



(Continued from Last Week.)

Commercial Selection.

The forces of evolution, effecting their ends under various guises, are after all, one and the same in principle. They are conscious of neither good nor evil, and work blindly, not even for a moment aware of the means they employ to survive and which to perish. But the environment they do not question; it is no concern of theirs, for they work only with the material that is. Nor are they to be bribed or deceived. If it be a good environment, they will see to it that the good endure and the race be lifted; if an evil environment, they will select the evil for survival, and degeneration or race deterioration will follow.

In the world primal, man was almost utterly the creature of his natural environment. Possessing locomotion, he could change the conditions which surrounded him only by removing himself to some other portion of the earth's surface. But man so developed that the time came when he could change his natural environment, not by removing but by reacting upon it. If there were ferocious animals, he destroyed them, pestilential microbes, he drained them. He cleared the ground that he might till it, made roads, built bridges—in short, conquered his natural environment. That it was that the road-maker and bridge-builder survived, and those who could make neither roads nor bridges were stamped out.

But to-day, in all but the most primitive communities, man has conquered his natural environment and become the creature of an artificial environment which he himself has created. Natural selection has accordingly been suspended; in reality, it has taken on new forms. Among these may be noted military and commercial selection. In military selection, fighting and killing are carried on alike by all members of the community. Do not give rise to military selection. This arises only when tribes have united to form the state, and division of labor decides it to be more profitable that part of the community fight at one time and the other part fight on another night all the time. This is created the standing army and the regular soldier. The stronger, the braver, the more indomitable, are selected to go to the wars, and to die early, without offspring. The weaker are sent to the plow and permitted to perpetuate their kind. As Doctor Jordan has remarked, the best are sent forth, the second-best remain. But it does not stop at this. The best of the second-best are sent forth, and the third-best are sent forth. The French sash today demonstrates what manner of man is left to the soil after one hundred years or so of military selection. Where are the soldiers of Greece, Sparta and Rome? They lie on countless fields of battle, and with them their descendants which were not. The degenerate portions of those countries are the descendants of those who remained to the soil—of those who were left," as Doctor Jordan aptly puts it.

THE INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

Eugene V. Debs Wins of the Convention and Its Work.

A few words in regard to the new industrial union recently organized at Chicago may be of interest to the readers of this paper. It has since the capitalist press reports designedly played fast and loose with the convention of the industrial workers' efforts to have it appear ridiculous and contemptible.

It is worthy of remark that the Chicago dailies rallied about the American Federation of Labor as loyally as they had been its own official organs, and in the name of "organized" labor these capitalist mouthpieces pointed their criticisms upon the industrial convention, misrepresenting its mission and lied about its proceedings. I state this fact not merely because of its obvious significance, but because these organs, the "Teamsters" strike, howled incessantly against the industrial convention, the depravity of its leaders and the barbarity of its methods, as if they were talking of some distant war which was a clean labor movement. On occasion, when it suits their interests, they decry the industrial unionism, but let there be an honest effort to unite the workers in a clean union, and these capitalist organs rally round these same old unions and scrupulously guard them from their own people, knowing that a clean labor movement means death to the capitalist system and that the salvation of the proletariat class depends literally upon a rotten labor movement.

This preliminary statement will account for the uniform hostility of the capitalist dailies to the industrial convention and for the instructions that were issued to the reporters to "knock" it from start to finish.

In the thirty years I have been connected with organized labor, I have never attended a more representative gathering of the working class. It was in a true sense a proletarian parliament, the only assembly being the distinguishing characteristic of the industrial workers.

In all the convention there was not so far as could be observed, a single delegate who was not a member of a trade union, nor a personal favor whatsoever. If there was a self-seeker in the delegation, I failed to observe him. The proceedings were marked with all the severities of debate, but at the same time were so far from being exceeded; and although the delegates were intensely in earnest, they accorded each other the privilege of being respectfully heard from the opening to the close of the proceedings.

It is quite true that the results of the convention are subject to criticism; that the objectives being pursued were not fully and perfectly carried out; but there is reason for this and it can be explained. Some delegates who composed the convention did not meet upon the same footing as the others. Some represented other conventions; some represented organizations with full power to act, some with limited powers, and while others represented themselves only,

will fail, and descend to the working class. Conditions here change. The industrial worker must work, not least, and bow his head before to the capitalists of industry, supply and demand. He has no other choice. He is taken by those who can, and he falls into the steam class. And in conditions taken. In the slums, the person who brings with him or is born there with normal morals, et cetera, must either yield or be exterminated, for the criminal, the beggar and the thief are best fitted to survive in such an environment as this.

