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To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

THE SLAVES IN SWEDEN

By Arthur Jensen

ATTITUDE OF CAPITALIST PRESS.

Several great events have happened during the last few weeks. The North Pole has been doubly (1) discovered. E. H. Harriman, the railroad king, is dead. The Working Class of Sweden has for over a month completely paralyzed industry in that country through a general strike.

The public press has given the two first events great prominence. Whole pages have been devoted to the controversy between Perry and Cook, and column after column has been filled in explaining Harriman's mysterious disappearance.

Now are these events of such great importance? Has the death of Harriman caused any material change in the world of transportation? It has not, and it is not likely that it will, in what way is the discovery of the North Pole to effect a revolution? In none whatever. It is of no importance whatever, except in as far as it emboldens scientists to search for the elements in relation to climatic conditions and ocean currents, etc.

As compared to the great Swedish strike these events are of little or no importance. THIS STRIKE IS BEYOND ALL QUESTION THE GREATEST HISTORICAL EVENT SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

And what has the daily press to say about it? Absolutely nothing! But by thus completely ignoring it, it is really making it the most conspicuous of all events. This shows that they fear the Working Class.

In Europe the capitalist press cannot ignore it. The Socialist press is daily featuring it and showing its importance. But since it can not ignore it, it is doing the next best thing—it lies about it. The capitalist press bureau send broadcast lying rumors about weakening in the ranks of Labor and the following day the Socialist papers publish details of these rumors in forms of telegrams from the officials of the Swedish unions.

AMERICAN LABOR TO GIVE ASSISTANCE.

But the American capitalist press had relied on the inefficiency of the Socialist press as well as the conservative attitude of the American Organized Labor. But American Labor is finding out about the fine manifestation of class solidarity in Sweden. The working masses in England. The representatives of the strikers are circulating Labor Unions all over the country and the rank and file of Organized Labor is responding in the form of Dollars and Cents. The American Working Class is recognizing this fight as their fight. And it is. Victory spells immense gain for the World's Organized Labor. And victory is certain if the Working Class of Sweden performs its duty. In fact, victory seems to be in sight.

BREAK IN CAPITALIST RANKS.

Over 100,000 strikers returned to work Sept. 6th, after a satisfactory settlement had been reached with the employers outside the Swedish Employers' Association. A break in the ranks of the Swedish capitalists has thus been effected. But there are still 162,000 organized workers on strike against wage reduction and the right to organize. They are those formerly employed by members of the Swedish Employers' Association, an organization composed of the Swedish capitalists of industry. These were the original trouble-makers and now all the others of their class have deserted them and they stand alone.

STRIKERS FIRM.

During the last couple of weeks several hundreds unorganized strikers, as well as exclusive women and old men, went back to work. But the bulk of the unorganized and practically all of the organized have stood absolutely firm.

"YELLOW UNIONS REFUSE TO SCAB.

Even the so-called yellow unions refused to be offered, issued by the heads of their organization, to go back to work. These yellow unions are originally organized in opposition to the regular trade unions. They form a national organization of about 10,000 members. When the call for a strike was issued in 1907, through class conflict, went out alone. August 23rd they were ordered back to work by their executive board, but only a few

hundred obeyed and there was not known anywhere to begin work.

A JOKE ON THE PUBLISHERS.

August 24th the Swedish publishers won a damage suit against their striking printers and steps were at once taken to take possession of the type and other assets belonging to the Typographical Union, which was known to amount to about 500,000 crowns (\$130,000). When the sentence was pronounced the treasurer of the union solemnly announced that all its property had been signed over to the Danish Typographical Union, and upon investigation nothing was found belonging to the organization beyond a little tin box containing 241 crowns, less than 65 cents, in cash.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

Great sums for the Swedish strike are coming in daily from all over the world. The Danish Typographical Union distributed 450,000 marks (113,000 dollars) during the first seventeen days of the strike, while the Danish organizations have sent over and over again the first twenty-four days. Other countries are sending large amounts.

THE STRIKE A SOURCE OF STRENGTH.

A very significant feature of the strike is the fact that the Swedish Labor Unions increased 35,000 in membership the first three weeks of the strike. Thus we see that instead of weakening the organization of the strike is greatly strengthened it.

The following extracts of communications from Stockholm, published in "Social-Demokraten," Copenhagen, tell their own story:

CAPITALIST TYRANNY.

"Stockholm, Aug. 28.—The right of assembly is constantly being curbed. In Nyköping the authorities have ordered that fines of 20 crowns may be imposed for taking part in meetings for which permits have not previously been secured from the police. The arrests are being continued. Yesterday a weaver in Boras and a match factory worker in Vaernersborg were arrested, charged with threatening strike breakers.

SOLDIERS CONTRIBUTE.

"Money arrived today from another regiment of soldiers. It was a postal money order for 125 crowns from Vaxholm."

STRIKERS AS FISHERMEN.

"Stockholm, Aug. 27.—There is one thing which one can not help but notice when entering Stockholm during the strike. That is the fishermen. They are sitting along every dock with their hooks and lines and fishing rods, either singly or in groups—settling their work on the entire day, insoluble until the sun sets."

