions which from the outset are doomed to fruitlessness, because their elements are so varied that they can only hold together by each one giving up all thought of carrying into effect its own ideas. It is a peculiar misconception of the essential nature of these coalitions, arising as they do from the decay of Parliamentarism, and implying its political and social helplessness, for people to see in the participation of them the means for a slow and gradual growth of the proletariat into political power.

#### Legislatures Reactionary.

But the social development does not only lead to the break up of the big homogeneous Parliamentary parties into numerous fractions of a different, nay, antagonistic, nature; it leads also to the fact that the Parliamentary majorities are often more reactionary and hostile to Labour than the Governments. Though the latter are but the servants of the ruling classes, they nevertheless still possess a better insight into the totality of political and social relations, and though the bureaucracy may be an obedient servant of the Government, nevertheless it develops its own life and tendencies, which, in their turn, react on the Government. The bureaucracy is recruited from the intellectuals, in which, as we have seen, an understanding of the importance of the proletariat, be it ever so faint-hearted, is, at all times, still on the increase.

From all this it results that not infrequently the Governments, with all their reactionary views and their hostility to labour, proceed not half so blindly as the ruling classes, who stand behind them with their following of petty bourgeois and peasant proprietors. Parliaments, which used to be a weapon to force the Government forward on the path of progress, become more and more a means of nullifying the small progress, which the Governments are having forced on them by circumstances. In proportion as the classes ruling through Parliamentarism become superfluous, nay, obnoxious, the Parliamentary machine itself loses in importance.

If, on the other hand, with an eye to the proletarian electors, a representative body here and there goes in for labour protection and democracy out-bids the Government, the latter finds always sufficient means whereby to circumvent the Parliament.

In the United States the attack on the trade unions is carried on less by the legislature than by the law courts, in the same way it was the decision of the House of Lords, and not the legislation of the House of Commons, dependent on the electors, through which the attack on trade unionism was delivered in England; and that the spirit of the rejected anti-revolutionary bill is again active in the German courts of justice, the German workers know all too well.

#### Courts Usurp Power.

Thus the candle burns at both ends. The ruling classes and the Governments condemn the Parliaments even more and more to fruitlessness. Parliamentarism becomes more and more incapable of pursuing a settled policy in any direction. It becomes more and more senile and powerless, and can only then regain its youth and vigor when the proletariat wins control over it, together with the entire machinery of the state, and makes it serve its purpose. Parliamentarism, so far from making revolution impossible or superfluous, requires itself the Revolution to become again efficient.

I must not be misunderstood in the sense that I consider democracy to be superfluous, or that I think co-operative societies, trade unions, the entry of Social-Democracy into municipalities and Parliaments, or the securing of individual reforms, to be worthless. Nothing could be further from my intention than that. On the contrary, that is all of great service to the proletariat; it only becomes of no importance as a means of staving off the Revolution—in other words, the capture of political power by the proletariat.

#### SECONDS THE MOTION.

North Yakima, Wash.

Editor Socialist.

Comrade Bowman, having extended an invitation, or rather requested our state convention be held here and giving reason, I fully endorse his views, and should like a full state of inspectors to see if there are any Socialists in North Yakima. The Fourth of July would be a grand opportunity to do much good here, as people come for miles to the state fair grounds. All our patriotism has settled down to a squaw race, and if it were not for our interest in those poor benighted savages the Fourth would be a dead issue here. We will promise you plenty of fresh air, free camping ground, ditch water, etc. By all means, come.

By the way, the shearers have all gone to work on that contract, and it will be interesting to see how they come out, as the contract holds them until June 15, and they will all want to be in Montana by the 5th of June, and not later than the 10th. Sent copies of Socialist at once to the plant, with orders, one should be placed in the proprietors' hands. Fraternally,  
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## DO YOU RECOGNIZE A CLASS STRUGGLE?

It may seem as though I have forgotten you, but in the never-resting, greedy capitalist system, I with my class, the "Working Class," have been struggling for a living. A living! Have we gotten it? No. The meaning of that phrase to me is the best, the richest, stores of earth moulded into usefulness by the inventive genius of man and obtained for the least human effort. Workingmen, the class struggle is here. Do you recognize your class or that you belong to the working class? You surely are not so dull, but that you can comprehend there is a struggle on, a struggle for existence, for bread and butter, if you please. Your endeavor is to get more for the only thing you have for sale, that which has builded everything on the face of earth, your "Labor." The capitalist endeavors to get your labor for the least wage possible and is forcing you each day to work for less. You are struggling against a reduction of wages, but you are fighting a losing fight. Now you recognize as a fact that there is a struggle between labor and capital. Now you must admit that there are classes. To which do you belong? If you are a laborer you have no choice, you are forced into the laboring class. Having now discovered that there are classes and that there is a struggle between these classes, we clearly understand what is known as the "Class Struggle."