Briefly outlined is this commercial selection. The individual asserts its claims, to the detriment and injury of the type. It is well known that the intensity of the struggle has increased many fold in the last five decades, and it is self-evident that its intensity must still further and frightfully increase in the next five decades, unless the present system of production and distribution undergoes a modification for the better. Retaining it in its entirety, there are two salutory but at the same time absurd ways of ameliorating things; either kill off half the units of all machinery, but this is as temporary as it is unwise. Only the little white and commercial selection would prevail. Besides, man must go forward; he can neither stop nor turn back. Commercial selection means race prostitution, and if continued, race deterioration. Internal competition must be minimized, and industry yielded more and more to industry, and for the good of the present and the future generation, certain rights of the individual must be curtailed or surrendered. Yet this is nothing new to the individual; his whole past is a history of such surrenders.

The old indictment that competitive capital is soulless, still holds. Altruism and industrial competition are mutually destructive. They cannot co-exist together. The struggling capitalist who may entertain philanthropic notions concerning the conduct of his business, is illogical, and false to his position and himself; and he is certain he will surely fail. Competitive industry is not concerned with right or wrong, its sole and perpetual query is, How may I undersell my competitors? And one answer only is vouchsafed: By producing more cheaply. The capitalist who wishes to keep his head above the tide must scale his labor and raw material as relentlessly as scale his business rivals, or even a little more so. There are two ways of scaling his business rivals; by reducing quality and adulterating, or by forcing the producer to sell more cheaply. But the producer cannot scale nature; there is nothing left for him to do but scale his labor. Altruism is incompatible with business success. This being so, foul air, vile water, poor and adulterated foods, unhealthy factory work, growing disease, and all that drag down the physical, mental and moral tone of the community, are consistent and essential adjuncts of the competitive system.

As being the more striking, only the form of art considered will be that which appeals to the mind through the eye; but what is said will apply to various modifications, to all other forms of the aesthetic. Art is at present enjoyed by a greatly favored but very small portion of the community—the rich and those that are permitted to mingle with them. The poor, lacking not only in time and means, but in the training so essential to the artist, are excluded from the streets of the city. In the inferior grades, and because of all this, reacting upon an already harsh environment, live untold legions of laborers who die without having feasted their souls on the real treasures of life.

And even to the rich and those that cling about their skirts, only fleeting visions may be had of art. Their homes and galleries may be all the good left; but the instant they venture on the streets of the city, they have left the realm of beauty for an ungodly dominion, where the utilitarian

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST SYSTEM

(The communication of Comrade Debs is published because we believe his views of the industrial union convention are entitled to some consideration.)

At the same time we must state that the question as to the advisability of the industrial union, as reported either the industrial union or the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Union, has just collapsed as the result of a "split" in the pure and simple movement. The Industrial Union, which was really united, as they ought to be, and as they will be in spite of those who are dividing them while charging those who are seeking assistance unite them as splinters of the industrial union movement.

Look at Chicago today. The American Federation of Labor has had almost complete jurisdiction and what does it consist of but a mass of snarling "autonomous" "slugging factions!"

Under the old regime every handful of men that are gathered about the hopper of industrial evolution must have a separate union, separate jurisdiction and above all most important of all, a separate set of "grand" or "supreme" officers, of whom there is an army of candidates. Each division it is to keep the workers interested into immemorial past. There is an army of candidates upon their "leaders" to keep the wolf from the fold.

An ancient backwoods preacher, in a moment of perfect candor, said to his flock: "I am your shepherd and ye are my nutron."

The working class are going to unite, economically and politically, for their emancipation. The united class-conscious working class on the economic field has long been needed, needed by the workers, needed by the Socialist Party and needed, above all, as an essential part of the labor movement, and the industrial workers are now in the field and progressive unions are falling to its standards, and are ground through that has been made and the thousands of tried and true class-conscious workers are enrolled in the Socialist Federation of Labor. In general terms the party has declared in favor of the trade and labor union movement, and there are scores of trade and labor unions, national and local, that are being organized into a national union, yet in no way affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and there is nothing contained in the party resolutions which prevents a member from joining any trade union movement, and the party will retain other ways as good a right, from the standpoint of the Socialist Party, to join the industrial workers as to retain other ways to be in the American Federation of Labor.

