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No. 133

To Create a Class Struggle The Supreme Task

By GEORGE D. HERRON

NO RECONCILIATION.

Socialism is the ownership of the sources and means of production and distribution by all the people and for all the people—common labor and common privileges being the common lot of mankind.

Socialism involves the theory that society has developed through struggle between classes; that each state of society is the outcome of the struggle of a ruled class against a ruling class for the possession of power; that power has always been economic in its nature and the class-war a struggle between an owning and a non-owning class for the sources of economic production and supply; that the present or capitalistic mode of production has so fully developed, become so intense a form of the exploitation of society by private individuals, that the people will have no escape except through Socialism or the co-operative commonwealth.

The term "class-struggle" is offensive to many, and surprise is expressed that some of us should cast in our lives with a movement which rests its integrity upon the development of a conscious and definite distinction between classes and their interests. This surprise is because of a misinterpretation of the class-struggle as class-hatred, and a delusive faith in the moral superiority of sentiment over fact. In reality, the class-consciousness of the working class, and the clear recognition of the fact that there is no mutuality or identity between their interests and the interests of the capitalist or employing class, furnish the only foundation for the achievement of an honest or ethical society.

The beginning of any true interpretation of life must be with facts. Not with what we would like to have true, but what is true without regard to our liking—this must be the basis of faith. We have never had any such thing as living or telling of truth in society. Before we can have ethics we must have honesty—the free look at life and the free telling what we see. The facts of life are sure to be infinitely more beautiful and trustworthy than any sentiments of life imposed upon it.

Socialism begins with this—that the history of the world has been economic. The world's sentiments and religions, its laws and morals, its art and literatures, are all rooted in the struggle between classes for the control of the food supply. Moses and Jesus, Wickliffe and Marzini, Marx and Millet are products of the stress and injustice of intensified economic conditions. War is but a final mode of economic competition. Religions, in their first and purest expressions, are all economic revivals—appeals and protests against the ownership of souls involved in economic ownership. Beethoven and Wagner are social revolutionists who took to music instead of arms, just as Angelo and Millet took to paint, and Savonarola and Zwingli took to politics.

As we have already said, history has always been a struggle between (Continued on Page Two.)

QUEER ARGUMENTS

Some queer pleas are put forth to support the arbitrary action of the National Committee in removing the National Headquarters to Omaha and refusing to submit the question to a referendum of the party, as required by the constitution.

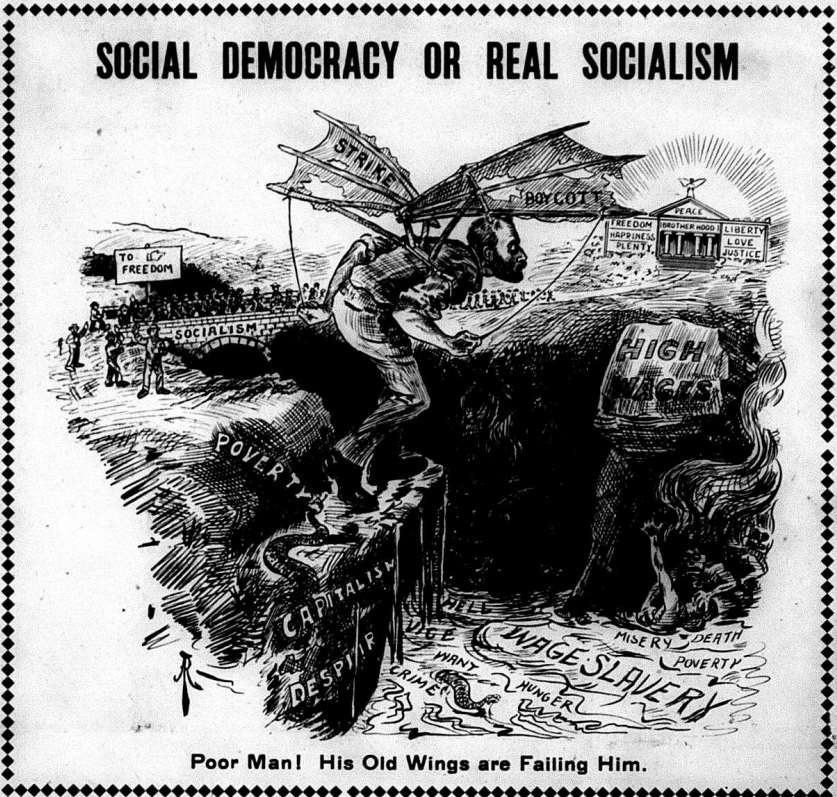
For instance, one associate editor of the "Appeal" claims "The West" had a majority over "The East" and were magnanimous enough to elect Mailly, an Eastern man, as National Secretary, but he regrets "The East" could not reciprocate the Western spirit in the matter of Headquarters.

