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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation

Ninth Year--No. 402

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SOCIALISTS AND ELECTION POLICY

By F. W. Jowett, M. P.

(From "The Clarion," Oct., 2, 1908) Let us cast our eye over the forces which must co-operate if we are to be successful. We wish to fight the capitalist system--with votes. Where are we to get them? Of the total number of votes in use probably not less than one-third may be reckoned as hostile because they are possessed by the master class...

ing a by-election, where the I. L. P. executive was of opinion that a huge property owners' vote would swamp and discourage the local Labour forces, and made the expenditure of money and energy inadvisable.

At present we hold in alliance the bulk of the members of trade unions, and the unknown, but growing, body of convinced Socialists attached and unattached. These are augmented from time to time during election contests by discontented but unconvinced wage workers, but the remainder of the population from which we must gain our fighting strength is still slavishly indifferent or in a state of active or passive opposition.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist election policy, and there are some who advocate this easy way, but I am not of the number. "Let us fight," they say, "every seat for which we can get a candidate and raise money to meet the necessary expenses."

The trade unionists and Socialists together are but a minority among the two-thirds of whom I have spoken and were it not for the fact that the rest of the voters are divided between the two old parties, we should hurl ourselves in vain against the enemies' forces for many a decade yet to come.

The extraordinary scenes of disorder in which Mr. Victor Grayson figured took place on Thursday and Friday. At the close of questions Thursday, Oct. 15, Grayson said, "I rise to move that this House do immediately adjourn to consider a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the question of unemployment."

The enemy has failed to detach the trade union wing, and on the whole, the forces have moved steadily and warily. The officers, democratically elected, have made few mistakes. Generally the points selected for attack have been well-chosen; the officers have shown good judgement, and in all cases acted within the powers conferred upon them.

When the Speaker said he was afraid the House was bound by the rules it had itself made.--Mr. Grayson: Then I must personally refuse to be bound by such rules. (Loud cries of "Order.") which were angrily renewed when the honorable member declined to resume his seat while the Speaker was standing.--Mr. Grayson raised his voice above the uproar which prevailed and shouted: "It is all very well to cry, 'Order,' you who are well fed. (Loud cries of "Sit down.") Mr. Grayson declined to sit down, and continued to discuss with the Speaker the latter's ruling.--The Speaker: Order, order. I have given the honorable member with, I think, every courtesy (loud cheers), an explanation of the circumstances which prevent him raising the question at the present moment. I have pointed out that another occasion may arise, and I suggested that he should wait until that day arrives. (Cheers).--Mr. Grayson: Yes, but in the intermediate period people are starving. (There was great disorder, loud cries of "Order," and reiterated injunctions to sit down proceeding from all quarters.)--Amidst uproar the Speaker called upon Mr. Grayson to withdraw.--M. Grayson: If you send your machinery of force to remove me I am willing to withdraw.--The Speaker: If the honorable member will not withdraw of his own accord, I must ask the sergeant-at-arms to remove him. (Loud cheers).--Mr. Grayson: I am willing to leave, because I feel degraded (loud roar). I have the unemployed mandate behind me. They are asking for some urgent legislation, and have been goaded into disorder. I absolutely refuse to be bullied into silence.--Speaker: Sergeant-at-Arms, will you kindly remove the honorable member?--Mr. Grayson: I leave the House with pleasure.--Turning to his fellow-Labor members, Mr. Grayson said: Traitors to their class, who refuse to stand by their class. (Loud laughter).--The sergeant-at-arms advanced towards Mr. Grayson, who immediately left his seat and proceeded to leave the House. He halted at the bar, and once again facing the Speaker and glancing down both sides of the House, shouted: "I leave this House

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY AND AMERICAN SOCIALISM

By George D. Herron

(In New York "Call.") Judging by articles I have seen in our party press I fear that American Socialists have been very greatly misled as to the nature of the Labor Party of Great Britain. When I find Mr. Percy Alden interviewed as an English Socialist I confess to the same sort of bewilderment that I felt when discovering that certain European Socialist leaders were disposed to consider Mr. Hearst as the only American Socialist worthy of serious consideration.

ment workers, Church of England clergymen, and all sorts of enthusiastic and unexpected effort, joined the Social Democratic party in its purpose to send this gracious and noble Socialist veteran to the House of Commons. The streets of Haggerston were as if thronged with some vast and glad religious revival, and all London was excited as to the outcome, while capitalist money was poured out without stint to prevent Burrows' election.

with the Socialist movement of another. Yet it is important that we American Socialists should know the truth about movements that are likely to influence us from abroad. No greater disaster could befall American Socialism than that it should be molded along the lines laid down by the Labor party of England. We can only be so influenced by ceasing to be Socialist. A continuous dilution of principle, a mixture of primitive Methodist pietism with middleclass political cunning, will not prepare labor or the Socialist movement to deal with the naked facts of the capitalist world in which we live.

