

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote their Own Emancipation

Socialism
demands the public ownership of
All the means of Production and
Distribution.
Anything less is but middle-class
patchwork and WILL NOT
abolish wage slavery.

The Socialist

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THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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proving your name is the num-
ber your subscription expires. This is No. 88

AN OPPORTUNIST PARTY

The time is ripe for a Public Ownership Party in the United States. It will include old-time Populists, progressive Democrats, Reform Republicans, Trades Union leaders and Opportunists—"Socialists"—men like Joe Parker, Prof. Parsons, Tom Johnson, Golden Rule Jones, Brisbane Walker, Leat. Gov. Coates, Victor Berger, J. A. Wayland, and, in the state of Washington, such men as Judge Winsor and Geo. Cotterill, from the Populists; ex-Mayor Wood and C. E. Bowman, of the Republicans; Editors Walker, Rice and Oldham, of the Labor Leader, and E. Lax and Joseph Gilbert, of the "Socialists."

Their platform will be: "Public ownership of monopolies," or "Public ownership of public utilities."

Such a party and such a platform will constitute state Socialism and will be heralded as the First Step to Democratic Socialism. It would not be surprising if the new party should secure for its name that of Social Democracy, so as to gain for itself the prestige which that great name has won in Germany.

Such a party may expect a rapid growth. The discontent which exists everywhere among the small business men and among the farmers will afford good ground for the propagation of such principles. The dying middle class is still very large and belligerent. It is still unwilling to acknowledge its inevitable drift into the working class. During this period of transition and readjustment it is the most natural thing in the world that a transition party should spring up to represent the struggles and hopes of a once powerful class society. Even Roosevelt himself might be found in such a party. The American traditions of individual liberty and equal opportunity will die hard.

It may be that the Democratic Party will assume a position sufficiently advanced to attract and hold the elements who are speaking of. If Bryan were not so obstinate he might lead the new party—that is, lead the old party up to the new ground. Certainly, there is no room for another party beside the Republican to represent large capitalism. And we Socialists, who are students of history, know that no political party can arise or remain which does not stand for an economic class.

This party we look for can not long survive. It will be of mushroom growth. It may become quickly formidable. It may sweep a few candidates into congress. It may possibly succeed in winning a national election. It may frighten the Republican Party into introducing State Ownership of railroads and of some other "Utilities."

But, representing a disappearing economic class, it will itself disappear as its class disappears.

Meantime the working class, the wage-class, the proletarian class, the propertyless class, the inevitable class of the future, will be steadily growing in numbers and in self-consciousness.

The political party based upon this working class will also grow in numbers, power and oneness of aim. It will be more and more clearly seen by the members of this class that State Socialism is only a temporary expedient of the Capitalist class to prolong its exploitation and its rule. As in the case of State Socialism in Germany or in New Zealand, it will be found that the working class is still bound under the servitude of the wage system. The counterfeit Socialism will serve by contrast and by failure to exhibit clearly the real Socialism of the working class.

Some of the best equipped men in the ranks will go into this Opportunist Party, either attracted by the prospect of early success or deceived by the illusion of cloudy thinking, or consulting their immediate personal interests. These will "straddle" for a while, and some, but will go with the current of the party.

But we are satisfied the great body of the Socialist Party will remain true to their stated: "They understand too clearly the economic basis of our movement. They know that the only way to get a political party which shall be per-

LABOR STILL HYPNOTIZED



Mark Hanna, Chairman of the Joint Peace Committee of Capital and Labor. His very latest picture. —From "The Comrade," New York.

ment and certain of success is to build it on the material interests of the greatest class of modern society, that class which is being augmented with every year of capitalist development, the only class whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the ruling class; in fact, the only class which will remain in existence upon which to build a political party to overthrow the tyranny of Capital.

WILL IT PREVENT?

The Chinese Exclusion Bill was before congress last week! The Capitalist employs in congress whom we know as statesmen and politicians talk big with patriotism and love for the American workingman.

Listen to Kahn, of California: "There is not a patriotic, loyal, liberty-loving American who does not desire to see the workingmen of this country, its hewers of wood and drawers of water, protected against this unique competition."