With this definition of the party as a party, has nothing to do and if they are brought into the party to be a part of the party, they will simply because certain comrades are officiously intent upon controlling the party, and the party will retain other ways to be in the American Federation of Labor.

To me it seems not only impossible, but impossible to expect the industrial union to exist in the American Federation of Labor, under its capitalist Civic Federation supervision, and the industrial workers will retain other ways to be in the American Federation of Labor.

examines the world hideous and survives, and the idealist is banished or exterminated. He is the creative, should be part and parcel of life, and pervade it in all its enterprises. It should be work a day as well as idle-day. Full justice should be accorded the artist of the period; to do this the whole community should enjoy, appreciate and understand the work of one who has toiled at creating the beautiful. Nor can this be done till the belly-ned is made a subsidiary accompaniment of life, instead of being, as it now is to so many, the sole and all-important aim.

The present age may be characterized as a few scattered oases amid a desert of industrial ugliness. Not even among the rich can all refresh themselves at the fountains. The nineteenth-century business man has no time for such. He is the slave of his desk, the genie of the dollar.

The artist extorts himself for a very small audience indeed. The general public never attains a standard of comprehension; it cannot measure his life. He looks upon his work as the right of curiosity, hands, favors, and blind to the fact that they are objects which should conduce to the highest pleasure. And herein great injury is done the artist, and heavy limitations are laid upon him. But so long as "society flourishes by the antagonism of its units," art, in its full, broad scope, will have neither place nor significance; the artist will not receive justice for his travail, nor the people compensation for their labor in the common drudgery of life.

Variety is the essence of progress; its manifestation is the manifestation of individuality. Man advanced to his dominant position among the vertebrates because his "apellike and probably arboreal ancestors" possessed variety to an unusual degree. And in turn, the races of man possessing the greatest variability advanced to the center of the world-stage, while those possessing the least retreated to the background or to oblivion. It is true that all men are run in the same mold is virtually bankrupt, though its strong-boxes are overflowing with the treasures of the world. Such a community can endure only through a process of vegetating; it must remain silent or suffer ignominy. An instance of this is afforded by Spain and her Invincible Armada. The Spaniards were great fighting-men; so were the English. But the English could also hold ships and all their cog cannon and shoot them. In short, the English possessed and utilized variety. Spain, through a vicious social selection, had lost the greater part of the variety which was hers in former times. Nor was this loss due to an innate degeneracy of her people, but to her social, political and religious structures.

A people must have some standard by which to measure itself and its conduct when it must shape its institutions in such manner as well prevent its attaining this standard. If the measure of individual worth be, how much have I made? the present competitive system is the best medium by which to gain that end; but under all its guises it will form a certain type—from the factory hand to the millionaire there will be the same stamp of acquisitiveness. But if the measure be, What have I made of myself? it cannot be attained by the present system. The demand of the belly-ned man is to be a great individual, to have great credit, to be the greatest of his time, to manifest itself in acquisitiveness and selfishness. And after all, the greatness of a community lies not in the strength of its strong-boxes, nor in the extravagant follies of a few of its members, but in its wisdom, its power for good, and its possibility of realizing in itself, its highest and the best. It were well to stand, as Doctor Jordan has said, "for civic ideals, and the greatest of these, that government should make men by giving them freedom to make themselves."

JAURES' PROHIBITED SPEECH

Continued from Page One.

Therefore we have no desire to play at this game of barbarous chance. We will not expose to this, too of bloody die the certainty of progressive working-class emancipation, nor the certainty of just autonomy guaranteed to all peoples and fragments of people by the complete victory of European proletarian democracy.

"La Revanche" is Dead.  
That is why we French Socialists repudiate now and for ever all thought of military revenge against Germany. We Socialists stand before each other without exclusive or arrogant pretensions of democracy; the past unity to adjust together, remembering always that amidst to work together single-heartedly for definite peace between France and Germany. In order that the proletariat of the two continents may give themselves completely to the freer work of emancipation and civilization.

