

# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

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## GOMPERS A SOCIALIST, TOO

Addressing the farmers assembled at St. Louis on May 2nd, Samuel Gompers advocated a coalition between the "Organized Farmers" and "Organized Labor." When they "stand shoulder to shoulder," Gompers said, "fighting for equality and justice, then will come a new dispensation and a new order of things."

This is exactly what the Socialist Party, as now constituted, is also seeking, an alliance between the wage workers and the farmers in a common political organization. It ought certainly to be possible for the new Socialist Party to receive the endorsement of Samuel Gompers. If a Labor Party is formed by the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the Gompers and "Farmers' Union," there will no longer be any excuse for the separate existence of that insignificant and dwindling organization known as the Socialist Party of the United States. A. M. Simons, himself a constant champion of the Farmers as essential to the Socialist movement, will then be seen to have been right in his letter to Walling when he advocated the practical adjournment of the Socialist Party in favor of the coming Labor Party.

Gompers' words ought to give comfort and encouragement to all Christian Socialists, too. He enthusiastically declares: "The growing together of Organized Labor and the Farmers means the end of the battle between dollars and humanity and the end of the struggle of ages to free the industrial worker from being bound to the soil. On the horizon can be seen the dawn of a new day, when shall be ushered in the real brotherhood of man."

Such a party can hardly be called a Labor Party or a Farmers' Party. We suggest "The Producers' Party," which will satisfy even our good friend of Biloxi, who claims all producers of wealth, both farmers who work and laborers who work, have common interests and should therefore be in the same political party. For do they not all want to secure the "Full Product of their Toil?"

Here is Mr. Gompers' argument of the same effect: "The farmers do not get too much for their product, nor wage earners too much for their labor, and if I read the signs of the times aright, the grinding of the masses for the profit of the few will not continue everlastingly. We're going to get more, and then more, until the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness becomes an actuality and not a glittering generality."

Why should not that declaration qualify Mr. Gompers for admission to the Socialist Party, or, at least, to that branch of it known as the Social-Democratic Party of Wisconsin, where the Party pledge omits all reference to the Class Struggle? It is not surprising, indeed, that one despatch reports Gompers as speaking approvingly of the Milwaukee victory. Gompers and Berger belong in the same party. Berger says his "Revolution" means "An endless series of continually changing important details," and Gompers says his means "More, and then More." The only difference is, Gompers says just what he means and Berger is trying to conceal what he means.

But Gompers and Berger and Simons and the Socialist Party, for the sake of votes and success, utterly ignore two facts: (1) The millions of Farm Laborers, unorganized, to be sure, and even unregistered in the census, but who demand higher wages and decent conditions which the farmers cannot give and continue to make their profits. Who ever heard of a Farmers' Union encouraging the formation of a Farm Laborers' Union? Mr. Gompers' fine talk about "standing shoulder to shoulder for equality and justice," and the "Real Brotherhood of Man," would indeed be a "Glittering Generality," if the Harvest Laborers of the Red River Valley should go on strike next summer for more wages, shorter hours, sweeter butter and sleeping quarters without parasitic inhabitants.

In the second place, our "Producers' Party," embracing Farmers and Wage Workers together, ignores the fact that the abolition of the Trust will not help the Proletarian while it will help the Farmers. Gompers talks of the "grinding of the masses for the profit of the few," a strictly middle class expression, echoing the universal outcry of the present, "Down with the Trusts." If Gompers had said instead, "The grinding of the Wage Earners for the profit of the Capitalists will not continue everlastingly," he would not have been applauded by the Farmers and his words would not have been telegraphed over the country by the Associated Press. That in the very payment of wages, even the "Fair day's wage for a Fair day's work" as promised by Berger, the wage worker is robbed of his product, whether by the Big Trust or by the Little Farmer, that tremendous fact of facts is ignored by the "Justice and Equality" people. They ignore the fact that this wage robbery will go on exactly the same when the "grinding of the masses for the profit of the few" has been stopped. For then the grinding of the wage worker for the profit of the employer will continue, exactly as it did fifty years ago before there were any Trusts.

The Farmer wants to buy his trust made farm machinery at lower prices and he wants to send his wheat and pork to market at lower rates than the railroad trusts will grant. But if the Wage Workers who are employed in the manufacture of farm machinery or in running the Railroads, succeed in forcing up their wages and thus increasing the expenses of producing machinery and transportation, these machinery and railroad trusts will reimburse themselves by raising the price of machinery and the rates of transportation, as they are doing at this moment and as their monopoly enables them to do.

Thus, while the Labor Unions fight for higher wages which will produce higher prices, the Farmers' Unions fight for lower prices and consequent lower wages. One pushes down and the other pushes up. They push against each other, in spite of the "Brotherhood of Man." The only way in which they can "work shoulder to shoulder" is the way Jeffries and Johnson will work shoulder to shoulder in a clinch. The "Greenback Labor Party" of 20 years ago went to smash in short order, because it was composed of these same two irreconcilable classes, the Wage Worker and the Farmer. There is a better chance of success now, for the shameful reason that the wage worker seems more ready now to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the middle class. The tremendous Middle Class Rebellion against the Trusts in America, using the phrases of a pseudo socialism for a trap, is "sweeping the country," and Mr. Gompers and the Socialist Party are yielding gracefully and not unwillingly to the lure of temporary gains.

But Facts are unyielding and will avenge themselves. The awful fact of Wage Exploitation will not down. It will destroy all combinations which ignore it. This burst of Middle-Classism, now hypnotizing the Proletariat, will surely pass in the future years. The Wage-Class must sometime cast off its delusions and proceed to act for itself.

That "the interests of the farmers and the wage workers are identical," is proved by reports from the farming sections of this state of wholesale roundups by constables and marshals of "hoboes" who may be passing through the country who are given the alternative of working for the farmers at the rate of wages the farmers wish to pay or going on the chain gang. Even "Brother" Industrial Capitalist does not go to such extremes.

## French "Syndicalism" at Work

France is known as a country of thoroughgoing revolutions and if events in the labor movement during recent years count for anything, indications are that she intends to live up to her reputation. In no other country has the Proletariat shown such bitter class feeling, such disregard of the well-being of their employers. The capitalists, as the French workers have displayed in hundreds of strikes in the last few years.

About a month ago a dispute arose between the ship-owners and sailors on the steamer "Mouloya" at Marseilles. The ship-owners had hired twelve Arabian firemen, although the law demands that only French sailors may be employed in the French merchant marine, and in return prohibits sailors from taking hire on foreign boats. This law exists because the state is thus assured of a sufficient number of sailors for the navy in time of war. All sailors and marine firemen are therefore on the naval rolls as members of the navy.