O, yes, Mr. K., there are several such Americans who desire very much to import the Chinese cheap labor and institute the unequal competition right away. Only they are a bit afraid of the "Labor Vote." And why don't they exclude the Japs, too? They are more dangerous even than the Chinese!

But here's the point. All the exclusion bills they can enact will not prevent this "unequal competition." For you have not heard any one propose a law to keep American machinery from being exported to China, have you?

Chinese cheap laborers running American machines in Pekin will be worse competitors than they would in Chicago. For a Chinaman will live on rice and rats in Pekin, which don't cost as much as rice and pork in Chicago.

The Capitalist friends of the workingmen will not pass an Inclusion Law forbidding the exportation of machinery to China, so as to protect the workingmen of this country against this unequal competition.

They talk about Foreign Markets to keep the American workingman busy! But Capital is building its factories in China and Japan and India, to be run by the cheapest labor in the world, and the factories in Fall River and Chicago and Seattle will not be able to market their goods unless American labor in America becomes as cheap as Asiatic labor in Asia. See?

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

We have had another visit from Madden. He is beginning all over again to investigate **The Socialist**. He sent Inspector Wayland to find out all about us this week. This is the third time. First, the Seattle Postmaster investigated us and declared himself satisfied. Second, Madden himself investigated us by means of the evidence we sent him at Washington. Apparently he couldn't find anything to condemn. And now, Third, Inspector Wayland, the chief push in the Northwest, is investigating us in our own office. He found out all about us, what income we got from subscribers and what from advertisers, how we obtained our names for sample copies, whether the editor advertised his own business or himself in the paper, how many papers we distributed by messenger, how many subscribers we have for a year, for six months or for ten weeks, and finally carried off our mailing list and copied off 100 names.

We don't fear the Inspector's report. The truth is, we have an absolutely unassailable right to our second-class rates, and we can prove it to a thousand inspectors. We are not seeking to cheat anybody or to get what doesn't belong to us. But since we are acting in strict conformity to law, we expect and will have our rights like other publishers, and no man living, Madden nor Roosevelt, nor any other, shall deny us our exact and equal rights under the law.

But how they are searching for some weak spot in our armor. You would think they would let us alone after all this searching for these six months, since last November, and nothing found. We expect Madden himself will come next with a searchlight and a microscope to see if he can't find a millionth part of an inch deviation from some ruling or other of his Great Department.

But now, here is the point. It will take him at least a few weeks longer to complete this third investigation, and we are sure to keep on with our present rates till after May 1. In this interval we are going to make a special May Day Effort, or a Madden Effort, if you please. We ask every subscriber to **The Socialist** to help us celebrate the International Labor Day on May the First.

If we can pass the Five Thousand mark on that day we will agree to enlarge the paper one column to every page and lengthen the columns from 10 to 22 inches. This will be the fourth enlargement in two years and will make **The Socialist** as large as any Socialist paper in the country, with one exception.

We enclose in this paper a subscription blank and request every well-wisher to get at least one new subscriber for **The Socialist** before May 1. Make it a yearly, if possible. If not, then six months. But at the least, send 2 cents for 10 weeks. Some of you will fill out the whole blank of five names. Please attend to this immediately, if not sooner. If every one of our present 2,500 subscribers will make this special effort as a Memorial of Madden we shall have a May Day celebration which will be worth while.

He refused to take Wayland's watch, you know—the gold watch the subscribers to "The Appeal" presented to Madden as a memorial of his attempt to suppress that paper. But this Memorial we propose of 2,500 new subscribers he will be obliged to accept and carry through his mails for the next year.

Now, Comrades and friends, it is up to you. The subscription list of **The Socialist** has never yet gone backward for a single day. Every week it has been larger than the preceding week. In the next two weeks, we look for the biggest increase in our history. We believe the friends of this paper will stand by it now. We offer no premiums, except the best work for Socialism we are capable of and the above-promised enlargement.

SOCIALISTS MOB THE KING

So flaring headlines tell us in the Capitalist dailies.

But read the account and see who was guilty, the King's government or the Socialists.