"They are striking workmen out trying to secure food for tomorrow."

"Here sits the father with his little son. There sits the old toll-wood dock worker with bent back. Alongside of him lies a package of potatoes, wrapped in a piece of paper. Here sits the painter, the shoemaker, the woodworker and the blacksmith. They form a continuous row for miles and miles. Immediately below the stairs to the king's castle they are sitting so thick that the king cannot open his windows without seeing how many of his subjects are starving."

THE MODERN HEROES.

"Hunger—yes, but not the kind that howls, but the silent kind. That hunger which is tolerated in good spirit because it is the only road to victory. An entire nation, which must give itself over to hunger in order to procure bread!"

"On the bridges and squares in Stockholm stand states of all of Sweden's proud hero kings. Mounted on wicker steeds with drawn swords, a complete gallery of 'hero statues' placed on pedestals. But the modern heroes do not come marching behind bayonets. They are in these days sitting in the back yards. They are the sick, suffering. They are the poor women which is tolerated in good spirit because it is the only road to victory. They are those men, women and children who would rather sit down and starve than to submit. As the deeds of Karl XII were heralded over Europe two hundred years ago, so is the struggle of the Swedish wage-worker—a struggle like those which has never before been seen—forcing

the admiring world of Labor to its knees.

"For how do these people live? The Working Class of an entire nation on strike! Three hundred thousand men and families without work and without bread!"

"How do they live? They fish. They pick berries. They live off herring and potatoes. They have limited their wants to the least possible—yes, to so little that one can hardly conceive that it is possible to live on so little."

"It struck me, as soon as I set foot on Swedish ground, it was in Malmo, in People's Park, that an old woman came to one of the members of the strike committee. She was seventy years old. Her whole life had been a life of weary toil. Now she had a daughter who had worked in one of the textile factories before the strike. She had gone out with the rest.

"But now she cannot stand it any longer," explains the old woman, "now she wants to go back again! But that must not happen! It must not happen that my daughter becomes a strikebreaker! Not for anything in the world!" She has tears in her eyes. "For a week we have lived on coffee. Nothing but coffee. And it is coffee cooked on the same grounds. I have cooked them over and over again, but I cannot any longer." The

old woman burst into tears and sobbed like a child.

"Her daughter was unorganized and was unaware that they could get help. Now she was given potatoes and bread."

"And there are thousands of such women all over Sweden. And thousands of men. With set teeth they got determined into the fight. They realize its significance."

DIVIDED FORCES UNITING.

"Everything else must give way for this fight. The separatists are swept aside. The unorganized are joining the organizations. The 'yellow' organizations are falling to pieces and their members are joining the regular organizations. Last Monday, when it was announced that the 'yellows' would return to work the fires were started under the boilers in the big factories in Limhamn, close to Malmo, and in Malmo-rubber factory—not a single workman came. Together the fight was taken up, together and before carried on, because all see that it is of the interest of any single organization which is at stake here, but the welfare of the entire Working Class."

"BUSINESS" PARALYZED.

"And everybody is effected in some way by the strike. The government

railroads alone lose 60,000 crowns daily. And all commercial activity is as good as stopped. A merchant in talking with me says: 'I am not selling half of what I used to sell. And another says: 'I am not selling a third.' A great many restaurants and saloons are closed down altogether and many of the others are doing practically no business."

A NEW CLASS WEAPON.

"Under these circumstances the workmen's co-operative undertakings have become an active support for them. For the first time they have been used as a weapon in the class struggle. The Swedish workers have learned that their co-operative undertakings may become a means to leap into the upper class, to yield assistance to the workers while the sources of life are being withdrawn from the employers."

"While the workmen's own bakeries are supplying the strikers with bread—and the strikers only; the bakeries are closed for all others. And as the co-operative undertakings grow in their present struggle, their value as they organize industrially and politically, the Swedish workers have also learned to organize economically and to use this economic organization in their present struggle."

"In Malmo, for instance all bread used by the strikers is baked on the

workmen's own bakery. The work is being done gratis by striking bakers who take turns at it.

"The workmen have also their own bank in Malmo. These undertakings are still in their beginning, but they will increase until in a few years they will give the Swedish Working Class an economic power, which nothing will be able to break."

DEATHLY COLL.

"The struggle is now going its daily course, without violence or trouble of any sort. It is mighty in its very quiet. It is icy in its effect. It has gone over the country and strangled everything beneath its deadly cold."

WORKINGMEN PROMENADE.

"But do not think that all noise has ceased and that everything is quiet. Here in Stockholm is a traffic as new as the world has ever seen. It is on foot, two and two, talking, discussing, inquiring about news, wandering back and forth the whole day."

"WINNING THROUGH STARVATION."

"Tho' they may be different in ap-

pearance and in character—our sentence may be read in the face of every one: 'I will not give in! I will starve first!' Some say it is rage and some with tears in their voices, but all say the same: 'I am starving because I will win through my starvation!'

A SYMBOL OF THE END OF CAPITALISM.