The Arabians were hired for starvation wages and there is no doubt but that they were to be used as tools for breaking up the sailors' organization and bringing down their standard of living.

The sailors resented this action and went on strike.

The strike spread to other ships in this, France's most important harbor, and from there it reached to other ports on the coast as well as to Algiers, across the Mediterranean Sea.

Whether the strike has been settled or what the further developments are is not known in this country, as the capitalist press is absolutely silent.

## "A Pale, Interesting Complexion"

In the "letter-box" of a German women's journal a subscriber recently asked how she might acquire a "pale, interesting complexion."

A dressmaker recommends the following unflattering remedy, which she herself has tried:

"Sit for twelve hours of twenty-four, bent over the sewing machine, together with eleven other dressmakers, in a room with hardly enough space for six. The room should have but one solitary window, which will give insufficient light, thus necessitating that gas be used which renders the air in the room no better.

"Any lady who desires a pale and delicate complexion, needs but to occupy the place of one of these twelve.

"Furthermore, if she desires a slender figure she needs but miss her noonday meal two or three times weekly, such as seamstresses are compelled to do."

The young girl concludes as follows:

"I, Anna Plogdick, with my unchangeable, yellowish-pale complexion, guarantee that the experiment will be successful."

## SOME MORE HISTORY

Eleanor Marx, in her "Working Class Movement in England," will bear quoting just now, as American trade unionism has followed pretty closely in the wake of the English, only years behind as a rule.

She says: "After the Paris Commune (1871), the majority of trade unionists deserted from the International and became distinctly reactionary. It seemed as if the old revolutionary spirit of Chartist days (the '40s) and the short revival of it during the sixties, had died out.

"With the cry of 'No politics,' so welcome to the bourgeois, the anarchists, and the mouchards (Pinkertons), the English workers degenerated into a mere tail of the 'Great Liberal Party,' and, with the exception of some strikes, made for a slight bettering in the conditions of some special class of labor, the working class movement seemed dead.

"The unions were becoming merely huge benefit societies for the relief of the employing class. It is a strange fact that while the unions originally were great fighting organizations who, under the cloak of 'Benefit Societies,' fought the employers, they now largely became great benefit societies under the cloak of 'Fighting Organizations.'

"To a large extent this is still (1895) the case. Thus the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, one of the oldest, richest and most powerful of the unions, during the last year (1894) spent the huge sum of 246,388 pounds (over a million dollars) on 'benefits'—that is, sick pay, out-of-work pay, superannuation—as against 1,568 pounds (less than \$10,000) spent on strikes, lockouts, and real 'fighting' purposes.

"There came a long period of stagnation. But economic forces were at work, more revolutionary than any revolutionary party. The world market was being lost to England, and with it the superior position of the English workers."

(Compare what follows with the quotation from Engels in 1892, found elsewhere in this paper under the head of "England, 1892—America, 1910," in which the old warrior, about to die, salutes the "New Unionism." Will Thorne and Tom Mann, and especially John Burns, products of this East End, unskilled unionism, may not indeed have fulfilled the hopes of the ever-sanguine Engels, but as a result of the new forces introduced into the English working class movement at that time and since, the Labor party now controls British politics and is at this moment driving the Liberal party to make concession after concession to the interests of the proletariat.—Editor.)

"The number of unorganized 'laborers,'" continues Eleanor Marx, "and even of unorganized artisans, was growing constantly; the trade unions found themselves face to face with entirely new conditions. With 1889 there began a movement whose effects have been infinitely greater than those who made it ever believed they would be.

"The first impulse came from the gas-workers. In the March of 1889 a union had been formed among these 'laborers,' whom the skilled artisans had hitherto looked down upon, and these men, instead of demanding increased wages, demanded an eight-hour day. Under the leadership of William Thorne—one of the ablest, most disinterested and devoted men England numbers among her working-class leaders, a convinced Socialist as well as trade unionist—the gas-workers were successful, and by July of



## LABOR WAR IN GERMANY

By Arthur Jensen

The class-struggle, about which the Socialists talk so much, is more than a mere theory, nearly everybody knows. That the capitalist press realizes it is being made manifest by its studied ignoring of great battles in the international class war.

One of the more recent instances is the great lockout in the building industry in Germany.

### CAPITALIST PRESS SILENT.

A few lines, briefly relating that such a lockout was declared was all that was printed in the Seattle dailies. "The Star," the workingman's friend (?), did not even print a line about this lockout, which is of such interest to workingmen.

We are therefore compelled to await the arrival of the European Labor papers, before any definite idea can be formed of the trouble.

### CAUSES OF LOCK-OUT.

The facts leading toward the lock-out are about as follows:

The workers in the German building industry have for a long time been among the best organized, and therefore the best paid. In practically all of the larger cities their working hours have been reduced to nine, and in no place do they exceed ten, as compared to eleven and twelve of some years ago.

Master Builders are organized into local branches which in turn are federated into "The Employers' Association in the German Building Industry."

This central organization has not, until the last few years, directly interfered with trade agreements.

In 1908 it appeared for the first time with a general proposition, representing all master builders. In 1909 a one year's contract was made with the unions in the building industry. This contract was to run until April 1, 1910.

It was evidently believed by the German employers that the workingmen would not dare to enter a nationwide fight and could thus better be cowed.

Because of the industrial depression of last year the German unions submitted to certain conditions in the contract which they would not have done under ordinary circumstances. For instance, piece work was recognized, under certain conditions.

Towards the close of 1909 the Employers' Association proposed a new agreement to go into effect April 1, 1910.

### CAPITAL'S ULTIMATUM.

In this ultimatum, the demands made on the unions are so many that space forbids the enumeration of them all. However, following are some of the most important ones.

1. It was demanded that the unions recognized piece work, without limitation.

2. In place of a minimum wage, the employers want introduced an average or normal wage, and in place of a fixed wage scale, a classified or graded scale.

3. Workers are to pledge themselves, through their organization, to use only employment agencies, conducted by the employers, when seeking work.

4. Wages to remain the same.

5. Working hours not to be less than ten.

6. All agitation to be prohibited on the jobs or on places connected therewith.

7. Labor organizations are to pledge themselves to accept whatever form of wages (merchandise, cash, house rent, etc.) employers in the respective localities consider most suitable.

These are some of the chief demands made by the employers.

Of course, it is impossible to accept them.

### EMPLOYERS SPLIT.

However, the lock-out is not as general as the employers wished it. The local organization of master builders have in several cities withdrawn from the central body and made local agreements with the unions. This is the case in Hamburg, Magdeburg and several other large cities in northern Germany.

The lock-out was declared April 15, but because of the disaffection in the employers' ranks less than 200,000 were thrown out of work instead of 400,000 as threatened by the employers.

