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Ninth Year-No. 402

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, November 28, 1908

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## SOCIALISTS AND **ELECTION POLICY**

By F. W. Jowett, M. P.

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## THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY SOCIALISM AND THE AND AMERICAN SO-

By F. W. Jowett, M. P.

The The Charles of the Latter of t

## LABOUR ALLIANCE

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

takes place it may show that we have pushed a Labour man out.

We will attack pushed a Labour man out.

We hartley's candidature was fully justified.

We will consider the control of the

of the Labour Party!

Joweth has a shrewd and level head. He is clever, honest, modest to be the best thing possible for democracy. I do not sarges with him. I gradge him and other good men to lay the control of the

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ment Reached in the the particular problem of the party, and the self-amentary work as, the well as the organization work most important problem of the party, something of which we need not to being what Herve ironically he ashamed," Varenne sald in closed a "white nigger." But it is the self-amentary to be a white nigger."

Conventions -- Organized Labor I Unions and In Politica:

By Arthur Jessel Bernell State of the Control of the

ed a "white nigger." But it is significance as the first real e sion of the united will of the F Socialist Party.

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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 conflues of the present class system, it possesses several characteristics which are well grarked 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 irethhood—lands, factories, railroads, mines, etc.—are able to keep the con-owning class in a condition of dependence and an opportunity to exist. Being unable to empty 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 as commodity, like beets or cabbase, which must be sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to make the sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to make the sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to make the sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to make the sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to make the sold upon the open market.

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 giganic instruments of productions of the production of the production and the 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 cincillation of the owning endership to the control of the con

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 ownership of social labor, and the dependence of man upon man for an opportunity to live ownership of the private production that the world have been considered to the production that the world has ever seen. These owners allow the laborers use of those tools on condition that the world has ever seen. These ownership will be the production that the world has ever seen. These ownership was the production of the worker's cuttastee. The capital prover—they own that which is necessary to the worker's cuttastee. The disporters to be free must themselves own these requisites to live. When the proverse had been undestrable to main lindustry, 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 it is Bocialism or economic alavery.

LABOR MUST EMANCIPATE ITSELF.

We cannot expect those exposing speedal privileges to willingly reliaquish their variance. They materially desire to perpetuate a system that enables them to living the perpetuation of the perspective of

THE BALLOT IS THE KEY.

THE BALLOT 18 THE KEV.

He also comes to realize that control of political power in measurer to any class which would permanently improve its common to the control of the political structs and divide in the political structs 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 now have been where. While the workers where the political party victory would are been the working class to unite into a class consistion splitted party, victory would at once the two political party, victory would at once the political party, victory would at once the continued of the products. The hope of the capitalist class is to be matters for guidance, they will be discussed to the shamkles. The Socialist Farty, which is a party of the work ing class, proposes to master the public powers and satinister therefore the working class proposes to master the public powers and satinister the continued of the productor. 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 both the continuance of private own the model of the class below overthrowing the class below the continuance of private own the model of the class at trumphain it is I deathfied 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 distringer. Socialists triumphant with abolish, the socialist period of the country of the completeness the legislative task of transforming the privately worsel tools into collective property. When this has been accomplished classes and class antaronisms will be abolished. In the new complete the social period of will be a realization on earth.

VOTE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM.

Il who desire a bette social oper and a higher state of civilization should cast ballots in the coming election for the candidates of the Socialist Party. We have been supported by the commonwealth in the new order cooperation for existence will supplant essent barbards extragel for existence and society as well as the individual would not not be supported by the commonwealth. In the new order cooperation for existence will supplant essent barbards extragel for existence and society as well as the individual would not not be supplant to the commonwealth of the commonwealth in the commonwealth in the commonwealth in the supplant essent barbards extragel for existence and society as well as the commonwealth in the supplementation of the commonwealth in the c

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tion under capitalism, is calculated to Socialist" and get an armful of can reap a profit for and augment the paign literature for distribution, power of the capitalist class.

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## 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 Pederation of Labor at Deaver last week. The temper of the Delegates was evidently favorable to the Independent action of Organized Labor along political lines in the future.

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.

resentatives in Parliament and of their success in securing favorance registation.

Gompers himself was delegated to go to England for the purpose of investigating conditions and of reporting back to the Convention next year. No doubt the A. F. of L. will follow Gompers recommendations and little doubt Gompers will recommend an American Labor Party modeled after the English Party of that name.

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 Goe. 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.

of the Unions.