This is the first we have heard of such division of Socialists along mere geographical lines. Why, not even national lines divide the working-class of the world. The same interests unite the workers of England, Germany, Canada, Massachusetts, Texas, Washington. Away with such petty old party talk! Democrats and Republicans may have sectional cleavage, but Socialists, never!

Another associate editor says: "The backbone of the American Socialist movement is in the Middle West." Let us see how this statement squares with the cold facts. Of the recent Socialist vote of 275,000, 200,000 was cast east of the Mississippi and 25,000 west of the Rockies, leaving only 40,000 to 50,000 for the "Middle West" backbone. Rather a slender spinal column, don't you think, Brother Untermyer?

Notice a few individual segments of your backbone. Kansas, 4,078 votes out of 287,168 votes, only 1.4 per cent. Missouri, 5,235 out of 517,927, only 1.2 per cent. Nebraska, 3,157 out of 194,141, only 1.6 per cent. Iowa, 6,350 out of 395,412, only 1.6 per cent. North Dakota, 2.4 per cent. South Dakota, 3.5 per cent. Minnesota, 18 per cent. Oklahoma, 2 per cent.; Colorado, 4 per cent.; Wyoming, 2 per cent. Altogether, this "Middle West" vote hardly equals the vote of Massachusetts alone. Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania have more than twice this "Middle West" all told. As a backbone, its qualities are hardly yet visible, except in the vivid fancy of our Comrade Editor, whose judicial poles may have been disturbed by his membership in the new Quorum assigned to his "Middle West."

This most astonishing editorial from Girard, the very center of the "Mid-



Poor Man! His Old Wings are Falling Him.

de West," further goes on to say: "The class-conscious farmers, the rural proletariat of this country, are the sincerest and truest guardians of the interests of the working class." This may be true, but it has yet to be proved. The whole farmer ques-

tion has to be threshed out in our future. Meanwhile, it is undeniable our greatest strength in actual votes as well as our historic and economic basis, lie in the wage-working class. Comrade Untermyer gives away his whole case and amply justifies our forecast last week, when we said this transfer of Headquarters to an agricultural center was most significant.

Still another queer feature appears in this editorial. He actually deprecates a referendum to the party on this Headquarters business. He makes the most astounding assumptions in support of his contention. "It is certain," he says, "that all the states except Massachusetts, New York, Kentucky, Illinois and Wisconsin would vote in favor of Omaha." Well, well. Wait and see. The only explanation of such cocksureness we can think of is that the atmosphere of Girard must have a dizzying effect on new residents.

REFERENDUM RECOMMENDED BY "THE WORKER" NEW YORK.

"To the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

"Local _____ state of _____ in accordance with the constitution hereby requests that you submit to a referendum vote of the party the following propositions:

"1. That the headquarters of the party be removed to Chicago.

"2. That the Local Quorum until the next national convention be composed of the members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky.

"3. That all acts of the National Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions be rejected and declared inoperative."

Five Locals representing three different states must endorse this.

One of the best, if not the best discussion we have seen on Municipal Socialism is by Comrade P. Untermyer and published by the "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kan. Price 5 cents. Title, "The Municipality from Capitalism to Socialism."

Only two weeks more in which to take advantage of that special offer of Ten Yearly subscription cards for \$2.50. Holds good for February only.

