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TOM SLADDEN UNDER FIRE

Untermann Attacks Him—Titus Defends Him —Untermann for Two-Class Party—Sladden and Titus for One-Class Party.

Sladden's Rough-neck Science

By Ernest Untermann

Editor's Note.—The Editor of the "The Socialist" inserts several "notes" in this article at appropriate places, in order that all readers of this issue may get the benefit of both sides. Sladden has had no opportunity to reply side by side with this criticism of him, and has sent in nothing for this issue which might serve as his reply.

In a general way, it is to be said that Untermann makes a piecemeal critique of Sladden's general argument. Now, however much you may convict your antagonist of "foolish assertions" and "logical somersaults," you leave him undefeated unless you dislodge him from his main position.

Sladden's main position is that the modern unskilled laborer constitutes the most revolutionary portion of the Proletariat, that he is, in fact, the true Revolutionary. Whether Sladden falls down in trying to make Marx say that this unskilled laborer is the only Proletarian, has no bearing on Sladden's general position. Is he right or not in contending that the machine produced common laborer is the Revolutionary who has NOTHING to lose but his chains?

Further, no suggestion by Untermann in the heat of resentment at Sladden for calling him a "bum intellectual," that Tom Sladden is a "police spy" or "paid tool of capital," will be credited for an instant by those who know Sladden. It is unnecessary to compare records. But Sladden has stood in the thick of the Proletarian fight in Bourgeois Oregon these last seven years, while Untermann has worked in his quiet study apart from the dust and blood of the battle field. While Sladden went to jail nightly for weeks for Free Speech in Seattle, Untermann was comfortably pursuing his work on Wilshire's ranch in Idaho. Sladden has no call to question the work of Untermann about which he is not qualified to judge. Still less has Untermann any call to impugn the motives of one of the noblest and most self-sacrificing Proletarians on the face of the earth. Have done, both of you, with these epithets and stick to argument in true scientific fashion.

The expected has happened. Comrade Sladden has labored and brought forth a medley of foolish assertions and logical somersaults. These he serves up to the hungry rough-necks with the label of pure Marxian science. But in fact this Sladdenian dish is stuffed with husks, and only an implicit faith in rough-neck science can make this dish palatable.

FIRST FOOLISH ASSERTION.

"In dealing with Untermann it would be a waste of time to quarrel over the word proletariat. If Comrade Untermann wishes to place in the category of the proletarians, bankers, lawyers, ranchers (big or small), college professors, millionaires, department store owners, preachers, doctors, editors, shoe-string peddlers and what not, well and good. We will not quarrel over a matter of terminology."

First Logical Somersault.

"A proletarian, according to Ernest Untermann himself, in 'Science and Revolution,' is the industrial wage-worker." Very well. If Sladden knows so well what my conception of a typical proletarian is, why does he attribute a Sladdenian hash of nonsense to me? Let him point out definitely where I have made such a silly classification as he attributes to me in his first foolish assertion. Besides, a typical proletarian implies that the industrial wage-worker is the classic type of proletarian under capitalism, but it does not signify by any means that he is the only proletarian. There are others, even according to Marx and other strict Marxians. Sladden is such a loose reasoner, that he jumps at once to the conclusion that any man who considers others as proletarians who are not typical industrial wage-workers, must necessarily include the whole society in that term.

Second Logical Somersault.

Having asserted that he is not going to quarrel with me over his self-

vented hash of terminological nonsense, Sladden proceeds to do this very thing right heartily. All this Sladdenian bosh is answered by the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Party at its national convention in 1908. I have written most of that Declaration, and I have noticed that it has suited the majority of the Socialists of this country, even of Washington and Oregon, pretty well. If Sladden can find any support for his insinuations in that Declaration, or in any of my works, let him point out the exact statement. Mere insinuations and assertions don't go here.

SECOND FOOLISH ASSERTION.

"We know that at least 75 per cent. of the people are wage-workers." Where did Sladden get these statistics?

Third Logical Somersault.

Shortly before Sladden makes his second foolish assertion, he tells us that according to the Federal census of 1905 about three millions of industrial wage-workers were employed in the United States. That is a long way from 75 per cent. of society, a long way even from 75 per cent. of the persons engaged in gainful occupations.

According to the twelfth census, 1900, the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations (from the age of ten years upward) was about twenty-nine millions in a total population of about eighty millions, or about 36 per cent. There were about twenty-one millions of male voters, two millions of them illiterate. The actual number of wage-workers in manufacturing industries was about five millions, or about 17 per cent. of the total working population, and about six per cent. of "society." The number of farm laborers working for wages was also about five millions. Total industrial wage-workers and farm laborers about ten millions, or 12 per cent. of "society," about 34 per cent. of the total employed in gainful occupations, or about 48 per cent. of the voting population. If Sladden has any facts to prove that the percentages have shifted to 75 per cent. in favor of the wage-workers, I want to see them. In his own happy words: "Making statements does no good unless there are facts to corroborate them." Where are his facts?

Editor's Note.—Lucien Sanial, in his "Socialist Poster No. 1," divides the census twenty-nine millions engaged in gainful occupations, into three classes, namely: (1) The Plutocratic Class, 250,251; (2) the Middle Class, 8,429,845; and (3) the Proletarian Class, 20,393,137. This makes the Proletarians to be about 66 per cent., not of "society" nor of the "people," but of the productive forces of society and the people. The census figures of twenty-nine millions omit some twenty millions under ten years of age, and nearly as many over forty years, besides some unaccounted for subdivisions. Sladden is thus seen to be pretty nearly correct in substance, though he made a slip in using the word "people" without qualification.

Fourth Logical Somersault.

Having first berated me for the alleged crime of numbering "college professors and preachers" among the proletarians, Sladden himself does that very thing by saying: "I would even go farther and include in the ranks of the wage-earners the preachers and professors." But they belong to the "dangerous" wage-workers; that is, dangerous to the organized labor movement and to the proletarian organization, according to Sladden. Just what standard he wants to apply in order to determine when one of these dangerous wage-earners may and may not be admitted to the Socialist Party he does not tell us. Evidently that must be left to the rough-neck wisdom to decide in every individual instance.

Fifth Logical Somersault.

Having first tried to make a classification of dangerous and reliable wage-workers according to occupation, and having sneered his fill at the intellectuals, he rests the greater portions on references taken from the statements of the college professors, Labriola and Herron. So it is evident that not all intellectuals are "danger-

ous." And who will judge whether an intellectual is dangerous? "The Untermans will be judged, and they will be before a critical court of inquiry. That court will be the wage-working class." (Mental reservation of Sladden: "And that wage-working class will judge according to the standards of Sladden's rough-neck science.")

Well, any one who knows me—and my work in the Socialist movement knows that I have always submitted to the "court of the wage-working class," and the issue between Sladden and myself is not at all whether this class is the court of last resort for a proletarian writer, intellectual or rough-neck. The issue between him and me is rather whether this class will judge according to the standards of Marxian science or of rough-neck science. And I am perfectly willing to let the historical development decide that.

Sixth Logical Somersault.

Sladden feels instinctively that his classification of safe and dangerous wage-workers according to occupation is not very convincing. So he tries to strengthen it by adding a classification according to the amount of wages received. But unhappily for his assertion he finds himself that this is a very elusive classification and proves nothing definite for his claims. Nevertheless he bases a good deal of his argument on that elusive and arbitrary classification. Rough-neck science is amusing.

THIRD FOOLISH ASSERTION.

"The first great organization, excepting the Western Federation of Miners, who declared for Socialism years ago, to come out flat-footed for Socialism, was the coal diggers, the rough-neck organization; the hardest-worked, poorest-paid body of men in the United States. It is a body of men who, as Untermann would say, was composed of the lowest element of society, the slum proletariat—the men that go down to the slum district and buy their jobs for a dollar."