I have in mind three or four books which contain apparently authoritative statements of English socialist development; yet the authors of these books had never met, so far as I could make out, an actual English Socialist. Just as curious is the general idea among the so-called radical wing of British Liberals and members of the British Labor party that American Socialism is to be found in the radicalism of Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst.

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State Secretary Bell, of Texas, reports the formation of 91 new Locals in Texas since February. Sebastian County, Arkansas, with four precincts heard from, gave Debs 389, Bryan 387, and Taft 383.

Of course, it is not the business of a Socialist of one nation to interfere

Though the British Labor party is admitted to the councils of International Socialism on sufferance, it is in no sense a Socialist party; nor has it the remotest intention of becoming such. Indeed, its most contemptuous attacks are upon the fundamental Socialist doctrines and upon the men who have spent their lives in the service of English Socialism.

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PARLIAMENT IN UPROAR

House of Commons Fires Victor Grayson, its only Socialist Member who fights for the Unemployed. Report from London "News."

Continued on Page Four

SOCIALISM AND THE LABOUR ALLIANCE

In Answer to F. W. Jowett, M. P., By Robert Blatchford

The article in last week's Clarion by F. W. Jowett is interesting, but does not carry us far. Speaking as a Socialist outside the Labour Party, I have to say first of all that the difficulties between the leaders and the rank and file of the Labour Party are no affair of mine.

threw themselves into the straight and glorious fight for Socialism, and against all our enemies, Liberal as well as Tory, they would do more for the uplifting of the masses than the Labour Alliance can ever do.

What concerns me is the relations between the Labour Party and the Socialists outside the Labour Party. The common mistake of all the writers and speakers who discuss the present situation lies in the fact that they write and speak as if no Socialist Party existed outside the Labour and I. L. P. Alliance.

Do you know what is the matter with the Labour Party, friend Jowett? It has lost its enthusiasm. It has grown too politic. The men who used to go about fervently preaching the new crusade have been disciplined and sophisticated until the fire has died out of their hearts.

Take Newcastle as an instance. At Newcastle the Alliance decided not to put up a Labour candidate. Jowett defends this action. I shall not assail it. But does Jowett expect that where the Labour Party retires the Socialists will not advance?

Another word with you. We of the Clarion Fellowship are always willing and ready to help the Labour Party or the I.L.P.; but we find their leaders hostile or unfriendly. All we do has to be done in spite of them. Yet we do not retaliate.

We do not wish to quarrel with the Labour Party; we have always helped, and are willing to help, them; but we will fight elections when and where we please.

This can never be until the people understand. You cannot make them understand by silencing your prophets in the interest of political expediency.

LABOR'S OPPORTUNITY

Saturday, Dec. 5th next, the men and women of Seattle are going to decide whether labor is going to be represented on the School Board. Or, to be more specific, Labor itself can say whether it is going to be represented or not.

Seattle Socialist School Platform

- 1. Enough school buildings to be built immediately to accommodate all. Ample playgrounds, baths, and gymnasiums. Free medical attendance. School buildings to be open for public assemblages when not otherwise in use.



J. A. McCorkle is a prominent member of the Carpenters' Union and is well known among his associates as an aggressive but thoughtful and levelheaded man, one of the sort every one trusts.



Mrs. Bessy Fiset is the wife of a well known physician residing in the 14th Ward, has two children of school age, is recognized by all cultivated women as eminently fitted for the position of school director and is a staunch advocate of proletarian principles.

WHEN TO VOTE: Saturday, Dec. 5, between the hours of 12 m. and 8 p. m. WHERE TO VOTE: First Ward, South School, Lane St. and 19th Ave. S. also at South Seattle School, Maynard Ave. S. and Oregon St.

McCORKLE ENDORSED BY UNION

The Carpenters' Union last Tuesday evening endorsed the Socialist Party candidate for School Director, J. A. McCorkle, who is a member of that union. A committee was also appointed to secure the co-operation of other unions.

LATER

The Central Labor Council Wednesday night also endorsed, not only McCorkle, but Mrs. Fiset as well, and appointed a committee to co-operate with the Carpenters' committee to visit other unions.

LABOR IN FRANCE

Clear Account of Industrial and Political Conventions -- Organized Labor In Unions and In Politics.

Translated from Paris correspondence in "Social-Demokraten", Copenhagen, Denmark.

By Arthur Jensen

Organized Labor in France last month held its two annual conventions. The Trades Union Congress was in session in Marseilles from the 5th to the 10th day of October, while the Socialist Party convention met in Toulouse from October 15th to 18th.

It is no accident that the two conventions were held one right after the other. It was done to make it less difficult for the comrades from Northern France to partake in both meetings.

Such a consideration for one another on the part of the two arms of the French Labor Movement is regarded as a good sign and as the correct answer to the brutality of the "radical" government.

The radical cabinet under the leadership of Clemenceau has carried on the bloodiest regime of violence seen in France for a long time, particularly against the Labor Unions. A couple of the leaders of Organized Labor are now confined in prison and were for this reason prevented from taking part in the convention.

Under these conditions the workmen have learned that they lack a strong, solid organization, on the industrial as well as on the political field, and that absolute harmony must prevail between these two branches of Organized Labor.