Boyce's Weekly, the Decoy Weekly

A pretentious paper under this name has been started in Chicago. It carries this sub-title: "An International Newspaper for All Who Work." It has a list of editors and editorial contributors to make a workman's mouth water. Willis J. Abbott, who used to edit Hearst's paper, is one. Carroll D. Wright, the United States Commissioner of Labor, is another. W. F. Barland, who was associated with Debs in the colony movement, E. E. Clark, President Roosevelt's labor representative on the Coal Commission; John Mitchell himself, Henry George, Jr., and even A. M. Simons, the Socialist, are found in the list.

What does it all mean? Why, this! It is another attempt to sidetrack the Labor Unions. It is another attempt to steal the Socialist thunder. It is like the "National Economic League," organized to sweep back or turn aside the rising current of Socialist votes.

How will they do it? Read the editorial and study the picture reproduced in this Workingman's Weekly in this issue of "The Socialist." These people see how the Unions are turning toward politics. They also see they are turning toward Socialist politics. They see the tremendous danger to capital if they do so turn. These Hearst Democrats are not so blind as some "Socialists." It has dawned upon them that the battle cry of the Socialist Party, "Workingmen, Unite!" has in it all the elements of success. Once unite the wage-workers and capital is doomed. One get the Labor Unions rocking to the Socialist standard and nothing can withstand the new party.

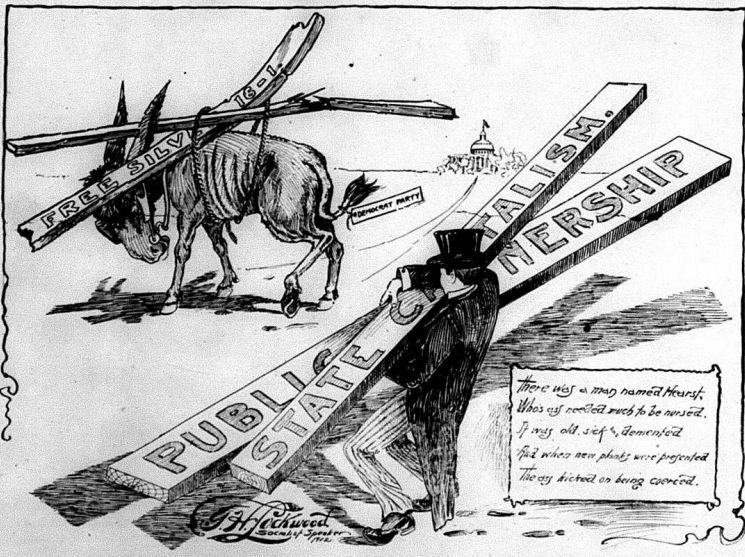
Therefore, the working class must be divided. Therefore, this paper is started, with plenty of money and hired brains behind it, to make Union men believe their interests are identical with capital. They will make heroic efforts to separate the Union men from the rest of the working class. They will get men like Gompers and Mitchell and Clark to be bell-weather to lead the Union flock away from Socialism. They will hire trained writers like Darrow and Abbott and George and Traubel, Democrats with "Socialist" tendencies, to brand Socialism as "State Socialism," a dreadful slavery, something to be warded off by the conservative and intelligent worker.

Now, this is the time for real Socialist workingmen and the real Socialist press to do their duty. The Labor Unions should be the fighting ground for Socialists for the next twelve months as never before. Win the organized workers and we will win all the rest.

This is the truth that the St. Louis Quorum and Comrade Harriman perceived, when they advocated the extreme measure of outright surrender to the Union Labor Party. They are right in that they perceive the strategic importance of the Labor Unions at this juncture. These capitalists, with their Decoy Weeklies, perceive it. He is blind who does not perceive it.

As the Trade Union Resolutions of the Socialist Party state it, it is the duty of every member of the party to join the union of his craft. It is also the duty of every unorganized member of the working class to organize or join a "Federal Union," and thus bring himself and his influence to bear on the great Trade Union movement in this, the most critical hour in its history.

HEARST DEMOCRACY OR MOCK SOCIALISM



Poor Old Donkey! But he will carry them away all right.

Decoy Weekly Shows Its Hand

Editorial and Picture from Boyce's Weekly

SOCIALISM IS NOT IN FAVOR.

Average Union Man Satisfied With Present System.

MANY SOCIALISTS DENOUNCE UNIONS.