"On one of the main streets in Stockholm stands the palace of a wealthy man. It is not yet finished. There is only a brick skeleton surrounded by scaffolds. But not a human being in the building. It is deserted. A half-filled tub with lime stands there as a symbol of the end of the building has been left. And as I stand there and look at this building it seems to appear as a symbol: Does not the social structure of capitalism stand there, built by workmen, and the moment the workers leave it, nothing but a skeleton with emptiness behind it."

THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

A recent copy of "Die Gleichheit" gives a comprehensive review of the Socialist movement in Finland during the last ten years, and lays particular stress upon the part the women of the working class have played in the

after talking to the laundry manager, I wonder why Labor hasn't come to the conclusion that it might be well to represent itself when election time comes around. It might try the scheme of an "anyhow," just to see how it would work.

In 1897 nine (9) women were elected to seats in parliament. The following year thirteen (13) were sent, and this last year twelve (12) were elected. In all their struggle the women wage workers and the wives of wage workers have united and not for once has the question of sex rights entered into their program. They have stood solidly with the men for class freedom and nothing else.

How many women wage-workers and wives of wage-workers belong to the Union Labor League? Suppose we all get busy and join. It isn't all help along, but if all the women readers of "The Socialist" would join and insist on the Union Label being on all they buy it would be a lift. Every little helps.

What is the nation coming to? Here is a woman—a mere woman of the earth, a slave without rights—actually going to get a divorce (provided she will kindly grants it to her) and that after only four years of matrimonial bliss.

And here is the reason (what does she expect anyhow; she must want a man). She rises at 4 a. m. and saves a pile of logs with a crosscut saw. Gets breakfast for a crew of 30 men. Plants potatoes, cleans barn, chops wood, loads wagon with grain, then cooks dinner for 30 men (she didn't even wear the breakfast dishes, slattern!). After dinner the dishes are again left while she butchers hogs and cleans up. Then she goes to work and milks two cows. Then she gets supper and cleans the house. (It suppose she consents to wash the day's dishes then.)

On Sunday evening, Sept. 19th, the women's committee of Local Seattle is going to serve a supper to the various representatives from over the state who are here to attend the conference. Not such very elaborate preparations are being made, as the women do not intend to serve things that require constant attention for two or three hours before hand. Instead they are going to have everything ready before hand so that when it comes they can turn over a match to the fire, and presto! the coffee will all be made!

During the evening she takes her recreation and does the darning and bread making until time to go to bed on her downy couch made of straw on the floor of the cookhouse. It will tell you such women as that tend to break up the home, and a stop should be put to such independent actions on their part. We have enough homes now. She should be glad of the chance to work. Every one doesn't have it.

No, we expect to be on hand to see and hear every part of the discussions and to have something to say about the women's work in the state, which they did not get a chance to say at the Everett convention.

Some of their actions remind me of the henpecked husband who revenged himself on his troublesome spouse by drinking the milk from the saucer intended for his wife's pet dog. The best he could do was to get a corner that he had been holding regular meetings on and get our crowd that is waiting for our comrades to talk Socialism to them. Many of these poor diluted tracts have been handed out at our meetings to learn what Socialism is.

There are some splendid women in this state and they expect to follow in the footsteps of their Finnish sisters and work with the men for a Working Class organization in the state of Washington.

But what's the use? One of them asked Comrade Holmes what kind of religion there would be if we had no meetings to learn what Socialism is. But what's the use? One of them asked Comrade Holmes what kind of religion there would be if we had no meetings to learn what Socialism is.

"Twenty or so laundry girls who are beginning to 'cast out' for installed on leaving the 'Supply Laundry' to its own devices on Labor Day and going on a holiday. Needless to say, a lockout occurred. Consequently Mrs. Blanche M. Mason, deputy state labor commissioner, set to work to see about this state and they expect to follow in the footsteps of their Finnish sisters and work with the men for a Working Class organization in the state of Washington."

"Poor little girls—and poor little girls! They ought to be back in some fairy tale book where they belong. They seem so out of place in this work-a-day world!"

"What Mrs. Blanche M. Mason found out about it is a myth so far as the working girls are concerned, for the conveniently decided to say nothing

I asked him what his reason was for thinking so.

"Why, you used to brag about your meetings before and now there is nothing in the paper."

ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL SEATTLE, OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

I asked him what his reason was for thinking so.

Comrades—We are writing this letter to you in the hope that we may be able to arouse you to a sense of the responsibility before us at the present time.

What is the nation coming to? Here is a woman—a mere woman of the earth, a slave without rights—actually going to get a divorce (provided she will kindly grants it to her) and that after only four years of matrimonial bliss.

Like the membership of most other locals, the comrades of Local Seattle can be divided into three parts, viz: Those who pay their dues promptly, attend meetings regularly and really do more than their share of the necessary work. Those who pay their dues, attend Local meetings occasionally, but who are all too willing to let others do a share of the work which they should be doing. Those who pay their dues only when reminded that they are in arrears, never attend a meeting and never do any of the necessary work.