The Socialists in Belgium are very strong and are conducting a great campaign for Universal Suffrage. Some Spanish Deputies participated in a great demonstration held by the Socialists in favor of Universal Suffrage. The royal government interfered and ordered the Spanish Republicans to leave Brussels. The King automobilized along the street near the railway station where the peoples' representatives of a friendly nation were being expelled for advocating Universal Suffrage.

The excited people cried in his face, "Long live Universal Suffrage" and waved the Red Flag of Human Brotherhood in his face. And that was all the "mobbing of the King" there was.

A riot occurred in the evening and the dispatch says the Socialists stoned the house of a Catholic deputy. We don't believe it was the Socialists at all who did it. Anti-Catholic excitement is sure to bring on a riot anywhere—but the Belgian capitalists behind the government there want to get up a prejudice against the Socialists just at this juncture so as to defeat the Socialist campaign for Universal Suffrage.

We echo the sentiment, "Long live Universal Suffrage," and all honor to Belgian Comrades for their fight for human freedom. Down with tyranny, and Capitalist exploitation everywhere!

CHIEF MISSIONARY QUAY.

The senior senator from Pennsylvania proposes to christianize China by wholesale process. All the missionary societies ought to call in their preachers and support Quay's amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Bill. Here it is: "That nothing herein contained shall be construed to exclude Chinese Christians."

"How many Chinese will that amendment let in?" inquired Mr. Mitchell.

"I hope it will have the effect," replied Mr. Quay, "of Christianizing the entire Chinese empire."

Imagine it! The Coolies becoming Christians by the millions in order to get a chance to work for lower wages in America than American workingmen!

That is a proposition worthy of a genius. As a Christian, Matt Quay was always a rival of Rockefeller. But this stroke gives him the highest prize.

Christianize China and solve the American labor problem at one stroke of the congressional pen! Introduce every year a million Chinese workers, a million Christian Chinese workers, a million meek and lowly Christian Chinese workers, into the American labor market, and certainly the labor problem would be solved. Mark Hanna's Conciliation Committee would no longer have a thing to do. Every American workingman would be on his knees begging for a job. Strikes would be unknown. Perfect harmony would prevail between Labor and Capital.

And that other great American problem, how to Christianize the American workingmen, how to get the working class to attend church, which agitates the ministers so frequently, would be in a fair way of solution. For the profit of being meek and lowly and frugal and industrious and Christian, would be borne in upon the most obtuse mind of the American working class by daily witnessing the successful career of his Chinese Christian rival.

All honor to Quay! Let him take the highest seat allotted to Christian statesmen!

All our advertisers are good business places. No "snares" among them.

PARTY NEWS

LOCAL NEWS

Comrade Bommer is on his way home and will address the Sunday evening meeting at the... Comrade Bommer has been doing some hard work from St. Louis to the sea...

The last business meeting adjourned on Friday night, the 11th, to consider ways and means to celebrate International Labor Day... The meeting was held at the... and May 1st, 1902 is a good time to make a beginning.

NEWS AND NOTES

In the city election of Sedalia, Mo., Socialist vote 550, an increase of 100 per cent over eight months ago... In Rockford, Ill., the vote was 500, an advance of 75 years ago... In Milwaukee the vote was 500...

Comrade Bennett (not the opponent) has been elected to the Reichstag by a vote of 14,700 against a total opposition of 11,125... The Pennsylvania state organizer is making good work and reports an increase of interest in the Socialist party...

Chicago Socialist says that in the districts where its subscription is rapid and where class-conscious Socialists have been explained the need, there the heaviest Socialist vote was polled... The total vote was over almost double the percentage at the last election.

International Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo., March 23, 1902. Comrade McCaffery, taking advantage of a strike, succeeded organizing a local of the party in Nebraska... Comrade Bommer has reorganized teams Lehi, Silver City and Salt Lake City, Utah...

Applications for charters have been received from Wethers, Oklahoma Territory... Comrade Bommer has reorganized teams Lehi, Silver City and Salt Lake City, Utah... A convention will be held shortly to perfect state organization.

LAKE OPPORTUNIST PLATFORM

This is the platform which was discussed at the Mills and... National Organizer Bommer asks have repudiated.

SOCIALIST CLUB

W. Lawrence, President. Frank Vics-Friedman, Secretary. John Crane, Treasurer.

Hewart, J. F. Whitmore, members whose names are heretofore... believing the time has come to be re-elected to the... rights of the producers of the nation must be recognized...