Old Labor Organizations a Solid Bulwark Against Endorsing the Socialist Program—Municipal Socialism is a Very Different Proposition to State Socialism.

The average well-paid and measurably contented trade union man is not a state Socialist.

One branch of the Socialist Party is vehemently opposed to trade unions on this very account.

The old time labor organization which has won victories through its trade unions has been a bulwark against all attempts of the radical element in the movement to pass Socialistic resolutions or promise adhesion to candidates nominated for political positions by Socialists.

Samuel Gompers, at the head of the American Federation of Labor, has, for years, and successfully, worked to prevent radical action by that great labor organization. And although his own trade, cigar-making, has within its ranks many Socialists, yet he has been almost constantly upheld in the stand he has taken.



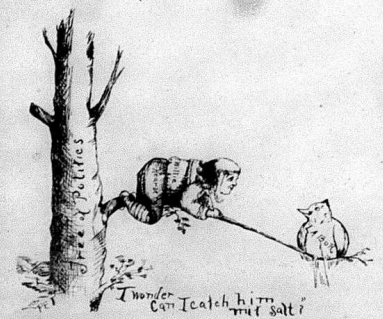
All this is not saying anything either for or against Socialism. It is simply showing that labor organizations are not as Socialistic as many believe. Indeed, the fiery Socialist element is almost entirely outside the ranks of organized labor.

Yet Socialism has made immense strides the past few years. But this is largely due to the acts and expressions of those who control the great combinations of the country. Divine Right Baer has done more to undermine the present industrial system than a thousand Socialistic agitators.

A few weeks ago the Boston Herald gave up five pages to showing the growth of Socialism in Massachusetts. Still more recently the New York Tribune devoted half a page, with illustrations, showing how the Socialists have increased in numbers in Connecticut.

Many who are classed as state Socialists are merely municipal Socialists, which is a very different thing. The first deals with the production of wealth to the exclusion of the independent manufacturer; the other looks only to the distribution of such things as water, light, street-car traffic, etc.—matters that have little real bearing on the problem of the state becoming the only employer. When industry faces the problem of a complete overturning of present methods of production, the average citizen who now thinks he is a Socialist will hesitate. It is a plunge in the dark—the unknown.

Socialism is strongest where there are most tenement houses and fewest landowners. In the United States, as in France, the suburban population is almost solidly against the doctrines of state Socialism.



Fellow Socialists, the Unions may be won to Socialism in the next year if you all do your duty. Here are Two Million votes, all wage-workers' votes, ready for the harvest.

The enemies of the working class see the point. What about you?

To Create a Class Struggle the Supreme Task

(Continued from page One)

those who produce the things upon which the world lives and those who live on the things produced. There has always been a ruling class compelling a working class to support it. Whether the labor of the world be organized in chattel slavery or wage-slavery matters not to this discussion. What really matters is this—that up to the present time the institutions and culture of the world have developed through one class exploiting and appropriating the labor of another class. The only civilization the world has ever had or known has been a parasitic civilization. Laws, creeds, governments, morals, and arts are chiefly the expression of those who have lived off of other people, and who have made laws and religions and arts and morals for the purpose of compelling these others to support them while they should fight or preach or make laws or write books. Civilization and its ideals are the product of economic coercion. No language can make the fact vivid and awful enough—the fact that one class of people lives off another class. The chasm between these two classes cannot be bridged or closed except by the elimination of every class through the triumph of the working class. Until then we cannot have social peace or equilibrium; until then we cannot have a society that shall be both stable and fluid.

Ethics cannot coexist with economic inequality, nor can liberty exist. We shall live in lies and tyrannies so long as some people have privileges which other people have not; so long as some people own the things upon which all people depend. As long as one class does the world's work, and another class makes its institutions and ideals, the class making the institutions and ideals will continue to make them in such a way as to keep the working class in subjection to itself. Until the labor and the privileges of the world become common and equal, any civilization that we may have will be but the survival of brute force. We must recognize the fact of a class struggle before we can wipe it out through the socialization of the world.

But now we come to the historic test. If it were ever an open issue and fight to the finish between classes there would long ago have been but one class—the working class, which would also be the privileged and the ruling class. But never by direct struggle has a ruling class conquered and perished. No problem of the people has ever been really solved. No battle of competition has ever been fought out. No revolution has ever been gone through with to the end.