On account of the silence of the capitalist press and of the lack of a Labor press telegraphic service no details are known as to the further progress of the lock-out. We must await the arrival of the foreign papers.

"The Workingman's Paper," "Dear Comrades: I send you \$3.00 to pay for 'The Workingman's Paper' for myself and for two other comrades. Yours for the success of the paper and the friends who have stood by you. WM. H. BROWN."

Comrade Brown is one of our best "friends," who has always "stood by." His letters are the kind a Socialist Paper appreciates. They never come empty!

He is a wage-worker, and is like the rest of wage-workers, sometimes he has a job and sometimes he hasn't. But somehow he always manages to "dig up" from \$1 to \$10 for the paper he believes is helping to bring about the emancipation of his class.

If it were not for such wage-workers there would be little hope for the victory of the working-class.

Would there were a thousand to every one in the United States—and then, well, things would be doing!

## ELEANOR MAURER HERMAN

Eleanor Maurer, wife of Emil Herman, died at Tacoma, Thursday, April 27th, three weeks after the birth of their baby son, who survives her.

Thus the Proletarian Cause loses another of its best, both in accomplishment and promise.

She was one of the clearest in theory and sturdiest in practice of all the Washington band of Socialists. Hardly any woman in this state would have been so great a loss to the Cause.

She was so self-distrustful that she was slow to come forward, yet so capable and self-reliant that she could not fail ultimately to assume her rightful place of influence and leadership. She was one of those quiet, thoughtful, immovable persons who can always be depended on when the test comes.

For several years she has been a school teacher and since her marriage has been developing herself toward public speaking, principally on the streets. Only three months ago, in spite of her delicate condition, as the readers of this paper will remember, Eleanor Herman volunteered to go to Spokane and to jail there for the sake of Free Speech. She even declared her willingness and pride to bear her child in that jail rather than suffer the Proletarians to lose their fight. Together with Mrs. Hyde, she went to Spokane when the fight appeared to be a losing one, and their presence there and fearless interviewing of public officials, did much to encourage the I. W. W. in those trying last days and to secure their final victory.

The marriage of Emil Herman and Eleanor Maurer was regarded by all as an ideal one. Both were American born of German stock and both were devotedly and intelligently attached to the cause of the Wage Class. Each needed the other, and her husband will have the warmest sympathy of all their comrades now that he and The Cause they both lived for, have lost her. He was the stronger for having her beside him and he will be the stronger for having the memory of her strength and devotion to cheer him in his work.

Eleanor led her parents to Socialism. She was the hope and support of her aged mother, who now must console herself with the care of the little grandson committed to her.

"Life or Death, then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose? Fair flies Life amid the struggle, and The Cause for each shall choose."

## Prince Hagen --- Time Nearly Up

Offer No. 1—This is our proposition: For two yearly subscribers, whoever sends them in, and two dollars enclosed, we will forward by mail, prepaid, one copy of Upton Sinclair's new story, Prince Hagen, handsomely bound in cloth, price one dollar. Or, if you prefer, we will send three copies of the paper covered edition, which sells for twenty-five cents each. We make the same offer for four six-months subscriptions, or for eight three-months subscriptions, or for any combination of yearly, six months, or three months' subs amounting to two dollars. This two-dollar offer holds good for all subscriptions, whether new ones, or renewals of old ones.

Second Offer—For one new subscription, and enclosure of Fifty Cents, we will send to any address named, "The Workingman's Paper" for six months, and one copy of Upton Sinclair's Prince Hagen, bound in paper, which is sold everywhere for 25 cents.

To old subscribers: No objection to your extending your subscription, in order to take advantage of offer No. 1, even if you are already paid a year ahead.

These special offers hold good until June 1, 1910.

## Embryo Socialists

"Great stress is laid by some Embryo Socialists on the dictum that Socialism is not a mere party doctrine of the Working Class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the Capitalist Class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self-emancipation of the working class so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French Bourgeois of 1789, too, declared the emancipation of the Bourgeois to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historic truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And today, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their classes interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers,—wolves in sheep's clothing."—Frederick Engels in 1892.

"If we all lived within our means it would be a sad blow to business.—Life." "Jim" Hill to the contrary, notwithstanding?



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# WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

In what relation does "The Workingman's Paper" stand to the various organizations of the Wage Class, and to that class as a whole?

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organization. It seems inconceivable to some that a newspaper can be non-sectarian, an organ of Proletarianism but not an organ of any exclusive branch of Proletarianism. Yet that is the critical scientific attitude this paper seeks to assume. It is the complete opposite, for example, of the De Leonist attitude, which damns every organization of workingmen which does not bear its own brand.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the I. W. W., sees good in the "I'm a Bum" song; but it also sees good in the A. F. of L., and even in De Leon's S. L. P. It also sees evil in all of them. This critical method is also constructive, for the paper seeks to promote the good in all and to remove the evil in all. And on every occasion, this paper seeks the solidarity of all Proletarians.

The following outlines our position exactly:

"The Workingman's Paper" does not seek to form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. It supports the UNION of Wage-Workers.

We advocate no interests separate and apart from those of the Proletariat as a whole. All policies are decided from this standpoint.

We do not set up any sectarian principles of our own by which to shape and mould the Proletarian Movement. We follow, not force, that Movement.

"The Workingman's Paper" is distinguished from partisan journals of the working class by this only: 1. In the various struggles of the wage class organizations with the capitalists, this paper will point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire Proletariat, independently of all apparent divisions, national, industrial or personal. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the Working Class against the Bourgeoisie has to pass through, this paper will always and everywhere, in the future, as in the past ten years, strive to represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Workingman's Paper" therefore, encourages, on the one hand, practically every advanced and resolute organization of Wage Workers wherever found, those organizations which push forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, like all scientific Proletarian publications, we have the advantage over many Labor papers, of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the Proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of "The Workingman's Paper" is the same as that of all other really Proletarian organs, namely: **FORMATION OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO ONE CLASS, OVERTHROW OF BOURGEOIS SUPREMACY, CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT.**

Our theoretical conclusions are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

These conclusions merely express the actual relations springing from an existing Class Struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.

We disdain to conceal our revolutionary views and aims. We openly declare that Proletarian ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social foundations. Let the ruling class tremble at a Proletarian Revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

To assist in organizing the Wage Slaves of Capital into a union capable of winning such an emancipation, this paper was founded in 1900. It has no other policy in 1910.

The Proletarian elements now scattered in A. F. of L., I. W. W., W. F. of M., S. P., S. L. P., U. W. W., and other bodies, together with multitudes now unorganized in the United States, must some time come together as a UNITED LABOR PARTY. To that end this paper is devoted.

# A Proletarian Newspaper

(Reprinted from our issue of March 19, 1910.)