In this capital of Berlin, when our soldiers entered before the German entered Paris, we proclaim before the world the pact of union between the two peoples of France and Germany. We reject together all forms of international violence. Together we detest and denounce all those, whoever they may be, who seek to embroil the two nations. We oppose the pacific, open, and loyal diplomacy of the international workers to the reckless and covetous diplomacy of capitalists and feudal governments.

Labor's Mission.  
The proletariat must to reserve all its strength for all its energy to struggle against social injustice, against poverty, against ignorance, against capitalism, against exploitation. Socialism seeks to transmit the war of classes into the great peace of social progress and the triumph of proletarian democracy, which is now the most active principle and the ferment of internationalism in the present era. The proletariat is the one living force, and its aim is to create the strength of all its energy to struggle against social injustice, against poverty, against ignorance, against capitalism, against exploitation. Socialism seeks to transmit the war of classes into the great peace of social progress and the triumph of proletarian democracy, which is now the most active principle and the ferment of internationalism in the present era. The proletariat is the one living force, and its aim is to create the strength of all its energy to struggle against social injustice, against poverty, against ignorance, against capitalism, against exploitation.

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HERMON F. TITUS, Editor  
 WILLIAM MALLY, Manager  
 ERWIN B. AULT, Associate

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## FOR THE WORKERS

This has been a good week for the "faithfuls," comrades, but now I have a mild protest to voice to those who help The Socialist only by reading it. I base it on the following letter, which came in this morning's mail: "Dear Comrades: I write to ascertain if your paper has suspended; I have not received any for the past five weeks. I have seen no notice of suspension in any of the other papers, and no statement as to its publication otherwise, hence concluded it was not supported properly. For fear it might be a capitalist suppression I write you. It took such a manly course on criticism that I wished it to succeed although I could not help it much." Further, we frequently receive a postal card to this effect: "My paper did not come last week. Please send another copy. I like it so much that I do not wish to miss an issue." Only at such times do we hear from these appreciative readers. Now we like to receive letters and cards like that, they make us feel good for a half hour, but we would like to take the liberty of asking, "If you like to read The Socialist, are there not others in your town who would also like to read it and can't you send them out, and add them to the circulation of the paper?" You know, Socialist, that it is going to build up a circulation and do its work of education? Why, EVERY reader must be a solicitor. If the circulation doesn't grow the paper cannot live a good healthy life. If you who are reading this paper each week will join the workers for the paper, and send in one subscription per week, you will accomplish this result. Do you think you ought to throw all the responsibility on the active ones who are now doing all the work? That is, provided of course, that you think The Socialist ought to stick and grow. You like The Socialist's report of the Industrial Union Conven-

### DEATH OF MRS. E. D. RAND

A cable dispatch in the daily press announces the death of Mrs. E. D. Rand at Florence, Italy, on Monday last. This news will be a shock to the many friends of Mrs. Rand in the Socialist movement. She was the mother of Carrie Rand Herron and she was with her daughter and Conrade George D. Herron when she died.

"Mrs. Rand was a noble character, of high impulses and brave and independent thinking. Her interest in the cause of Socialism to an extent only appreciated by those who were close to her. All her life she was a radical and as her years increased she became more and more revolutionary. Her interest in the Socialist party was intense and it was an inspiration to meet her and witness with what joy she hailed the coming of the New Time.

The Socialist movement has lost a member who served it faithfully and whose greatest ambition was to see the workers free and a system of justice and brotherhood established. More than that could not be said of any Socialist.

### COULDN'T SUPPRESS HIM.

Because of his active work for Socialism Conrade J. R. Crombie of Shelby Ohio, was discharged from his employment as engineer for the United States Steel corporation. The reason given for his discharge was that he neglected his work. "The real reason was Crombie's denunciation of the grafters in the local city government. After his discharge, Crombie addressed an open air meeting at which the mayor was present. The latter asked Crombie to desist, and when the latter refused, the mayor invited him to his office, where Crombie was asked if he would accept his old job back as he (the mayor) had a good deal of influence with the superintendent of the steel company. This Crombie declined, and the next night he held another meeting. An attempt

to think the stand of the paper in party matters is fair and fearless. Are not these just the things that all the workmen need to read? Are they not a vital part of their training? So we call for more and yet more workers for The Socialist. It needs them to help carry out the purpose for which the paper was established. Without this, Socialism can never succeed; with it we go on to a glorious triumph.

but failed, Crombie holding his own and acting some literature besides. The incident aroused great interest and Socialism has received advertising thereby.