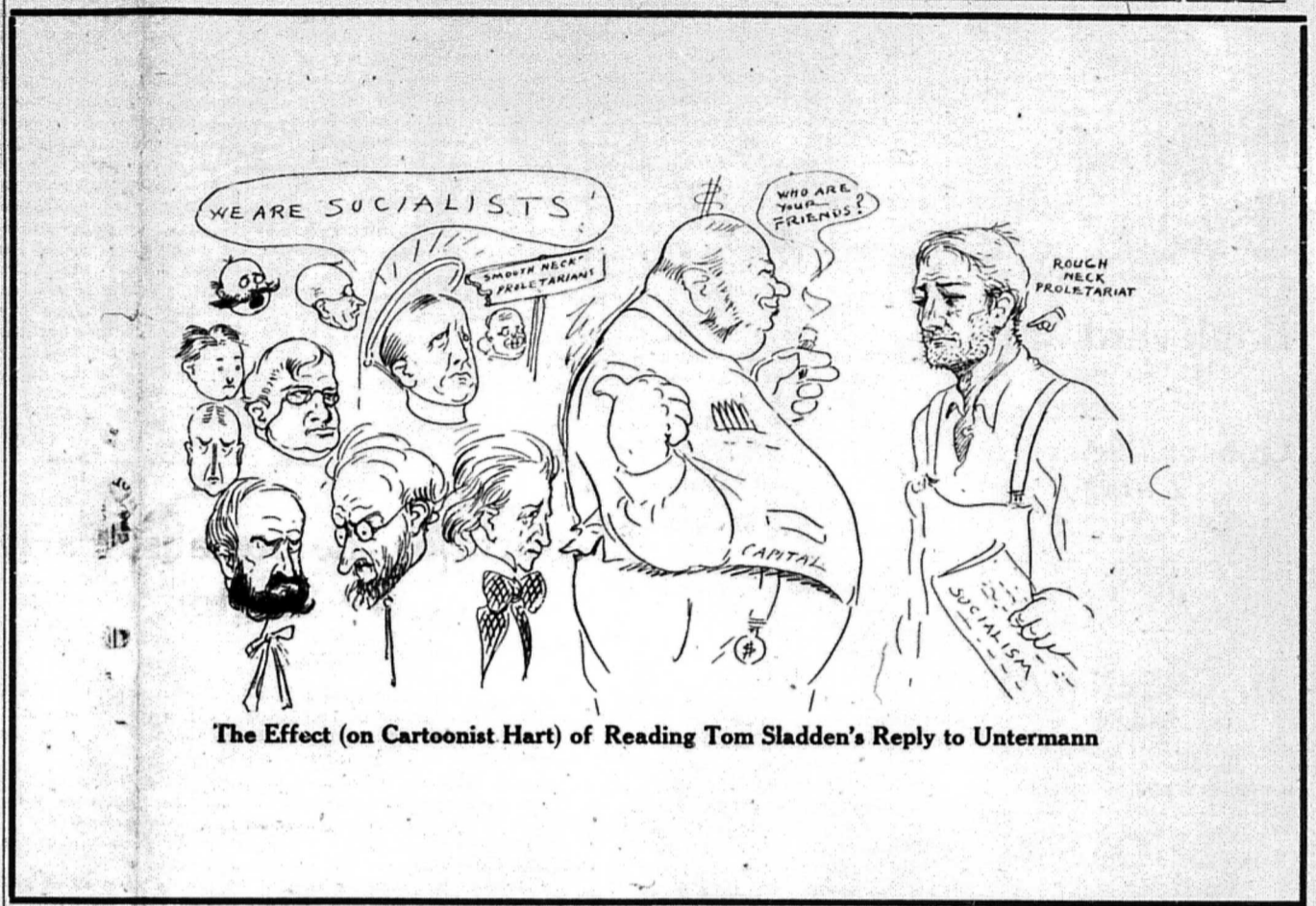
Untermann would not say so, and never has said that the miners belong to the slum proletariat, or to the rough-necks. I mean by rough-necks what Marx called the slum proletariat, namely, the "dangerous class, the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of society." I mean by rough-necks the dirty and filthy gang, who sleep on the greasy benches of the Socialist headquarters in Portland, and spit and spew all over the place, driving every clean and self-respecting wage-worker away from it. This gang, these rough-necks of Sladden, constitute the kernel of what he is pleased to call the best organization of proletarians in Oregon. They are the really dangerous class; they are not wage-workers, but loafers, and they are far more apt to be, as Marx himself thought, "a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." And so far as I am concerned, I am going to do my best to rid the Socialist Party of that element. Tammany Hall may be Sladden's ideal of a proletarian organization, but it was not Marx's, and it is not mine.

Neither were the coal miners, who declared for Socialism, the worst-paid organization in the United States. On the contrary, they were a good deal better paid than Sladden's ideal proletarian, the "common unskilled worker."

FOURTH FOOLISH ASSERTION.

"And right here I must correct a statement of Untermann's that I would bar out of the Socialist Party the skilled mechanics. I would not and did not; I simply stated that they would not and could not constitute the revolutionary element of the working class." The Western Federation of Miners, who were the first organization of wage-workers to declare for Socialism, are mainly composed of "skilled mechanics." So are the Illinois coal miners who declared for Socialism. So are the brewers, the machinists, and others, who have adopted the industrial form of organization and have elected Socialists for officers of various departments.

According to Marx, a proletarian is by no means "a common unskilled wage-worker," as Sladden asserts in "The Revolutionist." A proletarian, according to Marx, is a laborer who has no other means of existence but the sale of his labor-power to some



The Effect (on Cartoonist Hart) of Reading Tom Sladden's Reply to Untermann

master, and the classic type of the proletarian is the industrial wage-worker, skilled or unskilled.

In "The Revolutionist" Sladden asserted that the common unskilled wage-worker is the only reliable revolutionary and that "from his brain must come the plan of the new order." Consequently the logical inference must be that the common unskilled wage-worker alone must be the ruling element in the Socialist Party, for every other element, according to Sladden, is dangerous and unreliable. But if he wants to admit skilled laborers, preachers, professors, etc., into the Socialist Party, how many of them is he going to admit? As many as are driven by social development to seek emancipation through the Socialist Party? No, only as many as will not overwhelm the common unskilled rough-neck. That is the secret of Sladden's rough-neck organization and rough-neck science.

Now, I will venture the prediction that the court of the wage-working class will very soon convince Sladden that the rough-neck organization and rough-neck science is not their guide to the proletarian revolution. I will venture the further prediction that Sladden and his rough-necks will soon see themselves face to face with the alternative, either to adopt Marxian tactics of organization and Marxian science, or to be kicked out of the Socialist Party and find an ideal slum-brother and spitting place in an anarchist or in some bribed capitalist organization.

Editor's Note.—Sladden "Rough-necks" are not the same as Marx's "Social Scum." They are the "common laborer," the unskilled workman typical of capitalist production, as Untermann says above. This "unskilled laborer" includes, contrary to Untermann's present contention, most of the Miners' and Brewers' organizations, as well as an increasing number of even the Machinists' Union, and of all unions.

To one in actual daily contact with workmen on their jobs, and not isolated with his books, as Untermann is, the swearing, spitting "Rough-neck" is met with at every turn, while the skilled, respectable, religious, well-dressed, family worker, is becoming decidedly atypical and scarce.

For us the Marxian method is to deal with facts, not with facts as they were in Marx's day, nor with facts as they are in Europe; but with facts in America in 1909. These facts seem to bear out Marx's prophetic outline and analysis in the first volume of "Capital." That common, abstract, undifferentiated labor, upon which he based value, seems at last to have arrived in the concrete; it is the Rough-neck, the "common unskilled Rough-neck," so scorned by Untermann.

As to his being "kicked out" of the Socialist Party, he will not mind it, probably will not even know it, any more than the dog knew it when a few hairs on the tip of his tail attempted to wag the dog. The Socialist Party in the whole United States only claims 50,000 members; just enough to pay Mahlon Barnes and his fat office force their salaries, and it can only muster

8,000 votes on its Populist Referendum. The fact is, the U. S. Socialist Party has not scratched the surface of the Proletarian hosts of America. It cannot muster a half-million votes in the whole country. The Wage-Workers have no confidence in it. The American Proletariat has already "kicked out" the Socialist Party with its Untermann's middle-class supremacy. Sladden and his typical Rough-neck want a new deal, and they will get it.

Seventh Logical Somersault.

"If declaring for Socialism is a measure of intelligence, then on the brow of the American coal-digger must be placed the wreath of laurel and to the ranks of the American intellectuals must be added the honored profession of digging coal."

Good; I agree to that. But if any intelligent laborer, skilled or unskilled, may be accounted an intellectual, and if it is an honor to be so accounted, why those sneers at intellectuals in the Socialist movement? And if, according to Marx, "the proletariat is recruited from all classes of society," (Communist Manifesto, page 25), why this eternal Sladdenian glorification of the common unskilled rough-neck?

But if only the common unskilled laborer is the ideal proletarian and reliable revolutionary, what measures does Sladden propose on the strength of his rough-neck method of social research to keep him in control of the Socialist Party? Does he want to establish first and second-class members in that party, only first-class members to have a voice and vote, and all others to be merely dumb waiters? Out with it. I want to know the whole Sladdenian theory and program, including his Declaration of rough-neck principles.

FIFTH FOOLISH ASSERTION.

"Now where is the friction in present society? With the farmer and small business man it is obvious. His interests and the interests of the wage-worker are diametrically opposed. Both confront the wage-workers as sellers of commodities," etc., ad infinitum, according to the catechism of rough-neck science.

"Even the farmer and the business man, who at no time buy wage labor (hire wage-workers), small, insignificant fraction of society though they are, confront the wage worker as sellers while he is a buyer. The interest of buyers and sellers can never be anything but opposite." Thus spake rough-neck pope Sladden.

In the first place, the self-employed small farmer and small business man are by no means a "small, insignificant fraction of society." According to the United States census for 1900, there were about two millions of small business men in this country, or nearly 7 per cent. of the total employed in gainful occupations. There were about three millions of small independent farmers and small tenants, or about 10 per cent. of the total employed in gainful occupations. Total small business men and sma' farmers, five millions, or about 17 per cent. of the total employed in gainful occupations, or

fully as many as there were industrial wage-workers. And their number was increasing, and at that increasing faster than that of the employed wage-workers.

Editor's Note.—Sanial's figures are as follows: Middle Class, including small farmers and business men, 8½ millions; Proletarian Class, 20½ millions.

In the second place, the small farmers don't sell direct to the wage-workers, as a rule, but to trusts or middlemen, and they are exploited as much or more in this way than the typical proletarians in direct production. And the small business men, who sell direct to the wage-workers, lose far more through the exploitation by financial combinations than they gain in their capacity of small retailers. In other words, the small business men and the small farmers, in their capacity as producers, have the same class interests as the wage-working proletarians, and their class interests as producers far outweigh their class antagonism against the wage-workers in the selling process. Therefore these elements of the middle class belong on the side of the wage-working proletariat in the struggle against capitalist class rule.

Editor's Note.—The attempt of Untermann, after Kautsky, to extend the term Proletariat to include the new middle class seems to us more unauthorized and un-Marxian than Sladden's attempt to restrict it to the unskilled laborer.