Turned Out of Hall

The sixteenth French Trades Union Congress was to be held in the Labor Exchange of Marseilles, but the Republican Mayor issued in the last moment a ukase, stating the Labor Exchange could not be had unless the discussion on Anti-Militarism and the General Strike were stricken off the regular order of business. As it was out of the question to change the program to conform to the wishes of a

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Socialist Agreement Reached

Remarkable Four Hours' Speech by Jaures.

The national convention of the Socialist Party of France, held in Toulouse last month, was looked forward to with great expectations. Jaures said in a speech shortly before the convention: "Our party is at present a victim of internal struggles. The convention will help us to clearness." And it did. When the convention closed the Socialist Party of France was a united party as never before.

The convention was held in an old convent hall now used as a banquet hall. It is a magnificent hall, built in gothic style, and was decorated most beautifully with "great red banners and a multitude of living flowers and plants. Toulouse is an ancient city, having passed through at least two thousand years and an exciting past. It has now become a modern industrial city, where the Wage Working population is in overwhelming majority and where the Socialist Party for several years had a majority in the municipal council. At the last election the party, however, decreased slightly in its voting strength and it was therefore not possible to bid the delegates welcome in the hall, as had been planned. But the old convent hall was as good and beautiful as any convention could desire.

3800 Office Holders
324 delegates were present. From the report of the national Secretary, Dubreuilh, it was learned that the party had increased during the past year a little over a thousand members. Somewhat incomplete statistics of the municipal elections showed that there are about 3800 Socialist office holders in 500 French municipalities. The report also showed that the party organ "L'Humanite" is now doing well. It was decided to pay the last installment of 3000 francs of the 75,000 which the party had pledged and through which it acquires the controlling interest in the paper.

Fierce Discussions On Tactics
In France as in all other countries there is a variety of opinions on party tactics. All members of the International Social Democracy agree about the goal but as to the way to get there opinions differ. The question of tactics was therefore the all important question at Toulouse.

Jean Jaures, undoubtedly the greatest force within the party in France, had presented a resolution on the significance of reforms in Socialist politics. Comrade Jaures, who in appearance resembles a German, has lately been vacillating between the Guesdists, the "Reformists" and the new revolutionary group under the leadership of the little Herve who regards the anti-militaristic agitation at the all important part of the Socialist propaganda. But now, since the Radicals have left the Working Class absolutely in the lurch, the Socialist Party is being forced to take up the reform work in Parliament while it at the same time is carrying on the propaganda through the country.

But the Guesdists want none of this. They do not deny that political reforms can be carried out but contend that just therein lies the danger. The reforms make Capitalism more endurable and lead further away from the Socialist form of Society.

Jules Guesde Sick
Jules Guesde himself is ill and did not attend the congress but his closest friends, Lafargue, Delary and Rappaport presented a resolution in which they among other things declared that reform work which attempts to patch up the structure of Capitalism is of no value to the Working Class. The only reform which has any real value is the reform in the property right and this reform can be carried out only by the organized Socialist Working Class when it through revolutionary action conquers the powers of Government and proclaims the downfall of Capitalism.

To counteract this thoroughly revolutionary resolution the Possibilists, the wing most friendly to Reform led by the following members of the parliament, Brefon, Brausse, Varenne, and Rouanet, introduced a resolution which reads in part as follows: Inasmuch as reforms, whether they extend the political liberty of the Working Class or improve its material conditions, always bring new means of resistance in the struggle for emancipation, the congress resolves that the representatives of the party shall refuse in any way to compromise with the conservative parties, but on the other hand they be left free to act in regard to supporting the democratic parties.

This is an extreme position friendly to Reform, a little to the right of Jaures, but Varenne insisted at the congress that these tactics are followed daily even by those who dis-

like to admit it. "We must recognize the parliamentary work as the most important problem of the party, something of which we need not be ashamed," Varenne said in closing his argument.

Herve in Prison

Herve's little anti-militarist group, which by the way has exercised considerable influence on Jaures during the struggle against Clemenceau and his "Radical" reactionist government, was not very well represented in the congress. Herve himself is at present serving a sentence in a prison in Paris as a result of his anti-militarist agitation.

Outside of the larger groups stands a smaller group of "syndicalists." They work for the Trade Union movement and co-operative undertakings and regard all political activity as pure humbug; they say jokingly that the struggles for political offices can be used for anti-militaristic propaganda. But the group had but little influence in the convention.

The Centre Group Wins

Lastly, must be mentioned the "Centrum" group which stands between the Guesdists and the Possibilists and which under the leadership of Jaures, Vallant and Sembat came out victorious in the convention. This group, as Jaures developed in a four hours' speech, regards the reform work as the most important because one political reform brings another one with it and tends toward the great revolutionary transition to the Socialist form of society.