Recognizing that there is a "Class Struggle," let us become conscious of our class, recognize our class, cast our lot with it and become class-conscious.

Let us fight the battle for ourselves, for humanity, for posterity, by fighting for Socialism.

W. H. TAWNEY,  
Butte, Mont.

Emperor William is going to publish a paper for working men, "The Reichsarbeitsblatt," under the direction of his own Bureau of Statistics. It is aimed to show the workers the dangers of Socialism. It will give an "impartial" hearing to all questions concerning Labor.

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**PARTY NEWS**

**NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS NEWS** Omaha, Neb., April 25, 1903. Contributions to the Special Organizing Fund up to Saturday noon, April 25th, are as follows: J. LaVigne, Beverly, Mass., 20 cents; Leonard D. Abbott, New York city, 5c; Clarence Smith, Butte, Mont., 5c; D. Jenkins, Camden, Ark., 50 cents; M. Hillquitt, New York city, 10c; F. M. Miller, Goldfield, Colo., \$2; L. D. Mayes, New York city, \$1; B. D. Howe, Table Rock, Neb., \$1; Thos. Elmer Will, Trenton, Mo., \$1; a friend in Cincinnati, \$5; M. E. O'Brien, Laurium, Mich., \$2; Local Washington, D. C., \$2; T. McGrady, Bellevue, Ky., \$5, and Branch 2, Twenty-fourth Assembly District, New York city, \$2. Total, \$41.70. National Lecturer and Organizer John C. Chase will close his Texas tour on May 6th and after speaking in Marietta, I. T., on May 7th, will enter Oklahoma Territory, where he will spend two or three weeks, returning by way of Arkansas and Southern Missouri to Tennessee. National Organizer M. W. Wilkins opened his work in Oregon at Ashland on April 16th, speaking to a large meeting at Medford on the 17th and Gold Hill on the 18th. On Saturday, the 19th, at Grant's Pass, the Opera House was packed to hear Wilkins debate with two Republican and Democratic lawyers. Comrade Ingle, candidate for Congress, reports that "Wilkins mopped the earth with both of them, and the consensus of opinion was altogether in our favor." Wilkins reports strong sentiment and Socialists eager for work. National Organizer John M. Ray started his work in the South with a large open air meeting on the Public Square in Nashville, Tenn., going from there to New Decatur, Ala., where he reports four large open air meetings, also selling a large stock of literature. He spent three days in New Decatur, where L. W. Allen has been nominated for mayor. Ray is now in the Birmingham district. National Lecturer John W. Clayton addressed a successful meeting for the Socialists at McMechen, W. Va., on April 16th, spoke twice for the striking carpenters of Wheeling on the 17th, wrote an article for the strikers for publication in answer to the bosses, spoke for Wheeling Socialists on the 18th, made the first Socialist speech ever delivered in Moundsville on the 19th, and with Comrade H. A. Leeds of McMechen, organized a new local. On the 20th Clayton addressed 1,200 people in East Liverpool, Pa., for the Trades Council, and at Waynesburg, Pa. Next day had another successful meeting and was requested to return. Comrade Leeds writes that the McMechen and Wheeling comrades are delighted with Clayton's work. Harry McKee, will hold meetings in Colorado, Wyoming and California on his way home to San Diego, under the direction of National Headquarters. The National Secretary has issued a call for a state convention of the Socialist Party locals in Alabama, to be held in Birmingham, Ala., on Sunday, May 3rd, in the Carpenters' District Council Hall, 202 3/4 First avenue, at 2:30 p. m., for the purpose of forming a state organization of the Socialist Party. National Organizer Ray will present the convention. The Socialists have been having a hot time in Omaha this past week. Eleven of them have enjoyed the exhilarating experience of being arrested for daring to speak upon certain street corners and for four nights the police have been kept busy calling the patrol wagon to take desperadoes to the local bastille. The exact reason for this display of energy on the part of the city authorities is not quite clear, although the Socialists are reliably informed that it arises from a

At New Haven, Conn., the Socialists polled 713 as against 310 last spring. In West Hudson county, N. J., on the 14th, the Socialists increased their vote in four wards from 49 to 84, and elected two constables. Reports from elsewhere show increases but figures are not given. **OMAHA BOYS ARRESTED.** The Socialists in Omaha are putting up a stiff fight. The capitalists are trying to suppress their "soap box" campaign by wholesale arrests. Read Mailly's account in another column. As fast as one speaker was "run in" another took his place on the box. The Omaha papers are full of the arrests. Keep it up, boys! Spread the revolutionary spirit. **OMAHA TICKET.** Mayor—William H. Moore, Hod Carrier. City Clerk—Louis Junge, Grocery Clerk. City Treasurer—Chas. F. Huber, Plumber. Comptroller—James M. Taylor, Carpenter. Tax Commissioner—Fred S. Wilbur, Telegrapher. City Attorney—John T. Eklund, Bookkeeper. Building Inspector—Emil Buscher, Wheelwright. Councilmen—First Ward—Neil Anderson, Laborer. Second Ward—Soren P. Sorensen, Shoemaker. Third Ward—Leonard L. McLwaine, Laborer. Fourth Ward—James J. Condon, Clerk. Fifth Ward—Nelson Benson, Laborer. Sixth Ward—Charles Johnson, Carpenter. Seventh Ward—Nicholas Hinze, Carpenter. Eighth Ward—J. Alfred La Bille, Artist. Ninth Ward—Parker S. Condit, Cabinetmaker.