How has the ruling class always conquered? By concession and compromise. It has been the policy and successful practice of the world's masters and owners, from the beginning of history, to defeat every revolution by adopting it; to destroy the rise of the peoples by befriending them; to make concessions—that would become a bit and bridle in the mouth of revolt, and then ride it to now ruling-class power and glory. It is this that makes history so baffling and sickening to hope. It is by the favors which they receive from their masters that the tired generations of men are beaten back into the historic helplessness of the world's disinherited. The masters of the world have always first resisted the people, whether in the form of a religious movement or political revolution, and then have granted favors which made them masters of the movement or revolution when it became powerful.

It is in this precise way that capitalism will seek to withstand Socialism. Capitalism will seek to defeat Socialism by giving it some of the things for which it seeks. We cannot have the co-operative commonwealth until having the whole of it. Capitalism may give the Socialist movement one-half or even nine-tenths of what it demands and still retain the control of power. For instance, the public ownership of so-called public utilities, without the social ownership of all the tools of production, would simply bring forth a new middle class and delay the industrial development that would issue in Socialism. Capitalists know this very well, know it much better than the working class, and are preparing to save themselves by their knowledge.

Thus we come to the political and spiritual as well as economic necessity of clearly defining the class-struggle and its issues. Unless the workers of the world become conscious of themselves as the producing class, unless they understand that to them as the producers belong the product and the control and the privileges of their industry, they will achieve no kind of economic freedom. No masters have ever handed down freedom to their slaves. Capitalism cannot grant freedom to the working class. The workers must achieve their own freedom through their own efforts, and out of themselves bring forth their own organization of labor and distribution of privileges; out of their own struggle and labor bring forth their own institutions and ethics. The whole capitalist interest, the whole interest of the church, the whole interest of organized education, the whole interest of our sickly and brutal literature, will lie in the direction of preventing the working class from taking possession of its inheritance. A representative example of this is a recent statement of a very revered bishop in an inconceivably mongrel and ignorant discussion of the issue between "labor and capital," in which discussion some twenty or thirty conspicuous men have been taking part in a daily newspaper. The good bishop says: "I confess the greatest question seems to be to me, 'How can workmen and employees be helped to a better understanding of their mutual interest, and, indeed, even before that, of the fact that their interests are mutual?'"

Now the supreme evil that confronts the people lies in the danger that they shall be deluded into thinking that there is some mutual interest between the capitalist and the laborer. It is not the division of society into the clearly-defined class-struggle, but the lack of such a struggle, that menaces the people. To create such a class-struggle should be the supreme task and summons of moral passion. There cannot be and there ought not to be any reconciliation between capital and labor. The economic and moral liberty of the people depends upon this clear discernment—that the interests of "labor and capital" are inherently antagonistic, and must never be mutualized or identified with each other. To attempt to build civilization or social peace upon such mutuality is to build upon the fundamental lie of history. The labor of the world must become the owner of the world before we shall have any social truth to build on.

Now we shall have troops of "social reformers" of the showman type. We shall have "social reforms" and "reconciliation boards" under the benign guidance of such eminent reformers as Chauncey M. Depew, Lyman Abbott, Adam Forepaugh, Jr., and The Ladies' Home Journal. We shall have municipal ownership movements and public ownership planks in capitalist political parties. But the whole crew of "social reformers" and "reforms" will be in the nature of capitalist retainer services, supported by capitalism through its flunkies. If ruling-class capitalism can hide the fact that one class of people is forcibly appropriating the labor of another class, if it can hide from the eyes of the workers the issue between them and the owners of their labor power, if it can keep the people from seeing that civilization as now organized is a colossal parasitic living off the blood and toll of the people, if it can keep the people from seeing that the governments and armies and commerce of the world exist by sheer brute economic might and have no basis at all in right, then capitalism can perpetuate itself—perpetuate itself by so confusing the lines and causes of battle that workers shall destroy one another instead of the capitalist system. It may be that capitalism will at first succeed because we have not the wit or strength of character to clearly see that our social reforms are but capitalistic measures for self-preservation.

