

# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

## The Socialist

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To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation

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### WHAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY STANDS FOR

#### Two Proposed Platforms Analyzed-- Good Reading for Socialists and non- Socialists Alike--Hillquit and Work Try Their Hands Platform Building.

"The Socialist" presents to its readers this week three proposed platforms for the National Socialist Party of the United States, with some editorial comments interspersed. They make educational reading of the best sort, as every voter in America ought to understand what Socialism means.

These drafts for platforms have been written by conspicuous members of the Socialist Party. Hillquit and Work are on the National Executive Committee and also on the committee selected by the National Committee to prepare a platform to present to the National Convention, which meets at Chicago, May 10, 1908. The third draft herewith printed was prepared by J. B. Osborne, the blind Socialist lecturer from Georgia and California. Hillquit and Work are lawyers, Osborne a wage worker.

All these platforms have their good points, yet it is hardly likely either one will be adopted by the National Convention. However, nothing but good can result from their early publication and open discussion. It is only two short months before the Chicago convention meets and every Socialist paper in America ought to be filled with debates on Socialist fundamentals provoked by the various platforms suggested.

With the Socialist Party the platform is the main thing; we do not, like the capitalist parties, construct our statement of principles for purposes of vote catching in the pending campaign. Rather, we aim to interpret social evolution, we deduce our principles from the laws which control industrial development and thereby build up a political organization which is homogenous and invincible. Though temporarily unsuccessful, the Socialist Party, if it bases itself on a platform derived from scientific observation of society, is as sure to win ultimately as social institutions are sure to develop. Equally certain is it that we fall finally, though temporarily successful, if we adopt and follow a platform which hastily interprets the progress of American social life.

#### Hillquit Comments on Work

New York, Feb. 20, 1908.  
Dear Comrade Barnes:  
As a member of the Committee on Platform elected sometime ago by the National Committee, I herewith submit a draft of a Declaration of Principles, which you may consider as a minority report.

I have no fault to find with Comrade Work for having submitted his draft as a minority report. As a matter of fact, Comrade Work had a brief definition of the Socialist Philosophy, a kind of profession of faith of our party. The office of a declaration of principles is quite distinct from that of a political platform. A declaration of principles should contain nothing but the fundamental tenets of modern Socialism, while a political platform must also have reference to existing temporary and local conditions, and must contain at least a brief review of the political acts and conditions of the dominant parties and the ruling class during the period following the preceding elections. A declaration of principles is, as a rule, more or less fixed and permanent, and is amended only on rare occasions when the party views or tactics have undergone some essential change. Thus the Social Democratic Party in Germany adopted its first declaration of principles at Gotha in 1875, and retained it until the Erfurt convention in 1890, and there is no indication of any present movement to change the Erfurt program. The programs of the Socialist parties in Austria, France and other countries, are changed as rarely. In this country, however, we have heretofore been in the habit of adopting new platforms for every campaign, and while the substance of such platforms has always been practically identical, we have simply been laboring every time to find new expressions for the same thought. This senseless procedure can be avoided, I believe, by adopting a permanent Declaration of Principles, and supplementing it for the purpose of every campaign with a special platform dealing principally with the concrete political issues advanced in such campaign.

Our Declaration of Principles hence should be an intelligent statement of the Socialist Philosophy addressed to intelligent and reasoning men, and I believe that the primer style affected by Comrade Work is out of place in such an instrument. Comrade Work's proposed platform moreover seems to be based upon one cardinal idea recurring in his draft again and again, the idea that "the workers are entitled to the full value of their labor." This phrase, which at one time was one of the stock phrases of popular propaganda, and is still occasionally being used with good effect in propaganda meetings,

has long been discarded by scientific Socialism and has no place in an authoritative declaration of Socialist principles. Under the prevailing method of production it is absolutely impossible to separate the work of the individual workman or to ascertain its value and under the system of collective work contemplated by Socialism, it will be still more impossible. We Socialists contemplate to do away with exploitation and to make it impossible for any individual to appropriate the product of another's labor, but we recognize that the state, and especially a Socialist state, has large duties towards its aged, invalid and other helpless members, as well as certain duties towards the community at large, the performance of which will require the appropriation for that purpose of a considerable portion of the total product of the collective labor of the community; work of the active part of the population, and nobody will receive the full value of his individual labor.

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

Fraternally submitted,  
MORRIS HILLQUIT.

#### Work's Platform

"The economic factor is the dominant factor in the life of society and in the lives of individuals. Existing evils are mainly due to the imperfections in the system of production and distribution. To effect a cure of these evils, that system must be changed.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In the early decades of this nation the country was new and opportunities were unusually abundant. Industry was for the most part carried on with simple and inexpensive tools. Handicraft prevailed. Men worked separately on their own account. Small industry was the rule. All men had approximately equal access to the means of production and distribution. The wealth was somewhat equitably distributed. Since that time the simple tool has developed into the great labor saving machine. Handicraft has developed into machine production. Isolated industry has developed into associated industry. Small industry has developed into great industry. Gigantic trusts and combines have monopolized the industries. The vast bulk of the wealth has gravitated into the hands of a few.

#### TWO CLASSES.

This industrial development has evolved two hostile classes, the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalists own the great centralized industries. The workers are dependent upon the capitalists for an opportunity to earn a living. The capitalists as such are parasites. In so far as individuals who are capitalists render useful social service, they are not capitalists. The workers are entitled to the full value of their labor.

bor. The workers work part of the day for their wages and the rest for nothing. The value of the surplus labor is appropriated by the capitalists. There are more workers than jobs. The capitalists contend for low wages. They contend for long work days. They contend for bad conditions of labor. The workers contend for a larger portion of the value of their labor. They contend for shorter work days. They contend for better conditions of labor. The interests of the two classes are antagonistic. A bitter class struggle results.

#### AN INCREASING WORKING CLASS.

The greater capitalists crush the smaller. The concentration of industry and wealth into fewer hands squeezes out millions of men. Large numbers of them drop into the working class. As a result, the working class is now in the overwhelming majority. It is constantly growing in numbers. It is constantly growing in the conviction that it is entitled to the full value of its labor. It is constantly growing in the determination to translate that conviction into political action and actually secure the full value of its labor. These numbers, this conviction and this determination make it inevitable. Its triumph is inevitable.

Editorial Comment: Notice the phrase, "The Full Value of Its Labor," occurring three times already and to occur three times more later on. Hill quit rightly criticizes it. It is not only unscientific and inaccurate, and therefore impossible in a Socialist platform, but distinctly repudiated by Marx and Engels as inaccurate and unscientific. Its use by Work betrays an ignorance of the great achievements in economic science by those authors which accounts for his tangents in practice later on.

#### CAPITALISTIC GOVERNMENT.

The capitalists maintain their supremacy by controlling the powers of government. They control the president. They control Congress. They control the State legislatures. They control most of the minor officials. They therefore have the laws passed in their interest. They have the laws interpreted in their interest. All the powers of government, lawmakers, executives, courts, armies, police, are used in the interest of the capitalist class and against the interest of the working class. To oust the capitalist class, the working class must secure control of the powers of government. To do this, the workers must elect their own president. They must elect their own governors. They must elect their own Congressmen. They must elect their own legislators. They must elect their own minor officials. They must choose their own judges. Then the tables will be turned. The laws will be made, interpreted and executed in the interest of the workers. The capitalist parasite will be ousted. The workers will take possession. To secure this working class control of the powers of government is the province of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class.