Nevt, there is the "I. L. P.," that is, the Independent Labor Party, several years old, claimlig 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. The "Labour Leader" is its weekly organ.

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

challst. Its organ is "Justice," edited by Quelch and including Hyndman mong its best known writers.

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

The l. L. P. has several "M. Pa", including Ramsay McDonald, Phillip Snowden, Jowett and Keir Hardin.

The Labor Party has some 30 Members of Parliament and was recently admitted to the International Socialist Bureau on the ground that its practical proposals are all protestrian. Yet it will be noted that its executive trades evices with the "Liberais" cause as our American 'Democratic Common C

how to win the Three Million Procutarians, organized inoustriaty and rep-resented 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 knowl-dge. We can get nowhere without their interests. And both can get and display the procure of the procure of the procure of the pro-tains of the procure of the procure of the procure of the pro-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 Boltzer a year for pressiming 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 Connell.

Wells was also settive in organizing the Postal Clerks' Union in this city, and he is a delegate from that Union to the Contral Labor Connell.

The Central Labor Connell 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" (accept Common Laborers). These regulations permit Postmasters, for example, to preside at political meetings and be otherwise active in campaigns, but deny the same active participation to Postal Clerks and all others who obtain their postitions by competitive examinations and whose tenure is permanent during good bleavior.

The Seattle Labor Council's Resolutions were sent to President Rossevicia 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 steer sheets.

The reply admits and defends the alleged discrimination by the Civil Service Regulations and quotes from Rossevelt, when he was Civil Service Commissioner himself, in support of the line of discrimination draws in the Rules and Regulations. It is a long and long winded paper which we have no room to print. But there are just two arguments presented and only two, to justify the civiling that superior officials, appointed for political reasons, like Postmasters, may freely participate in politics, only being carried only and without such in the contraction of the participation in politics only for as to vote and express their options "in private."

Continued from Page One

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

## ONE VIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

## By Courtenay Lemon

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

with the greatest pleasure." (Lond criefs of "Order") pleasure."

Mr. Grayson again figured in an eregregious chibilition in the House on a gregorious chibilition in the House on an amendment. Mr. Grayson rose and in the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of people dying in the atreet whilst the fact that there were thousands of the fact that the fact that the fact that the word of the fact that the fact that there were thousands of the fact that t

tain Western localities where Socialism is new and Populism is old. Is it not well that we have not elected such men, however well meaning and emergetic they may be, until such time as we are able to elect with them, or instead of them, candidates who have a more thorough and uncompromising grasp of revolutionary principles?

Real Socialism, the Socialism that counts, the Socialism of the Socialism, the Socialism that counts, the Socialism of the Socialism that is impregnable in its convictions, uncompromising in its methods, unanswerable in its determination, anguenchable in its long, ardent, enduring enthusiasm—this sort of Socialism is not produced by seaso-tional campaigns, by the hypotomis of magnetic variory, by the personalities of its spokesmen. No, this sort of Socialism—genuine, durable, understand off, dependiable Socialism—is produced only by educational methods; by a laborious propaganda directed towards the end of making workingmen and their sympathizors understand the struggle to pleculate transitions of life; by making them understand the class character of existing society and all its institutions, the mean, subtile, inpuble class character of government, law, joilties, religion, existing educational system—and the nobler, revolution; and system of the Socialism movement, the conjectivity of the social conjustic and by making them understand the underlying causes of social evolution, that the new moral ideal of protection and a social conjustic which would with the new moral ideal of protections.

tarian class-consciousness.

This sort teaching makes Socialists who think, dream, eat and drink of the Revolution, who cannot be deceived, are never discouraged, can never be defeated. It is obvious that high-introl campain methods and appeals for votes fo, this or that individual candidate, however much attent on they may attract to the movement, do not make this sort of Socialists. And the recent campaign has proved that, however many articles they may provoke in magazines which few workingmer end, these methods do not even catch votes. If they did, such votes would be scarced; worth catching for they would only deceive us as to our real strength and swamp our movement in a sea of confusion, or would be carried away from us by the first may promise of "reform," or by the next derangonie who areset to play upon their enthustactic guilbillity.

This is, of course, not said as an argument against bits meetings or

new promise of "reform," or by the next denagogies who arose to play upon their enthusiastic guilbility.

This is, of course, not sale as an argument against big meetings or campaign enthusiasm—such we must have they are a necessary part of our growth.