### MILWAUKEE HUMOR.

"The Social Democratic Herald," being called upon by The Socialist to do so rather tardily in publishing in printing Conrade Debs' letter on the Berger case, it omitted this paragraph: "Victor L. Berger was wrong, flagrantly wrong, in my judgment, but in perceiving the extremely exaggerated indignities of a capitalist candidate to sting him into preferring a rival capitalist candidate, his motive was pure, and will not be impeached by any who know him or are familiar with the attending circumstances."

As this paragraph included the strongest words that Debs used in condemnation of Berger's action, the suspicion that the Milwaukee paper omitted it intentionally was almost irresistible. Two reasons are now given for the omission. In the first place, "there were certain mechanical reasons why we had to decrease the length of the Debs' article." But furthermore, "as long as some part of the letter had to be left out, it was a merciful paragraph did not get in, for we are good friends of Debs and are in sympathy with Debs to appear from his best side, for he is a noble, warm-hearted fellow, while the paragraph Mally quotes makes him a narrow bigot who is ignorant of international tactics."

This is about the limit. Neither Plu Non's assumption of infidelity could go farther nor De Leon's impudent malignity could much exceed this new canon that the fact of differing with Berger constitutes one, ipso facto, an ignorant bigot. If the "Herald" continues on this line it will soon be cited by all commensurators of humor among the things "that make Milwaukee famous."—The Worker.

Another question: The State Executive Committee could not issue a membership card to Conrade Nash, Holman and Rogers, as members of the State at large until after the local charter of the local in the city in which they lived had been revoked. Then they could not apply for membership elsewhere for the reason that there are not two members of the State Executive Committee and that is not a sufficient number for a quorum. Now I do not desire that anyone should construe that I am of the opinion that Local Minnesota has been expelled. For they have not. I only say the State Executive Committee has the matter to the attention of the National Committee.

Now a word as to why such action was taken by the State Executive Committee. In a conversation with Conrade W. L. Herman, J. E. Nash, State Secretary said: "It is about time that we expelled Local Minnesota."

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### Why Poor Children Grow Slowly.

A remarkable illustration of the influence of environment upon the development of the human body is furnished by investigations recently made by the United States Bureau of Education, which shows that poor children grow more slowly than the children of the well-to-do. The latter, enjoying from earliest infancy the advantage of better food and more air, together with superior sanitary conditions, profit by these favorable conditions in a physical way, whereas the offspring of indigent parents have a hard struggle for existence from babyhood, and in consequence, their growth is retarded. If the retardation goes beyond a certain point they never do catch up—yet it to be so big, that is to say, as their more fortunately situated competitors in the race of life.—John V. Shoemaker, M. D., L. D.

### The Socialist and the "Cleveland Citizen" for \$1.20.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

Continued from Page Three.  
 How could Rogers act as chairman of the meeting after his name had been expunged and he was, therefore, not a member of the Socialist party? There is no way by which, so far as I can see, any man can hold an office in the Socialist party unless he is a member thereof. Perhaps my view is different from Conrade Lamb's of Michigan.