And here is the reason (what does she expect anyhow; she must want a man). She rises at 4 a. m. and saves a pile of logs with a crosscut saw. Gets breakfast for a crew of 30 men. Plants potatoes, cleans barn, chops wood, loads wagon with grain, then cooks dinner for 30 men (she didn't even wear the breakfast dishes, slattern!). After dinner the dishes are again left while she butchers hogs and cleans up. Then she goes to work and milks two cows. Then she gets supper and cleans the house. (It suppose she consents to wash the day's dishes then.)

If you belong to the second group, you would remind you that paying dues and attending local meetings is by no means all that is required of a member. We have before us the task of educating and organizing the wage workers for their own emancipation. This requires much hard work and you have discovered that YOUR share of the responsibility as well as their own. From out of the membership of our party must be developed the organizers, lecturers, executives, secretaries, parliamentarians and the law-makers of the wage-working class. You can only learn by doing, by taking a lively interest in the affairs of our party, by going into the work as well as the words. You realize that you are almost a hopeless case, and that it is a waste of energy to try to induce you to do your duty.

During the evening she takes her recreation and does the darning and bread making until time to go to bed on her downy couch made of straw on the floor of the cookhouse. It will tell you such women as that tend to break up the home, and a stop should be put to such independent actions on their part. We have enough homes now. She should be glad of the chance to work. Every one doesn't have it.

The members of the first group, with a little uncertain assistance from the second group, have succeeded in maintaining an open headquarters and reading room at 711 Olive street and since the Everett convention have built up the Local organization to such an extent as to make it possible to hold two and three street meetings nightly, with two speakers at each meeting. During the last ten days \$100.00 worth of literature was sold at these meetings.

Some of their actions remind me of the henpecked husband who revenged himself on his troublesome spouse by drinking the milk from the saucer intended for his wife's pet dog. The best he could do was to get a corner that he had been holding regular meetings on and get our crowd that is waiting for our comrades to talk Socialism to them. Many of these poor diluted tracts have been handed out at our meetings to learn what Socialism is.

With more help we can do better still. Will you do your share? Business meetings of the Local are held every Thursday at 8 p. m. in Socialist Party headquarters at 711 Olive street; don't fail to come, and if you know any wage-workers who are Socialists bring them along—we want them in the party.

"Poor little girls—and poor little girls! They ought to be back in some fairy tale book where they belong. They seem so out of place in this work-a-day world!"

Street meetings are held every evening on the corners of Fourth and Pike, Second and Union and Occidental and Washington streets. Attend these meetings whenever possible. We need your help in the sale of literature.

HOW DEAD WE ARE

Yours for the Revolution,
EMIL M. HERMAN, Acting State Org.
JOS S. RUSCAY, Local Secretary.

Wake up, Get busy. Let's all put our shoulder to the wheel together.

FOOT NOTE:—It has just been decided that on Sunday, September 26, at 2:00 p. m., a monster mass meeting will be held on Pike Place in the interest of the Swedish strikers.

It is essential that each and every member of the Local attend this meeting.

crowd of wage-workers for several hours grinning like a skunk that had discovered a strange but pleasing perfume that was foreign to his nature.

The Shingle Weavers

In Hoquiam, Aberdeen and Elma, an open conflict is going on between the shingle mill operators and the Shingle Weavers' Union. This union is one of the most powerful in Washington, where the "Red Cedar Shingle" is manufactured in enormous quantities and forms the basis for one of the largest industries in the state. The International Shingle Weavers' Union has several thousand members in Washington alone, and its president and secretary both reside in this state. Many of the shingle mills are run by small operators, remnants of the mid-

dle class, who own one-horse plants in the woods, but who cannot afford a long shut-down in these times of "demand" for shingles. They are bound to go to the wall and to be gobbled up by the big concerns if they engage in a prolonged fight with this great union.

Therefore their present attempt to open the "open shop" will fail. The union will win.

As one of the consequences of the movement for universal suffrage in Prussia and Saxony many of the participants in the battles for suffrage have been prosecuted in the courts of many cities on charges covering every crime named by the criminal statutes, from riot down to violation of city ordinances, and it is no charge named would stick, then they would be charged with misconduct.

What the Socialists Demand For

Platform of the Socialist Party of Washington

The Socialist Party of the State of Washington endorses the Principles of International Socialism and of the Socialist Party of the United States. For the campaign of 1919 we present to the voters of this state the following declarations of our principles and program:

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the class struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.

5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a social crisis of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually result in a larger number being employed and a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobs men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society, is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletariat over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but abolish all other classes as well.

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in his own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletariat class and to use political power to that end.

This is the Proletarian Revolution.

8. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. In order to effect the appropriation of all property used as capital.

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class while it is still in power such concessions as we can.

Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works, as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of all contract injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental Immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.
- (k) We recognize that small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combination of trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will therefore, continue to exist in full power so long as the Proletariat remains a subject and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and will destroy him. All the useful work of the wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

Proletarians, own your lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

Statement of Principles of the National Party

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not produce wealth. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Who ever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. Sooner or later the machinery will be handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over a larger area of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes increases, their power in the

cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order. As the hands of the dominant class. (As adopted by the National Convention, this should read, after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time. The organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a chaotic manner, through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are incessantly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production is the regularly recurring industrial crises, depressions and panics which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years. The failure of markets and a social crisis of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually result in a larger number being employed and a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobs men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society, is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletariat over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but abolish all other classes as well.