Editorial Comment: Up to this point, with the exception noted concerning the meaningless phrase, "Value of Labor," Work has written well, and in the following paragraph on "Class Hatred" and "Class Feeling," which was so ably criticized by Sladden in last week's issue of "The Socialist," the alteration of a single word would remove the objectionable idea. Instead of saying, "The Socialist Party does not teach class hatred," let it read, "The Socialist Party does not create class hatred." This is true for the simple reason that we did it already exists. It is an incident of the class war. It is a fact which we must recognize, as Work goes on to say.

#### CLASSES ABOLISHED.

The Socialist Party does not teach class hatred. The classes are already arrayed against each other by hostile interests. The Socialist Party recognizes the facts and acts accordingly. The division of the people into classes is wholly due to the fact that the capitalist class owns the things which the working class literally has to use to keep from perishing. Socialism, by making those things collective property, will remove the cause of class division. Class lines will therefore vanish. The class struggle will cease. Class feeling will fade away and disappear.

#### ABOLISH EXPLOITATION.

The primary object of Socialism is to abolish exploitation and secure to the men and women who do the necessary and useful mental and manual work the full value of their labor. To do this requires the public ownership of those industries which, when privately owned, can be used by the private owners to secure for themselves a part of the value of the labor of others. The Socialist Party will make those industries public property. All property not necessary to the car-

rying out of the above-named object will remain private. If the public needs any property which represents the labor of its owner, due compensation will be given.

It is in the above paragraph on "Exploitation" that Work first really jumps the track. Aside from the apparent unscientific distinction between mental and manual labor, also criticized by Sladden, there are two conspicuous errors here.

First Error. That which Hillquit points out, an endeavor to carry into future society old bourgeois conceptions of individualistic private property. As if social production could distribute its wealth on the basis of each individual's contribution to the general product. This would commit us to some sort of a "Labor check" system, such as Marx mercilessly scouted in his answer to Proudhon. When a person worked alone with his individual tools, his product was his own. But the day that system has passed forever and with it its method of distribution and basis of ownership. Society will provide for all its members in some adequate fashion out of the vast social product, but it will be absolutely impossible to disentangle each individual's "Labor" or its "value" from the mass of social labor involved in the common product. Every Utopian, from Proudhon to Work, has tried to project into the future the worn-out methods and ideals of the past, instead of leaving the future to solve its own problems.

Second Error. The limitation of "industries" which are to be publicly owned and the implied perpetuation of the wage system.

Work assumes there are some important "industries" which are not capitalized, that is, not used for exploiting wage labor, or, in one word, not Socialized. Does he mean a cobbler or a hook and line fisherman? But why make such insignificant exceptions?

Is it not his purpose rather to prepare the way for his proposal in his next section to prevent the exploitation of the farmers by "the public ownership of the trusts, the railroads and the other great industries?" Work comes from one of the great farm states, Iowa. His lecturing has been chiefly conducted in the Middle West where the farmers predominate. But he has read considerable of scientific Socialist literature and has consequently been compelled to adopt much proletarian phraseology and some proletarian conceptions. But his thought and program and this platform of his remain essentially bourgeois. Specifically he has written this platform for his Iowa farmers and the great body of their fellow farmers in the West.

In the following paragraph on "Farmers and Socialism," he gives the whole case away. Theoretically, in the earlier portions of his platform, he adopts the wage workers' point of view, but practically from this point on he writes as an advocate of the agricultural class. It is true that certain "great industries" exploit the farmers out of "the bulk of the value of their product." It is true that "the public ownership of the trusts and the other great industries will stop that exploitation and enable the farmers to secure the full value of their product."

It is the farmer Work has in his mind's eye all the while, even while he refers to the wage workers. For the farmer, that is, the small farmer, is still for the most part an individual producer owning his own tools of production and legitimately claims "the full value of his labor." It is for the farmer that Work urges that "Socialism stands for justice," that is justice to the farmer, "the full product," etc.

All Socialists want the farmer rescued. But no scientific Socialist makes his platform for the benefit of the farmer mainly or directly. We show the farmer that he is no longer the significant class in society, but that he is and must be subordinate to the proletarian class. The farmer who has a clear head on his shoulders will not resent this Socialist position. He will bow to the inevitable, will accept the facts of evolution.

Such a farmer may indeed believe his class can rescue themselves by "public ownership of the trusts and the other great industries," as Work says, and he may try to get the Socialist Party to champion his cause, as Work does in this platform of his, but he must not expect the proletarians to abandon their interests in his behalf. A Socialist Party committed to

the public ownership of the great "industries" merely, such as Work's platform advocates, becomes a revamped Populist Party, a champion of agricultural interests with a wage worker's attachment.

On these publicly owned "great industries" wage workers would remain at work at mere living wages at present in the American Postoffice Department and in the state owned railroads and telegraphs and "other great industries" of Prussia, Russia and Japan.

There is no obvious reason why Mr. Bryan or at any rate, Mr. Hearst or Tom Johnson could not subscribe to this "Socialist platform of Work's."

#### FARMERS AND SOCIALISM.

The farmers are constantly exploited out of the bulk of the value of their product by the trusts, the railroads and the other great industries. The public ownership and the democratic management of the trusts, the railroads and the other great industries will stop that exploitation and enable the farmers to secure the full value of their product. It is therefore to the interest of the farmers to ally themselves with the wage-workers in the struggle for Socialism. The carrying out of the object of Socialism does not require the public ownership of farm land that is used by its owner. Farmers who, in spite of the fact that they have all their lives been robbed by the capitalists, have by their own labor acquired a competence, need have no fear that Socialism will work them an injustice. Socialism stands for justice, not injustice. Justice to the landless farmers requires that land held for rent be acquired by the public and leased or sold to actual users, except such portion as may be needed for public purposes. Justice to those who have by their own labor acquired land for rent requires that they be paid for such land when it is acquired by the public.

Comment: What the Proletarian Socialist tells the farmer is, that the real source of the trust's power is the exploitation of the wage workers and that any farmer's attempt to check the trusts is hopeless so long as this source of exploitation and of vast wealth remains to the trusts. Therefore, give up the attempt to "down the trusts" in your own behalf and join the Proletarians in their fight to emancipate themselves and with themselves all other defeated classes or sub-classes.

From now on to his "Immediate Demands" Work writes a good indictment of Capital and no comment is required.

#### THE SMALL BUSINESS MAN.

The smaller business and professional men are being crushed by the capitalist class. They have no hope of escape under the present system. It is therefore to their interest also to ally themselves with the wage-workers in the struggle for Socialism. The present capitalist system of industry was a necessary stage in the evolution of society. It has now outlived its usefulness. It is a nuisance. It is impracticable. It is wasteful. It has divided the people into warring classes. It has reduced the wage-workers to slavish dependence upon the capitalists for an opportunity to earn a living. It has reduced the masses of the people to poverty. It compels the masses of the people to work all their lives for a bare living. It deprives the masses of the people of the benefits of the marvelous improvements in production and hands those benefits over to the useless few. It bars the masses of the people out from the higher things of life.