Compromise has always been the mother of tragedy, and by the favors they have received from their masters have the workers of all ages been made the inhabitants of a slave world. Capitalism knows that it is doomed the moment the workers become as class-conscious as are the capitalists. The bishop knows that there will be no bishop's palace when the people come to their own, and the politician knows that his occupation is gone when the capitalist goes.

Up to date, the human race has developed strength through competition; Socialism comes for the development of the race through co-operation. Capitalism proceeds through the brute struggle of the survival of the fittest. Socialism comes for the fitting of all to survive. Capitalism causes every child to be born with the world as its enemy; from the beginning of consciousness the child must fight a pitched battle—a lifelong and blood-red battle—with civilization for bread; Socialism comes to surround every child, from the moment of its birth, with all the resources and opportunities, the love-making facts and will-making forces, that the co-operative labor and good will of the world can produce.

We shall never know the truth about the universe, nor read the secret of life, as mere individuals competing with each other. The sphinx will give up its secret only to the co-operative man. Not to the individual, but to the world-soul, will the universe become an open book. It is the socialized man that the winds and the waves and the stars will at last obey, and the universe hold fellowship with.

So the urgency and the religion of the hour is to preach the class-struggle as the sole beginning of economic and political freedom and of spiritual integrity. The only way to the social peace that will abide is through fighting the class-war through to the finish. When the workers of the world organize their own products, their own life, their own social order, and blossom in the beauty of their common labor, and sing the song of their common aspiration, then will the peace of good will fill the earth.

Maternally Yours
George H. Brown

From "The Metropolitan," for November, 1902

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY LOCALS SEATTLE AND HOQUIAM.

Resolved, That the State Committee shall submit to a referendum of the Party the following resolution:

Whereas, The State convention of the Socialist Party of Washington refused to admit the proxies of Judge W. E. Richardson and Mr. M. M. Haines, and

Whereas, The cause for this action was founded on the fact that these members of Local Spokane were office-

holders elected to office by a capitalist party, namely the Fusion Party; therefore, be it

Resolved, In order to ascertain the sentiment of the members of the party, that the State committee is hereby directed to instruct Local Spokane to accept the resignation of the above named members or surrender its charter; and further, be it

Resolved, That in case said Local refuses to accept said resignation or surrender its charter, the State Committee is hereby instructed to revoke said charter.

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Spokane Muddle

Since the events connected with the Spokane convention, as reported by the Secretary, E. B. Ault, in "The Socialist," of the 1st inst., things have been moving.

In the first place, Comrade Ault was directed from his position as printer of the "Socialist," to resign, and he has written that report. In the next place, the following communication, signed by ten prominent members of Local Spokane, has been addressed to the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington. Whereas, Certain members of the Socialist Party of Washington met together and called a convention of the Socialists of Spokane to nominate a ticket and adopt a platform for the city election shortly to be held, without seeking the approval of the Local Spokane, and Whereas, said platform omits all mention of the immediate and most necessary object of our movement, the conquering of the powers of government, and Whereas, the said platform omits purposely all mention of the working class and of the working class character of the said movement, the undersigned members of the Socialist Party of Washington and the by-laws of Local Spokane, and Whereas, Local Spokane, by taking no action in repudiation of aforesaid convention, platform and ticket, tacitly favors the same, therefore be it Resolved, That we, the undersigned members of Local Spokane in good standing, do hereby call on the State Committee to revoke the charter of Local Spokane and immediately to reorganize said Local on the lines laid forth by our State and National platforms and constitutions.

Signed: J. H. C. SCUTLOCK
R. F. HOWARTH
J. CULLEN
JAS. HORNICK
E. B. HARDER
E. B. AULT
J. C. SHORE
WILLIAM KOPPING
W. H. BRUNS
L. WIESE

In the third place, Local Spokane held a meeting on the evening of the 11th inst., and decided "That the convention was called by Local Spokane, that it approves of the platform adopted, the nominations made and the

(Continued on Page Three)

Notice.
The regular bi-monthly meeting of the S. P. U. will be held at the office of The Socialist, 116 Virginia street, Seattle, Wash., on Sunday, March 1, 1903, at 2:30 P. M.
J. D. CURTIS, Sec. S. E. U.

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