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in his own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletariat class and to use political power to that end.

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10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works, as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of all contract injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental Immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.
- (k) We recognize that small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combination of trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will therefore, continue to exist in full power so long as the Proletariat remains a subject and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and will destroy him. All the useful work of the wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

Proletarians, own your lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

Socialist Party and Trades Unions

The following is the address to our members and adopted by the National Convention:

The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and workers. It is the only system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages and conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of the present order.

For nine years we have been the most popular of all political parties. We have won the support of the masses of the people. We have won the support of the masses of the people. We have won the support of the masses of the people.

disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day."

"Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist Party, to defeat capitalist aggression, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule."

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COOPERATION

By J. Edward Morgan

EDITOR'S NOTE. Morgan has been, as he says, "down and out" for some time. He has been "active for months," but the Colorado "Bums" have stirred him up again. The result is his present keen analysis and outline of the Labor Movement, for which all readers will be grateful. We heartily commend what he has to say about "Head-Hunting" that is to say, "knocking" for the sake of "knocking."

THE "I. W. W." VIEWED CRITICALLY.

I am to be thrown overboard, if I draw point true, because, forsooth, I am so sentimental as to believe that the revolutionary bard has place in the social revolution; and I still more so, because I am so sentimental as to believe that I entertain small doubts as to the triumph of the warring, half-splitting, piece-mealing, "I'm-a-bum" evangelizing I. W. W. of any of the varied exponents now scrambling for the footholds.

This disloyalty to the only "bonified" labor organization entitled to the name "revolutionary" has branded me with the heretics. I am now a "sleazy, slimy, sentimental, Chris Federation, middle-class damphead," and many more worthy things as listed in the "Industrial Bulletin." I am about to sell out the "revolution" to the highest bidder. My coal bin is empty, so is my ladder; who wants to buy the Social Revolution, the Socialist Party, my chances for the presidency, and the immanitate, isolated Workers of the World thrown in for good right? "The ballot is the right of the fool" and I have repeatedly played the idiot role and insulted the Simon-Pure Revolutionist by going to the polls and voting for some "fakir" and the "fool Socialist Party ticket."

Now you have my pedigree. The readers of "The Socialist" will not tolerate any more "Breesers." Morgan doesn't belong to Troutman or Sherman, or DeLeon, or St. John; Morgan believes, however, and ever advocates the industrial form of labor organization, and believes that like all things else in nature - plants, animals, men and ideas, structures and functions - the form and function of labor organizations are subject to the inexorable law of evolution; that the I. W. W. idea is the result of many years of evolution of working-class psychology, and that it did not spring full-blown from the loins of Jove or yet St. John. More - that the structure of a labor party or organization, like any other organism, is determined by environment and the struggle for existence; that the environment is ever changing and, likewise, the structure of the labor body is never constant, but slowly, surely adapting to the changed environment, for it must so change or be annihilated. The process is so slow that we, who see theoretically far in advance of the main group, positions that the labor body must attain in its structure, must assume to win the final conflict, grow impatient at delay, and, Proudoun-like, attempt to make the goal at a single leap, forgetful of the mighty gap that lies between our present state of development as a class and that development that must precede the final battle.

I contend that nature does not build new species to fit her environment, but rather compels the old species to adapt to the changed environment; and in this compulsion and the elimination that follows through natural selection, new species appear, not from foreign intrusion, but from the slow-old organism, adapting to the new-old world that envelops it. It may be a million miles from the mark, but I am not ashamed of not afraid to express an honest conviction. My father taught me to give to fear no man's opinion, and I yield to no tinker's damn for the jaws of all the fanatics that ever stamped a herd of Texas steers. I will express an honest conviction if I stand alone and if it cost me my standing in the world, my new species, my life, my life to serve. Carrying water on both shoulders, or trucking to both sides in a controversy is to me as low-down a piece of soul-degrading as can be found in all the catalogue of moral depravity.

As to the proper form of labor organization, there is not much controversy among us Socialists. The only question of procedure for its realization brings us into sharp antagonism; but this dispute can be prosecuted in a spirit becoming the mighty heroes of the labor bent on their emancipation. There is little to justify the impugning of motives, the charge and counter charge of disloyalty. We have too great interests in common, and too few differences of opinions, often on non-essentials, to divide us in the face of a wretched, unwell conviction.

