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Ladies' and Gents' Dry Cleaning a Specialty: Waist, Jackets and Skirts cleaned, 75c up; Skirts, Jackets, Dyed, \$1.25 up; Skirts Cleaned and Rebound, \$1.50 up; Blankets, 1.00 up; Lace Curtains, 50c up.
Phones, Q. A. 2541, Ind. 7199 C. MURRAY, Proprietor

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LOCAL SEATTLE NEWS NOTES

Special Bulletin by Secretary Allison.

To those members of the Local who have naught save a red card as proof of their activity in the Socialist movement; who are never seen in business meetings and seldom pay dues, this bulletin is particularly addressed. But before reading further let me advise you that it is addressed to you with the sole hope of awakening your interest in the Socialist movement in Seattle. As you read this, remember it is you I am writing to, and I ask you to conscientiously try the coat on before discarding it as a misfit. If I should succeed in this and repeated attempts in inducing more activity among the non-active members we shall all feel greatly encouraged.

During October I wore out considerable sole leather in quest of delinquent members and others who had been dropped from the rolls. Some paid their arrears and some didn't. Some signed new application cards and some didn't. And those who didn't gave many and various reasons for not doing so. In fact I did not know there were so many reasons (!) for workingmen not becoming Socialist Party members until I talked with these one time comrades. Also have I talked with some members who are never seen in the councils of the Party and who reiterate practically the same reasons for non-activity. And since you know what those reasons are, I need not give them here.

Some of you are placed on committees the meetings of which you seldom or never attend. You place your individual desires, your personal comfort and well being first and the welfare of the organization next—or last. And then you have the unmitigated gall to come around semi-occasionally with a grouchy twenty times the size of your usefulness to the Party because the Socialist Movement doesn't conform to your ideals. One of you came around after election and with a sneering contempt in your voice remarked that "your stickers didn't work very well." No, the stickers didn't work as well as they would have, had you and the rest like you got into the harness and done something to make them work. And if those who do the work and carry the burdens and the blame for what you neglect to do, should do as you sore heads do—stay away from the business meetings, let your dues go behind for four months and stand about waiting for some one to build up a movement after the pattern of their individual desires, then they lay it at their feet and be asked to please accept it, there would be no Socialist Movement, no candidates to vote for, no contesting of an infamous election law, and no one to watch at the polls twenty-four hours on election day to hand you a sticker to vote with and to see that it is counted after you have voted.

When you became a member of the Socialist Party you became a part of an organization. Remember that, a part of an organization, joined to every other part with certain well defined duties to each part and to the whole. You were no longer a free agent but subject to the will of the organization. Organizations, whether of many individuals or merely of one individual, are governed by the same laws. As one part of an organization you must work in harmony with the whole or the result will be inefficiency, disruption and death.

PROFESSIONAL CARDS

CHIROPRACTIC—Is the only method which actually finds and as surely removes the cause of disease. I have often cured Rheumatism, constipation, Kidney and Liver diseases, Female diseases, Pneumonia and Typhoid Fever in two and three treatments. No matter what your ailment is, if there is a cure for it, it is in Chiropractic adjustment. Consultation and examination free. Dr. Sorenson, Rooms 208-209 Hussey Bldg., 304 Pike Street. Hours 10-12 a. m.; 2-4, 7-9 p. m.

DR. TITUS has resumed the practice of medicine. Rooms 512-514 Hussey Block, corner Third Avenue and Pike Street.

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PARKER & BROWN, Lawyers—Practice in all State and Federal Courts including the U. S. Supreme Court. Office: 20, 21, 22 Union Block. Phone Main 9225, Independent 1828 Seattle, Washington.

DR. FREDERICK FALK, Physician and Surgeon—Office hours 12:12 to 2 p. m., 3-4 p. m., Sundays and evenings by appointment. Phone: Office 12896, Residence 12677, Main 2649, 261-262 Washington Bldg., 706 First Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

DR. EMERSON STEWART, Physician and Surgeon—Residence 221 Third Avenue, S. Room 208. Office 624-625 Pioneer Block, Pioneer Place, Seattle, Wash.