#### CRIME AND CAPITALISM.

It drives thousands of men and women to suicide. It drives thousands of men and women to insanity. It drives hundreds of thousands of men and women to crime. It drives hundreds of thousands of women to prostitution. It drives millions of men to drink. It compels millions of the people to accept degrading charity. It puts a premium on graft and corruption. It makes it to the financial interests of men to adulterate food and to perpetrate all the other villainous frauds and deceptions which surround us on every hand. It causes the death or injury of millions of the people by preventing accidents. It blights the lives of the child slaves. It bars a majority of the children out of school altogether, and compels most of the remainder to leave school just when their education is really beginning. It is infamously unjust to the unemployed, causing hundreds of thousands of them to become tramps. It is an enemy of the family.

#### MAKES IMMORALITY.

It makes woman an economic slave to man. It causes hundreds of thousands of divorces. It makes it impossible for millions of adults to marry. It has practically destroyed individual initiative. It has reduced the masses of the people to a dead level. It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to develop their individuality. It has destroyed most of the good incentives. It has

multiplied the bad incentives. It makes it impossible for the best to survive. It compels the industrious to divide up with the idle. It makes it impossible for the masses of the people to own any private property worth mentioning. It makes it hard to do right and easy to do wrong. It compels the people to violate the Golden Rule in order to make a living. It makes it impossible for the people to live sanitary lives. It promotes disease. It brings premature death to all the people.

#### SOCIALISM THE ONLY REMEDY.

Socialism is the natural and the only remedy for these evils. It will give all the people a full and free opportunity to develop themselves and avail themselves of all the higher things of life. While thus always aiming at the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism, we declare that in the meantime it is the purpose of the Socialist Party to use all political powers entrusted to it to relieve as far as possible the hardships of the workers under existing economic conditions, and to assist them in their conflicts with capitalism. To that end, we pledge to give our undivided support to all measures which will benefit the working class, and to oppose to the limit of our powers all measures contrary to their interests.

#### IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

As measures for the relief of the workers, operating to weaken the hold of capitalism upon them, we advocate and pledge our candidates for all offices to work for legislation providing for the insurance of all workers against accident, sickness and old age; public industries for the unemployed; equal suffrage for both sexes; shorter work days, not more than eight hours in any twenty-four; release from employment one day in seven; the protection of labor union funds from liability for loss sustained by employers during strikes and boycotts; employers' liability; the employment of convict labor for public purposes only; the prevention of the use of the police, militia and regular army to break strikes; the abolition of government by injunction; the abolition of the contract system on sweatshop work; sanitary inspection of factory, workshop, mine and home; the free administration of justice; reformation in place of punishment; juvenile courts; the proper housing of the people; the abolition of child slavery; the proper education

of the young; free text books; suitable and plentiful playgrounds for children in all cities; public baths; the establishment of postal savings banks; the abolition of the national banking system; the issuance of money exclusively by the public; the abolition of the power of courts to declare laws unconstitutional; the abolition of the veto power; the abolition of the United States Senate and the State Senates; the power to amend the National State Constitutions by majority vote; the election of federal judges by popular vote; the introduction of the initiative and referendum, the recall and municipal home rule; the public ownership of municipal utilities; the public ownership of the railroads, the telegraph lines, the telephone lines and the express lines; the public ownership of the meat trust, the oil trust, and the other trusts; and all other measures tending to the advancement of the interests of our class.

#### Comment on Immediate Demands:

It is hard to discover wherein many of these "demands" would benefit the wage workers, for instance, "the issuance of money exclusively by the public" or "the abolition of the veto power."

"The public ownership of Municipal Utilities" we believe to be distinctly a backward step, only useful to the small business class. In fact, Work's whole platform, apart from some formal generalities concerning the "Working Class," is constructed in the interests of the Middle Class and is aimed, intentionally or otherwise, to get proletarian support for an old-fashioned bourgeois restoration, the latter an impossible thing to accomplish but certain to be attempted by the enraged business class.

The worst feature of the Work platform is not the thing itself, but the fact that Work represents the majority of the newly-elected Executive Committee.

Our hope lies in the fact that that Executive Committee represents only a minority of the Socialist Party and in the expectation that the National Convention will refuse to adopt any such specious Middle Class proposals.

Continued on Page 2

### A PRESS AT LAST!

Comrades all over the country will be pleased to learn that "The Socialist" is at last going to secure the press it has needed for many years, and that we are soon to be free from the exactions of capitalist printers.

Just one week ago today Comrade Lee Ganson, an old friend of the paper, who has helped us many times in the past, sent \$300.00 to make the first payment on a press upon which an option had been secured. The press is known as a Hoe Drum Cylinder and is large enough to print four pages of "The Socialist" with one operation. It is also capable of turning out a fine grade of book work and with it we can print our own pamphlets, posters, etc.

One of the first jobs that will be turned out on the press will be an edition of Comrade Titus' "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism," the type of which we have had standing for months.

There has been a hearty and general response to our request for aid in the last issue of "The Socialist," comrades from all over the state having responded promptly. More than half the \$200.00 called for has been raised, and we trust there will be no diminution of the returns until the whole amount is secured. Now that we have a chance to really do something, we do not want to let it go by.

The press has been purchased—all but the minor details having been arranged. On Monday, March 9, we will begin moving it from its present quarters to our own shop. It will take some time to accomplish this, as the big machine weighs more than eight tons, but we hope to print our next paper on it. Let us have the total amount needed on the day the press comes in.

Following are the amounts contributed to date, and the names of those contributing:

Dr. Lee Ganson, loan	\$300.00
John Downie, stock	5.00
Wm. Hogan, donation	10.00
Pete Anderson, stock	10.00
Axel Anderson, subscriptions	5.00
Axel A. Anderson, stock	10.00
Nels Johnson, stock	10.00
C. W. Barzee, subscription cards	10.00
H. M. Wells, donation	2.50
Richard Krueger, donation	\$32.00
George E. Boomer, donation	10.00
Dr. S. J. Stewart, donation	5.00
Dr. L. O. Fiset, donation,	5.00

\*\$22.00 of Comrade Krueger's donation is in cancellation of an account due him from the Trustee Printing Company, and cannot be applied directly to the press. It, however, reduces our liabilities to that amount and makes traveling that much easier in meeting the future payments on the press.

Now, comrades, with a will, and we will be able to pay cash in full for the press and save an additional \$25.00 from the purchase price! We can do it by raising \$700.00! Who's next?

It may be proper here to make some report on the "moving fund" established to pay the expenses of our change in location. There were donations received of 50 cents from Matts Erikson, 25 cents from J. W. Olcutt, \$1.00 from John Heitzman, and \$4.00 from Wm. Hogan, a total of \$5.75. Our expenses were, drayage \$6.50, labor, \$10.00, wiring for lights and power, \$13.00; total \$29.50. There were other miscellaneous expenses, as there always are in moving, but the sum named represents the actual cash outlay for the larger items. We want to thank the comrades who assisted us and trust they will be able to interest some of their friends in the press fund.

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# Hillquit's Platform

Continued from Page 1  
Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party.