We believe in the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and cartels... We believe in universal and

compulsory education in our public schools of all children up to the age of eighteen (18) years... Third—We believe in the initiative and referendum (endorsed by the... Fourth—We believe as the means of production increase, the hours of labor should not exceed... Fifth—We believe in the right of all citizens to work for men and women... Sixth—We denounce the acceptance of passes by the executive and other state officers...

believe it tends to bring justice to all citizens... Seventh—We believe in old age pensions, and in state and national insurance of the producers of the wealth of the Republic...

Eighth—The coining and issuing of money is a sovereign right of the nation... We advocate a full legal tender money as a medium of exchange...

In presenting this platform of principles to the people of Salt Lake, we are confident that the assurance that thousands of those who have heretofore voted with other political parties, but who see no hope for the amelioration of their present condition...

Whereas, the State Committee has rejected the right of Socialists to be represented in the state convention by proxy, to the membership of locals to which the proxy belongs...

Whereas, this restriction will prevent a large number of Socialists of Whitman county and other counties in Eastern Washington from being represented in said convention...

Whereas, the sentiments of Socialists of one county could be represented by one or more persons from said county, it is only fair and equitable that such sentiments should be equally represented in the convention with the sentiments of every other county in the state...

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establish society upon a more just basis. To do this old errors must be exposed and the truth made plain that he who runs may read... We believe in the initiative and referendum (endorsed by the... Fourth—We believe as the means of production increase, the hours of labor should not exceed... Fifth—We believe in the right of all citizens to work for men and women... Sixth—We denounce the acceptance of passes by the executive and other state officers...

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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING COUNTY, State of Washington... State of Washington to the said Blanche L. Kelly, defendant.

State of Washington to the said Blanche L. Kelly, defendant. You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days from the date of the first publication of this summons...

The object of this action is to obtain a dissolution of the matrimony existing between the plaintiff and defendant...

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IS THE BEST PLACE WHERE YOU WILL GET A GOOD MEAL

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Mr. J. T. Oldham was expelled from the Socialist Party at once, after the last election, for advocating the support of Capitalist candidates. He is editor of a fresh labor paper, the B. T. C. Bulletin. The last issue is largely devoted to "cussing" the Socialist Party. It is hard to guess why he is so frothy. For this paper has always supported the Building Trades most heartily. The only criticism we have passed was for trying to sell out the union vote to the Republican party. We called that a blunder and a crime. And so it was. Everybody can see that now.

Oldham's article admits all The Socialist charged. The committee of the B. T. C. consented to an arrangement with the chairman of the Republican City Committee to take \$200 in case they secured the endorsement by the labor men's meeting of this Republican candidate for mayor. The money actually got the money in advance, and, when they failed to deliver the goods, because the Socialists defeated their scheme, he failed to return the money the next morning at 9 o'clock, as he agreed to do. For this failure we expelled him.

What we said was that the whole committee was equally guilty with Baker in seeking to deliver the labor vote for consideration to a Capitalist candidate.

But the Socialist Party wanted its hands of Baker and Oldham before it knew anything about money transaction. Treason to the party was proved by supporting a Capitalist candidate was enough to condemn any member of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party stands for the political interests of the working class first, last and all the time, and this paper is the deadly enemy of every man who tries to get the support and votes of the anti-Socialist faction in the unions to keep him in his present office. He has lost standing with the Socialists. He is now bidding for the other fellows.

O, we almost forgot to say that what Oldham is really after in all this screaming about the Socialists is to get the support and votes of the anti-Socialist faction in the unions to keep him in his present office. He has lost standing with the Socialists. He is now bidding for the other fellows.

LABOR POLITICS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

British Columbia is to hold a Labor Convention April 14 at Kamloops. It was called by District Association No. 6, Western Federation of Miners, in the following words: "We do hereby issue a call for a convention (for political purposes) of delegates from all Trades and Labor Unions, Single Tax Association, Socialist bodies and other reform organizations in the province who wish to improve the social condition of the people by the ballot."

Its declared purpose is "to unite and harmonize all labor organizations and reform bodies in the province for purposes of political action.