What is your business, please? You are a laborer, a farmer, a mechanic, a business man or a professional man. Yes, you are one of those, but as a Socialist you are more than that, and your occupation should be the least of your care.

As the fight between the Capitalist class and the Working class grows more intense, as class consciousness on both sides develops, there must and will be built up the two most perfect organizations this world has ever witnessed. Organization is the keynote of success. It should be our slogan in the four years' campaign we have just entered. We must hasten the day of better organization. Every known force and device of Capitalism is arrayed against us. We must meet them with a better organization. It is our hope, our defense, the rock on which we must build our party.

Like in previous campaigns, in the one just passed some mistakes were made, both by individuals and by the Party. The mistakes of individuals, though, can, I believe, be traced to inefficient organization. The acts of members of an organization can be but a reflex of the character of the organization. If the organization is weak, desultory in disciplining its members, careless in its methods, inefficient in its tactics, ignorant of the principles of organization, it itself must be held accountable for the confusion and disruption that will follow the acts of its individual members. The individual does not make the organization. The individual is no more nor less than the product of the organization. In a good organization there is little room for individuality of members. Individuality of the individual must conform to the individuality of the organization.

Comrades, you are in a fight for a purpose. That purpose is the emancipation of the working class from economic slavery by every possible means at our command. That should be our business as Socialists. As members of the political organization of the working class we must conform our individual desires, our individual welfare to the desires and welfare of the organization.

The welfare of the Party demands of you, among other things:
First. That you pay your dues promptly. This, in order that ready and sufficient funds may be available to carry on the Party work; and means of organization being the first essential of organization, this is made the basis of representation in the Local.
Second. Your attendance at all business meetings when possible. This duty is so vital that I wish each member would give it some thought. It is in the business meetings that the real will of the organization is made known, where the character of the organization is formed and developed.

Third. Do the work that is assigned to you to the best of your ability. No one can do more. Don't be afraid of responsibility.
Fourth. If you see a comrade in error, talk to him about it. Remember it becomes your error, too, if allowed to pass without your protest.

Fifth. Read Socialism, think Socialism, discuss Socialism. Think organization and discuss it with your comrades.
Sixth. Get Socialists to join the Party.

Seventh. Learn Working class Morality. Practice Working class Morality.
It is a regrettable circumstance, if true, that some comrades make the preferring of charges against another comrade the one occasion of paying their dues, yet late indications would seem to prove it a good sign. One hundred and five due stamps were sold in October. Circumstances indicate an increase of sales for November.

Comrade Emil Herman passed through Seattle last Wednesday, and having a few hours to spare, volunteered to hold a street meeting. Second and University was chosen, and an unusually successful meeting held. A collection of over \$5 was taken, and more than \$3 worth of literature sold. All of which proves Comrade Herman a hustler of the best type. A vote of thanks was given him by the Local for his generous and voluntary services.

Comrade A. Wagenknecht, delegate to the National Convention from Washington, and lately a National Organizer, has just returned and has become a member again of Local Seattle.
At the local business meeting on November 12th, candidates for the school board will be named and committees for campaign work will be elected. All members should be present and prepared to take an active part in this, our next campaign. There is much work to be done even in a school campaign and the candidates for work never overlap the demand.