The short period which has elapsed since the birth of our Republic has witnessed immense changes. New economic conditions have sprung up, new social relations have been created, new popular needs have been developed, and a radical readjustment between our industrial and political institutions has become necessary. AGRICULTURE SUBORDINATE. The United States entered on its National career as a farming country; manufacture and commerce played but an incidental part in the early life of the population. But within the last century, and more particularly within its last decades, agriculture was gradually subordinated to the great modern factory industry. The centers of National activity were transferred from the peaceful villages to the large cities, and within the latter the methods of manufacture and commerce were thoroughly and rapidly revolutionized.

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

**NO GENERAL BENEFIT.**  
But although this wonderful transformation is the result of the collective ingenuity and labor of the multitudes of workers of present and past generations, its fruits have been seized and appropriated by a small portion of the population—the capitalist class. The capitalists own, as their individual and private property, all the land on which we live, together with the mines, oil wells and other natural treasures hidden in it, and most of the structures and homes erected on it; they own our railroads, telegraphs and all other means of transportation and communication; they own our factories, machinery, and all the tools indispensable to the production of the necessities of life; they own the food, clothing and shelter of their fellow-men. In short, they own the country, with all its wealth and resources, while the great mass of the population, the workingmen whose labor has created our so-called "National" wealth and still maintains our national life, are virtually destitute of property, and depend for their right to work and live upon the will of the idle capitalist class.

**EFFECTS OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.**

The anomalous fact that a small group of capitalists are permitted to use all the country's resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of our lives the object of their competitive private enterprises and speculations, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time. In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends; industries are conducted in a planless manner through periods of feverish activity during which the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly undermined and periods of enforced idleness during which the workers are frequently reduced to starvation. The climax of this chaotic system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years. In its mad and reckless race for profits the capitalist class is bound to exploit the workingmen to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance; it drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factories; it snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into gold dollars; it wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in the mines, railroads and factories; it drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed, and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice. To maintain their iniquitous rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominating parties and, through them they elect public officials; they select our executives, bribe our legislatures and corrupt our courts of justice; they own and censor our press; they subsidize and direct our churches and colleges; they own the nation politically, intellectually and spiritually, just as they own it industrially.

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

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

# WORKING CLASS DESTINY.

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

# A WORKING CLASS PARTY.

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

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

**Editorial Comment:** The Hillquit draft has the advantages of brevity and simplicity.

Little criticism of its actual contents is possible, except that its statements about the planlessness of capitalist production are not as accurate now as when Marx and Engels wrote.

It is in what Hillquit omits to say that the weakness of his platform consists.

Why should Socialist platforms fail to recognize and emphasize the supreme discovery of Marx and the central fact of capitalist society, namely, the exploitation of the wage class in the payment of wages? However much monopoly may have modified the application of the law of value in the prices of other commodities, Labor Power is still sold at its value and surplus value is extracted in more prodigious amounts than ever from the proletariat at the point of production. Why not make that supreme fact supreme in our platforms?

Why confine our statements to the fact of capitalist development and the social evolution toward the co-operative commonwealth? The opportunist can simulate by his Middle Class Public Ownership or Proletarian Collective Ownership and we have scarcely any adequate criticism of it on the lines of evolution alone. But if we couple with our evolutionary statement the omnipresent fact of wage exploitation which characterizes the proletarian class alone, then proposals for Middle Class public ownership made no semblance of appeal to the proletariat who at once perceive that the continuance of wages is the continuance of exploitation. A thousand other fallacies of Middle Class arguments, like 3-cent fares and reduced taxes, tumble to dust when the exact source of surplus value is made plain.

Hillquit's platform strikes us as a compromise document, prudently omitting what might be objected to by anybody on either side, but not constituting a militant educational proletarian instrument.

We find our space this week is insufficient for printing the Osborne appeal as intended.

# STAYING QUALITY.

Titus, Ault & Co.:  
But you have the "staying quality" which could never exist from a conventional individual point of view, but does exist from a general material principle point of view.

Never in this country have a body of men fought so attentively and persistently for human rights. The climate out there must be good for it, for you have initiated a move that sounds far and near. It is talked about everywhere. Discussions are rampant. Sides are taken, of course. The reasoning diplomat will say: What fools those official Seattleites were to take issue with Socialists, for to have ignored them and let them go on with their ranting would not have done near as much harm. Well, the world will not keep still for stillness is not for the now. This is a time for moving, and the time is here for fossils who have been traveling the road of tradition to get out of the way. Sham has had its day, and realism toward human emancipation is now to possess its own. In the change there will be some class-contradictions. Some will be clashed. Some sent to jail. Some maimed for life. Some persecuted. Many prosecuted. Some starved. Some shot down. And some poisoned by doctorcraft at the ultimate, when they get the chance to butt in, etc. But this is the cheapest way out of it. So long as property is above man,

human life will be sacrificed by the thousands and tens of thousands. Legally, of course, but done just the same.

To lose a few in the "skirmish" will be nothing compared with the above.  
When we get a state where man is placed above property, the killing game will be at an end. Man will then buckle in, for his own support, and behave himself. He will have then the first chance through all time to be really a decent citizen.  
You know the principle. You are conscious of the reality.  
Buckle in, and keep twisting the head of the brute until his tail snaps.  
I enclose a single dollar (I wish I had more to give), which you are to "put in," keeping no account of whither it came.  
Let all efforts be directed against weavers—for ours.  
A "vanguard" is the Seattle Socialist. Both—the MEN, and the PAPER by that name. J. E. RULLISON.  
Toledo, O., Jan. 27, 1908.

# The Seattle Election

The Socialist Party won and lost in last Tuesday's electoral contest. They won their fight for free speech by defeating "Labor Mayor" Moore overwhelmingly. Until this fake friend of labor ran up against the Socialists he was carrying all before him. In this campaign itself it was almost impossible to make any charges against him stick except that he had persecuted the Socialists abominably. His hypocrisy and autocracy were reached in his treatment of them. More votes were lost by Moore and gained by Miller because of Moore's tyranny over the Socialists than from any other cause whatever.  
So the Socialists actually won when the Republican mayor was elected. For eighteen months we have fought for Free Speech on Free Streets. We have been arrested nearly 200 times and have served 200 days in jail, and in the foulest jail in America. Ball has been refused uniformly, though it has been impossible to convict us. At last the people of Seattle got a chance to register their verdict on such Russian methods and Moore went down to disgraceful defeat by 5,000 majority for Miller.

If Seattle had elected Moore, after his violation of all principles of humanity and constitutional right, she would have been inconceivably disgraced. The Socialist Party furnished the main arguments for the Republicans, who declared they stood for Free Speech, the abolition of the Chain Gang and a New City Jail. The public sentiment for these things created by the Socialists during the last eighteen months was captured by the Republicans and used by them for the defeat of Moore.

Yet we lost, lost even votes. The working class of Seattle voted for Miller or Moore in preference to McCorkle. They voted for Billy Middleton, an exposed grafter and Labor Faker, in preference to Alfred Wagenknecht, who never got a dollar out of them and who would die for their interests.