"We reproach the theoretical Guesdists," said Jaures, "with injecting suspicion and ill will into the minds of the workers against all reform measures, thus throwing themselves into the arms of the Radicals and the Anarchists. But we must also reproach the Reformists that they place an altogether too great weight on the parliamentary activity and that they have an altogether too great faith in the good will of the bourgeois 'left' to carry out reforms." "It is a mistake that we should renounce the right to the General Strike an even rebellion" continued Jaures. "We can use all means to reach the Socialist goal. But we emphasize that without a strongly organized Working Class a General Strike or a rebellion can not lead to victory. Therefore the organization of the Working Class and not the parliamentary work shall not dominate everything else, nor should it be forgotten."

Magic Influence of Jaures

Jaures' speech lasted, as above stated, for four hours. It was a magnificent speech and exceedingly well presented. He would concede points first to one side and then to another. The attacks were sweetened in a fine style and acute witticisms as only a Frenchman can say them followed quickly upon one another.

There is something strange about the eloquence of Jaures. It seems incredible that this broad, quiet man can be of Roman descent. He speaks quietly and without passion. But he piles proof upon proof, views the question first from one side and then another and receives applause first from the Guesdists and then from the most extreme reformists. And when he, as he approaches a climax, rises to the highest, most enthusiastic eloquence, a mighty wave of applause resounds from the entire audience. The opinion was unanimous that it was the mightiest and most significant speech they had ever heard. The cheering did not seem to want to subside when the speaker finished and if Jaures had so desired he could have induced the convention to pass anything he had wished.

Agreement at Last

A committee was selected on motion by Jaures to draw up a resolution which should form the expression of the reached and long desired unity. This committee sat for 24 hours but was unable to reach an agreement. A subcommittee consisting of Jaures and Tanger on one side and Lafargue and de la Porte on the other was selected. Agreement was finally reached here and the resolution passed in the general committee by all votes against one, the staunchest of all Guesdists, Rappaport.

A little after six o'clock Jaures was enabled to ascend the platform to read the resolution. It is an extremely long one and does not appear very interesting. Its strength is found in its all-inclusiveness. There is something for every taste, for the Revolutionaries as well as the Reformists. Our great goal and the right to use revolutionary means was strongly emphasized. But time after time it is also stated that the Socialist Party shall conquer the political power and carry out parliamentary reforms. Therefore, practical politics

is a duty for all party members as well as the organization work.

The whole resolution comes nearest being what Herve ironically has called a "white nigger." But it has its significance as the first real expression of the united will of the French Socialist Party.

Storm of Cheers

When Jaures had finished the reading and closed with a few remarks the audience burst forth in a storm of prolonged cheers. It was an endorsement of the reached unity and also expression of thanks to Jaures for his great services in reaching the attained results. Everybody arose from their seats.

Suddenly strains of music were heard. The Socialist orchestra marched into the hall playing the International. The delegates and visitors enthusiastically joined in, singing and marching out in military style, the whole delegation passed to the street and marched up to the court house square to announce the victory for unity at the magnificent "Capital."

The resolution came up for adoption in the evening session. 325 votes were cast in its support and but one delegate refrained from voting. This fine result was again greeted with a storm of applause.

The chairman, Sembat, shouted with enthusiasm: "Today our unity has been sealed. But now it will be our task to endeavor to make our local organizations expressions of this so forcibly expressed will of the party."

The greatest and most important problem of the convention was solved. The French section of the International Socialist Party has not alone become one party. It has also acquired a united will. And this splendid result of the congress in Toulouse may have a world importance. It is in any event a good step in the direction of the emancipation of the Working Class.

"WATCH TACOMA GROW"

Tacoma, Wn., Nov. 24 1908

The Socialist, Seattle, Wn.
Comrades: Agitation has been going on with unabated vigor, since the election. Three propaganda meetings per week are being held. Besides, Local Tacoma, through the Speakers' Committee and Organizer, is assisting other parts of the country to keep things moving for Socialism. The Local Organizer and Comrade Collis organized a new Local with eleven charter members at Alder last Saturday night. This is the precinct in which the Socialist Party got more votes at the last election than all the other parties combined. Local Alder bids fair to become one of the best Locals in the county.

Comrade Herman was the speaker at last Sunday night's meeting; his subject was "Some Misconceptions of Socialism." Herman's expose of capitalist "morality" and his exposition of the healthy morality of Socialism came up to his standard of clearness and vigor. The various misconceptions of any who might have been suffering from muddleheadedness as to what Socialism is and what it intends to accomplish.

Comrade Ellis was the speaker Tuesday evening; he is one of the younger propagandists, and will in all probability make an excellent agitator and expounder of Socialism. We have started a Socialist Study and Speakers Club, for the purpose of developing more comrades into active propagandists. Keen interest is taken in these meetings.

With best wishes, I remain,
Yours in the Social Revolution,
PAUL TURNER,
Local Organizer.

THIS BOY KNOWS

Walla Walla, Nov. 16, 1908.
R. Krueger, Tacoma.
Dear Sir: Enclosed find application for membership in the Socialist party. I am a boy of 14 years. I wish some men had sense enough to pull the wool off their eyes, and vote for Socialism; but no, they think Socialism means division of property. But I have told the boys a thing or two about the Socialists. I silenced them up on several issues.
Yours for Debs,
CLARENCE BENNETT.