The new middle class, as contended by Langerock in "The Socialist" of recent date, is per se anti-proletarian, at least in America, and in two respects: (1) It is, as Kautsky shows, immediately dependent upon great capital, but not therefore antagonistic to it; rather, servile and obsequious to it; or (2) it is frankly reactionary in a fierce effort to restore old competitive conditions by means of public ownership of its greatest competitors and exploiters, the railroads and other monopolized industries. This latter is especially true in the United States, where the historic traditions, deals and institutions are so splendidly individualistic.

In all this discussion we should bear in mind also that what will relieve the middle class, namely public ownership of the trusts, will not relieve the wage class.

Also, notice that the modern middle class, particularly in America, being both the recruit and the recruiting ground of the Proletariat, may be a more significant and militant factor in economic development than Kautsky's Socialism will allow. It is not inconceivable this militant middle class should so manipulate the wage class for its own ends as to delay the abolition of wage-slavery for many decades.

Anyhow, the new Socialism of Kautsky is much less frankly revolutionary than the straight Marxism of Marx and the Real Revolution seems likely to arrive along the lines of the Communist Manifesto and the first volume of "Capital" and Marx's letter on the Gotha program, rather than of the

present Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The United States is foremost in capitalistic development and therefore foremost in Proletarian economic development, but most backward in Proletarian political development. The Socialist Party of the United States is frankly dominated by the modern middle class.

The formation of a real Proletarian Party is in progress. Sladden's Rough-neck is a stern reality, not to be downed by bookish theoreticians in America or in Germany.

This has been the position taken by almost all Marxians worthy of note. Already in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx pointed out that "the lower strata of the middle class—the small trades people, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production." (Page 24.)

Sladden quotes snatches of the Communist Manifesto, which refer to those strata of the middle class, whose interests remain with the capitalist side, and then he imagines he has made a crushing argument against my conception of the role of the lower strata of the middle class. And he does not know that the artisan and the peasant, whom Marx mentions in the Communist Manifesto, represented a different class than the skilled mechanic and small farmer of today do, especially in the United States. Sladden fancies that his quotations from the Communist Manifesto, which refer to artisans and peasants of an outgrown social stage, still have any weight in the estimate of the economic position and political role of artisans and peasants of a highly developed capitalist stage of society. And he has the effrontery to palm this sort of interpretation off on the members of the Socialist Party under the guise of a defense of genuine Marxian science against me, when I have been doing hardly anything else during the last ten years but making the Marxian science accessible to the English-speaking working class through my translations. If it were not for my work, Sladden would have few standard Socialist works to quote from.

In my estimate of the economic position of the new artisans and small farmers, I practically occupy the same scientific ground that Karl Kautsky does. He writes in his "Erfurt Program" (which I have translated and which will soon be published by Comrade Samuel Bloch in Chicago): "The new small establishment arising from a concentration of capital, such as home industries, peddling, dwarf farming, etc., are of an entirely different nature than those eliminated by the concentration of capital. The last named rest upon private property of means of production which were the free possession of their owners; the new

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TOM SLADDEN UNDER FIRE

Continued from Page One

small establishments receive the most
 essential means of production in the
 shape of an advance from capital, and
 in exchange they become tributary to
 it—and the small farmer upon his rented
 or mortgaged land no less than the
 home laborer who receives his raw ma-
 terial from the contractor, or the sal-
 loon keeper who is merely an agent
 of the brewer, and the peddler or small
 dealer who sells goods which he has
 taken on credit.

"The old small scale business form-
 ed a middle class, its proprietor, half-
 capitalist, half wage-worker, stood be-
 tween both. The proprietor of the new
 small business stands below the
 wage-worker; he is far more defence-
 less than a wage-worker, his standard
 of living is frequently lower, his work-
 ing time is extended longer, his wife
 and children are far more exploited." Sladden thinks that "this could hardly
 be called exploitation in that in gen-
 eral the product of the family toll is
 family property." (The Revolutionist.)
 The question is: How much do they
 get for this "family product" when
 they take it to market?

According to Kautsky, "the small
 scale establishment which is eliminat-
 ed through the concentration of cap-
 ital was one of capital's competitors;
 it stood in opposition to the individual
 capitalist as a member of the same class
 of independent producers. The new
 small scale establishment is an object
 of exploitation by capital, and, being
 a reserve of labor-power for the large
 scale establishments, is a pre-requi-
 site for the prosperity of the latter;
 this small scale establishment stands
 opposed to the capitalist, not as mem-
 ber of the same class, but as a mem-
 ber of another, a suppressed and ex-
 ploited class, namely the proletariat."

Because Kautsky numbers these
 lower strata of the middle class in
 modern capitalist society with the pro-
 letariat and thinks that they are as
 much opposed to the capitalist class
 as the typical industrial proletariat is,
 he calls them the proletarianized
 small establishments. According to
 him, the function of these small es-
 tablishments is that of being a place
 in which new laborers are produced
 and superfluous laborers are stored
 away. "The small farmers he regards
 as "the most reliable and bountiful
 purveyor of proletarians for the large
 estates."

All this must be very sad for Sladden's
 rough-neck theory of the ideal
 proletariat, who is supposed to be the
 only true revolutionist.

If, according to Marxian science as
 advocated by Kautsky, these lower
 strata of the middle class have the
 same class interests in the struggle
 against the capitalist class as the pro-
 letarians, then they belong in the So-
 cialist Party and no amount of rough-
 neck science will be able to keep them
 out. Just because Economic Determ-
 inism, about which Sladden has so
 much to say on the strength of Pro-
 fessor Labriola's statements, will as-
 sert itself, these middle-class elements,
 who are either already proletarianized
 or in process of becoming proletarian-
 ized, will inevitably seek redress and
 emancipation from class rule through
 the Socialist Party. All rough-neck as-
 sertions about the alleged conserva-
 tism of the farmer will not alter this
 law of economic determinism.

SIXTH FOOLISH ASSERTION.

"Untermann is a fair
 representative of the bum intellectuals
 that have made the Socialist move-
 ment a laughing stock among the real
 revolutionary workers. He is a
 middle-class freak." And
 then, on the strength of a chance re-
 mark of a certain Kaufmann, who is
 said to be a "scholar and a cigarette
 fiend," Sladden makes the crowning
 foolish assertion that I translated
 Marx's "Capital," Vol. III, in such a
 way as to give it an "interpretation
 from a middle-class standpoint."

A man who can make such a su-
 premely foolish assertion, knows noth-
 ing of the possibilities of translating.
 In the first place, Marx's work would
 have to be very vaguely written in
 order to permit of any "middle-class in-
 terpretation." Does Sladden mean to
 insinuate that Marx wrote his work so
 loosely that any translator could "in-
 terpret" something into it without be-
 ing detected immediately by the Marx-
 ian scholars of the world?

In the second place, if Marx's work
 is not written loosely, then Sladden's
 charge cannot mean anything else
 than that I have intentionally garbled
 the original text of Marx. I should
 have to be a very inexperienced and
 silly writer, to make such a hopeless
 experiment.

Making charges and assertions is
 one thing, proving them is another.
 I want Sladden to point out the exact
 places in which I have "given a mid-
 die-class interpretation" in my trans-
 lation of Vol. III. And if he cannot
 do that, I want him to tell us whether
 he prefers to be regarded as a yawping
 fool or as a police spy.

I also want him to tell us what the
 initials of his "scholar and cigarette
 fiend" Kaufmann are. I have an idea
 that I know this great authority on
 Marx, too, and I want Sladden to tell
 us where this fellow is now, so that
 I can get at him and look him over,
 or let some trusted comrade look him
 over. I also want him to tell us
 whether this cigarette fiend ever went
 by any other name. And I want him

and his friend Kaufmann to tell us a
 little more about what they don't know
 about Marx's work, especially about
 the third volume of Marx's "Capital."

But no matter how this Kaufmann
 case is settled, I advise the Portland
 comrades to look a little more closely
 into the Sladden case. There is some-
 thing rotten at their State headquar-
 ters. Let them compare my record
 in the Socialist party with that of
 Sladden, and ask themselves whether
 a man who charges me with undermin-
 ing the party, and who makes such
 charges on the strength of a tainted
 dark horse and of a profound ignor-
 ance of the work which he so glibly
 jabbars about, is a safe man to be in
 charge of the State headquarters of
 Oregon. If Sladden is not an irre-
 sponsible lunatic, he is a bribed tool of
 reactionary intrigue. In either case,
 he is not fit for the position which he
 holds.

Eighth Logical Somersault.

"I am ready to give that squarehead
 who has practiced an abortion on the
 third volume of Marx a chance to kick
 me down the stairs of logic and may-
 be we shall find out how it is that
 Marx, in the first volume, makes even
 a tenant farmer a capitalist."

Sladden has kicked himself down
 the stairs of logic, so I needn't do it.
 He is down already. I don't kick a
 man when he's down. But after he
 has picked himself up and collected
 his shattered senses, I want him to

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 1908 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.
6. 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 dependent 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 so-called period 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 results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is 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 jobless 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 Class 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 its own hands. The Socialist Party
 proposes to transfer that 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. Executives, legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its 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 Court 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.

11. We recognize that the class of 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 combinations known as the Trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their
 greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will, therefore, con-
 tinue 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 compe-
 tition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man."
 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 of all 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 or-
 ganized labor drafted by the com-
 mittee and adopted by the Socialist
 National Convention:

"The movement of organized labor
 is a natural result of the antagonism
 between the interests of employers
 and wage-earners under the capitalist
 system. Its activity in the daily
 struggle over wages, hours, and other
 conditions of labor is absolutely nec-
 essary to counteract the evil effects
 of competition among the working
 people and to save them from being
 reduced to material and moral degra-
 dation. It is equally valuable as a
 force for the social, economic and
 political education of the workers.

IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

"The Socialist party does not seek
 to dictate to organized labor in mat-
 ters of internal organization and union
 policy. It recognizes the necessary
 autonomy of the union movement on
 the economic field, as it insists on
 maintaining its own autonomy on the
 political field. It is confident that in
 the school of experience organized
 labor will as rapidly as possible de-
 velop the most effective forms of or-
 ganization and methods of action.

In the history of the recent Moyer-
 Haywood protest, participated in by
 unions of all sorts and by the Social-
 ist Party, it finds reason to hope for
 closer solidarity on the economic field
 and for more effective co-operation
 between organized labor and the So-
 cialist Party, the two wings of the
 movement for working-class emanci-
 pation.

"The Socialist party stands with or-
 ganized labor in all its struggles to
 resist capitalist aggression or to
 wrest from the capitalists any im-
 provement in the conditions of labor.
 It declares that it is the duty of
 every wage-worker to be an active
 and loyal member of the organized
 labor movement, striving to win its
 battles and to strengthen and perfect
 it for the greater struggles to come.

CONFRONTED BY GREAT CRISIS.

"Organized labor is today con-
 fronted by a great crisis. The capi-
 talists, intoxicated with wealth and
 power, and alarmed by the increasing
 political and economic activity of the
 working class, have as a class under-
 taken a crusade for the destruction
 of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and
 elsewhere law and constitution have
 been trampled under foot, military
 despotism set up, and judicial murder
 attempted with this aim in view.
 Where such violent methods have not
 seemed advisable, other means have
 been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called
 open shop but thinly veils an attempt
 to close the shops against organized
 workmen; it is backed by power-
 ful capitalist organizations, with mil-
 lions of dollars in their war funds.

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

"The courts, always hostile to la-
 bor, have of late outdone all previous
 records in perverting the law to the
 service of the capitalist class. They
 have issued injunctions forbidding the
 calling of strikes, the announcement
 of boycotts, payment of union bene-
 fits, or even any attempt to organize
 unorganized workmen in certain
 trades and places. They have issued
 arbitrary decrees dissolving unions
 under a pretense of their being labor
 trusts.

"They have sustained the capital-
 ists in bringing damage suits against
 unions for the purpose of tying up or
 sequestering their funds. They have
 wiped off the statute books many la-
 bor laws—laws protecting little chil-
 dren from exploitation in the factory,
 laws making employers liable for
 damages in case of employes killed
 or injured at their work, laws guar-
 anteeing the right of workmen to
 belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of em-
 ployers to bar organized workmen
 from employment, they have declared
 it unlawful for workmen to agree
 not to patronize non-union establish-
 ments. The only consistent rule ob-
 served by the courts in dealing with
 the labor question is the rule that
 capitalists have a sacred right to
 profits and that the working class has
 no rights in opposition to business
 interests.

DANBURY HATTERS CASE.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the
 United States Supreme Court has re-
 ceived a decision worthy to stand with
 its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of
 fifty years ago. It has stretched and
 distorted the Anti-Trust law to make
 it cover labor organizations, and has
 held that the peaceful method of the
 boycott is unlawful, that boycotted
 employers may recover damages to
 the amount of three times their loss,
 and that the property of individual
 members, as well as the union treas-
 ures, may be levied upon to collect
 such damages.
 "By this decision the Supreme
 Court has clearly shown itself to be
 an organ of class injustice, not of
 social justice. If this and other hos-
 tile decisions are not speedily re-
 versed, organized labor will find itself
 completely paralyzed in its efforts to
 ward a peaceful solution of the labor
 question. The success of the capital-
 ists and their courts in this assault
 upon the labor movement would be
 a disaster to civilization and human-
 ity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

"At this critical moment the Social-
 ist 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 neces-
 sary 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 capi-
 talist aggressions, to win immediate
 relief for yourselves and your wives
 and children, and to hasten the day
 of complete emancipation from capi-
 talist exploitation and misery."

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OREGON AGAIN

NOT FLOPPED.

Portland, Ore., Sept. 22, 1909.
To the Editor of the Socialist, Seattle, Wash.

Comrade: Had it not been for the last sentence of the short article in which you mention my name, I should not have answered your statement, but when you take that occasion to let your readers know where Langerock now stands, this seems to indicate that there has recently been in his attitude something like a flop or a somersault. Therefore, let me make the following statement.

A certain number of locals and members of the party in Oregon charge Thomas Sladden with specific abuses of his authority as secretary, failure to comply with state constitution and arbitrary violation of their rights as party members.

Thomas Sladden answers that they are populists, anarchists, etc., and that he thinks that they are no longer revolutionary Socialists. Thomas Sladden is a victim of his environment. He has become so used to the Davis street gang and to their unconditional admiration of his grand stand plays, that he thinks everybody ought to bow in holy reverence before the oracles of his wisdom.

To show the membership of the Oregon party that others are not so sure of Tom Sladden's unflinching wisdom as the gullible Davis street bodyguard, the provisional state committee of the Socialist Party decided to circulate the Untermann letter in this state.

I cheerfully accept my share of responsibility in this matter and fall to see where I wronged Thomas Sladden in doing so. Recent events in the Oregon party have proved that Sladden is about the last man one would select if he wanted lessons in tact and fair treatment of opponents.

Of my previous views on principles and tactics published in your paper and elsewhere, I have not recanted a syllable. I still consider your tract on Reform vs. Revolutionary Socialism as good an exposition of the fundamental principles of Marxian Socialism as we may wish to use for propaganda purposes, but I fall to see where you can tack your active and assistant list proposition on such premises and remain logical.

Are we not, all of us, under capitalism making our living not by following a freely chosen profession, but along the line of least resistance, and is it not a fact that what little relative success we may meet is due to our co-operation with the tendency of our economic surroundings, and if such is the case, why should we be locked out of the party for following a given trade or occupation when we do not choose it of our own free will?

Untermann says our differences in Socialist standing are mainly temperamental. I do not agree with him. No social type of today is ipso facto a revolutionist. The preamble of the platform of the Socialist Party of Oregon very correctly states:

"We recognize that the modern proletarian, the human product of our present day mechanized mode of production, is the organic cell of the Socialist Society of tomorrow. But we also declare that the modern proletarian only becomes the class-conscious artisan of the social revolution through a correct revolutionary conception of his own situation."

Such an educational process is not limited to the labor immediately connected with machine production; it applies to all members of society and can, if thoroughly accomplished, raise all men above the influences of their economic surroundings to an enlightened view of social conditions as they are.

Did it ever occur to you that in a country where government is carried on through the instrumentality of political parties, the franchise does not mean the right to vote alone, but also the privilege to exert on the shaping of policies and the nomination of candidates such share of influence as I am legitimately entitled to as a bona fide follower of my party and principles. He who is attempting to deprive me of that right by excluding me from membership in the party on account of the way I make my living, is trying to partially disfranchise me.

Therefore I consider him as a reactionist and before I allow him to have his way, he must fight. You know, Comrade Editor, that I have no illusions as to the usefulness of intellectuals or middle-class men in the Socialist Party. Intellectuals have either willfully or through a wrong understanding of our philosophy used our party to boost their personal ambition. It was my privilege to point out in these columns how un-Socialistic and unscientific it would be to cater to the wishes of a middle class which lacks an evolutionary conception of its status.

I will go further and state that it is an open question in my mind if the constant and careful watching required by the actual middle-class men admitted in the Socialist ranks is offset by the services which they might be able to give to the movement. I agree with Marx that their greatest usefulness to the proletariat starts after they themselves have been proletarianized.

But when all that is said, we have still made no case to justify the exclusion of unproductive laborers, retailers, farmers and social servants from the party as a matter of principle.

I hope you will agree that this answer is to the point, i. e., that I have not invaded any other domain than the one in which you have started the attack. I do not ask you to print my answer; I know you will.

Yours for Socialism,
HUBERT LANGEROCK,
Care Marrian Hall, 208 1/2 Stark St.,
Portland, Or.

EDITOR'S COMMENT.

This letter of Langerock's is the first intimation we have had that there is a "Socialist Party" in Oregon in contradistinction to the Socialist Party of which Sladden is state secretary. The fact that Langerock is officially connected with such a new party and fighting what Sladden stands for, is proof enough that he does not "now" represent what his writings have heretofore led us to believe he represented.

We are not even very much concerned that Sladden may have been guilty of undemocratic methods. For

example, in Washington at the Everett Gag Convention and in the case of Barnes' unconstitutional interference with the Washington organization, it was not so much the autocratic actions as the triumph of Middle Class Socialism which concerned us most. So in Oregon, we know by years of experience what Sladden stands for. And therefore we know what Langerock stands for when he organizes another party in Oregon to down Sladden.

The fact, too, that Langerock circulated Untermann's attack on Sladden and omitted Titus' reply to the same, reveals plainly that Langerock agreed with Untermann's plea for Middle Class membership in the Socialist Party.

Further still, Langerock in this letter defends Untermann's rather than Sladden's position, though he is far less certain than Untermann; indeed, he "agrees with Marx" that Middle Class men are more useful to the Socialist Party after they have been proletarianized than before. Still he argues for their retention in the Socialist Party, but on three rather hazy grounds:

(1) Inasmuch as a Middle class man is a middle-class man, not because he would choose to be such under other conditions, but because he can make most money as a Middle Class man within the present day environment; therefore he should be admitted to the Proletarian organization. That's a queer psychological presentation of the case. All it means is, "I am Middle Class because it is my interest to be Middle Class; therefore let me into the Wage Class Party." But we can't see the "therefore," when stated thus baldly.