Some of our friends are disturbed over the new attitude of this paper, as described on our second page, under the heading, "Where We Stand." "The Socialist" having been so long a Proletarian paper attached to a party, they cannot now adapt themselves to that new viewpoint of ours which does not regard any specific organization of Proletarians as the sole representative of the Proletariat as a whole.

For instance, some of our I. W. W. readers resent our support of a political organization in Seattle, and consider us guilty of treachery to the Proletariat because we advocate anything "political." Others are distressed when we give the I. W. W.'s so much prominence, since they regard them as part of the "Sun-Proletariat" and hence dangerous to the true working class. Still others condemn us for supporting a "Labor Party" which does not clearly perceive itself as based on the Class-Struggle. In a word, they cannot agree to a policy which recognizes Proletarianism wherever found, but does not venture to select any one branch of Proletarians to the exclusion of all other branches.

Let us remind our critics that this paper has never been dogmatic as to tactics. In fact, the only thing we have been "cock-sure" about is a well-authenticated fact, wherever observed. From the accumulation of such facts, certain conclusions may be drawn, though these conclusions are liable to be erroneous and must be subject to the discovery of more facts and to a better generalization from the facts. That person who has reached positive irreversible conclusions on any subject has practically ceased to live and become a mere automaton. He has "principles" to which the world must conform or the world is wrong. Such a person is unscientific, dogmatic, sectarian, unprogressive, mentally unresponsive and dead. He is one of those men "you can't talk to," he is incapable of argument, because his mind is unapproachable, it is fixed and right beyond the possibility of error; he may let you speak, but he doesn't listen to you; his knowledge is so superior to yours; he has nothing to learn; he is the intellectual Pharisee and all those who do not agree with him are Publicans and Sinners.

Now, the paper hitherto known as "The Socialist" has never assumed this attitude of intellectual Phariseism, even with respect to its principles, and still less with respect to methods. We are thoroughly convinced, for instance, that the Marxian Law of Value is established as the governing law of Capitalist Economics, as much as we are convinced that the Law of Gravitation is established as controlling the stellar universe; though even in these cases we would not assert with absolute dogmatism that no future revision of these laws is possible. So, too, we hold it incontrovertible at present that the Wage-Class must achieve its own emancipation, though this is a deduction from the Law of Value, the Law of Wages, the Law of Exploitation, the Law of Class Interest.

With this as a fundamental proposition, that the Proletariat must emancipate itself, certain further deductions have to be made with respect to Tactics, that is, with respect to the methods by which the Working-Class shall emancipate itself. On this subject, dogmatism is inexcusable, since it concerns the future, and the best social prophets have been discredited by the event itself, both Marx and Engels being conspicuous examples.

It has been the generally accepted belief that Proletarian Emancipation would use, as its chief instrument, the Capitalist device known as the Elective Franchise. The Communist Manifesto refers to the "organization of the Proletarians into a class and consequently into a political party," as a part of social development and shows "the conquest of political power by the Proletariat" to be indispensable, and it affirms distinctly, "Every Class-Struggle is a political struggle."

These expressions have been assumed to mean that the main tactics for the Proletariat are the formation of political parties in the various countries and the conquest of political powers by the exercise of the elective franchise. In accord with this theory of Tactics, the German Proletariat, enlightened by Marx and Engels, and led by Lassalle and Liebknecht, formed a political party some forty years ago and has grown in strength and influence up to the present day. At this very moment, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany is confronted with a crisis in its history and is putting to the test its efficacy as a Revolutionary instrument. The Capitalist Class is determined to limit the Elective Franchise, so that the Working-Class shall not be able to use its majority in numbers to accomplish for itself "the conquest of political power."

It is not for us to say categorically that the elective franchise will be the historic instrument by which the Proletariat must achieve his own emancipation.

Suppose it fails, as a matter of fact, is then the Proletariat to remain enslaved? Grant that it cannot be freed so long as the Capitalists retain control of governmental forces, that is, so long as the Bourgeoisie, through its political power, can kill and conquer the Proletariat, still is there no other way to capture that power to kill and conquer which is incident to that Class-thing known as the State? Is there no other possible tactic but the Ballot-tactic?

It is puerile to tie the hope of the Proletariat to any method which proves itself impracticable.

Therefore, "The Socialist" has never been dogmatic as to tactics. It has been remarked by many that the promised chapters on Tactics in "Revolutionary and Reform Socialism" by the editor of this paper, have been unaccountably delayed for some three years. The real reason is that the editor has never been sufficiently settled in his own mind on the question of the method by which the Working-Class will achieve its own emancipation, to complete that part of his little book. This attitude of uncertainty may not be satisfactory to those whose minds are so constituted that they require absolute knowledge and partisan limitations to make them contented, but it seems to us the only attitude possible to an open, scientific mind with respect to matters which can be settled finally by the test of evolutionary experience alone.

All this is not to say that this paper commits itself to "Direct Action" or repudiates the Political Party method. We have used this illustration taken from contemporary Proletarian history in order to make our point clear, namely, that it is possible to conduct a Proletarian Newspaper which is not partisan or sectarian or dogmatic.

We do not profess to know whether the I. W. W. is sufficiently adapted to present Proletarian conditions in America to become the instrument of universal Proletarian organization and Revolutionary action; but we do recognize it as a part of the Class-Struggle and will report it and encourage it as calculated to develop Class Intelligence, Class spirit and Class action.

We do not know whether the present tendency of the A. F. of L. toward the formation of a political party, composed of Union men primarily, is destined to develop into a Class Party compelling legislative ameliorations of Working Class conditions, or whether it will degenerate into a mere Progressive Party, catering to Middle-Class reactionary elements like the farmers; but we do know that the membership of the A. F. of L. is composed of Wage-Workers engaged in contests with their employers for a greater share of Wage-Labor's product, and that the concentration of Capital is forcing these A. F. of L. Proletarians to act more and more as a Class and less and less as Crafts, and therefore we encourage all these tendencies toward Class action, both as Unions and as a political party.

We recognize the A. F. of L. as the greatest American organization of Proletarians and we do not regard it as controlled by any arbitrary "Principles," revolutionary or otherwise, but by its own interests so far as it perceives them, and it is our place to help it perceive those interests and to avoid reactionary entanglements. We do not deny its Proletarian character nor its part in the historic Class-Struggle. We would like to see it clearer, we will do our best to make it clearer, but we will not be so unscientific as to deny a fact, and affirm that this enormous body of Two Million Wage-Workers is a Capitalist institution, while an organization of One Hundred in Cincinnati or Seattle is the real Proletarian body, inasmuch as it declares of itself, "We can prove that our Structure is the only sound one existing in the Labor World today."