Application for Membership in the Socialist Party.

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

Comrade Rev. George W. Slater, No. 3009 LaSalle street, Chicago, has undertaken to reach one million colored voters with his pamphlet entitled "The Cat's Out."

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The A B C of Socialism

By Chas. H. Vail

We need to distinguish between Socialism as an ideal—a future state of society—and the Socialist movement, which is an effort to realize that ideal. As this effort must be carried on within the confines of the present class system, it possesses several characteristics which are well marked and of the utmost importance.

TWO CLASSES EXIST.
The capitalist system presupposes the rending of society into class divisions—the propertied and non-propertied. The owning class, having possession of the means of livelihood—lands, factories, railroads, mines, etc.—are able to keep the non-owning class in a condition of dependence and servitude. The laboring class is absolutely dependent upon the capitalist class for an opportunity to exist. Being unable to employ themselves, they must seek employment at the hands of others, selling their labor power for what it will bring in the competitive market. Their labor power is a commodity, like beets or cabbage, which must be sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to achieve his emancipation from this condition of servitude. This can only be accomplished by freeing himself from capitalist dependence.

LABORER MUST OWN HIS TOOLS.
To secure this end he must himself become the owner of the tools necessary to his existence. But the tools today have become gigantic instruments of production, costing many thousands of dollars and operated only by the combined labor of many. The days of homestead and individual production are forever gone. The individual laborer can no longer hope to own the instruments necessary to his livelihood. The change in the method of production has given rise to a special class—the capitalist or the owning class. The individual laborer could not acquire sufficient wealth in several lifetimes to begin to own these gigantic instruments. Not only does the cost prohibit his ownership, but the character of the tools themselves makes it impossible that all that use the tools should individually own them. The tools today are social; that is, they are co-operatively used. If one man owns these tools, even though he be a laborer, it would necessarily preclude the ownership upon the part of all others who must use the tools or starve. But the character of the instruments suggests the solution of the problem and the way of labor emancipation. The tools being social in character, should be socially owned. Individual ownership was proper in the day of individual use. But when the method of operation is Socialized the ownership should also be socialized to correspond.

SOCIALISM OR SLAVERY.
Private ownership of social tools means the private appropriation of the product of social labor, and the dependence of man upon man for an opportunity to live. The great instruments of production are not operated by those who own them, or owned by those who use them. Modern industry has given to this possessing class the most perfect mechanism for wealth production that the world has ever seen. These owners allow the laborers use of these tools on condition that they (the workers) will give up to the idlers the lion's share of the product produced. Ownership is the secret of capitalist power—they own that which is necessary to the worker's existence. The laborers to be free must themselves own these requisites to life. While it is impossible and undesirable to destroy modern methods, reverse the wheels of progress and return to the days of small industry, and also impossible for the workers to own in dividually, these great instruments, still these instruments can be made the collective property of all the people. This is the only way by which the laborers can secure control of their economic interest. It is Socialism or economic slavery.

LABOR MUST EMANCIPATE ITSELF.
We cannot expect those enjoying special privileges to willingly relinquish their advantage. They naturally desire to perpetuate a system that enables them to live in idleness off the labors of others. It is evident that if labor is emancipated it must emancipate itself. The Socialist movement, which stands for labor's emancipation, is based primarily upon the working class. It recognizes the great fact of the class struggle and seeks to enlighten the workers concerning their own interests; in other words, make them class conscious. This class consciousness means a consciousness of one's own interest as a member of a class, also a consciousness that his interests can only be subserved by advancing the interests of the class to which he belongs.

THE BALLOT IS THE KEY.
He also comes to realize that control of political power is necessary to any class which would permanently improve its economic condition. To solidarity in the economic field must be added solidarity in the political field. To unite in the industrial struggle and divide in the political is the height of absurdity. In fact, the ballot box is the key to the whole situation. The class that is supreme there is supreme everywhere. While the workers have the number to gain this supremacy, they have been deceived by the master class into voting themselves into continued subjection. Were the working class to unite into a class conscious political party, victory would at once be theirs. The hope of the capitalist class is to keep them divided and arrayed against each other. As long as the workers look to the masters for guidance, they will be led like sheep to the shambles. The Socialist Party, which is a party of the working class, proposes to master the public powers and administer them in the interest of the producing class. Just in proportion as this party gains supremacy will labor's condition improve. The complete triumph of this party means the abolition of all class rule and economic dependence.

DIFFERS FROM FORMER REVOLUTIONS.
Herein the coming revolution differs from all preceding changes. In the former revolutions class superseded class—the class below overthrowing the class above—but the continuance of private ownership resulted in establishing a new despotism. But the working class supremacy will completely abolish all dependence, because the tools of production now being social the working class cannot emancipate itself without socializing the instruments. When the instruments are collectively owned the cause of all dependence and servitude will disappear. Thus while as militant our cause is chiefly identified with class, as triumphant it is identified with humanity.