(2) The Middle Class can be educated to "an enlightened view of social conditions as they are." Therefore, let them into the Proletarian Party. Again, we can't see the force of the "therefore." To be sure, plenty of Middle Class men become Marxian scholars, and an occasional one will forsake his own class to fight for the Proletariat. But the most of them will contend for their own class interests, even if unconsciously, as is amply shown by the perpetual conflicts in the Socialist Parties of Europe and America. What we now believe, as the conclusion drawn from ten years of daily experience in the Washington organization, not from mere mental introspection or formal logic, is this, that when the Wage Workers have an organization of their own, all with common interests and common enlightenment, then they will accomplish results, only hindered by temperamental differences.

(3) Because a Middle Class man votes the Socialist ticket, he should therefore have a part in the councils of the Socialist Party. Did we ever think of that? Yes, Walter Thomas Mills argued that years ago, and has it embalmed in his chapter on organization. However, we are not concerned with any such claims of abstract justice. We are not the least disturbed whether a Middle Class man who votes for the Party is partly disfranchised or not by being excluded from the Party. The only thing that should concern the wage man is whether the business man in the Socialist Party is any good to the Wage Class in its fight for its own emancipation.

Finally, a word as to the "Active List" and the "Assistant List." That proposition was made as a starter by the editor of "The Socialist" in Local Seattle in the fall of 1908. It was introduced into the new Washington Constitution without his knowledge or consent. He regards it as a makeshift and does not favor it, though it is probably harmless. But at this time it requires too much explanation. Local Seattle has stricken out the "Assistant List" from its call for a Referendum on a new Constitution.

The only inconsistency between this two-list proposition and Titus' "Revolutionary and Reform Socialism" is the presence of the "Assistants." For this pamphlet on "Principles" shows plainly that the Proletariat is the great perennial source of capitalist accumulation and all other exploitations merely subsidiary. The natural "Tactics" to be derived from these "Principles" would be to unite the exploited Proletarians into one mighty revolutionary invincible body to win their own emancipation. And let those that will or must, assist.

It may here be added in explanation of the long delay in publication of the promised "Tactics of Revolutionary Socialism," that the author, having no cut and dried plan, has been awaiting as a pupil the instruction of events. What has occurred in Washington, Oregon, and less conspicuously in some other states as well as in France, Germany, England, Australia, has furnished a deal of such instruction. Tactics must be adapted to events, the main tactics to the main events, the minor and temporary tactics to the detailed events.

And that is what all this discussion is about.

Send in 25 cents for one, or \$1 for 5, subscriptions to The Socialist with story of the Swedish strike in every paper as long as strike lasts.

Get busy on this Swedish strike story. We need the money, you need the experience, and the wage workers need to be shown!

Get busy on this Swedish strike story. We need the money, you need the experience, and the wage workers need to be shown!

Get busy on this Swedish strike story. We need the money, you need the experience, and the wage workers need to be shown!

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Get busy on this Swedish strike story. We need the money, you need the experience, and the wage workers need to be shown!

Tom Sladden Under Fire

Concluded from Page 2

stock." In other words, it was the value of products left after the operating expenses of the live stock were deducted. But that shows by no means a clear cash gain for the farmer. The actual expenses for fertilizer, hauling, seeds, etc., are still to be deducted, even from that small value. Under these circumstances, does any sane man imagine that Marx would have called the majority of the farmers in the United States "capitalists"?

In Washington and Oregon the overwhelming majority of the population are by no means wage-workers, as Sladden asserts, but farmers. The majority of these farmers belong to the proletarianized class or are in process of proletarianization. A so-called revolutionist, who wants a Socialist Party in those States which shall be controlled, not even by the wage-workers of all occupations, who constitute about 5 per cent. of the population of those States, but by a still smaller minority, namely by the common unskilled workers, is not organizing a political party, but either a sect of fanatics or a gang of reactionaries for the purpose of keeping the Socialist Party split, inefficient and useless. He is preventing the growth of an organization of revolutionists who might conquer the political power in those States!

Editor's Note.—Untermann's percentages in the preceding paragraph are ridiculously erroneous. For instance, to say the wage workers of all occupations in the state of Washington constitute only about five per cent. of the population of that state, is to affirm that there are only 50,000 wage workers in Washington. But there are 15,000 members of organized labor in Seattle alone and over 40,000 members of Labor Unions in the state. It is estimated there are 90,000 men working in the woods alone, lumberjacks and such, mostly unorganized. Instead of 50,000, the best judges, like F. W. Cotterill, agent of the Central Labor Council in Seattle for years, claim at least 250,000 wage workers in the state of Washington. Sladden can speak for Oregon. But this "5 per cent." of Untermann's is so wildly miscalculated as to lead us to doubt any statistics he may quote. It is certainly as bad and more mischievous than Sladden's break about Untermann's translating ability.

Capitalism and the Socialist Party have outgrown the stage in which any sectarian organization can play any political role worthy of note. The forces of social development are driving other classes than mere wage-workers into the Socialist Party. These elements cannot be kept out of it nor disfranchised in the management of its affairs. Sladden's rough-neck science is trying to sweep these forces back with a slum plank. He will accomplish nothing else than to drown himself and his rough-necks in the flood.

Sladden talks about economic determinism, but fails to apply it. He talks about proletarian organization, but he is disorganizing the Socialist Party in Oregon. He talks about Marxian science, but he is a pitiful tyro in it. He talks about another comrade's manner of translating Marx, but he is incapable of reading the original works of Marx without the work of that same comrade, and makes his foolish charges without being able to read the language of the original and prove his charges.

The Sladden style of revolutionist is either an anarchist or a capitalist middle-head, if he is not a police spy and bribed tool of capitalism. His one asset is to play the role of a savior of the proletarian revolution from the "danger" of other classes in the Socialist Party. This is exactly the way in which some anarchists used to talk about Marx and his dangerous middle-class ideas in the old International. It is sheer buncombe. There is no distinct class in the Socialist Party that could be identified with opportunism, nor any distinct class that could be identified with revolutionary tactics. Sladden admits, himself, that many wage-workers are conservative, although his manner of putting it is a travesty on the truth, for it is not true that the skilled wage-worker is, as a rule, conservative. It would be much nearer the truth to say that the common unskilled worker is, as a rule, conservative or even reactionary. Although he gets less than any other worker, although his condition is more precarious than that of other wage-workers, he, as a class, verges closely to that "passively rotting" state, which Marx attributes to the slum proletariat. Certainly the common unskilled wage-workers, as a class, have less resisting power and less revolutionary fire than the better situated wage-workers. At best they will flare up in a violent, and useless, revolt. But as a class they are harder to organize and to educate than their better situated fellow-workers. They are a shifting population, like the farm laborers, for whom Sladden has not enough scorn, and their hours of labor and wages prevent them from acquiring any efficient information as readily as the better-paid workers.

To lift the common unskilled laborer upon a pedestal of glory and pretend that he is the ideal revolutionist, is a slap in the face of historical truth. And to do so in the name of a defense of Marxian science against me on the

plea that I am a "middle-class freak," is to invite the ridicule of the entire international Socialist movement upon the party in Oregon.

The Socialist Party all over the world has admitted and will admit in the future exceptional individuals of all classes who apply for admission. And it will admit as a class ALL wage-workers, skilled and unskilled, and those proletarianized small business men and small farmers, whose economic and political class interests inevitably place them on the side of the fighting proletariat. And having admitted them, the party will be administered democratically by all of them on the basis of equal rights and duties, no matter how much freaks like Sladden may froth at their yawping mouths.

If this hue and cry against all but common unskilled wage-workers is not conscious malintent, then it is a misapprehension of Marxian science and a complete misinterpretation of the needs of the hour. In either case, I shall continue to combat it vigorously and to work for the organization of a really effective Socialist Party in the Midland Empire.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

A Reply

In last week's "Socialist" there appeared an article entitled "The Real Thing vs. Ideals," by Comrades Beulah Hyde and Ada Gatchell, which I want to answer at this time, since the "Ideals" in question happen to be mine.

Before starting to reply to the comrades I want to say that the class-consciousness displayed—class hatred—is certainly splendid; and I am sure any middle-class member who could dimly appreciate the proletarian position would be more than willing to stand any number of slaps from the wage-working comrades if it would serve to spread this greatest essential for a working-class movement.

To take up the article in question: In the first place, I fall to see where the "ideal" picture I have drawn gives the impression anywhere that I make woman dependent upon man. I have scanned the original article in vain and find nothing that indicates such a position on the part of woman. I emphatically say "some day women are going to have these things. The Socialists are going to see that they do." How are the Socialists going to see that they do? By bringing about the complete emancipation—political, industrial and social—of the great CLASS that produces; which emancipation places man and woman on an absolutely equal footing. Now it seems to me to be absurd for any one to think that when that time arrives home will be abolished at once. And by home I do not mean that artificial, hideous thing that is the product of present monogamous marriage. I mean the environment a man and woman will surround themselves with, that produces an atmosphere congenial to two people who find the one to be the complement of the other.

Does woman's independence and her "emancipation from man" mean the annihilation of nature's law that governs mating? I think not; yet where there is the coming together of the sexes there is bound to be some place, some retreat, which shall stand for home—at least for a time.

Is it ideal to say that we shall surround ourselves with beauty? Is it ideal to say that we want those things that the working class has never had and NEVER CAN have under the present system?

Under the new system will it be impossible for woman to have what appeals to her if man doesn't give it to her?

Such a position seems to me to be the attitude of one whose starved nature is incapable of admitting that beauty exists because it has never felt it.