Bluntly put, I believe from what experience and reading has taught me, that any attempt to build a rival union outside of the one long in the field will prove abortive in the future as it has in the past. This is the conclusion of the A. F. of L., but simply recognizing the fundamental laws governing the develop-

ment of labor bodies. The A. F. of L. will be forced to change with circumstances; the idea of an industrial form embracing in one all industries, "an injury to one is an injury to all," etc., being as we are to still credit evolution with its imperial and universal in scope, with the first guild. All that the universal body of united labor shall attain in structure and function is the best that the very first organized body of workers. My contention is that the first guild is the triumphant industrial organization of labor in embryo. That the same organization persists throughout the ages in equal strength, slowly adapting to environment, changing both form and function, not through choice, but through necessity. From the ruins of the old form sprang the new. But never a rival form supplanting and supplanting the old. The instance of the Knights of Labor and the A. F. of L. support my contention.

What do I mean by saying "the function changes" with changed environment? Simply this: It is a mistake to say that the function of a labor body ever constant. That would be to say that the function of the first guild was to overthrow wage-slavery. But we know the function of the guild to be to protect the specific members of the guild. Against the law, the guild grew to be the protection of members of several affiliated trades, and so on to complete amalgamation of all the members of the guild, and upon call of one-third of the membership in good standing when the controversy began. Comrade, I withdrew from the Everett convention because I refused to violate our state constitution. I now refuse to vote upon the ballot you sent me because I refuse to become a party to your state constitution. I am violating the national constitution of the S. P. and as a member of the N. C. I will not subscribe to this statement in the weekly and monthly bulletins.

Also will you kindly answer the following questions?

First-Did seven, a minority of the members of the state committee of the S. P. of Washington have the right to remove Krueger as state secretary-treasurer and elect "Wink" to that office on April 18, 1909?

Second-Did eight, a majority of the members of the state committee, have the right to rescind the action of April 18 and reinstate Krueger on July 12, 1909?

Third-Did you recognize the action of the committee of April 18, 1909, and if so, why did you refuse to recognize a similar action of the state committee on July 12, 1909?

Fourth-Are eight a majority of fifteen?

Fifth-Are these fifteen who constitute the state committee of the S. P. of Washington qualified to represent a party in this state under the constitution?

Sixth-If three members of the N. E. C. by some means or other should acquire possession of considerable property of the national office, and were called upon to attend a meeting of the party, would they be members of the national committee and be entitled to vote on the matter?

But if I don't get out from under and ring off, I think I will be fair child of my soul in the waste basket, and my I. W. W. "I'm-a-bum" will have my head in their bum-your-check-out.

Adieu, ma chere, I'm glad I'm still alive and here, and with a wreath of laurel upon my brow.

HERMAN QUESTIONS BARNES

Tacoma, Wn., Aug. 24, 1909. J. Mahlon Barnes, Chicago, Ill.

Comrade - This day received from you a letter dated Aug. 19, in which was enclosed two duplicate ballots which you voted "no" upon my return to your office. In the minutes of the N. E. C. of July 24 I notice that the N. E. C. declare that they are no power to decide who is Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of Washington. The National Committee of the S. P. in section 4 of the constitution gives you, or the N. E. C. the right or authority to conduct a referendum in any state in section 9 of article 12, and then only on a dispute over the validity of the title of the membership in good standing when the controversy began.

Comrade, I withdrew from the Everett convention because I refused to violate our state constitution. I now refuse to vote upon the ballot you sent me because I refuse to become a party to your state constitution. I am violating the national constitution of the S. P. and as a member of the N. C. I will not subscribe to this statement in the weekly and monthly bulletins.

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Yours for the party,
(Signed) EMIL M. HERMAN,
Member N. E. C. of Washington.

KRUEGER'S NOTES

It now transpires that E. J. Brown indeed, by misrepresentation of facts, the postal authorities in Seattle to withhold mail from me. While with out a doubt these authorities can be held responsible for their action, depriving me of mail intended for me and which by no manner of construction legally could be withheld from me, it is not worth while to take action, considering the fact that no great harm was done anyway. However, this incident accords for the fact that the vote on State Membership referendum "D" of some Locals was missing in the count of the votes. It is a matter of no bar for the great Local North Yakima was one of those held up at the postoffice.

While speaking of referendums here is one noteworthy fact vividly demonstrating to what Socialists may expect at the hands of National Secretary Barnes, were he to conduct a referendum in this or any other state, that he would not be a former post member in the eastern part of the state, who at one time was secretary of a local which ceased to exist in March, 1907. But such a trifling incident as that is no bar for the great national secretary to get that deal local's vote on the records in the good office. This former secretary of a former local, extinct for more than two years, was urged by me lately to vote on state and national referendums. The same former comrade now asks that an organizer be sent there. They are now ready to reorganize.

We have purchased nearly one hundred dollars' worth of literature lately from the Kerr Publishing house in Chicago and are prepared to furnish to locals as well as others the best of the Socialist literature that money can buy anywhere. What we may not have on hand we can order for you, all at the regular price, the same you must pay in Chicago.

The "International Socialist Review," \$1 per year, cannot be recommended too highly to all Party members. It is worth more than all the weekly Socialist (?) papers combined that come into the hands of Party members from outside the country. Write for the "Review" through the State Office, send one dollar, and the reviewer will be a regular visitor to you for twelve months.