So the Socialists lost and Fakermism won. It is a sad comment on the intelligence of the workingmen of this city. Here was a Socialist ticket of true and tried wage workers, men of the rank and file of organized labor, pledged to do all in their power for their class interests, and for Union Labor, turned down with a paltry few hundred votes. Why? Because these voters are too stupid to see their own interests. They simply are incapable of thinking for themselves.

See the result. The next morning after election the Master Builders issue their defiance to organized labor and publish a new wage scale cut down from \$1 to \$1.50 a day. Do you suppose them would have dared to do that if the Socialist ticket had been elected or even if the Socialist ticket had received 5,000 votes? They have treated the wage workers as if they were chumps all through this election campaign, and the result shows they were right. The workers do not yet know enough to vote for themselves. Hypnotized by the daily papers and cheated by their "leaders," they divide up at the polls and vote for some "Friend of Labor," not having sense or manhood to vote for one of their own class. They despise themselves and consequently the capitalists despise them.

And that's why the Socialist Party got only 600 or 700 votes. It may be some consolation to some, to reflect that we got more votes than the Democrats or that we got three times as many as the two kicking "Socialist" parties combined, but the sad fact remains, the working class of Seattle can be led by the nose.

# COAL STRIKE IN WILKESON

The strike in the coal mines at Carbonado and Wilkeson goes merrily on. The miners' union has a membership of 500 and every man is standing pat. The company has about 100 scabs at work but they are all green hands and cannot do the work of ten good miners.  
Considering the army of deputies and Pinkertons that the mine-owners feel compelled to maintain around their properties, there is not much profit being extracted from the scabs, and the end of the strike in favor of the miners is a matter of a short time.  
Wilkeson and Carbonado are good places to stay away from. Any working man who goes there can get nothing to do unless he scabs. Keep away from Wilkeson.  
A few copies of John M. Work's "What's So and What Isn't" about Socialism, regular price 15 cents; to close out, 10 cents each. A popular reply to popular objections to Socialism.

# The Most Stupendous Price-Cutting Sale Now Going on at the THE BELL CLOTHIERS 216 PIKE STREET

This store is known as leaders of the most exclusive designs of the manly art. You should not under any circumstances miss this rare bargain feast. Every suit and overcoat in the house must go, regardless of cost or value.  
This is not a sale to deceive the people. The Bell Clothiers, 216 Pike Street, value their standing too highly to practice any deceit upon the public. We sell on the "Money-Back" proposition, if we don't please you.  
ONLY SIX DAYS MORE of unmatched values.

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Elegant Suits of cashmere and chevots, all new fabrics, latest cut and very stylish, worth \$12.50, during this 10-day sale \$7.50  
Choice new patterns in Men's Suits, double and single breasted, fancy patterns, blacks, blues and browns, worth every cent of \$17, during this 10-day sale \$9.25  
Men's Fine Dress Suits, lined throughout with heavy serge lining, stylishly made, good enough for the best dresser, worth \$20, during this sale \$12.49  
And now the climax of all bargains: Your choice of any suit worth \$25; tailor made, and they will go like wildfire during this sale at \$13.99  
Men's Suits up to \$50 to go for just one-half.  
Men's All-wool Kersey and Oxford Overcoats in any length; worth \$15, during this 10-day sale \$9.50  
Men's Venetian Lined Overcoats in fancy and plain pattern, of the best material, with silk sleeve lining; a wonderful bargain; worth \$20; during this 10-day sale \$11.49  
Men's Imported Vicunas, Meltons and Cashmere Overcoats, worth \$22.50, during this 10-day sale \$12.99  
We have 100 Grade Tailored Top Coats, worth up to \$20, during this 10-day sale \$10.95, \$12.98 and \$14.49  
Men's \$15 and \$20 Cravenette Coats as we quote? Remember these to go during this 10-day sale at \$9.99, \$11.99 and \$12.49  
Young Men's Suits, in all the latest styles and patterns, ages 17 to 20 years. Have you ever heard of such a ridiculous price as we quote? Remember these goods have brought \$12 to \$20, but they must go now at \$7.50 and \$10.95

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We have over 200 pairs of Men's Pants at all prices to be sold for less than it cost to make them.  
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Men's 15c Handkerchiefs during this 10-day sale \$10c

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IMMENSE SLAUGHTER IN  
Men's 20c Handkerchiefs during this 10-day sale \$10c  
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Men's 25c Suspenders during this 10-day sale \$9c  
Men's 50c Suspenders during this 10-day sale \$29c  
Men's 10c Socks during this 10-day sale \$5c  
Men's 15c Socks, in fancy colors 7c  
Men's 75c Overall during this sale \$39c  
Men's \$1.00 Overall during this sale \$79c  
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Men's 65c Dress Shirts now 37c  
Men's 95c Dress Shirts now 49c  
Men's \$1.50 Dress Shirts now 79c  
Over 200 White and Fancy Vests in all materials, cotton, wool and silk, all patterns; we can fit you at \$9c, \$1.49, \$1.99 and \$2.99  
We have 50 dozen Hats; some are worth three times what we'll sell them for; in soft and stiff, at \$1.99, \$2.49, \$2.99 and \$3.99  
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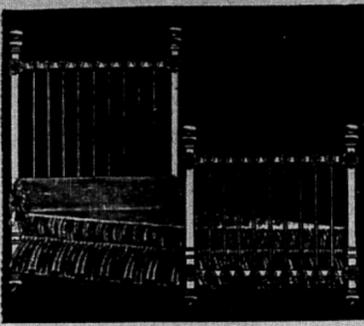
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# Capitalist Charity

By Tom Sladden

In every large city at present we have what is termed "Organized Charities." Portland, Oregon, is no exception to the rule and their organization is so perfect here that there is very little chance of any of the charity leaking through the organization. In some recent figures given out by the "Evening Telegram," some interesting facts were presented as regards the workings of this organized charity. This same paper gave the same snap away two years ago. The figures are given to apply to this particular case but, as a matter of fact they hold good in every other city in regards to these institutions. The Salvation Army and kindred organizations are, if anything, worse.

The "Associated Charities of Portland" is a capitalist institution which is organized for the purpose of scientifically and systematically applying the dope, misnamed charity. They give you the figures themselves and defend their position on the grounds of necessity, while the Salvation Army, the Volunteers and other like humbugs screen their graft behind the cloak of religious hypocrisy.

The following is a showing of the charitable work performed by the Associated Charities in Portland in the last four years:

Disbursements	Year	Salaries
\$4,982.65	1901	\$3,320.00
4,862.70	1902	3,420.00
5,104.30	1903	3,420.00
6,241.00	1904	3,420.00

These are the actual figures given by the Board itself.

Take the year 1902. The amount collected by these yampires was \$4,862.70. Deduct the salaries paid to the overworked officials and we have left the sum of \$1,442.70—for charity? Guess again; for charity and all other purposes; light, fuel, water, rent, carfare, books, papers, advertising, printing, etc., etc.

Out of the difference between the total received and the total expended a large amount must have gone for advertising and postage alone, for this organization systematically circulates the city every little while, warning the people against giving out indiscriminately to charity and to send what they wish to give to their organization so that it can be expended where it will do the most good.

This is the story of charity in a big city in a Christianized nation in this year of Our Lord (Dollars) 1908.