We note that the B. C. Socialist Party Executive Committee did not feel liberty to send a delegate without a referendum of the party, but recommended locals to send delegates, with the understanding that they were not to commit the party.

The Vancouver Independent (Labor union paper) approves the convention, also the Rossland World, and many unions and reformers in all party branches are effecting delegates.

It is a good sign that organized labor is coming to see the need of political action. It is also a good sign that the Socialist Executive is unwilling to recognize this convention. Labor must unite at the ballot box, but Socialists cannot unite with it until it accepts the Socialist program. And for this reason: The Socialist has studied the labor problem in the most exhaustive and scientific manner and has discovered the only solution possible. He would be a fool to give up all he has learned and go back to the A. B. C. The delegates at Kamloops will, most of them, be honest men, honestly seeking a way out of their difficulties. What they ought to do is to take the full uncompromising Socialist position, demanding the abolition of wage-slavery by the wage slaves. Accept no half-way measures. Don't waste your time and energy on one paper which Liberal and Conservative will throw your way. Take the bull by the horns. Demand all you want. Demand the whole loaf and you will far more likely to get the half loaf.

The Socialist platform, printed in another column, is the thing to adopt. Go the B. C. Socialist Party one better and declare for a political party based on the economic class struggle.

Then British Columbia workingmen will be the leaders of the continent.

Cowley speaks on the streets three times a week in Seattle now, and Plannigan is an interested listener.

Adopted at Indianapolis, July 31, 1901.

The Socialist party, in National convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society in two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers.

The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class limit the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. As the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois and Public Ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition of Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance that the Socialist party, in all its active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages, and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing of the rates to the consumers.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, to be supported and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum,

proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movement as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

THE RED FLAG.

A Story of the First of May.

"I give you my word of honor I'll hang myself with my own hands if these cursed Socialists manage to hoist their flag on the coming first of May."

The chief of police made the above remark to a clique of friends assembled around the table in a room reserved for the bourgeois and pillars of state in the principal hotel of the little town of X. He said the words in so decisive a tone as to exclude all doubt in the minds of his hearers as to his meaning.

But in spite of his earnest tone of voice he saw some skeptical looks on the faces of the assembly. The Socialists had proved themselves always too foxy for the police, and every first of May the red flag was found floating defiantly somewhere. One time she was waving proudly from the tower of the city hall; another time she was found floating from the lightning rod of a factory chimney; at others from the ruins of a castle which ornamented a hill outside the city gates. Somehow the first of May was always a day of misery and danger for the police.

"I know your zeal for the drug, my dear Mr. Richter," said the youngest Maier, as he threw a glance of sympathy toward the chief of police, "but let me tell you that there is no medicine against a rope, so you had better bet a basket of wine."

"No, I leave it by the rope," cried the chief. "I'd like to see who is master in this town."

Now began a busy night for the patrolmen. All the roofs of the public buildings were examined; the doors locked and guarded. All house owners were cautioned to watch their premises on the night before the first of May to prevent the smuggling in of that revolutionary, that pest, that nuisance, that nothing suspicious was seen; so the police triumphed.

About 10 a. m. the chief went to the hotel for his breakfast and found his friends already assembled. Just as they were drinking to his success there commenced in the next place cheering and laughing with a lot of groans for the police. The people called the attention of each other and pointed in the air. Something out of the way must have happened.

"What is the matter there?" cried the chief; and with a foreboding sensation in his breast he ran into the open with the others. Sure! followed again. There was the awful, treasonable red flag. Up to a height of 400 feet the crimson folds floated proudly, bidding defiance to all police, from a balloon right over the market place.

Everybody looked. They all cheered and gazed the chief, whose automatic rule was to arrest. The flag could not be confiscated. All the police could do was to clench fists and heap blessings on the Socialists.

But another surprise awaited the chief. After coming near fainting from anger, he went back to the hotel, where he was handed a package with the message that it was left for him. He opened it and found—a rope.

He made no use of the rope after all, for he thought it was better to break his word than his neck, but he learned the lesson that the police is powerless against a public demonstration of the people's will.

Meanwhile the flag could not be triumph, and those wicked Socialists were victorious once more.

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