For nearly ten years this paper and most of its supporters have been allied with the Socialist Party in the U. S., believing that that party represented best the Proletarian cause. But the course of economic development led that organization to represent the small Bourgeois rather than the Proletarian, and we finally were driven out of that party, because we continued to insist that the Party was and should be composed of Proletarians. So we are no longer supporting that organization because it seems to us essentially Middle-Class in its constituency and tendencies.

Some of us are now to be found in an attempted new Party called the Wage-Workers' Party which has not yet completed its organization and has never put a ticket in the field. If it accomplishes things and makes itself felt as a real part of the Class-Struggle, this paper will report its progress; but at present, this organization disapproves the course adopted by us as outlined in this editorial and we bear no other relation to it than to any other body of Wage-Workers.

Others of the former supporters of this paper are now allied with the attempt to found a United Labor Party in the city of Seattle and in the state of Washington. At the election last week in this city, this Party, which had the support of none but Proletarians and was opposed vigorously by the old-party "Labor-Leaders" in the Unions, polled some 1,500 votes for its candidate for Mayor and probably elected one of its candidates for ward councilman.

This paper supported that ticket as the only Proletarian Party in the field. But we reserve our right and duty to criticize its development into a

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State Party if it shall be so unwise as to unite, for the sake of a few, or many, votes, with the Farmers' Leagues which are springing up over the country to secure better prices and lower R. R. rates, both of which tend to lower the purchasing power of wages and hence make it harder for the Unions to maintain their standard of living. Ask the Farm-Laborers to unite themselves and demand an 8-hour day, if you want to see the absurdity of the farmers and wage-workers belonging to the same organization.

We expect our new attitude will lose us a good many friends and supporters, but we have never yet accommodated our views to our subscription-list and we cannot begin now. We shall conduct a Proletarian Newspaper, aiming to give that news which is most significant of Proletarian advances, which will best promote the Class-Spirit, develop the Class-War, encourage Class-Solidarity and hasten the final victory of the Proletarian Class.

We append an extract from a recent letter sent to an I. W. W. official, in response to a friendly letter from him.

**Extract from Editor's Letter**

My Dear B.—

I would like you to understand perfectly the attitude of this paper. It will support every contest which it regards as a part of the Class-Struggle of Labor against Capital, though it may not indorse without reserve the organization conducting such contest. Our aim is to unify the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie. We do not think the I. W. W. the only Proletarian organization engaging in the Class-Struggle, though we are doing a great deal to promote its growth by reporting its activities. But we do not surrender the right to criticize it. Our attitude is the same toward the A. F. of L., though more critical, as that body seems to us less Proletarian in spirit and less revolutionary in form than yours.

If we come to see things differently, as your Branch of the Proletariat develops, we shall not hesitate to change our attitude.

We await the normal evolution of the Working-Class itself, and do what we can to speed on the inevitable war and the inevitable Proletarian Victory.

The unwavering loyalty of this paper, through ten years of loss and calamity, to the interests of the Wage-Workers, is the best guarantee of its future course.

Sincerely yours,  
HERMON F. TITUS.



# The Middle Class Rebellion

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Aside from the Trusts themselves, the most conspicuous phenomenon in the United States today is the Rebellion of Small Business against Big Business.

Pinchot versus Ballinger is at bottom Small Business rebelling against its exclusion by Big Business from all business. Gifford Pinchot himself said last Christmas: "For whose benefit shall the national resources be conserved, for the benefit of the many or for the use and profit of the few? The great conflict now being fought will decide."

Ballinger and Taft have Big Business behind them. There is no practical doubt Ballinger was selected for his cabinet position by and for the enormous Capital invested in Metal Mines, in order to insure to the Guggenheims and their associates the possession of the Alaskan treasures of copper and coal. Pinchot's contention is that these treasures should be retained by the Government so as to give equal opportunity for their use to the "American People;" that is, to the small investor and prospector. He inveighs against "Excessive Profits from the Control of Natural Resources Monopolized by a Few."

There are many theorists who, following Marx slavishly, claim the Middle Class is too timid to put up a fight for itself, that it is disintegrating and has no future. But the American Middle Class has different traditions and training from the "Petty Bourgeoisie" and small traders referred to by Marx. The best representative of this American Middle Class is Theodore Roosevelt, the Strenuous. No one will deny that he is a good fighter. Other words of Gifford Pinchot have the ring of battle in them, as follows: "We have allowed the great corporations to occupy with their own men the strategic points in business, in social and in political life." "The only thing to do with them is to fight them and to beat them." That does not sound like timidity and incapacity.

The "Insurgents" among the Republicans, like La Follette and Cummins in the Senate and Norris and Poindexter in the House, with their Small Business backing of Farmers and Merchants in the West, are only another manifestation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

The Bryan Democrats are another branch, though less capable and more politic.

The vast growth and success of the cheaper Magazines in the last five years is directly due to the fact that they voice the popular discontent with the unparalleled development of the monopolistic trusts. "Everybody's" jumped to a half-million circulation on the strength of Tom Lawson's fierce attacks on "Standard Oil." The swarm of "Muck-Rakers," like Charles Edward Russell, Judge Lindsey and Stannard Baker, are paid for and inspired by the militant hosts of these Middle Class Rebels.

What will be the result? Is it possible for the Rebellion to become a Revolution? Will this American Middle Class, consisting of millions of men who have hitherto been successful in business; men selected and hardened for conflict by their two centuries of experience as Pioneers; will they win this battle against the comparatively small Army of Monopoly, Special Privilege, Incorporated Wealth?

Those who glibly say they have no chance, because the Laws of Combination will defeat them inevitably, may have miscalculated social forces. For the next step in the evolution of American society may be Government Ownership in the interest of the Middle Class. "Conservation" means, as Pinchot says, that "our natural resources must be conserved for the benefit of the many." The Government, by this plan, shall retain its ownership of the coal fields of Alaska and of the power sites on streams, so as to forestall private ownership and monopoly and to insure "Equal Opportunity."

Suppose Roosevelt, on his return, with his immense popularity and genius for forceful leadership, shall openly defy "Cannonism" and "Aldrichism" and Taftism, there is no doubt he can be re-elected as the Napoleon of the Middle Class Rebellion. He will have behind him a Congress overwhelmingly Middle Class and Anti-Monopoly. What is to prevent comprehensive legislation in the direction of Middle Class Socialism? Gifford Pinchot is now on his way across the Atlantic to be the first to consult with the returning Roosevelt on the Conservation Issue.

Bear in mind again what Pinchot said in that remarkable interview of his last December: "The Conservation issue is a great moral issue. When a few men get possession of one of the necessities of life, either through ownership of a natural resource or through unfair business methods, and use that control to extort undue profits, as in the recent cases of the Sugar Trust and Beef Packers, they injure the average man without good reason, and they are guilty of a moral wrong."