State Secretary Holman of Minnesota reports two new locals, at Badger and Waterville. At the latter place Carl D. Thompson addressed a large meeting and local Socialists speak enthusiastically of his work. Thompson will spend a couple of weeks in Iowa and Nebraska and then resume the agitation in Minnesota. The Ohio State Convention will be held in Columbus on May 30th and will probably last two days. A proposition to place a permanent organizer in the field will be one of the most important questions to be considered. The Indiana State Convention opened April 25th at Indianapolis. State Secretary O'Neal of Terre Haute submitted an interesting report of the work done during the past year. There are now 31 locals active and carrying on the agitation and 44 others that only need attention to be put into good working order. The Secretary recommended that each local appoint a dues collector, that an initiation fee of 25 cents be charged, the adoption of a system of reports that will insure the ascertaining of the number of members at any time, the appointment of a state organizer to give his entire time to taking the field, and that provisions be made to have the State Secretary give his whole time to the organization. Socialists of Essex county, N. J., will celebrate the advances made by Socialism throughout the country with a banquet at Jacoby's, 882 Broad street, Newark, on Saturday evening, May 2nd. It is proposed to make the occasion the most notable social event in the history of the party in Essex county. Returns from the municipal elections held on April 21st in various states show additional gains for the Socialist Party. At Rockford, Ill., the fight was between the Socialists and a combination Independent ticket, and the feature of the election was the strong vote polled by the Socialists. C. L. Dewey, candidate for mayor, polled 2,888 and the opposition 4,190

economic equals, no masters nor slaves, where there are no longer class antagonisms, and where strikes, lockouts, injunctions, have passed into history never to be repeated. If elected to office we pledge ourselves to use the power of the city government to protect and further the interests of the working class, and that class alone. **GRAND CELEBRATION** INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY, GERMANIA HALL, FRIDAY EVENING, MAY FIRST. MUSIC, SINGING, ELUCIDATION AND GOOD SPEAKING. ADMISSION FREE. COME AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS. NOTES. J. Edward Morgan, author of "Nebraska Breezes," has quit the service of the "Appeal" in the South and returned to Omaha. He will now resume his "Breezes" in "The Socialist." Comrade Ryan Walker of New York, has been sick and now his wife is sick. They are taking a trip to Norfolk, Va. for their health. "The Fairy Stories from Real Life" will be resumed as soon as he is able to work again. These cartoons are making a great hit. Comrade Troelstra has been elected from Amsterdam to the Holland Parliament by 800 majority, even though the election laws disfranchise two out of every three workingmen. Comrade Polak was elected to the city council. Boston Socialists have suspended Martha Moore Avery for two years from membership in the party. She is said to have charged the Socialist Party with being in control of Athletics and Free Lovers, because the State convention refused to consider a resolution condemning these things. "The Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee, snarls at Chicago Socialists because their vote this spring was less than last fall's vote, claiming this loss was due to a platform without "immediate demands." It forgets three things, at least. First, Chicago Socialists had to meet a "Union Labor" ticket and they beat it to a standstill. Second, Chicago Socialists made the first break in a great city in America by electing an alderman a class-conscious Socialist workman. Third, Too many votes at present may be the ruin of the Socialist Party. For instance, if the Socialist Party were to win in 1904, no revolutionary legislation would be possible. Education of the Working Class must come before political victory will amount to anything. Chicago Socialists have vindicated their own action, recognizing that Ultimate and not immediate success is what Socialism fights for. Madden is after the "Coming Nation" now. Never mind, Comrades! Warren and Richardson, it is good luck for you. Madden is the best subscription-getter for Socialist papers in the country. Ask the "Appeal." And "The Socialist" can lend you some good cartoons on Madden published when he was working for this paper. This week Jos. Wannhope becomes the editor of "The Erie People," Erie, Pa. It is expected the workingmen of that city will have a daily before long. Wannhope is the very man for them. He was formerly editor of "The Chicago Socialist." Look out for the Roosevelt issue of "The Socialist," when Theodore appears in Seattle. Make all your new subscriptions be-

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