But the worst is still to come. So many unfortunates were in need of assistance here in Portland; husbands out of work and wives and babies hungry, that at last even the cast-iron sensibilities of the capitalists, or at least some of them, became shocked at the situation. They went before the city Council and demanded that the enormous sum of \$10,000.00 be expended on public work. Ten million would not do the public work actually needed in the city right now.

What happened? The miserable apology for a man that occupies the position of Superintendent of the City Board of Charities appeared before that council and talked and pleaded against the appropriation. He was successful. The council refused to vote the money.

Of what account are all your charities anyhow? They are an appendage of capitalism. They depend upon the capitalist for maintenance and in the face of a crisis the capitalist is unable to keep up his donations to charity and your beautiful institution "Organized Charity" becomes demoralized at the only time it is needed.

Every dollar, every penny given to these organizations is wasted. It is given into the hands of those who are there, not for the purpose of relieving suffering, but to attach themselves to the spoils. This superintendent alone receives \$150.00 a month and he has obtained himself more of the loot in salary than has ever been expended by the organization in helping the afflicted.

If you have anything at any time to disburse for charity do the disbursing yourself and do not give a bunch of petty larceny thieves, who would steal skim milk from a sick baby, 85 cents out of every dollar to insult and bulldoze the people who receive 15 cents out of the dollar you intend for them.

Capitalist Charity like the capitalist system is rotten to the core.

The real charity that is going on today is overlooked. On this Pacific Coast this winter thousands have been out of employment. How were they supported? They were members of that class that has been gradually undergoing a process of equalization. Each one had worked in logging camps and railroad camps and grain ranches and other places of like kind. Each one knew dozens of others in like condition. All had been "broke and up against it" at some time or another. At some time or another each had helped the other and when one had money the other did not go hungry. The community of interests was beginning to be a reality. The giver did not regard himself as a philanthropist, the receiver was no beggar. Often the giver was the applicant, with his "are you busted, Jack," or

"did you eat yet?" Mutual self-help was at work while the wheels of capitalist "organized charity" were blocked. The blanket stiff was solving a problem that baffled the capitalist intellectual jackass.

As the equalization, from an economic standpoint, of the working class becomes more and more pronounced, this mutual self-help will have displaced professional charity, discriminatingly applied, and with it the 85 per cent, grafters, many of whom will have become caught in this equalization process themselves.

When this mass becomes great enough, the capitalist will either see to it that all of those so equalized have food or when they get hungry the capitalist will be out of a job. And he will never be able to feed them all the time. He will have had one "Crisis" too many.

Capitalist charity is the holy water drawn from the life of the working class, the blood of infant slaves, the virtue of woman, the vigor and strength of man, crystallized into dollars and used as a salve on the festering sore of capitalism and to keep in the closest the ghost which would appear at the banquet and interrupt the enjoyment at the feast.

Damn their charity! It is what they are being robbed of that the working class need, and not the stinking charity from a set of thieves.

THOMAS SLADDEN,  
Amen.

FROM A W. F. M. ORGANIZER

Shickley, Neb., Feb. 10, 1908  
Trustee Publishing Co., Seattle, Wash.  
Gentlemen and Comrades—I have been getting a bunch of 5 copies of "The Socialist" sent me to Goldfield for some time and wish to inform you that I am no longer there and you will therefore kindly refrain from sending me any more papers to that address.

I will probably not go back to Goldfield until the present troubles are adjusted in some way that will be satisfactory to the W. F. M. If they succeed in scabbing the camp, will not go back there at all. In the meantime I would still like to read "The Socialist" regularly and if you wish you may send me one copy weekly at my address here. What I owe for subscription to date shall be paid as soon as I go to work. At present I am broke and idle.

As soon as I return West and have a permanent address I shall gladly subscribe for "The Socialist" again, as I like it. I have read it nearly steady since Titus and partner issued it from Ohio.

I must congratulate you upon the great Ida Crouch Hazlett articles from Goldfield. I organized the camp for the Federation and was its first president, and we considered it the best Union camp in the country for quite a while. Hope we may be able to say the same again. I sincerely hope that the experience of the last few months will have the result of teaching some of the mutton-headed "good-man" men in the Unions there that there has been enough of "good man" politics in the state and that there is but one logical solution of the great problem of which the Goldfield affair is only an incident, and that is: Strictly class-conscious action at the polls. We had a splendid chance, two years ago to capture the state for Socialism, for as Ida Crouch Hazlett says the majority in the little state are wage workers and union miners but, the "good-man" ideas of many of our members beat us. Sparks was all the go, and as a result our candidate for the governorship received less votes than the average of the Socialist ticket. Hope they have their "belly full" of Sparks by this time.

Success to the movement and to all such fearless advocates of it as "The Socialist."  
JOEL NELSON.

TEACHERS—"STAND BY YOUR GUNS."

Editor "Socialist"—  
Some time ago I sent you an account of a school affair in which appeared a statement of our fight with capitalist-minded directors.

This article must have been copied, or at least the gist of it, because a few days ago I received a letter from a rural district (I do not wish to name the locality, fearing that the comrade who is the clerk of the district, would not wish to have the fact published), informing me that they had seen in the "Daily Socialist" that I had been "fired" because I was a Socialist and offering me the school in his district. Also stated that they had several applications waiting, but would consider none until they heard from me. Two members of the board were Socialists.

At the time of sending in the account I had no other thought in mind except to point out the fact that a Socialist teacher cannot proclaim himself a Socialist and hold his position unless a majority of the board are also Socialists.

Since receiving the above letter, however, another idea occurred to me which, if carried out, would make Socialist teaches a power in the state instead of being despised and maligned as now.

plished in the struggle for the emancipation of our class.  
It is about time that new ideas should be infused into the educational system of to-day.

The children of the working class have a right to the best instructors obtainable, and will have them as soon as the working class make an organized effort to secure them.

In conclusion I would urge the Socialist teachers of the state to stand by their colors. It will pay in the end.

ELEANORA MAURER HERMAN.

## INDIGNATION AROUSED.

Whereas, the knowledge comes to us by the press and private letter that the Socialists of Seattle are being unlawfully discriminated against, in that they are denied the right of free speech upon the streets of Seattle, while the Salvation Army and other organizations are permitted to hold meetings without hindrance upon said streets; but at every attempt of the Socialists to hold a meeting, they are arrested by the police and sent into a board-of-nearth-condemned bastle, and then sentenced to the chain gang or turned loose without the right of trial; thus denying the privilege of liberty to the individual, under the constitution, by the perverting of the executive and judicial power; therefore,

Be it Resolved, by The Dalles Local No. 14 of the Socialist party of Oregon, that we stand by and sympathize with our brothers at Seattle in their effort to maintain that individual right guaranteed to every citizen by the constitution of the United States—"Free Speech"—and that we call upon every local to come to the rescue of our brothers by sending them financial aid; and

Resolved, That we believe it is our duty and becoming our manhood as citizens to stand by and cooperate with our Socialist comrades everywhere who are willing to sacrifice pleasure, ease and their financial interests, and even life for the upbuilding and enhancement of advanced civilization that none may be denied the means of universal liberty and life; and

Resolved, That The Dalles Local hold a protest meeting against the outraging of justice by the arbitrary court rulings and decisions; and

Resolved, That we call upon all Locals in the Northwest to institute like proceedings, as the time has come when we can no longer read daily of the injustice practiced upon a patriotic and liberty-loving people without protest.