SOCIALISM AND A SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.
Here is the distinction mentioned in the beginning of this article, between Socialism and the Socialist movement. The Socialist movement is based upon the class struggle. Socialism triumphant will abolish the class struggle and make the interest of all identical. It will be the business of the Socialist Party, when in control of the state, to carry out to completeness the legislative task of transforming the privately owned tools into collective property. When this has been accomplished classes and class antagonisms will be abolished. In the new order there will be but one class—humanity, and the golden age so long dreamed of will be a realization on earth.

VOTE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM.
All who desire a better social order and a higher state of civilization should cast their ballots in the coming election for the candidates of the Socialist Party. We propose the abolition of this cannibalistic system and the substitution thereof of the co-operative commonwealth. In the new order co-operation for existence will supplant the present barbaric struggle for existence and society as well as the individual would take on an unhampered development. Socialism would transform and ennoble humanity. It would furnish the only condition wherein the higher life of service and brotherhood can be realized. We ask all who believe in or desire the better way to join in its realization. Every vote cast for Socialism brings nearer the day of human freedom.

LOCAL SEATTLE
Socialist Party Headquarters, Labor Temple, Sixth and University, third floor, room 319.
Local Business Meetings held each Thursday at 7:30 p. m.
Propaganda Meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m. in Hall Number One, second floor.
Socialist Literature always on sale. Phone 2424. E. T. Allison, Secretary.

The Socialist Party School Campaign Committee is certainly on to the job. They started things humming and have kept them humming ever since and will keep it up until Bessy Fiset and J. A. McCorkle hold reserved seats in the office of the Board of Education.
Comrade Arthur Jensen is giving his whole time to the campaign, in the meantime subsisting on peanuts and enthusiasm.
As a result of the vigorous, aggressive campaign, the capitalist sheeps are throwing various kinds of fits and issuing howls of warning against the Socialist candidates. They evidently know that what the Socialists will do on the Board of Education means higher taxes for them, and a different education for the children of the wage workers.
The school, like every other institu-

tion under capitalism, is calculated to reap a profit for and augment the power of the capitalist class.
The capitalist pays the taxes which are used to educate the children of the Working Class and his profit returns to him in the shape of young men and women morally and mentally trained in such manner as will conduce to the well-being of his class.
To hell with such an education. Let us educate the Working Class children to be class-conscious and imbued with Working Class Morality, and not merely machines and automatons to produce profit for a parasitic class.
As everybody boasts. School elections are just as vital to the Working Class as any election. Class interests are just as much at stake.
An important constitutional amendment was adopted at the last business meeting, which provides for the payment of dues in the Order of Business. By this provision no comrade need neglect paying his dues when at meeting, only to discover when voting on important matters that he has disfranchised himself, as recently occurred in the case of three dilatory comrades.
But don't forget to bring your card. Some of you might get run over by an automobile while on the way, and without it no one could tell you were a Socialist.
By the way, do all of you know that a School Campaign is on in Seattle? Jensen thinks some of you are from Missouri and you had better come around to the office of "The Socialist" and get an armful of campaign literature for distribution.
Why is a Socialist who merely pays his dues like a hole in a doughnut? Because he helps to swell the body—but that is all. Are you a vacancy in the Socialist body?
Four application cards were read at the last business meeting.
Three applications were recommended to membership by the membership committee, but an objection was raised and the vote upon their admission was postponed for one week. Comrade Henry Dworschack was admitted to membership. The motion to admit him will be reconsidered at the next meeting.
Comrade E. J. Lewis, of Portland, who was expected to speak in Labor Temple last Sunday, found it necessary to cancel his date. He will be also unable to spend next week in Seattle, as was expected. Notwithstanding the disappointment in his failure to arrive last Sunday, a very interesting meeting was held. Several speakers occupied the platform and discussed School Campaign issues.
Mr. Shorroek and Mr. Ronald, the opposing candidates for school directors, have been invited to discuss the issues of this campaign on our platform next Sunday evening.
The Fourteen protest meeting held last Sunday afternoon was not as great a success as was hoped, though it was enthusiastic and a considerable contribution was made toward Fourteen's defense against despotism.
E. T. A.

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D. BURGESS, Slave Market Reports; EDWIN J. BROWN, Socialism and the Law; BESSY FISET, Socialism and Woman.

THE LABOR PARTY COMING?

"The Socialist" gives you this week a view of the English Labor Party, or, rather, three views of it.

This subject is timely in view of the plain prophecy contained in the Debates of the American Federation of Labor at Denver last week.

At the same time there was a great deal of enthusiasm for Gompers and antagonism to Socialists, including National Secretary Barnes who was a Delegate in attendance.

Fraternal Delegates were present from England who described the formation of the "Labour Party" there, boasted of their numerous representatives in Parliament and of their success in securing favorable legislation.

Gompers himself was delegated to go to England for the purpose of investigating conditions and of reporting back to the Convention next year.