At one of the street meetings in Seattle the other day, a stranger informed us that he was a Socialist all right, all right. In evidence of this he presented us with a card which he was a regular subscriber to Socialist papers. When asked which ones they were he said, "The Rip Saw" and "The Red Banner." Tell a man what you read and he can tell you what kind of a Socialist you are.

We hope to give a stenographic report of the proceedings of the conference on Sept. 19.

In report of Referendum "D," the summary should be 173 instead of 162.

At one of the street meetings in Seattle \$17.75 worth of literature was sold and the collections taken up also satisfactory. If we consider that the cost of the literature is only a few cents, the number of people reached by street meetings is one we cannot possibly estimate, but is great, for most of all of these pamphlets will be read by those outside of the original purchasers.

Especially at this time the value of the street meetings can not be calculated, and the gospel of Socialism, in some instances heard for the first time on the streets of Seattle by visitors to the Exposition, will be carried forward by thousands into every corner of the country.

One striking example of this was vividly demonstrated after one of the street meetings on Fourth and Pike. A strapping young fellow with a few Socialist pamphlets in his coat pocket lingered after the close of meeting around the speaker's stand, apparently by observing the mechanism by which the iron framework is taken apart, but noting that he had been seen to linger 45 minutes past midnight with postively at these meetings, I accosted him, and to my surprise I found that he was one of those who had

never in his life heard anything before on Socialism. He is a passenger locomotive engineer from South Carolina. He actually thought that the propaganda had originated here lately in the Pacific Northwest. On being told different he was surprised that the same had not yet been carried to North Carolina, but, using his own phrase, "there will be something doing when I return to my native home."

Who knows how many more such instances might be recorded if we were not too much wrapped up in ourselves to inquire for them?

Out of the new material taken into Local Seattle some very valuable time seems to have been secured. And while the exposition lasts it might be best to expand all our energies in Seattle and let other industrial centers alone for the present unless more workers are secured in the meantime.

The dangers of a revolutionary movement are the anarchist element, the impossibilities on the one hand and the reformist or opportunistic element on the other. Between the two the revolutionary political movement must steer its course.

Opportunist propaganda must fail in the very purpose it seeks to achieve. It aims to build up the membership of the movement more rapidly than can be done by purely revolutionary propaganda. Therefore it must sacrifice quality to quantity. And while it sacrifices the former the latter is nevertheless not forthcoming, for the reason that reform measures will appeal to the undesirable element and thus the desirable element unmoved. Nothing is gained by sacrificing the future for the present, for neither is won thereby.

German Party Notes

(From report of General Committee to the Leipzig Congress, 1908.)
From that part of the report dealing with legal prosecution of Party members on account of their activity in the labor movement, we learn that in the business year, which closed with June 30, 1909, not less than 27 years 10 months and 2 days in jail have been deducted out to our German comrades, together with a fine of 28,450 marks, being 5,000 mark less, but 3 years' jail sentence more than in the preceding year.

It seems that in Germany, in harmony with the law, the police authorities have the right and it is one of their duties to watch an political gatherings, and for many years the misconception was prevalent that all meetings of Socialists were to be considered as political gatherings.

However, the highest courts in Prussia, as well as other courts, have decided: "Inasmuch as meetings of Socialists are accessible only for members and not for everybody, they can not be considered political gatherings, and therefore are not subject to espionage by the police." In spite of this decision the police still spy upon them, and not alone have the meetings read and files under the ban of the police, but also the meetings of the young people, which are in no sense of the word political meetings, are now taken by the police. It can not be said, however, that the police has earned more laurels in their attitude towards the young people in Germany than they have in their petty warfare against the organization of adults.

On account of strikes many of the strikers have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. It seems that in Germany in case of strikes a specific charge against an individual is not necessary. As everywhere in strikes, the strikers will gather and the police is charged to scatter the strikers, and in carrying out this order to disperse strikers they will fall upon the crowd and gather in some of the strikers without them having violated any specific law on the criminal statutes. These unfortunate laborers in a fight for the betterment of their miserable condition are then charged with breaking the peace and are sentenced to long terms in jail. This is an especially to intimidate the strikers.

Mannheim during a strike many hundreds of strikers had gathered; the police rushed in on them and gathered in eight. They were sentenced to serve 4 years and 10 months. In Grotswald 6 cement workers were sentenced to 3 years 5 months and 8 weeks in a like manner. In Regensburg 42 strikers were charged with breaking the peace; 18 were released and the remaining 24 received 13 years 3 months 24 days and 29 days in jail.

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THE YEARS' FINLAND 'U' NIONISM

By Emil M. Herman

Subscription Rates: United States and Mexico—One year, \$1.00; six months, 60c; three months, 35c; single copies, 10c.

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Underman's article, announced last week, will be delayed for a week more. It covers the main question, "Two Men's Party or One Class Party?"

The editor of "The Socialist," according to J. Mahlon Barnes and the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party of the United States, is no longer a member of that Party. He has a number of companions in his misery.

So there we are. For defending Free Speech and the Constitution and for fighting nine years for a Working Class Party, we find ourselves disowned by the National Organization officials.

Well, we hardly know that anything has happened, except we are now left free to work without hindrance. The Labor Movement is not confined to the Socialist Party of the United States.