W. A. CRAWFORD,  
G. E. SANDERS,  
C. W. BARZEE,  
Committee.

## Civilization

By Abe Herschin.

Out of a job, thousands of men  
Battling as tigers hungered in den,  
For meager subsistence, life's primal need;  
Denied even that—such is Capital's greed.

Tearing and snarling down in the pit,  
First law of the jungle, "survive will the fit."  
Ripping and slashing, the dispossessed's pain  
Is eased with "God's will, you've a Heaven to gain."

Come to the redlights, where wantons betray,  
The result of the system where women decay.  
This is what offers, when sickened of store,  
To working class women—a bedizened whore.

See! in the sweat shop, factory, mill,  
Toddling children for Mammon to kill;  
Can this be the climax, Society's peak:  
Harlots and hoboes, destruction of weak?

Is rising to action, conscious of class;  
Organization—political, shop,  
This, this alone will make Moloch's wheel stop.

MODERN MINING REGULATIONS.  
By Ellis O. Jones.

The following set of iron-clad rules has just been received from one of the most prominent firms in the mining business. These rules show conclusively that the recent horrible disasters were due to circumstances over which no one could possibly have any control.

Employees killed or injured in mine explosions are positively forbidden from dying on the premises. This is purely a sanitary regulation insisted upon by the health board.

These mines are regularly inspected after every explosion. This is necessitated, not so much for the welfare of the miners, for they are mostly foreigners anyway, as by public clamor.

Widows and orphans of exploded miners are requested to keep away from the offices of the company, as the officers are too tender-hearted to bear the sight of so much misery. The officers of the company take pleasure in announcing the perfection of a device whereby, in future explosions, only undesirable citizens will be automatically selected for slaughter. In view of the extra expense of this to the company, it has been deemed prudent to offer all employees a twenty-five per cent reduction in wages.

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OFFICERS.

E. T. ALLISON, Secretary  
B. KUBASKI, Treasurer  
J. H. STEELE, Literature Agent

Headquarters of Local Seattle No. 1 between Pine and Stewart, off Westlake Boulevard, Carpenter's Hall building.

Local Business Meetings held in Party Headquarters Thursday at 8 p. m.

Membership Committee meets in Party Headquarters on Thursday at 8 p. m.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday at Egan Hall, 8 p. m.

Executive committee meets at headquarters Tuesday, 8 p. m.

REPORT TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SEATTLE.

Comrades—It ought to go generally beneficial to first state in what respects our campaign could have been improved upon, so that we may some day become the politicians necessary to the success of the Socialist Party. In my suggestions I do not claim to be absolutely correct, and I offer them so that other comrades may correct them where correction and improvement is needed.

Ward Clubs: Ward Clubs are necessary in all campaigns, and precincts should be organized when possible. We must organize in conformity with prevailing political divisions. Comrades living in wards know most about holding ward rallies; know how to advertise these meetings best. They know the neighbors and can best reach the sympathizers. They are the best fitted to watch the polls on election day. In a central organization like that of Local Seattle, if ward clubs cannot be retained all the year, they should at least be organized not immediately before election to get out the Socialist vote, but should be organized before registration so as to be useful in helping to register our vote.

Finances: The election of a committee whose only duty would be to secure campaign funds seems to me an absolute need in any campaign. The securing of a campaign fund sufficiently large for our campaigns is in itself a science, and it has been proven to me that it takes study and special adaptability to get all the money there is to get. The Socialist Party must learn to specialize, to place all comrades in that work for which they are best fitted.

Campaign Records: Though at the different times that the party has honored me with the job of campaign secretary I have made it my duty to file all records of the campaign, each successive campaign finds these records missing. Records of every campaign must be kept on file. Contributions from those who favored us last campaign are again needed this campaign. The Socialist vote by precincts should be on file. Not only the Socialist vote, but also the vote of all parties, as well as the registration. The minutes showing the work done by the campaign committee can always be used as a basis for the improvement of future campaigns. The names and addresses of those who worked and the work they performed should be recorded so that this army of workers can be increased in each successive campaign. Files of all the capitalist dailies should be kept, for they often contain information of value that can be used by speakers in other campaigns and information that can be used in all campaigns, such as the addresses of all polling places and registration places, halls where meetings are held by the different parties, etc. The records of the last campaign should be the basis for the following campaign.

Campaign Committee: This committee should have complete jurisdiction over all campaign work. No conflict of authority should be made possible. This committee should be carefully chosen so that a working committee may be had. By working committee I mean a committee that can give the time to the work. This committee must elect a campaign manager who should be the handy man, the man for details and arrangements. He should have good executive ability and must be able to propose work as well as perform the work he is commanded to do by the campaign committee.

Distribution of Literature: We have been derelict in the distribution of literature in Seattle campaigns. Distribution must take place Sunday mornings, for then is when the workmen will be found at home. To distribute on week days entails a great loss, for much of the literature so distributed never reaches the voter, unless the distribution is made after 7 p. m. The four Sundays before election should be given the campaign committee by every party member and sympathizer, and the entire city should be covered every Sunday, always having a new leaflet or paper for each Sunday. This distribution work can be easily organized, for many of us are free to give Sunday mornings to the work. One hundred comrades can cover this city in three hours if they work briskly; that is, they can cover all of the city that we should cover, the working class districts.

Work Done: The executive committee of the local, retaining charge of the street meetings and the Sunday night Egan hall meeting by consent of the campaign committee, can better report the work done at these meetings. My personal opinion is that all these meetings should have been under the jurisdiction of the campaign committee. Procuring

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finances for campaign purposes, which should have also been left to the campaign committee or to a special committee which understood this work, was passed on to the local secretary, who could not give it the attention it deserved because of his regular duties. For this the local itself is responsible. The result of this mistake is shown in the small returns.

The campaign committee gave its time to the organization of ward meetings, and I worked under its direction in this; attended to the distribution of the platforms and other literature, filled vacancies on our ticket, received some contributions, provided challengers for polling places and arranged alphabetically the names and addresses of all Socialist sympathizers by wards.

Ward Meetings: Green Lake Station, Kidd's Hall—Attendance, 35; collection, \$3; rent, \$3. Fremont, Odd Fellows' Hall—Attendance, 75; collection, \$3.25; rent, \$2.50. Ballard, Macabee Hall—Attendance, 100; collection, \$1.60; rent, \$3. Mountain View Station, Mountain View Hall—Attendance, 65; collection, \$3.01; rent, \$3. Hillman, Pratt's Hall—Attendance, 80; collection, \$5; rent, \$2.50. Twenty-sixth and Jackson, store room—Attendance, 25; collection, \$1.41; rent, \$3. Rainier Beach, Dugdale's Hall—Attendance, 30; collection, \$2.50; rent, \$5. Youngstown, store room—Attendance, 125; collection, \$5; rent, \$5. Third Ward, Finnish Hall—Attendance, 50; collection, \$4.25; rent, \$2.00. South Park, Dreyer's Hall—Attendance, 100; collection, \$5.10; rent, \$5. Total (cost \$20 to advertise meetings)—Attendance, 685; collection, \$34.15; rent, \$32.