Therefore it is well for American Socialists to study the English situation. "The Socialist" is giving for this purpose, (1) the Independent Labor Party view by Jowett, Member of Parliament, (2) the straight Socialist view, by Robert Blatchford, Editor of "The Clarion," and (3) the American Socialist view by Geo. D. Herron.

It will be well to outline the English situation for the benefit of those who have no knowledge of it.

First, there is in England the "Labour Party," made up from Trades Unions directly. This was formerly known as the "L. R. C.," that is, the Labor Representation Committee, which was the first political expression of the Unions.

Next, there is the "I. L. P.," that is, the Independent Labor Party, several years old, claiming to be Socialist. At the outset, the I. L. P. was about as Socialist as the Labor Party now is, but it has progressed constantly toward Revolutionary Socialism.

Third, there is the Social Democratic Party, for many years known as the "S. D. F.," the Social Democratic Federation. This is straight Socialist. Its organ is "Justice," edited by Quelch and including Hyndman among its best known writers.

Victor Grayson, suspended last month from Parliament, is the only S. D. P. member in the House of Commons.

The I. L. P. has several "M. P.s.," including Ramsay McDonald, Philip Snowden, Jowett and Keir Hardie.

The Labor Party has some 20 Members of Parliament and was recently admitted to the International Socialist Bureau on the ground that its practical proposals are all proletarian. Yet it will be noted that its executive trades votes with the "Liberals" (same as our American "Democrats") and that Herron designates them as "essentially Middle Class."

These three political aspects of Socialism occur in nearly all countries, representing differing degrees of education in Proletarian economics, differing degrees of emancipation from Capitalist methods, as well as differing types of individual temperament.

A great practical problem is just ahead of American Socialists, namely, how to win the Three Million Proletarians, organized industrially and represented by Samuel Gompers.

We have the knowledge. They have the interests. We have the theory. They have the practice. They can get nowhere without our knowledge. We can get nowhere without their interests.

Therefore the greatest tactics of all, which must be prosecuted these many years and unceasingly, is Education and Education and Education.

CIVIL SERVICE SLAVES

Readers of "The Socialist" know how H. M. Wells, Postal Clerk in Seattle Postoffice, had his salary reduced One Hundred Dollars a year for presuming to preside at the Debs meeting and for daring to speak for the Socialist Party on the streets.

Wells was also active in organizing the Postal Clerks' Union in this city, and he is a delegate from that Union to the Central Labor Council.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle passed strong resolutions against the Civil Service regulations which discriminate against those government employees in the "Classified Service" and in favor of those in the "Unclassified Service" (except Common Laborers).

The Seattle Labor Council's Resolutions were sent to President Roosevelt and by him referred to the Civil Service Commission at Washington, whose president is John C. Black of Illinois.

President Black has now sent to Secretary Harris, of the Seattle Labor Council, an elaborate reply to the Resolutions, covering twelve pages of type written letter sheets.

The reply admits and defends the alleged discrimination by the Civil Service Regulations and quotes from Roosevelt, when he was Civil Service Commissioner himself, in support of the line of discrimination drawn in the Rules and Regulations.

These two arguments are these: First, It has been found impracticable

PARLIAMENT IN UPROAR

Continued from Page One

with the greatest pleasure." (Loud cries of "Order!")

"A House of Murderers."

Mr. Grayson again figured in an egregious exhibition in the House on Friday, when the committee stage of the Licensing Bill was resumed. Immediately after the division on an amendment Mr. Grayson rose and said he wished to call attention to the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the street whilst they were trifling with this bill.

INSULTS MRS. FISET

School Campaign in Seattle Exposes Club Women as True Bourgeois

A Mrs. Frazier, secretary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Seattle, as quoted in interviews in the "P.-I." and "Times," says: "We would like to throw our vote for some worthy woman candidate," but "we do not endorse the Socialist candidate."

This is not quite so bad or it is worse, according to your viewpoint, as the "P.-I." reporter's statement: "There will not be a woman candidate for a place on the Seattle School Board. The meeting of the Federated Women's Clubs yesterday settled that question."

Mrs. Fiset used to be considered a remarkably fine woman, respected and courted, in her bourgeois days, only a short year ago. But now she has joined the Proletarians, she is ignored and insulted by these sup-

posedly "broad" and "intelligent" club women." She does not even exist.

The secret of this sudden repugnance to a brilliant woman by her erstwhile sisters is found in the Socialist School Platform on which she stands and in her own published interviews. It is a very contemptible and sordid thing, this secret of these bourgeois ladies' sudden right-about-face.

Second, The "Classified Service" consists of some Two Hundred Thousand persons, and will soon be much larger, thus making up such an army that they could control any election by massing themselves in favor of the party in power.

This is a very ancient argument, used Forty and Thirty years ago by the advocates of Civil Service Reform. It was a good argument then when civil service positions were political, not meritorious, and when appointments were made for definite terms instead of being fixed during good behavior.

The Seattle Labor Council's Resolutions are therefore not at all answered by Commissioner Black's elaborate letter.

Their charge that this Regulation serves as a gag on Free Speech and serves practically to remove the members of the "classified service" from political life, remains unanswered.