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, the Armours, to segregate the vast wealth produced by this Industrial Age and to use it to debauch municipal councils, state legislatures and courts, and even national officials, creating a Reign of Graft unexampled in all history?

To this national question, put in the name of "The Common People," and of "The Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," may arise an instantaneous and overwhelming Middle Class vote in favor of the Restraint of Monopoly by means of Government Ownership of the Monopolistic Trusts, including the Railroads, the Alaskan and other Coal Mines, the Oil Trust, the

Meat Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Copper Syndicate, and all other "Bad" Trusts.

This will be "Bourgeois Socialism," the kind that has for its battle cry, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," the kind of Socialism that Bryan was charged with in the last Campaign, the kind of Socialism that is growing popular, the kind of Socialism that Victor Berger and Samuel Gompers represent, and that the Socialist Parties of both Europe and America are coming to represent.

Undoubtedly, such a Socialism is reactionary both in itself and as compared with the uninterrupted development of Monopoly.

It aims to preserve the present system of Capital and Wage Labor. There is no suggestion in the program of Roosevelt or Bryan or Hearst or of any other of these "Radical" spokesmen of "The Common People," that the appropriation of profit from the employment of wage workers shall cease, that the competitive wage system shall be abolished or that there shall no longer be a Proletariat.

Rather, their ideal is a Middle Class, capitalistic, free-for-all Paradise, like the present, only the tyranny of Monopoly and of the Industrial Giants shall be prevented by Public Ownership of those which have already attained uncontrollable dimensions.

We call this reactionary, because it practically preserves the Status Quo of Wage Exploitation and puts off to some distant future the Emancipation of the Wage Class from its compulsory service to the Capitalist Class. A large competitive Middle Class, based on Capitalist Profit as at present, might maintain itself indefinitely in power, because fortified by the enormous income to be derived from the National Industries taken over from the Trusts, thus relieving the Government from all necessity of dependence on Taxation and legislative Budgets; a condition which now exists in a modified form in Russia, Prussia, Japan and in all countries where Public Ownership already finds a partial exemplification. Tsar Nicholas and Kaiser William are both enabled to sustain their oligarchies, in spite of popular dissatisfaction, because of the money obtained by their governments from the administration of the State owned Railways, Telegraphs and other "Natural Monopolies."

On the other hand, if the Trusts are allowed to proceed to their "natural" conclusion, then the organization of industry into larger and larger units, completely eliminating the "Little Fellow" by precipitating him into the Proletariat, will go on apace, with accelerating speed. At the present rate, how long will it take for the Harriman and Hill systems of Railways to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government before the U. S. Supreme Court, stated recently: "The Standard Oil Co., if permitted to go on undissolved, will own the business of the Nation in five years."

It may be that even now their economic power is so great that no possible union of Middle Class elements in society can be effected strong enough to withstand the purchasing and disintegrating influences of wholesale bribery. The well known alliance of Big Capital and the Slum in our cities, like New York and San Francisco, point in this direction.

If such an economic supremacy of Great Capital has already been achieved, and hence, if the Middle Class Rebellion shall prove abortive, then Aldrich and Cannon and Taft and Ballinger, and all the rest of the tools of Great Capital in the State, are indeed the servants of Progress, unconsciously hastening the industrial organization of American society under the lead of the Captains of Industry.

To be sure, such a progress is won at the expense of personal liberty and the extension of wage slavery, and the utter extinction of the entire class of splendid fighters who have built America out of the wilderness.

Yet it is better that one Middle Class generation should perish than that ten generations of Proletarians should live and die in slavery.

When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when all productive industry in the United States has been unified under one management, and the Government is nothing but the repressive power of this centralized, syndicated Oligarchy of Wealth, then the "Common People" and the exploited Proletariat will be identical and have identical interests, and consequently will form a vast and irresistible Revolutionary Class.

The sooner this centralization of economic and political power is accomplished, the better the prospect for such an exploited class being competent for united and revolutionary action; for the present American Middle Class or their children will make poor slaves and rebellious subjects.

Consequently, we regard it as desirable and progressive that the Present Middle Class Rebellion should not succeed, that Bourgeois Socialism should be exposed for what it is, an attempt to help the Class of Little Business to perpetuate itself and to postpone indefinitely the day of Wage Labor's Emancipation.

The key to the immediate situation lies with the American Working Class.

The Middle Class Rebellion depends for its success on the co-operation of the Wage Class.

The victory of Big Business and the abolition of Little Business also depends upon the action of the Proletarians.

It is announced that Gompers is contemplating the formation of a political party to be composed of the Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in combination with certain Farmers' organizations, alleged to number some three million voters. If this be true and such a party is formed, it will be in direct line with the Middle Class Rebellion outlined in this article. For these Farmers' Unions are not organizations of the Farm Laborers, but of the Small Farm owners. Their program goes no further than Public Ownership of Public Utilities, combined with the Utopian demand for the Initiative and Referendum, as if this method of voting were not more susceptible to control by Big Capital than the present representative system.

The reactionary character of a Gompers political party, composed of Proletarian Labor and Agrarian Small Capital, is sufficiently obvious. It would easily form a basis for the Middle Class Rebels to build their political rebellion on. If the American Working Class is so little enlightened as to its own interests and so lacking initiative as to follow such alien proposals, then indeed the Middle Class may succeed in saving itself and in prolonging Wage Slavery. It were far better to have the combination existing in San Francisco made national in scope, namely, that Labor should unite with Big Capital and the Slum to win political power; in which case, the Middle Class will go to the wall, the Trusts will complete their efficient organization of society and the Wage Class will be consolidated into a mighty, revolutionary and irresistible social force.

And there you are. It is up to the Proletariat. If it follows the reactionary lead of Gompers and unites its forces with the Middle Class Rebels, it may delay for many years the abolition of Class Rule in society and its own elevation to equal participation in the benefits of human invention.

But if it works with Big Capital to destroy the Middle Class, root and branch, with the greatest possible celerity; or if, better still, the Proletariat shall act together as one man, both industrially and politically, for its own class interests exclusively, then it will display an historic initiative and militant hegemony, which will make for the most rapid evolution out of society burdened with Class Antagonism into that association, sure to come some time, "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

## The Milwaukee Election

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Since our editorial on the "Rebellion of the Middle Class" was written, the sweeping victory of the Social-Democratic Party in Milwaukee has occurred, where its majority mounted up to 8,000 over the Democrats, who, in turn, were 8,000 above the Republicans. Emil Seidel was elected Mayor and Victor Berger a Councilman-at-Large. Twenty out of twenty-nine Councilmen are Social-Democrats. The entire country is wondering how it was done and what it means.