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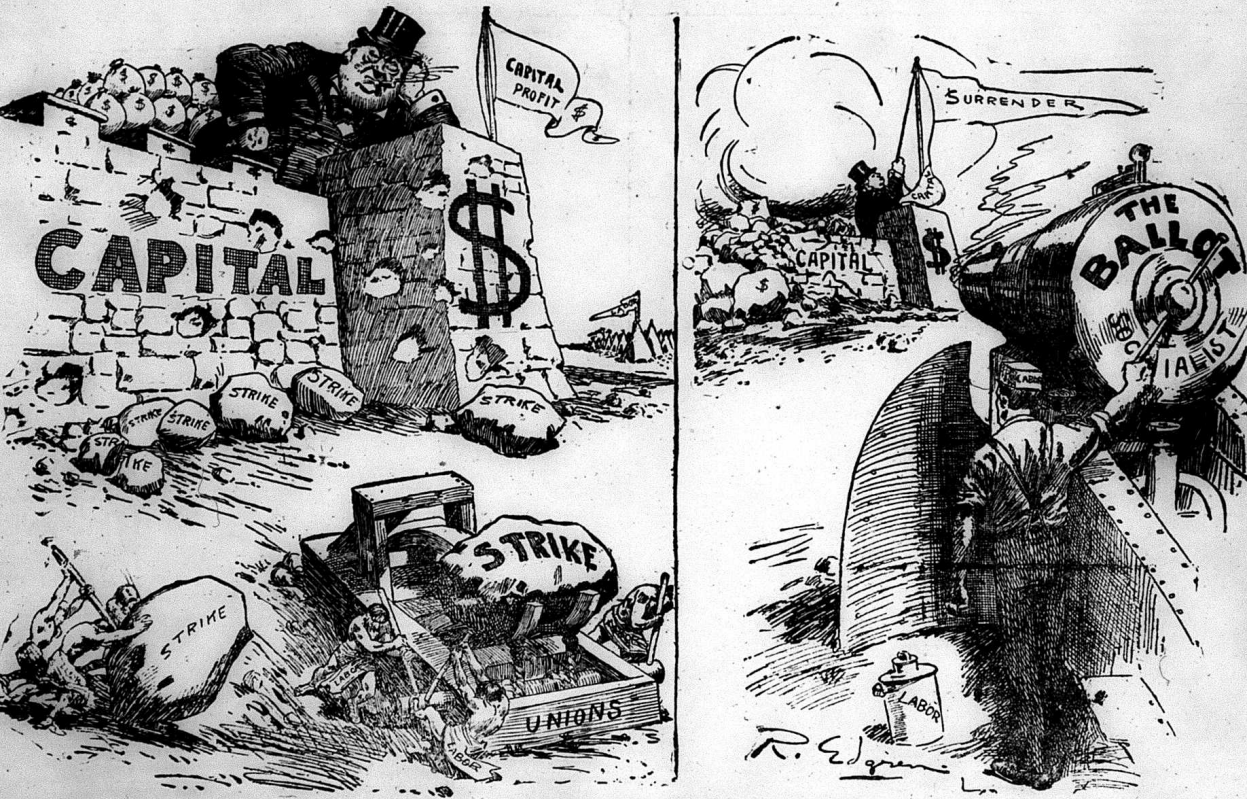
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Local Minneapolis has not been officially notified of the "farce," but having learned of the attempt of Conrade Nash to organize a rival organization in Minneapolis, called a special meeting Sunday and passed resolutions informing the members in the city and the state the exact occurrence.

How the direct installation of the Right for straight tickets in Minnesota ends.  
 FRANK HICKS

We are also in receipt of an official statement from Local Minnesota substantiating the facts set forth of Conrade Hicks' letter, and signed by the chairman and secretary of the City Central Committee.

# THE OLD WEAPON AND THE NEW



The Chicago teamsters strike was declared off last week, and the newspapers of the country are pointing out to the union men the moral of its failure. The sympathetic strike is the special target, and the workers are admonished to oppose such "foolishness" in future.

We are not going to argue about the sympathetic strike, except to say it marks a degree of advancement on the part of labor through its being a recognition of the identity of interests of the workers, one with the other. The capitalists act sympathetically when they agree to boycott or lock out their workmen.

What is right for the capitalist to do, however, is usually wrong for the worker, as the capitalist views it. The trouble with most workmen is that they are willing to accept a capitalist standard to guide their actions in fighting the capitalist, when the capitalist considers only his own interests.

The workers should, therefore, consult their interests and act accordingly.

We only want to point out here to workmen the increasing hopelessness of attempting to gain anything through their strikes so long as the governmental powers are in the hands of the capitalist class. The Chicago strike was lost mainly because the capitalists had all the forces of the government, municipal, county, state and national, at their disposal.

Isn't it about time that workmen, and especially those who are progressive enough to belong to a union, realized that their strongest weapon is not the costly one of the strike, but the ballot? More than that, isn't it about time that workmen realized that they are entitled to the full fruit of their labor, and that the way to reach that is through the abolition of the wage slave system and the establishment of Socialism?

We think it is time for the workers to break away from antiquated weapons and begin the use of the modern weapon, which will batter down the citadel of capitalism in short order.