Yes, comrades; as you say, we have lots of beautiful places today, and who has produced them? Is our position not this: Are we not tired of producing—producing for others to enjoy; and are we not all of us working with one purpose, with one thought—to produce so that all who produce may have and enjoy the products?

Are we to stop producing the comforts that have been enjoyed by another class because our class hatred is such that we would rather live as we live now than have the other comforts because, perforce, they are middle class?

What are we fighting for?

Work, did you say? Does it require more work to keep a fur rug clean than a worn-out ingrain carpet for instance? Does it take more work to keep a large airy room furnished tastefully than to keep a little 10 x 10 with a cheap set of furniture crowded into it, and the trunk under the bed? I know from experience that it is harder by far to keep a 14 x 20 cabin in order than it is to keep a five-roomed house with conveniences.

plea that I am a "middle-class freak," is to invite the ridicule of the entire international Socialist movement upon the party in Oregon.

The Socialist Party all over the world has admitted and will admit in the future exceptional individuals of all classes who apply for admission. And it will admit as a class ALL wage-workers, skilled and unskilled, and those proletarianized small business men and small farmers, whose economic and political class interests inevitably place them on the side of the fighting proletariat. And having admitted them, the party will be administered democratically by all of them on the basis of equal rights and duties, no matter how much freaks like Sladden may froth at their yawping mouths.

If this hue and cry against all but common unskilled wage-workers is not conscious malintent, then it is a misapprehension of Marxian science and a complete misinterpretation of the needs of the hour. In either case, I shall continue to combat it vigorously and to work for the organization of a really effective Socialist Party in the Midland Empire.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

We all long for the day of the "communal hall," unsparing of materials, generous in worthy ornament, alive with the noblest thoughts of our time and the past, embodied in the best art which a free and manly people could produce; such an abode of man as no private enterprise could come anywhere near for beauty and fitness, because only collective thought and collective life could cherish the aspirations which would give birth to its beauty or have the skill and leisure to carry them out.

Yes, indeed, comrades, it is true we do not know what the future home will be, but there will surely be a home of some kind, and woman and man will have equal share in making it. Every home will not be occupied by a woman and a man, but in the ones where women want to live alone it is safe to say there will be "warmth and music and beauty there."

You say the woman in her "ideal" home "lacks the ability of expanding that the proletarian woman has gained by meeting and dealing with the hard flint facts that arise in her hovel."

That is much the position which is held by the orthodox church. The poor and lowly are able to expand and develop spiritually to an extent impossible for the high and mighty. Nevertheless we are all willing to take a try at the "high and mighty" business if we get a chance. It is because the proletarian woman in her hovel does get a chance to expand that she is waking up and beginning to step out with her brothers into this fight that means everything to her and hers.

Shall woman's position in a congenial surrounding be necessarily but little less secluded than the woman of Greece?

In the bearing of children woman places herself in the front rank of the producers of the world. Is there any production the importance of which compares with the reproduction of the human species?

The bearing of the perfect child will be the greatest factor in future economic production and the worker, in the proposed scheme, will be correspondingly accredited with it. Thus, instead of holding the inferior position of the Greek woman, she changes to the MOST EXALTED position in future society.

You say you waste no time in planning the future home and you leave the picture of the women of the future to the idealist, the dreamer. That may be true; but each and every one of us—no matter how practical, no matter how scientific—has his or her own ideal tucked away somewhere, and consciously or unconsciously each is working for the attainment of his ideal.

The woman of today is, without doubt, "over-sexed," and in the first wild draught of freedom many women will turn their backs on even the thought of sexual relations and the bearing of children, but the rank and file of both men and women will still have that more than instinct that culminates in the "tripartite unit" society.

The militant suffrage movement is full of women who want emancipation from men; but are they women of the working class? No; they are middle class almost to a woman. And at present they are using every means by which to entice the working woman into their ranks, but with no success.

There is one paragraph that befuddles my middle-class mind, comrades, and it is this: "If the women of the working class will assert themselves, which they will do more and more as they are awakened to the necessity, the middle class woman will be in a position to offer them as a principle the ideals from from the life that working women had always respected and envied."

I have twisted this around and can only make out that you are contradicting yourselves and that you are admitting for your class that middle-class ideals are what working-class women have always wanted; consequently are what they will work for.

As for gallantry—well, it is a quality I have never found in the working class, so I cannot appreciate your position there. The only gallantry I am conversant with is the pseudo-gallantry of the middle class!

But I agree with you, comrades, that this is a movement of the working class, or should be, and I, too, have no apology to make. Middle class I am, nor have I ever claimed to be anything else. But as every comrade who knows me knows, I have worked from the beginning for a Proletarian Organization. I hold the position that, being typically middle class, I am more of a hindrance than a help to the movement when I participate in street work, and have, therefore, given it up.

When I can say, "I, as a middle-class woman, am not allowed in the ranks of the working-class party, but the working class sees fit to use me to further its own ends," then and not 'til then will I be of any real service to the proletariat.

When the working class says, as you

Propaganda Material

The Terrible Truth About Marriage

by VINCENT HARPER. A brilliant analysis of capitalist marriage. Suppressed by the chief of police of Seattle, though wholly without warrant. Was 25c. Now 10c.

Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism

By HERMON F. TITUS. It is the only pamphlet published in this country which clearly and simply defines the principles of Revolutionary Socialism. Simply great for propaganda. Price 5c.

The Historical Achievement of Karl Marx

by KARL KAUTSKY. Translated for "The Socialist" by Ernest Untermann. A brilliant appreciation of Karl Marx's services to the Proletariat. Intensely interesting and readable. Best possible propaganda. Price 5c.

Anarchism

By GUSTAV BANG of Denmark. Nothing in recent years has been written which so clearly shows up the inconsistent and ludicrous position of the Anarchists and the menace these doctrines are to the working class movement. Should be read by every worker. Price 5c.

Trustee Printing Co. Box 1908, Seattle

as individuals, have said to me: "Get out of our movement; we don't need you; you don't understand our needs and we don't want you." I stand ready to comply immediately. But as long as the working class party thinks it can use me to help, even in the most menial way, in its emancipation, I will keep on doing what I can, in spite of the opinion of some individuals.

You cannot know how distasteful it has been to me to have to inject anything of a personal nature into this reply, but I have been almost forced to by the nature of the comrades' article, so I thought it best to state my position as concisely as I could.

To your last paragraph, comrades, I will not reply. If it is directed to the middle-class element in general, that is in the universal Socialist movement, I am not the one to take up the cudgels, for I heartily agree with you. But if, on the other hand, it is meant for me, I can only say that I have been a complete failure if, after two years' work among the Seattle comrades there should be one who could think me such a perfect hypocrite. BESSY FISET.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

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Whereas, an associate membership of members of the middle and professional classes as proposed in the draft drawn up at the recent conference held in conjunction with the State Committee of the Socialist Party, would still leave dangers of the middle class control; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Seattle, No. 1, in regular meeting assembled expresses itself in favor of a party composed exclusively of proletarians as defined in the Communist Manifesto.

Resolved, To amend proposed Constitution by substituting the following for Sec. 2 of Art. 2: "The membership shall be composed exclusively of proletarians as described in the Communist Manifesto." (Engels' foot note to first section.)

Action of Local Seattle, Sept. 30, '09. Resolved, That Secretary be instructed to communicate with Local Portland notifying it that we stand with them absolutely for a wage workers' party and wish to co-operate, inquiring as to future plans.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

And right here is a good place to tell you that we have received a good supply of Ben's "Fight for Your Life" and it is for sale at this office for 25c each, postage prepaid. "Fight for Your Life" is a 128-page paper covered book containing some of Ben's best writings and should be in the hands of every Socialist. Besides, it is about as good propaganda as you can well get.

Get busy on this Swedish strike story. We need the money, you need the experience, and the wage workers need to be shown!

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HERMANHARD AT IT LATE SWEDISH STRIKE NEWS

Progress of the Campaign -- Notes from the Field by Our Candidate, Emil M. Herman

The opening guns of the campaign were fired by Comrade Jos. Biscay and myself at a street meeting in Tacoma on Oct. 1.

"Injunction Bill" Taft was in town at the same time. It required an entire regiment of cavalry, several dozen secret service men, and a host of sharpshooters stationed on a bluff to protect his precious hide, in spite of the fact that the G. O. P. are in complete control in the nation, State, county and city.

Our audience was large and enthusiastic, and in spite of, or perhaps because of, the strenuous opposition of the local recognized by Barnes and the N. E. C. as Local Tacoma of the Socialist Party, the meeting was a success in every way. A collection of \$1.16 was taken up and \$5.45 worth of good literature sold, including 30 copies of "The Socialist."

Oct. 2.—Spoke in Yelm. Meeting held on street. The town is small, and it was quite cold.

As a result, the audience shifted considerably, and ranged from three to twenty people. In spite of all these drawbacks \$1.85 worth of literature was disposed of.

Another of our speakers should visit this locality before the close of the campaign, but instead of speaking in Yelm, should go to McKinnon (two and one-half miles from Yelm), which is a big lumber camp, and hold the meeting there.

Comrade L. W. Longuire can always be depended upon to arrange meetings at this place. This is the man whom the Burgess-Brown-Bostrom crowd, through J. B. Osborn, classify as a farmer. It is true that he owns a piece of land, but in order to live he is nevertheless compelled to sell his labor-power for wages.

On Oct. 3d had a very interesting street meeting in Centralia. Comrade C. W. Garrett, who can always be depended upon to do the right thing at the right time, had advertised the meeting thoroughly, with the result that we had a good-sized audience.

The meeting was called to order by Comrade Garrett at 7:30 p. m., and after he had delivered several sledgehammer blows and attracted somewhat of a crowd, introduced me.