Financial Report: Receipts—Contributions lists, \$50.40; collections, street, \$7.56; halls, \$41.71; total, \$92.11. Expenses—Fare, stamps, signs, \$10.40; J. B. Osborne, \$10; hall rents, \$32; literature distribution, \$8.45; A. Wagenknecht, \$15; total, \$81.85. Balance, \$10.26. Outstanding bills—Trustee Printing Co., \$29; J. B. Osborne, \$10; A. Wagenknecht, \$20.

I gave the campaign committee three weeks of my time but was not kept busy during all of this period. Respectfully submitted to the campaign committee and to Local Seattle, Socialist Party.

A. WAGENKNECHT,  
State Organizer.

## GENERAL NOTES

### EVERETT NEWS.

Comrade Abe Herschin addressed our propaganda meeting last Sunday; subject, "The Revolution." It was a masterful address. His delivery was splendid, and he held his audience to a man for over an hour. Everett will be pleased to have him again.

The Local is in fairly good shape. Good material is being developed. We are now perfecting plans for a more general awakening of the working class, by a more systematic method of distributing chosen literature and regular propaganda meetings with outside speakers.

Everett Socialists realize the importance of the workings of the party by turning out an average of about twenty-two members at all business meetings, which, considering our total, is a good showing.

Comrade Sigmund Roeder and family are here again from Idaho, after an absence of two years.

We are not saying much, but expect to be heard from in the future.

At our business meeting today (March 1) two new members were admitted, and the following nominations made for national delegates: Emil Herman, Redondo; S. G. Rouleau, Everett; Alf Wagenknecht, Seattle; J. E. Sinclair, Fall City; D. Burgess, Everett; H. F. Titus, Seattle; W. E. Tibbitts, Everett; Burns, Tacoma.

### TRUTH ABOUT BELLINGHAM.

Tacoma, Wash., Feb. 9, 1908.

Editor "Saturday Evening Tribune":

Dear Sir—In the last issue of your paper, under the caption of "Socialist News," you make reference to the debate between myself and Mrs. Irene Smith.

I do not know from what source you got your information, since your informant is too cowardly to sign his name; anyway, he is a willful and unmitigated liar. In the first place I did not represent the Titus faction or anybody else's faction, but appeared there as the duly authorized representative of the Socialist Party of Washington. I hold credentials from the state committee elected by the membership of the Socialist Party of Washington, and recognized by the National Socialist Party.

Second, I did not admit the truthfulness of statements made in your petition for a state referendum, but on the contrary pointed out that every one of the whereases in said petition is based on a flagrant misstatement of facts.

Third, I am proud of the open, straightforward and honest tactics pursued by the Socialist Party of this state, and am not ashamed to say so, regardless of whether or not your informant and a few other Utopian soreheads declare them illegal.

Fourth, instead of 700 comrades, there were not many (if any) more than 100 people present at the meeting referred to, and while Mrs. Smith undoubtedly had the advantage of me, owing to the fact that she had unlimited time while I had only fifteen minutes, they did not agree with her to the extent of contributing a single signature to your petition, although she made a desperate attempt to organize. Yours for the revolution.

EMIL M. HERMAN.

Sent to "Saturday Evening Tribune" a month ago and never published. This shows how much they believe in "free discussion."

### ON UNITY.

The vote on National Committee motions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 closed on February 25 with the following result: Motion No. 8, which provides for uniform subscription lists for all divisions of the party to be issued by the national office, to raise a campaign fund, was adopted; voting yes, 50; no, 5; not voting, 9. Motion No. 9, to accept in principle the proposition made by the national executive committee of the S. I. P. and to designate the national executive committee of the Socialist Party as a committee on conference, was defeated; voting yes, 17; no, 28; not voting, 9. Motion No. 10, to elect a committee of seven of the national committee as a committee on conference, was defeated; voting yes, 11; no, 44; not voting, 9. Motion No. 11, "That sections and members of the Social-

ist Labor Party be invited to join our party individually or in sections, and make their applications to our respective locals. All persons applying to pledge themselves as individuals to accept our Platform and our tactics," was adopted; voting yes, 36; no, 20; not voting, 8. Motion No. 12, "That any committee that may be elected to consider any unity proposition with the Socialist Labor Party, be instructed that all questions of policy and tactics must be left to the united party, and that they be instructed to reject all propositions involving any agreement on such questions," was adopted; voting yes, 59; no, 15; not voting, 10.

"The Terrible Truth About Marriage" is still on hand. It is now selling for 10 cents per copy, postage paid. In quantities the price is 50 for \$3.00, 100 for \$6.00.

### TO CALIFORNIA LOCALS.

When you want literature in a hurry for special meetings in small quantities, write or wire Local San Francisco, 139 Albion Avenue. As this Local is carrying a large variety of standard Socialist literature—larger than any other Local in California carries—we can probably supply your needs in many cases. Locals can buy from us at wholesale prices, the buyer paying postage or expressage. We have a number of books that we can offer at specially low prices. Let us know what YOU have for sale or exchange.

Help us start a Socialist Literature Clearing House for California. Address, WILLIAM M'DEVIITT, Organizer.

Calendar for March, 1908, Local San Francisco Socialist Party, at Equality Hall, 139 Albion Avenue, near Sixteenth and Valencia:

The following meetings begin at 8 p. m.: Sunday, March 1, "Battlefields of Science," Geo. R. C. Thompson, of Portland; Sunday, March 8, "Equal Suffrage and Socialism," Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, Mrs. J. W. Orr and other speakers. This discussion will be doubly interesting to women. Sunday, March 15, Paris Commune and Marx Memorial Symposium. Ed. J. Lewis, Philadelphia; Cameron H. King, Jr., San Francisco; Geo. R. C. Thompson, Portland. Tuesday, March 17, monthly mass meeting of Local; very important referendum. Sunday, March 22, Miss Josephine R. Cole, of San Jose, will deliver a lecture. Sunday, March 29, "Banks and Bankers," Dr. J. F. Wetzel.

To Members—C. C. C. meets every Monday night at 139 Albion Avenue. District branch meetings: 17th, 18th, 19th, every Tuesday at 139 Albion; 20th, every Friday at 139 Albion; 21st, every Thursday at 920 Fulton; 22nd, every Thursday at 1511 Golden Gate Avenue. The Saturday socials have been suspended. Don't forget to register. Not soon, but now.

"God Knows" buttons, 1-1/4 inches wide, with cartoon of Taft by Ryan Walker, 10 cents each, by mail, postage paid. A good thing to spring on your Republican friend.

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Don't you think Comrade Sladden gives the mud stirrer a pain in their gizzards by pointing out their appropriating the mud that is the inheritance of all?

Land Pirates only. No graft. Little difference that the wage worker furnishes the farmers with clothes, tools, seed and money.

Anyone can stir mud, everything else furnished. But let the mud mixer try making even a pin and he is up against the real thing.

But the mud mixer is so independent that every grocer in the land has bought his next year's canned goods, and the mud mixer has not put the seed in the ground yet. And I will just hint that they are going to be much cheaper than last year.

North Yakima, 2-10-08.

ADA GATCHELL.

### The Socialist

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Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed.

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