Under date of Oct. 19th Comrades were urged to proceed as follows: "If the reported vote in any district is less than the KNOWN Socialist vote, start at once to circulate a petition for the opening of the ballot box and a re-count."
A National Secretary shall be elected annually at the same time and in the same manner as the National Executive Committee. Vacancies shall be filled in a similar manner. He shall receive as compensation the sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually and shall give bond in a sum fixed by the National Executive Committee.
3. To substitute for Sec. 5 of Art. VII, the following:
The National Secretary and National Executive Committee may be

NATIONAL NOTE

During the present year comparisons of the monthly receipts for dues have been made on several occasions in each one gratifying result having been shown.
Receipts for dues for February show \$3.55 in excess of all previous records. Again in the month of July an increase of \$131.90 was shown above the February record. Again in August an increase of about \$80.00 was shown over the receipts for July. The receipts for dues for the month of October, just closed, amounted to a total of \$2717.49, or an increase of \$327.34 over the record receipts of July.

Thus far this year an increase in the party membership is shown amounting to about 16,000.
A Comrade writing from Washington, D. C., at 1 a. m., Nov. 4th, the day after the election, sends a contribution of \$5.00 for the campaign of 1912.

Voting machines were used in Terre Haute and the official report fails to show any Socialist votes in the precinct in which Comrade Debs resides. Comrade Debs says, "I voted the straight Socialist ticket and so did my brother. There were a number of men in this precinct who went into the voting place with Socialist badges on and I am sure they, too, voted the Socialist ticket."

In the mining district of Clinton, Ind., Socialist watchers were denied admittance to the polling booth. This is the town that sent sixteen carloads of people to the Debs meeting in Terre Haute last Monday night.

According to the meager returns of the Socialist vote it would seem that the industrial centers lost in comparison to the vote of 1904, or merely held their own, while the rural districts show considerable gains. The indications are that the vote has fallen down in Illinois, Oregon and Ohio. Substantial gains have been made in Minnesota, Nevada, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, and most of the Southern States. However, the official count will be required before the total results will be known.

By recent referendum, Norman W. Lermond, R. D. No. 1, Thomaston, has been elected State Secretary of Maine.
J. MAHLON BARNES, Nat'l Secy.

CAN YOU UNDERSTAND IT?

The following cumbersome and impracticable method of electing our National Officers must go to Referendum of the entire Party. We trust it will be defeated, instead of being voted for unthinkingly as most positive referendums are voted for. It is easy to vote Yes, but requires some reflection to vote No. Aside from being incomprehensible and ill stated, we object to taking the election of National Officers out of the hands of the National Committee, who are men likely to be acquainted with the different candidates nominated all over the country and placing it in the hands of the membership at large, who cannot possibly vote intelligently. This proposition of the Texas comrades is Democracy run wild.—Ed. "The Socialist."

CALL FOR NATIONAL REFERENDUM "C," 1908.

The following amendment to the Constitution was received at the National Office on Oct. 10th and reported in the Weekly Bulletin issued on the same date.
"PROPOSED NATIONAL PARTY REFERENDUM."

We, the members of Local Tyler, Texas, propose a national party referendum for the adoption of the following proposed amendments to the National Constitution of the Socialist Party adopted by the last convention and referendum.

That the following be substituted for Sec. 1, Art. VI:
"A National Executive Committee of seven members shall be elected annually preferential referendum as follows: The call for nominations shall issue Nov. 1. Twenty days shall be allowed for nominations, twenty for acceptances and declinations and forty-five for the referendum. Each Local or party member may nominate seven candidates. Each candidate when nominated must be designated by one of the alphabetical letters: A, B, C, D, E, F, G. Nominations shall be accepted, when accepted, by alphabetical letter, which of the seven offices they accept. (Does this mean: which of the seven groups he desires his name to appear in?) The names of the candidates shall be placed on the ballot in alphabetical arrangement, in seven groups, the name of each candidate appearing in the group under which he accepted. (Suppose they all desire to appear in Group "A.")
The member voting shall designate his first choice by writing the figure "1" opposite the name of his first choice; the figure "2" opposite the name of his second choice; the figure "3" opposite the name of his third choice, and so on, in each group, indicating his relative preference for each and every candidate named on the ballot by different and consecutive numbers. Any ballot not made in exact compliance with the aforesaid rules shall be void. The candidate indicated by the lowest sum total of numbers opposite his name shall be elected. The vacancies shall be filled in a similar manner."
2. To substitute for Sec. 1 of Art. VII, the following:
A National Secretary shall be elected annually at the same time and in the same manner as the National Executive Committee. Vacancies shall be filled in a similar manner. He shall receive as compensation the sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually and shall give bond in a sum fixed by the National Executive Committee."