I had hardly gotten well started when the Salvation Army made their appearance and set up within ten feet of our box. I at once announced to the audience that it would be impossible for me to compete with the band of these disciples of dead issues, and called upon them to decide, with the request that "All those who desire to abolish the hell of wage-slavery on earth and run chances on what will happen to you after you are dead, please step in close, and all those of you who are more interested in what will happen to you after you are dead than you are about your condition now may visit the Salvation Army." They all lined up with us, and the music, speaking and praying of the Salvation Army was wasted upon the desert air.

After the Salvation Army was disposed of a man who drives an automobile came along, and with a face long and pious informed me that the things I was saying were too horrible to be told on the public street, and especially on a Sunday evening.

I had been commenting on an editorial which appeared on the front page of the Seattle Daily Star about ten days ago, and which commended itself so favorably to the Rev. Matthews that he wanted it framed and placed in every schoolroom of every school in the city.

The editorial in question referred to the death of Goldie Porter and stated that "the line from the roadhouse to the morgue is straight and true." In commenting on this I made the statement that while this may be true, the Star and Rev. Matthews overlook one important fact, and that is that the road from the Bon Marche (where Goldie Porter was employed) to the roadhouse is just as straight and true as the one they referred to, and pointed out that if they abolish every roadhouse and saloon, Goldie Porter and other girls would still be wage-slaves, and while working for the Bon Marche and other capitalist concerns, still find it necessary to depend upon "gentlemen friends" in order to live, whereas if they followed our advice and abolished the wage system these girls would not only be emancipated from wage-slavery, but from the necessity of prostituting their bodies as well.

The goody-goody rummy referred to above asked me to cut this out, and upon my informing him that I was furnishing the brains for that particular lecture, and needed no assistance from him, he threatened to knock my block off. I told him that two could play at that game, and that some Socialist agitators could make things just as interesting with their fists as with their mouths. He then pursued a different tack, and said that had he the authority he would place me under arrest. Then, acting on his own suggestion, he turned to a policeman who was standing near (I feel sure this was pre-arranged) and requested him to arrest me.

The cop evidently thought he could

bluff me off the street, and asked me to quit speaking or submit to arrest. I told him I would not quit speaking until I got ready, that jail had no terrors for me, I having been there too many times before, and that I was not afraid of anything he could do to me.

A few of the crowd were urging him on to arrest me, but the vast majority called out several times, "Go ahead; go ahead and speak!" and I did speak and without further molestation at that, although two policemen hung around till the close of the meeting.

At this meeting a collection of \$3.10 was taken up and \$3.35 worth of literature sold. The followers of Barnes and Simons, etc., consisting of all the old-time fusionists and compromisers, such as N. H. Harris, who was recently expelled from the local at this place for campaigning in the interest of and voting for the republican candidate for

mayor in a recent municipal election; H. M. Wood, who defended his action in the local; Harrison, an old-time supporter of W. T. Mills, and others of like calibre, tried to organize here about a week ago, but they couldn't make it stick, as all Socialists worthy the name are affiliated with Local Centralia of the Socialist Party of Washington. Of course, there are some good Socialists here who do not belong to the local; they are standing aloof because they don't like to fight. We'll get them after while. It's a cinch they won't join the populist contingent referred to above — they know too much about Socialism.

Comrades, push the campaign subscription lists so that speakers may be sent into other parts of the district. If we reach the wage-workers we are sure to win; so get busy.

WHERE DO YOU LIVE?

If you live in any of these counties in Washington, Chehalis, Clallam, Clarke, Cowlitz, Jefferson, Klickitat, Lewis, Mason, Pacific, Pierce, Skamania, Thurston, Wahkiakum; if you live here, get busy. There is an election, a special election on Tuesday, November 2, in your counties. A congressman is to be elected to take the seat of Cushman, who died last summer.

You Wage Workers can elect the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, if you get busy, awful busy.

Remember, Register by October 12.

Remember, Tuesday, Oct. 12, is the last day of registration.

You can't vote in this election Nov. 2, 1909, unless you registered since last January. The election for president was in 1908. Qualification for that is no good for this. You must register, you must register, you must register, if you want to vote to send a Lumber Jack to congress on Nov. 2.

Emil M. Herman is nominated on the Socialist Party ticket. The B. B.'s (Barnes Bourgeois or Bostrom Bourgeois or Brown Bourgeois) in that district have not nominated anybody. Their secretary, Bostrom, tried to force Herman off by false representations to the secretary of state. But it wouldn't work. Herman belongs to the Socialist Party of Washington and the B. B.'s didn't dare test the matter in the courts again. They know they have no right to that name in this state. They were not courageous enough to nominate one of their own on the name "Social Democratic" which they will at last be obliged to adopt, a la their master at Milwaukee. They did not even have the courage of the despised Socialist Labor boys who hustled in a candidate the last minute.

So then, if you live near Tacoma, or Aberdeen, or Vancouver, or South Bend, or Olympia, or Port Townsend,

Next Week

Tom Sladden will have an article in next week's "Socialist."

John Downie, of Seattle, will discuss the "Initiative and Referendum" in next week's "Socialist." He regards it as dangerous to the Proletariat. A new point of view. He also discusses the "Tacoma Platform" and the "Down-with-High-Rents" Platform.

Other timely articles on current topics of the Working Class movement.

See elsewhere the announcement of a "Sensational" news letter from Mexico," selected by Blas Lara.

The Workers

We are getting good returns from the Workers—from those who are working!

Comrades who try to sell subscription cards say they can sell them easy.

Comrade Floyd Hyde sold seven yearly subscription cards at one street meeting at the rate of about a card a minute.

Some comrade is getting subscriptions for us in Cle-Elum. We were getting a sub. a day while he was in Cle-Elum.

Our Roslyn list is getting pretty long, too. Comrade Ristine, of Joplin, Mo., sent us three yearly subscriptions this week and promises more soon.

Comrade Robert Bandlow, editor of The Cleveland Citizen, one of the most prominent labor papers in the country, sent us a dollar to extend his subscription another year. He sends with it one of his breezy and cheery lines, viz., "Just give me 12 months more."—Robert Bandlow. Comrade Bandlow is one of our oldest and staunchest friends.

Blas Lara, a comrade who has just fled from Mexico, where his father and other members of his family are

or Port Angeles, or Shelton, or Centralia, or Chehalis, or Yelm, or Goldendale, or anywhere from Cape Flattery to the Columbia river in the above named counties, get busy and register and vote, and get others to register and vote for Emil M. Herman, the Socialist Party candidate for congress.

There is the best chance to elect ever known in this state. Why? Because nobody is registered and the capitalists can't get their voters out. If you wage workers get a move on you, you can register in such numbers during the next week that nobody on earth can prevent your electing Herman, your own man. He is one of the best speakers and has proved his faithfulness to the workers' cause by years of devotion to the Socialist cause in this state. When the B. B.'s accuse him of "Party Treason," all they mean is, he bolted the Everett Gag Convention, rather than be denied Free Speech by the Middle Class faction which controlled that convention. He now represents the only legal Socialist Party in the State of Washington, that party which has always been and is now more than ever the party of the Wage Workers in this state. Get busy. Get busy quick.

Take no one's word for it, but hunt of the Registration Office in your precinct or town or city. Don't be denied. Get there and swear in your chance to vote.

Oct. 13 will be too late. Beat the capitalists for once.

AND SEND IN YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO GET SPEAKERS ALL OVER THE DISTRICT THIS NEXT WEEK. We have the speakers, but they are too poor to go it alone. Anything from a nickel to a five spot, to Mrs. Anna I. Steele, Treasurer, member of State Committee, 4511 Greenwood Avenue, Seattle, Wash., or to Mrs. Emil M. Herman, Tacoma, Wash., R. F. D. No. 4, Box 207.

Get busy, you!

peons, has just received an account of the terrible treatment of some 200 Mexican political prisoners from one of the prisoners.

This account is being translated for us and will appear in next week's paper. We are receiving orders already for papers to be sent to all parts of Mexico and Southern California from those who know the story is to be translated and published. We expect to receive from now on stories direct from Mexico translated for this paper. This fact and the fact that we are getting news items from the Swedish strikers translated for us each week should give a splendid opportunity to get subscriptions right now.

Don't forget we would rather have a dollar invested in subscription than in any other way.

It we get subscriptions—enough of them—the rest is easy.

We can never get Socialism till the wage workers are educated to understand enough of economics to know what is the matter and what will cure it. And the only way to get an educated wage working class is to educate, educate, and keep on educating!

From Sandgren

Delegate to America of the National Organization of Workers in Sweden.

629 Third Avenue, New York, Sept. 29, 1909.

Editor "Seattle Socialist":

Dear Comrade. — Kindly announce that I require labor and trades union papers from every city in the United States and Canada which contain names and addresses of trades unions and other workingmen's organizations. Please request your readers to kindly obtain such publications for me, and to forward same to me at once, and oblige.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN SANDGREN.

Per H. TRAWIG.

So far no recent change has occurred in the Swedish labor war. Over 150,000 are still out.

The following letter was received last Monday from the two representatives of the Swedish strikers in this country:

"Stockholm, Sept. 29, 1909. Arbeters, 28 City Hall Place, New York:

"Attempts to arbitrate stranded. Employers' term unacceptable. Struggle continues with all the power the Swedish workingmen can command. Only hunger can compel our members to go back. We appeal for continued support. Inform Tholin and Sandgren.

"LANDSSEKRETARIATET, (Swedish Central Organization.) "LINDQUIST."