In our judgment, it means precisely what has been outlined in the above editorial. It means what the astonishing election of a Democratic Congress-

man in the hitherto strong Republican Brockton district in Massachusetts, means. It means the Revolt of the Middle Class against high prices and the Trusts, which they imagine are the cause of the high prices. The Milwaukee Social-Democrats (not "Socialists," mind) are only a step removed from the ordinary Middle Class Democrats, at least in the popular mind and practically so in reality. Berger's first announcement sent broadcast through the Associated Press the very night of the election was, "We will give a Square Deal;" not a word as to the Working Class. Seidel said, "Capital need have no fear from us." Milwaukee is a city of homes, of Skilled Mechanics and Small Tradesmen, who have united under the leadership of such men as Berger, Seidel, Thompson and Gaylord, two business men and two preachers, for the purpose of buying the necessities of life, like gas, ice, coal, wood, light, street car fares, lunches, bread, water, etc., etc., at cheaper rates. Seidel, the new Mayor, says, "We will do nothing revolutionary. We will show the merits of Socialism by insistent and consistent conservatism." Berger says, "This victory is a victory for Progress, a little step toward a higher phase of civilization." These expressions denote the Middle Class and reactionary character of the Milwaukee brand of Socialists, or, as they themselves prefer to be called, Social-Democrats.

Undoubtedly the Socialist Party of the United States will tumble over itself to follow Milwaukee. Already Victor Berger dominates the National Executive Committee of that party, while the Proletarian and revolutionary elements are driven out, as in Washington, or discouraged and divided, as in California. The race of this party is now to outstrip the Democrats in bidding for the support of the great Middle Class, better known as "The Common People." Except in Milwaukee, and in isolated spots, the Socialist Party in this country has hitherto amounted to little as a vote getter, and the sight of the Milwaukee trough will make their mouths water. The result at the coming convention of the Party at Chicago in May will be a stirring anti-trust call, addressed to the working class in form and to the business class in fact. It will be, as Berger says, an appeal for "Progress," for another "step toward a higher phase of civilization." In this new appeal, nothing will be insisted on which will alarm the bourgeois distribution of Property, the Capital-and-Wage-Labor system, in which Labor gets a "Fair Wage" and Capital, small or large, gets the rest of Labor's product.

Such a Social-Democratic political movement, taking the place of the old and discredited Democratic Party, is quite in keeping with the aspirations of the exasperated Middle Class as suggested in our leading editorial. It is also quite in keeping with the economic ignorance prevailing in the American Proletariat, that such a political movement should capture the most of the wage workers organized in the American Federation of Labor, as it has in Milwaukee. The chances are that the various State Labor Parties now springing into existence, as in Washington and Pennsylvania, will follow the same general lines as the Milwaukee Social Democracy. In that case, it will be almost inevitable that these Labor Parties will effect a coalition with Berger's city party and establish a real political power, wherein the Working Class will be used to save the Middle Class and to check the Trust Class.

Meanwhile the Revolutionary Proletarians are more and more combining into industrial organizations which menace the existing order and openly demand the abolition of the Wage System itself. As yet, this class of proletarians has no political organization of the Proletariat for the Proletariat. The two Socialist Parties are both travesties of proletarianism, both led by the small business man and the intellectual. In San Francisco, the "Union Labor" Party means Labor financed and used by Big Capital. In Washington, the "United Labor" Party seems disposed to join hands with the insurgent farmers and thus make a sort of Milwaukee affair, in which case the Socialist Party of this state will lose what few remnants it has left at present. In Pennsylvania, the "United Labor" Party is yet too raw to indicate its real character, though its first declaration in Philadelphia contained a sop to the farmers. Yet it is in this very state of Pennsylvania that the Revolutionary Proletariat in the coal and iron industries is being forced into Class Consciousness and Class organization.

We believe it to be the duty of every wage worker and of every other person who wishes to further the emancipation of the wagers, to put himself where he can best discourage the spread of such Middle Class Socialism as Milwaukee represents, and which will only prolong the age of wage slavery; and to ally himself with whatever organization will soonest promote the unification of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage Slavery.

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# IS A SOCIALIST PARTY DESIRABLE?

Last week we printed an article by Karl Kautsky in defense of the Labor Party of Great Britain and favoring a similar party in the United States.

We now give the other side, as presented by English Walling in the New York "Sunday Call" on March 20th.

Notice that Walling quotes Kautsky in support of his position. Our readers can compare Kautsky with Kautsky for themselves.

It should be said, too, that Ramsey MacDonald does not represent the whole British Labor Party. Keir Hardie and many others vigorously repel his views. But there is undoubtedly a strong tendency in all Socialist Parties to accommodate their demands to that recently dispossessed body of people in all civilized lands sometimes referred to as the "New Middle Class," composed of agents of a thousand sorts, half-business, half-salaried nondescripts, who have lost their grip on Capital, but who resent becoming Proletarian.

As to Walling himself, he seems a disinterested capitalist, devoted to social problems, but rather more idealist than practical. He and Phelps-Stokes and Herron all disagree with Hunter and Hillquit and Berger in regarding the British Labor Party and its American counterparts, the anticipated Labor Party or the Milwaukee Social Democracy, as real Socialist movements.

Of one point we are perfectly sure, and that is, **THE WAGE CLASS MUST BE MADE AWARE OF ITS SEPARATE INTERESTS BEFORE IT WILL ACT SEPARATELY.** Therefore, every discussion and every organization and every publication which drives home to the Proletarians the economic fact of Surplus Product, Unpaid Labor, Wage Robbery, are to be commended and welcomed. The present is a time when the Proletariat is feeling after the best organization and many tentative efforts are to be expected. Yet out of it all there is sure to evolve some form of party or of union which will serve to overthrow the Rule and Robbery of Capital.

Next week we expect to print a defense of the Labor Party by Keir Hardie.

## By William English Walling

Is a Socialist party desirable?

Yes—  
Everywhere Else.

It might appear that all Socialists would answer this question in the affirmative. Certainly a Socialist party is desirable, since it is the main object of every Socialist to build up such a party. The Socialists of Germany answered this question half a century ago, and the Socialists of every country of Europe and those of the United States have given a similar answer.

No—in  
Great Britain.

It is notorious the world over that those who call themselves Socialists in Great Britain have answered the question in the negative, and the discussion of the tactics and performances of the British Labor party is perhaps outgrown. However, the philosophy that underlies the conclusion that a Socialist party is not desirable is always worthy of consideration, aside from the way in which it has been applied.

Not Socialism,  
But Socialistic.

The appearance of a new book by J. R. Macdonald, after Keir Hardie, the most important leader of the chief Socialist party of Great Britain, the Independent Labor party, and recently elected president of the Labor party, makes it worth while to study the reasons that underlie this conclusion—"Socialistic" party.