SMALL BUSINESS. In Oregon the Two-Class Party advocates have resorted to pretty small tactics to lure Tom Sladden.

"THEIR JAILS MY COMFORT." Dear Comrades—At 8 o'clock this morning I was served with a writ of Habeas Corpus from the superior court.

Dear Comrades—At 8 o'clock this morning I was served with a writ of Habeas Corpus from the superior court. The hearing is set for August 6.

(Translated from the Danish in "Sozial-Demokrat" by Arthur Jensen.) The Finnish Socialist Democracy, in percentage the strongest Socialist Party in the world, recently celebrated its tenth anniversary.

The Party, for the occasion, has issued a pamphlet, containing illustrations and interesting articles about the struggle to make the Social Democracy the greatest Party in Finland.

"I am proud of Finland's workers," they stand in percentage ahead of the Socialists of all other countries. "This has been accomplished after what ten years' work, and what has been accomplished will be an example for all other countries to follow."

"We do not boast, but we look back in order to learn from what has happened. How have we advanced so far?" Under their people has trembled, and the very iron grid of the bureaucracy, and our country has been ground in the grist mill of the money power.

"We Finnish Socialists say with Frederick Engels: 'The class struggle is not in time of success, shall know how to do our duty.'"

Hjalmar Branding, the well-known Swedish Socialist journalist, sent me the following account of the Party in which he says, in part: "We always notice that when a movement arises, perhaps as the result of century-old wrongs, some people are apt to do everything at once, and when they fail they become disappointed, and leave the movement."

This work is now before the Finnish Socialist Democracy. The road to the new age. At the first election he had their hands full of practical work. But later we became better acquainted with them and became good friends.

"This work is now before the Finnish Socialist Democracy. The road to the new age. At the first election he had their hands full of practical work. But later we became better acquainted with them and became good friends."

Editor's Note.—This letter is one of the richest on record, as an advertisement for Matrydom, by a man who writes in the leading newspaper of the cause of Socialism, and who never will. Of course, Burgess and not Wayne, wrote it for its dramatic effect, on sentiment, readers.

Local Members: 1901 21,549; 1902 21,549; 1903 21,549; 1904 21,549; 1905 21,549; 1906 21,549; 1907 21,549; 1908 21,549; 1909 21,549; 1910 21,549.

WHY MINE OWNERS WANT CONSERVATIVE UNIONS WITH CONSERVATIVE LEADERS.

Have just completed an agitation tour of six days in the coal mining camps of King county. Visited and spoke in the following camps: Taylor, Palmer, Ravensdale and Black Diamond.

The secretary of the union at Taylor has been fired, and it is openly asserted among the union men of the camp that President Cusworth and National Board Member Morgan are in great part responsible for the firing.

I was billed to speak in Taylor on Tuesday, Sept. 7, and upon arrival found the mine closed. In consideration of the extremely difficult circumstances under which they are being compelled to work, one must admit that their progress and results are unusual.

Though the Finns have yet before them man and hard battle with the bloody, reactionary Russian forces, the development and results of the first ten years' work indicate that they are ahead of us in every respect.

THE NEWSPAPERS

Government Interference in Sweden. The Swedish government has intervened in the dispute between the Employers' Association and the United Labor, which was the cause of the recent general strike in Stockholm.

This note published in the "P.L." of the 17th of August, has been printed during the last month in the Seattle daily press in regard to this, the most remarkable Labor War in the world's history.

A Populist Cabal?

Thus and Krueger came through the front door of the "Socialist" and the way it is controlled and owned those factors would have followed you, just like they did in California a few years ago.

I believe there is a cabal in the S. P. that has now been formed by the Greenbackers to Grangers and then to the Pops, down to the S. These men, having done their worst, are all the way down the line, they want to do the rest of the thing.

JOER.—The State Committee of the Socialist Party of Nevada has appropriated Twenty-five Cents (tough here) towards the fight against the Minnesota primary law.

CONSERVATIVE UNIONISM

The first to congregate were, as was to be expected, the strikers from Wilkeson. The residents of the camp were watching and intimated these men to be Carbonado miners, so they began to drift in, one by one, until about 150 local miners were present.

Lockout Lost. Lodz, Poland.—The lockout of the cabinet makers, which lasted six weeks, ending a victory for the workers. The owners of the various establishments endeavored to force the cabinet makers to accept a piece work and a longer day of labor.

Warsaw, Poland.—The bricklayers and masons of this city are out on strike. It is a case of wages and increase in the hours of work. The work agreed upon for three years (1905-1908) is a case of wages and increase in the hours of work.

WHAT WIRE STITCHER ---AND OTHER THINGS

Dear Comrade: Enclosed find \$1 on stitcher. A stitch in time saves nine, see that you make most of it. ROBERT HANDLOW.

Dear Comrade: Enclosed find M. O. for \$1 to be used in any way that will assist your proletarian paper. We live here in Nebraska.

Dear Comrade: Enclosed find M. O. for \$5 for renewal of "The Socialist," \$4 as donation to sustaining fund.

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