The "Bakers' Journal," official organ of the Bakery and Confectionery Worker International Union of America, affiliated with the A. F. of L., says in part in its issue of Sept 27th as follows:

"Fifty thousand dollars each week are needed to help our Swedish brothers win this fight, and it must be won. Every one of our locals ought to do its share and donate something to the cause of the Swedish proletariat.

"The support of the Swedish army of striking proletarians is the duty of the hour of the working class of the entire world. Solidarity expressed in hollow phrases will not lead these fighters to victory. Here money is needed and money again and again to relieve the pangs of hunger among the strikers and their families. Heart-rending are the descriptions of the sufferings among these brave fighters and any man reading them and not being induced to dig down into his pocket for his mite, must have a heart of stone."

It is hoped that organized labor of the United States will at once respond to the urgent appeal of the Swedish working class by supporting our strike with substantial contributions, and do so immediately. A start has already been made. The following are a few of the principal contributions: The Custom Boot and Shoe Makers' Union, \$300; Carpenters Local No. 457, \$1,000; Carpenters Local No. 309, \$200; Tailors Local 390, \$300; Executive Board, Brewers' Union, \$500; Executive Board, Moulders' Union, \$500.

All contributions, whether large or small are urgently needed and may be sent to Landssekretariatet, Stockholm, Sweden.

C. H. THOLIN. JOHN SANDGREN. Sept. 30th, 1909.

AROUSE, WAGE WORKERS OF AMERICA!

All who read this should take the hint and send whatever they can spare to the heroic Swedish fighters. Now is the time to help! Delay in sending help may be fatal! Never before has the labor movement been put to such a test! The capitalist class of the world will base its future actions on the outcome of this strike, and the working class of the world must see to it that it is won!

Many unions have already responded to the appeal for funds, but the great majority have not yet taken any action. Remember that this is your fight! Bring it before the next meeting of your union!

EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS CONTINUES SUPPORT.

Much to the regret of the employing class, assistance is continuing to come in from all over Europe. Denmark, Norway and Germany are contributing far more than any other country. The Social Democratic Party of Germany has contributed 50,000 marks from its treasury, besides large sums which have been collected in various ways.

The International Union of Metal Workers, which has a membership of over one million all over Europe, at their convention recently held in Berlin, Germany, voted 500,000 marks to the Swedish strikers.

At the forty-second Trades Union Congress recently held in England, the English organized workers decided to send appeals to all unions, urging them to rally to the support of the Swedish strikers.

CAPITALIST LIES.

In reporting the actions of this congress, the European capitalist press announced that the English Trades Unionists had refused to support the Swedish workers.

And it is not alone the capitalist press which is arrayed against the

strikers, but every force of capitalism is set to work to defeat them.

SWEDISH GOVERNMENT SHOWS TEETH.

The Swedish government is showing more and more plainly that it is determined that its friends, the employers, must win. As an instance the dissolution of the so-called "agreement" committee may be mentioned. This committee was selected by the parliament for the purpose of drawing up a bill providing for agreements between organized labor and organized capital. Shortly after the great strike had broken out the government made inquiries from the committee, asking if it could have its report ready for the session of 1910. The committee replied that its work would not be finished until 1911-12 session. There is to be an election of a new parliament before this session, and as the new election law, providing for universal suffrage, will be in force then, the working class would very likely send a strong representation, and such a body of workingmen might frustrate the efforts of the capitalists. It was, therefore, necessary to dissolve the "agreement" committee so that a measure favoring the employing class may be introduced in the coming session.

This latest act of the government created a great sensation and the Socialist press is making the best of it.

SOCIALIST PRESS INCREASES CIRCULATION.

The influence of the labor press greatly increased during the strike. "Social-Demokraten," Stockholm, in-

creased its circulation from 32,000 before the strike to 57,000 after the strike.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES "GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS."

One of the members of the staff of "Social-Demokraten" was recently sentenced to two years imprisonment for introducing a resolution in which the railroad employes were urged to join the strike. He was charged with "inciting them to break their oath as government officials." This is undoubtedly the first case in history where a railroad brakeman is termed a "government official."

A CAPITALIST BRAINSTORM.

The following correspondence sent from Stockholm to one of the capitalist papers in Copenhagen shows to what length the capitalist press will go in order to turn public sentiment against the strikers. It might be stated in passing that the paper in which this was published was an organ of the "Radical" party. Following is the correspondence:

"The non-Socialist papers have received a long and remarkable anonymous letter which bears the heading 'Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party' and is signed by a mystic figure and the name 'Justus Felix, Chairman of the Executive Committee.'

In the letter it is stated that the Social Democratic Party, which is composed of twelve reliable Democrats selected from twelve trades unions, has been active for two years and has treated eighty-seven cases, of

which sixty-three ended in conviction. Penalties consist of blackmailing, confiscation or destruction of property, and for greater crimes, death. When the death penalty is necessary it will be executed without danger to the members of the court. Those tried by these courts are primarily unscrupulous employers, anti-labor journalists, social vampires and parasites, and, last, but not least, strike-breakers. The letter declares that personal revenge is never considered by the court. In ten cases, it is said, the sentence was passed according to common law. At present, the letter closes, there are five sentences which will be executed by drawing lots."

"It appears that the officials of the Social Democratic party are absolutely without knowledge of this letter, and it is as yet impossible to say whether it should be considered seriously, but light will probably be thrown on the question after a thorough investigation by the police."

Needless to say, the Swedish labor movement has nothing to do with such crazy tomfoolery as the above mentioned letter. There is hardly any question but that it originated in the office of the employers' association.

Send all contributions to LANDSSEKRETARIATET, FOLKETS HUS, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

Send in 25 cents for one, or \$1 for 5, subscriptions to The Socialist with story of the Swedish strike in every paper as long as strike lasts.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

SUPPOSE WE WERE ALIVE!

By Jos. S. Biscay

Just let us suppose that our local here in Seattle should become alive.

Impossible? Well, then, just let us suppose so for a moment. It won't hurt any one. What would be the result? Why, the picture is too vast to conceive. Take your time. Get part of the picture any way.

During the last few months that most of the "live" ones have called us "dead," we have become such an active corpse that our "good" enemies are looking at us with superstitious dread. They have tried to exorcise the spectre—but in vain.

If Local Seattle can do more propaganda in a week than all the rest of the state in six months—being dead, too—what would happen if it came to life? Is it not a stupendous thought? Just think of a bunch of "dead" ones holding 62 meetings on the streets during September.

Got that in your pate? No? Well, take your time.

Now, then! Conceive, if you can, this same local selling \$214.50 worth of literature at these 62 meetings, incidentally stopping to hold an extra meeting to collect funds for the Swedish strikers and collecting \$60.62 at this single meeting.

Don't pull out your hair, dear enemy. You are alive and it might hurt you. Here, drink this, down your disappointment, down your sorrow; we are thoughtless and, being dead, can not consider feelings such as yours, who are alive.

You tried to follow our example? Tried to impose upon our crowd and fool them, eh? No use, I tell you. You are not built right. Don't be so down-hearted; the worst is yet to come. We are going to build up a working class party and dump you on the pile with the rest of the garbage. Your middle class smell will harmonize there.

We haven't the brains? No. I admit, willingly, we haven't what you consider brains. Ours are effective. Your brains were diluted, in a temple of learning, with all kinds of dope that has dulled your senses and makes you see shavings through green glasses. Naturally you eat the shavings, thinking it is grass. You call this knowledge and wisdom.

We who have no blinkers or green goggles refuse to eat what you call good. You see, our brains were developed by the hand method.

What is that? Why, the same method that we develop our muscles. Haven't you noticed us playing with railroad ties, or digging big holes in the ground while others are rearing sky-scrapers or juggling steel rails?

Our gymnasium covers the earth. Your little room, where you skip rope and chin yourself is too small for us. In this way we develop our minds, too. The tiny place you went to learn can never hold what we learn,

that is why you are deficient. Our strength, both physical and mental, covers the earth, and if it were not for our good nature you would have rotted long ago.

We are not in your class? Of course not. To be in your class we would have to become degenerates. We wish to improve, not to descend to your level.

Now, dear enemy, I wish to add a word of advice. Of course, you won't take it, but I wish to relieve myself, anyway. Don't send any more imbeciles to ask foolish questions about Socialism. You want to know what it is? Well, don't be in such a hurry. When you become a useful member of society like ourselves we can explain it so you can understand. Your mind will be more expanded then. Until then, don't ask foolish questions; don't wrestle with the colossal question with your puny intellect. You are too light. Let us heavyweights who have always shouldered the burden of the world handle this also. Better stand on the sidewalk and let the procession go by. You will be run over and hurt if you get in the way.

Good ventilation—no explosions, no deaths of miners.

In a word, when there is more regard of workmen's lives than for dividends, then explosions and their horrors will cease.

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which sixty-three ended in conviction. Penalties consist of blackmailing, confiscation or destruction of property, and for greater crimes, death. When the death penalty is necessary it will be executed without danger to the members of the court. Those tried by these courts are primarily unscrupulous employers, anti-labor journalists, social vampires and parasites, and, last, but not least, strike-breakers. The letter declares that personal revenge is never considered by the court. In ten cases, it is said, the sentence was passed according to common law. At present, the letter closes, there are five sentences which will be executed by drawing lots."

"It appears that the officials of the Social Democratic party are absolutely without knowledge of this letter, and it is as yet impossible to say whether it should be considered seriously, but light will probably be thrown on the question after a thorough investigation by the police."

Needless to say, the Swedish labor movement has nothing to do with such crazy tomfoolery as the above mentioned letter. There is hardly any question but that it originated in the office of the employers' association.

Send all contributions to LANDSSEKRETARIATET, FOLKETS HUS, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

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