The first reason quoted above, namely, that it is found impossible to quell political activity among the superior officials, should now encourage the inferiors to determined opposition to the present rulings in their case.

For consider what this will lead to when Public Ownership is extended to include Railroads and Telegraphs and other utilities, when the numbers in the "Classified Service" will reach millions. All these men will be forbidden to exercise their normal influence on public opinion as voiced in elections.

Considering that these voters are all proletarians, living on very moderate wages and exploited in a purely capitalistic way, and therefore interested in promoting a Working Class political movement, the far seeing and far reaching character of this Rooseveltian Regulation is perceived.

The case of Wells should be made a test case. Commissioner Black's elaborate but fallacious reply should be replied to with still stronger Resolutions. The "Classified Service" will thus secure for itself the recognition of personal liberty which their "superiors" have already won.

ONE VIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

By Courtenay Lemon

(Written for simultaneous publication in New York "Evening Call," Chicago "Daily Socialist" and "The Socialist.")

Now that the campaign is over and so many reasons have been given why the Socialist Party did not receive a larger vote, I also wish to give my explanation of why we ought to feel glad that we got as large an increase as we did, and perhaps a bit relieved that we did not get the million and a half that some impatient comrades hoped for.

It may be replied that not having taken any active part in this campaign, I am not in a good position to criticize it. But if so, the persons who make this reply will probably be comrades who have themselves not been active in many previous campaigns when I was, for the very good reason that they were not then members of the party.

If we had received a million and a half, or even a million, votes this year it would necessarily have been a spongy, mushy, dangerous growth—a sort of fatty degeneration. For it would have been impossible for us to have so quickly given a real understanding of the Socialist movement to even the major portion of such a number—especially with such campaign methods as have been in vogue this year.

Therefore it is well enough—indeed, if we pursue proper methods of real education it is inevitable—that our growth though large and steady, should be gradual and solid. It is also well enough that our growth is evenly distributed instead of being concentrated in a way that would secure the election of single individuals to public office.

There is nothing like Proletarian Principles to drive the capitalist ducks to their native water. All these capitalist wives and mothers, who play at serious things and dawdle at Reforms, flock in clacking fright back to their own beloved Property again, whenever Revolution, the invariable harbinger of a new era, is seen hovering on the horizon.

JOHN BURNS AND THE KING

Victor Grayson Advises to Steal, Compare With Taft's Advice to Hungry Man—"God Knows."

London, Monday, Nov. 23.—Victor Grayson, the Socialist M. P., addressing a meeting of 5,000 unemployed at St. Pancras, made a violent personal attack on the King.

According to a reporter he said: "I see the King has invited John Burns (groans and hisses) to some castle or other, to stay with him. John Burns and Edward Rex, both in the same smokeroom, discussing how they may not solve the unemployed problem!"

"John Burns is in his proper position, flunky to a general, idle parasite. Fine company! And if there is any advantage it is on the side of the King. He has been an idle parasite from the beginning. John Burns is the man who pledged himself to the people and has sold them for 2,000 pieces of gold."

Proceeding Mr. Grayson remarked: "I say tonight, with the utmost calm, I am proud to tell the hungry man that he is less than a man if he starves while he can steal. I can trust you not to steal from the needy man or woman. If you are going to steal, steal it from those who have it. They won't miss it. All you will do is to save them from indignation."

But Mrs. Frazier should consult the founder of her W. C. T. U., the really great Frances Willard, who dared things, and who was not afraid to see and to say that Socialism, introducing "Enough for all, all the time," and thus abolishing Poverty, would remove also Intemperance and Impurity and the thousand other Monsters of Capital and Wage Labor.

For all these deliverances, Mrs. Fiset and her fellow Socialists are content to stand and are proud to be counted "worthy" for such a high mission.

It is true that our first successful candidates will probably be elected by the aid of split tickets. But to merely accept these inevitable split votes when they come is a very different thing from eagerly expecting them, or forcing their premature growth by permitting special appeals for them.

And then the "Red Special." It was a fine, stirring thing—those flying talks to the curious, jostling thousands at depots. But how much more all that money would have accomplished if it had been put into literature and house-to-house canvasses! Ah, but so much money could not have been raised for that purpose. Very true, and just one more proof of the necessity for thoroughgoing revolutionary education.

The substance of it all is that Socialists should think less of catching votes and more of educating the discontented into understanding revolutionists. Make one such revolutionist a revolutionist from top to bottom, who has a perfectly clear understanding of the source and nature of the Socialist movement, and he alone will ultimately make (not catch) more votes than the most successful campaign rally ever held.

In a majority of cases, the only thing that will make a man "throw his vote away" for a party that has no immediate chance to "win" is to imbue him with a revolutionary ideal, which makes him realize the necessity of building up a party to achieve it.

The satisfactory increase that we did get at this election is probably in large part the harvest of the solid educational work done before this campaign, and is therefore all the more trustworthy and encouraging.

COURTENAY LEMON. New York, Nov. 15.