One would naturally think that parents would get frightened and take their children out of a school taught by one of those despised enemies of law and order. This, however, I am glad to note, is not the case. In speaking to a man who is sending children to my school, he delivered himself of this really remarkable and significant speech: "I am a Republican and voted for Taft, but I confess that I am ignorant on the subject of Socialism. Still I realize that a change must come and the time will come when we shall have to settle this question. If you can teach my children anything about Socialism I shall thank you for doing so."
To me this is an encouraging sign of the times. When parents who admit their own ignorance on the subject are willing and even anxious that their children be taught it and that, too, in the public schools, it indicates that the Socialist philosophy is making some giant strides forward. Teachers who are Socialists need no longer sell their convictions when they sell their labor power. What if they do spread malicious lies about us? The above encouraging remarks will outweigh a dozen such lies.

ELEANOR MAURER HERMAN.
By the way, when will the Party be able to read the Proceedings of the National Convention which took place last May, a full six months ago? Four years ago, the verbatim publication, done by the same stenographer, was out inside two months. Ed. Wm. Malloy was then in charge of the National office.

NATIONAL FINANCES

recalled by the party membership."
4. To strike out from Sec. 8 of Art. X, "by a per capita assessment on the entire membership" and substitute therefor "by setting aside 10 per cent. of the National dues."
5. To strike out from Sec. 1 of Art. XI, "provided, however, that the required number of requests for such a referendum shall have been made within a period of ninety consecutive days."
Fraternally submitted,
(Signed) J. S. MILLER, Recording Sec.
(Signed) W. J. BELL, Chairman.

Notices of endorsement of the amendment have been received from Locals Winslow, Ark., Oct. 7th; Enid, Okla., Oct. 7th; Sedalia, Mo., Oct. 7th; Austin, Tex., Oct. 8th; Weesatche, Tex., Oct. 8th; Comanche, Tex., Oct. 8th; Pollock, Texas, Oct. 9th; Hunting, Ark., Oct. 10th; Murchison, Tex., Oct. 10th; Weatherford, Tex., Oct. 10th; El Campo, Tex., Oct. 12th; Avian, La., Oct. 12th; Muskogee, Okla., Oct. 14th; Yoakum, Tex., Oct. 14th; Lamar, Ark., Oct. 15th; Wintersburg, Calif., Oct. 17th; Fort Smith, Ark., Oct. 18th; Waldron, Ark., Oct. 20th; Tulare, Calif., Oct. 23rd; McPherson, Ark., Oct. 24th; Lake Charles, La., Oct. 29th; Okemah, Okla., Oct. 31st; Brainard, Minn., Nov. 1st; Grayson, Okla., Nov. 1st; Willis, Calif., Nov. 6th; Aronora, Okla., Nov. 6th.
In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution governing the submission of a referendum, a call for referendum by the entire membership upon the above Constitutional amendment is hereby published:

CONSTITUTION, ART. II. Referendum.

Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the National Secretary to a referendum of the party membership, upon the request of twenty local organizations, in five or more states, or territories, or any smaller number of local organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate.
Section 2. When a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for thirty days within which the amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of thirty days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which may have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter.
Section 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

FOR SOCIALIST TEACHERS

How the defenders of capitalism do hate a Socialist! Nothing is too mean for them to say about a Socialist regardless of whether it is true or false. In fact, veracity is not the chief article in which these modern Pharisees deal. The following incident will illustrate to what limits they will go to 'down' a Socialist teacher.
This is the rumor that has been spread about the writer in one of the rural schools of King County: "The clerk of the district was told that that Socialist teacher of yours rapped a boy over the knuckles because he wrote 'Roosevelt' on the blackboard."
Could anything be more absurd? The truth of the matter is that some boy or boys, knowing their teacher to be a Socialist and wishing, no doubt, to have some "fun," climbed through the window and wrote, "Hurrah for Roosevelt!" and "Hurrah for Bryan" upon the blackboard. Some hideous pictures were also drawn. The boy fun they got out of it was a reprimand for drawing the pictures(?) and a reproof for climbing through the window. They were also requested to erase the pictures, but the writing was ignored. That closed the incident so far as the teacher was concerned, and was entirely forgotten until Comrade Lund, the clerk, was told this horrible crime committed by a Socialist teacher.

One would naturally think that parents would get frightened and take their children out of a school taught by one of those despised enemies of law and order. This, however, I am glad to note, is not the case. In speaking to a man who is sending children to my school, he delivered himself of this really remarkable and significant speech: "I am a Republican and voted for Taft, but I confess that I am ignorant on the subject of Socialism. Still I realize that a change must come and the time will come when we shall have to settle this question. If you can teach my children anything about Socialism I shall thank you for doing so."
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NATIONAL FINANCES

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 31, 1908.

RECEIPTS.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| National Dues from State Committees. | |
| Alabama | 14.00 |
| Arkansas | 30.00 |
| California | 225.00 |
| Colorado | 64.00 |
| Connecticut | 37.00 |
| Florida | 23.50 |
| Idaho | 70.00 |
| Illinois | 200.00 |
| Indiana | 90.75 |
| Iowa | 25.00 |
| Kansas | 75.00 |
| Kentucky | 20.00 |
| Louisiana | 10.00 |
| Maine | 11.00 |
| Maryland | 10.00 |
| Massachusetts | 32.56 |
| Michigan | 87.55 |
| Minnesota | 90.75 |
| Missouri | 50.00 |
| Montana | 43.75 |
| Nevada | 20.00 |
| New Hampshire | 16.65 |
| New Jersey | 100.00 |
| New York | 250.00 |
| North Dakota | 17.60 |
| Ohio | 206.00 |
| Oklahoma | 110.00 |
| Oregon | 44.00 |
| Pennsylvania | 223.90 |
| Rhode Island | 8.00 |
| South Dakota | 17.50 |
| Tennessee | 7.50 |
| Texas | 77.89 |
| Utah | 33.00 |
| Vermont | 1.00 |
| Washington | 94.90 |
| West Virginia | 10.00 |
| Wisconsin | 116.75 |
| Wyoming | 20.35 |

\$ 2,650.39

Unorganized States.

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Georgia | 2.80 |
| Hawaii | 6.00 |
| Mississippi | 2.80 |
| Nebraska | 38.50 |
| North Carolina | 7.40 |
| South Carolina | 7.00 |
| Virginia | 2.00 |
| Members at large | 6.90 |

\$ 2,717.49

| | |
|------------------------|----------|
| Supplies | 279.82 |
| Literature | 1,944.63 |
| Buttons | 161.99 |
| Campaign Fund | 867.50 |
| Refund from Railroad | 5.04 |
| Subscriptions to Daily | 9.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 60.00 |

Total Receipts \$14,071.76

EXPENDITURES.

| | |
|-------------------------|--------|
| Exchange | 23.50 |
| General Expense | 91.40 |
| Express and Freight | 492.55 |
| Postage | 583.30 |
| Telegrams and Telephone | 116.99 |

Wages.