This is, of course, not sale as an argument against big meetings or campaign enthusiasm—such we must have they are not expansion of the own much solid at the sale to an all new tomout expansion of how much should a tract to, and how tomout expansion of the sale to a compared with that which we put into the serious work of leasting education. It must, first of all, be recognized that the spectacular campaigns merely serve to advertise the extreme of the solid interest of the sale and the

conditions.

The point is in that the last year we have paid too much attention to meeting as compared with that which we have paid too our press, literature and educational lecturer; that we have expected tho much from campaign eloquence at the eleventh hour; that some of our speakers are beginning to show a tendency to talk too much about superficial issues or immediate election and too Rittle about underlying principles; and that in some cases personality has been emphasized to the neglect of principles (the neglect more than the violation of principles—not so much that anything has been said that is against our principles as that, in many cases, nothing has been said about them).

said about them).

As an illustration, a thing unimportant in itself, but of much significance as an outward symbol of a pernicious tendency, mark the wearing of buttons bearing the pictures of candidates, which has become so fashionable in the Socialist movement nowadays. A discussion of such things need not involve personalities. That Couraches Debe, Billiquit and Stokes are devoted, trustworthy, incorruptible and altogs-ther admirable men. I am fully aware both from their records and from the initiate observation of personal association—but that is no reason why their faces should replace the party emblem. If Karl Mara we then the force of the property of the property of the control of the property of the

shipping symbols are altog-ther against the spirit of Socialism. Such a view does not depreciate the importance of the individual—on the contrary, it is just those who run after and worship and wear buttons who depreciate individual worth, by demeasing the individual in themselves; when a number of individuals make themselves worshippinly subordinate to another individual; it is just then that Individual worth is most depreciated. I am not foolish enough to speak against there being leaders in the Socialist movement; that we should have leaders in recessary and inevitable—indeed, in many places leaders of the right sort are very much model. It is absured to say there also also more approached to the property of the state of the property of

selves. There is, therefore, no danger of there ever being any bosses in the Socialitis movement, but recently we have had some gods. These gods do not themselves wish to be gods, and if any of them ever attempted to be-come bosses they would not even remain gods—gods, here as elsewhere, being (at least, per se, in their capacity as gods) rather nominal and

powerless.

If too much of a personal campaign has been made for some of our candidates here in New York, it is more the fault of the comrades than of the candidates, and I believe that some of its phases have been distantful most of those candidates themselves. Courade Studes tells must be not of the candidates memberelves. Courade Studes tells must be that the personal campaign which some comrades made for him was very distantful thin, and that he twice stoped the organization of bodies of sympathices who proposed to work for his personal candidacy. I think Courade Hill-League, miless it was willing to become a College Men's Socialist Party League.

Jeague, mines it was straining to december 3 consigns are socialists religions, in the second of the second of split tickets. But to merely accept these inevitable split votes when they come is a very different thing from easer's expecting them, or orching their grounds while highly all the cumplisation so scientism as a whole, instead of on the particular candidacy, may some time be useful, come in handy, but to be anatous for split votes or to solicit them is inevitably to be gradually and subtly influenced by them. And then the "Ded Special." It was a fine, string things—those fying talks to the curtous, footling thousands at depots. But how much more all that money would have accomplished if it had been put info literature and house-to-house canvasses! Ab, but to much money could not have been made of for that purpose. Very true, and just one more proof of the necessity for thoroughgoing revolutionary education.

raised for that purpose. Very true, and just one more proof of me necessity for thoroughpoing revolutionary education.

The substance of it all is that Socialists should think less of catching revolutionate. Make one such revolutionate of the control of the source and mature of the Socialist novement, and he alone will ultimately make (not catch) more votes than the most successful campaign raily 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 timbee him with a revolutionary ideal, which makes him realize the necessity of building up a party to achieve it. The clusive citizen whose vote you try to catch without giving him the rudiments of a Socialise election, admits that "Socialism is a good thing"—and votes for what he thinks is the lesser of the two old ovil that are equal. Whenever we try o' catch' votes we don't deserve them—and don't get them, either.

The satisfactory increase that we did get at this election is probably

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.

INSULTS MRS. FISET

meals and "free clothing" and "free medical attendance" and reverse the medical attendance and reverse the medical attendance. Such clother to the clothers and fewer children to the teacher," and by all the other extravalent propositions of the Socialists.

School Campaign in Scattle Expose Club Women as True Bourgeois

A Mrs. Praier, secretary of the Women's American and "incilligent" "Club women's and the control of the con