| | |
|-------------------------|--------|
| J. Mahlon Barnes | 135.00 |
| W. W. Ruhl, 5 weeks | 100.00 |
| F. H. Bick, 5 weeks | 90.00 |
| C. J. Wright, 5 weeks | 90.00 |
| J. C. Chase | 54.00 |
| M. Flaherty, 5 weeks | 65.00 |
| M. Hudson, 5 weeks | 60.00 |
| D. Fleming, 5 weeks | 90.00 |
| J. A. Gavin, 5 weeks | 60.00 |
| B. Yourex, 5 weeks | 60.00 |
| A. M. Boggess, 5 weeks | 60.00 |
| M. Schupp, 5 weeks | 40.00 |
| J. R. Orakhood, 5 weeks | 60.00 |
| A. Laflin, 5 weeks | 90.00 |
| Edna Koop, 5 weeks | 30.00 |
| Ina Mullane, 5 weeks | 50.00 |
| J. N. Plake, 5 weeks | 15.00 |
| F. Uhlhorn | 12.00 |
| H. Peterson | 21.00 |
| J. W. Sarlund | 12.00 |
| W. W. Owen | 24.00 |

\$ 1,262.00

Speakers.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| J. W. Brown | 75.00 |
| D. Burgess | 40.00 |
| T. L. Bule | 70.00 |
| J. C. Chase | 78.00 |
| John Collins | 35.00 |
| Asa Warren Drew | 59.42 |
| J. L. Fitts | 70.00 |
| M. E. Frits | 15.00 |
| T. M. Freeman | 30.00 |
| W. H. Graydon | 38.00 |
| Geo. Goebel | 50.00 |
| Ben Hardard | 150.00 |
| J. S. Inalls | 60.00 |
| J. J. Kral | 30.00 |
| W. B. Killingbeck | 30.00 |
| Ralph Korngold | 80.00 |
| J. Kochanowicz | 30.00 |
| Harry McKee | 20.00 |
| Guy E. Miller | 200.00 |
| H. C. Plymouth | 20.00 |
| M. Prevey | 80.00 |
| W. E. Rodriguez | 31.50 |
| C. H. Pierce | 100.00 |
| S. M. Reynolds | 20.00 |
| S. W. Rose | 50.00 |
| Seymour Stedman | 65.00 |
| Dan A. White | 125.00 |
| Jas. Williams | 40.00 |
| G. W. Woodbey | 100.00 |

\$ 1,702.69

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Printing Literature and supplies | \$ 1,182.41 |
| Literature | 502.06 |
| Office Equipment | 81.00 |
| Rent for Oct. and Nov. | 200.00 |
| Electros | 32.75 |
| Light | 5.52 |
| Stationary and mimeograph supplies | 111.84</ |

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To Create a Class Struggle the Supreme Task

By George D. Herron

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 can be 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 literature, are all rooted in the struggle between classes for the control of the food supply. Moses and Jesus, Wickliffe and Mazzini, 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 revolts—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 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 class, created government, 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 products 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 free.

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 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 persisted. 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 people by befriending them; to make concessions that could become a bit and bridle in the mouth of revolt, and then ride it to new 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 without 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 Socialism to the working class. The workers must 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 gravest question seems to be to me, 'How can workmen and employers 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 would 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 place ownership plans in capitalist political parties. But the whole crew of "social reformers" and "reformers" will be in the nature of capitalist retainer services, supported by capitalism through its finkles. 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 parasite 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 be peace of good will fill the earth.

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THE DILEMMA OF MODERN RULERS

By Ernest Untermann

Twice within the last two decades, Japan has won a great war against an enemy, whose population, economic resources and numerical fighting strength vastly outnumbered its own. In both cases, Japan won by the quality, not by the quantity, of its war equipment and its men and women.

FREE SPEECH VICTORY IN THE WOMAN TACOMA

By Bessy Fiset

Tacoma, Wash., Nov. 9, 1908.

On Nov. 5th at the corner of Pacific and Twelfth Comrade Turner opened a street meeting and had spoken for something like 45 minutes when a great big bunch of the law came up to him and ordered him to make tracks for the alley if he wished to exercise the right of free speech.

The officer considered that for the time being he was all the law in sight and arrested Turner. I then took the box and in about 20 minutes was also arrested. Comrade Lewis followed me and was arrested immediately. We were taken to the station together. Here the captain informed us that if we would promise to appear for trial the next day at 2:00 p. m. and wouldn't speak any more that evening he would turn us loose.

We promised to appear in court at the appointed time, but refused to refrain from speaking any more that evening, if circumstances should make it necessary to do so. We were all released on our own recognizance. The next day we appeared for trial and announced that we would act as our own counsel.

SLADDEN'S NEUTRALITY By Alfred Wagenknecht. Tom Sladden, of Oregon, might appreciate an answer to his "Perfectly Neutral" letter in number 384 of "The Socialist."

Sladden writes: "My advice to Titus would have been, if his paper was even paying expenses or near it, to have told Wagenknecht and every one else that did not like the paper and its management to go to hell and start another one."

Sladden writes: "There have been two factors in the paper in Washington that have made it a success: the personality of Titus and the using up of the last few years of Ault's life."

To me there are three factors which will make "The Socialist" a success: A good editor, and Titus is one. A good printer, and Ault is one. A good manager. I'm not one. And good support by comrades who believe in the main, in the paper's policy.

I have talked with many, many have been talked to, about improving "The Socialist." No one has yet been able to suggest any one fit to take the places of either Titus or Ault.

That is the dilemma of the modern rulers. If they keep their working people in ignorance, they will keep the whole nation in economic inferiority and a more progressive nation will overreach them.

Thus the evil of class rule must breed good in spite of itself and humanity rises toward Freedom.

The encouraging feature about this skirmish was that Local Tacoma was well enough organized to be ready for the fray without a moment's notice.

At least a half dozen women and twice as many men were ready to go to jail the first night after the arrest if necessary.

So, Comrades, if the police try to push you off the street where you can get a crowd into an alley or side street where it is practically impossible to get an audience, call their bluff and refuse to budge.

The Tacoma Local is evidently doing things. The Editor of "The Socialist" dropped into their Headquarters Sunday afternoon before election and was delighted to discover such activity as was there shown.

Fourth Congressional districts, respectively, but were both defeated by the Republican Candidates.

The vote in St. Louis was about 6,000 for Debs, showing a gain of about 800 over the election of four years ago.

CALIFORNIA. San Francisco County, 4,531 Socialist votes as compared with 7,250 in 1904.

OKLAHOMA. Marshall County: Dem., 842; Rep., 406; Socialist, 405. Coal County: Dem., 834; Rep., 648; Socialist, 406.

THE PARENTS OF SOCIALISM



The Women's Socialist Study Club of Hillman City entertained its members and their friends last Saturday night. There were about seventy-five men and women out (not to mention the boys and girls) and all had a jolly good time.

The Womans' Socialist Educational Club of Seattle has called a meeting for next Tuesday at one o'clock, to be held in Comrade Bessy Fiset's house, 1918 42nd Ave., West Seattle.

How many women throughout the state—women who understand Scientific Socialism—have done anything towards getting other women interested in the Socialist Movement?

Let us show the men that while we have minds that are the result of our five thousand years of suppression, we stand eager to take advantage of every chance of mental growth that comes our way.

THE CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT By Lulu Ault. Comrade Lundblad has just sent in a club of seven subs for 3 months.

ELECTION NOTES There is not much more to add on Election matters than what we said last week.

Don't Forget Sunday Night at the Labor Temple

I want to tell some of the subscribers who get their papers from the general delivery to ask for their papers. A comrade here in Seattle has failed to get his paper because he did not ask for it.

In Utah, Salt Lake City cast 1,139 Socialist votes and Ogden 502. Scofield, Utah, cast 144 votes for Debs, 41 for Taft and 43 for Bryan.

The Socialist Party vote in Cleveland was about 5,000, showing a decrease of the vote of four years ago.