"There is nothing in the famous Socialist budget, as presented by Mr. Snowden," says he, "which does not commend itself to the writer" (Mr. Carnegie). The great capitalist then goes over the points of the budget one by one and approves them, concluding, after summing up the whole, that the demands of Mr. Snowden's budget are "just." Similarly, Mr. Carnegie examines into the writings of all the leaders of the Labor party—Mr. Hardie, Mr. Jowett and Mr. Macdonald. Of Mr. Jowett, the present head of Mr. Hardie's party, Mr. Carnegie says: "Nothing new is to be obtained by Mr. Jowett's brand of Socialism except that Socialistic cities are to combine."

Carnegie Even  
"Dee-Lighted."

But as might be expected, Mr. Carnegie reserves his chief enthusiasm for Mr. Macdonald, quoting at length an article which is embodied in part in the present book. Mr. Carnegie is especially delighted with the following of Mr. Macdonald's principles, which he quotes at length:

"If the Socialist state is ever to come, it is not by a sudden change in economic and personal relationships, but by a steady readjustment of existing relationships until the organic structure has been completely changed."

"New Socialism" Not Socialism  
at All, Says Carnegie.

"Mr. Macdonald," says Mr. Carnegie in another place, "regarded as the most philosophical of current Socialistic writers, while indulging in dreams of the far distant future, naturally restricts action in our day to practical measures. . . . He lays down as ripe for action the seven points in the Independent Labor party program, which he says is far and away the most representative Social-

ist body in Great Britain, thus stamping the Socialistic label on all these points."

Mr. Carnegie then takes up all the points proposed by this "Socialistic" party, approves of them all and finds that there is nothing Socialistic about any of them. Then Mr. Carnegie goes on to mention the Socialist hostility to militarism and war as another point where he is in accord with the Socialists. He should read Mr. Macdonald's latest book, where, as I have shown, the latter advocates a racial policy which he confesses must lead up to war. Then, indeed, Mr. Carnegie would have to concede that the "Socialistic" program was even less advanced than his own.

The work of Centuries,  
Says Carnegie.

The famous steel magnate concludes that he hopes that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's warning "will sink deep into the minds of the earnest, sympathetic and able men who justly enjoy the confidence of the masses and are numbered among their leaders, but who at the present time are devoting their time and attention to the Socialistic system, which cannot be established except by a steady readjustment of existing relations until the organic structure has been completely altered." To effect this change would be the work of centuries.

Hitherto American Socialists have drawn their inspiration from the revolutionary and uncompromising Socialism of the continent of Europe and not from the trade union party of Great Britain. I am aware that some of the continental leaders have despaired of seeing any true Socialism grow up in Great Britain, and that they are even doubtful about the United States. But the Socialists of this country do not share their doubts.

Bebel at  
Nuremberg Congress.

Let us learn from the latest great speeches and writings of the greatest living prophets of our movement, Bebel and Kautsky, what our true position ought to be.

"It seems to me that those people," said Bebel at Nuremberg, "who demand from us fundamentally different tactics (from those of the past), cease to be Social Democrats, and that the party, if it justifies these tactics, ceases to be Social Democratic; that it would have to change its name into that of Social Reform Labor party."

Here is the contrast: On the one side a Social Democratic party, on the other side, as the exact opposite of this, a Social Reform Labor party.

"What, then," asked Bebel further, "is most decisive for us; the little social success or the final goal? Doubtless the striving after the abolition of capitalist society, the transformation of the state of today into a Socialist state."

Congress  
Applauded Bebel.

At this point the congress broke forth into earnest and vigorous applause; and as Bebel and the revolutionaries received more than two-thirds of its votes we can have no doubt that the German party echoes his sentiments against this conversion into a mere social reform labor party.

Finally, having shown the position of the greatest Socialist statesman, let us take the words of the greatest living Socialist theorist and writer, Karl Kautsky does not share Mr. Macdonald's belief that Socialism is not to be carried to all the races. In-  
sion.

Mr. Macdonald says in his new book, "Socialism and Government," that "the object of Socialists who are active in politics ought not to be to form a Socialist party, but a party that will journey toward Socialism."

(Editor's Note. Here's another eu-

phemism for Reform Socialism—a "Journey toward Socialism." Gompers' term for same is, "More, and then More." Berger's is, "An endless series of continually changing important details," and Andrew Carnegie says, "Never were truer words spoken" (than this definition by Macdonald, "A steady readjustment of existing relationships until the organic structure has been completely changed.")

Mr. Macdonald further explains his policy. "If my view of how parties embody ideas and carry them to their completion and fruition be correct, Socialism is to come through a Socialist political party, and not through a Socialist one. Indeed, paradoxical though it may appear, Socialism will be retarded by a Socialist party, which thinks it can do better than a Socialist party."

"Labor Party Nucleus  
of New Party."

The full weight of this conclusion of Mr. Macdonald's cannot be reached unless it is remembered that the leading "Socialist" party of England has already refused to use the name Socialist in its title and that its leaders have denounced the class struggle and the materialist conception of history. To Mr. Macdonald, however, the Independent Labor party is not a Socialist party, but a Socialist party. But it is certain that at least half of the Socialists of the world will disagree with him and conclude that the party of Mr. Hardie and Mr. Macdonald is already a Socialistic and not a Socialist organization. As it has always been admitted at international congresses, however, something may be said on the other side of the question.

When Mr. Macdonald speaks of the Socialist party, he confesses that he has in mind the present Labor party, which, to be sure, has consented to co-operate with the already diluted Socialism of the Independent Labor party and has even passed a resolution in favor of government ownership, though it has refused to make the advocacy of this plank a necessary qualification for its members or candidates.

But Mr. Macdonald and his associates are not satisfied even with this double dilution of Socialism, for he now proposes that "our present Labor party is but the nucleus of a new party." Socialism, it seems, is part of the program of the Independent Labor party, which represents a minority of the Labor party, which is to be the nucleus of some new organization!

Opposed to  
Direct Legislation.

In order to assume the fusion of the labor movement in an even larger "radical" organization, Mr. Macdonald violently opposes the elementary proposition of proportional representation, and also the referendum measures indorsed not only by the Socialists of the world outside of England, but even by every democratic organization.

The "New  
Socialism."

Indeed, Mr. Macdonald himself recognizes that his "new Socialism" is less advanced than the old radicalism in many questions. He calls attention to the fact that the "new Socialism is endowed with the historic spirit," and if we do not realize what this means, he explains it himself and we might almost be listening to a German government professor or to Nicholas Murray Butler or some other leader of the Civic Federation:

"The new Socialism," he says, "recognizes differences. It has no cast iron system which has to be applied to all races and all conditions—no panacea, no universal mode of thought." And to give a definite example, he adds: "It therefore does not consider the native (colored) race as a white one at an early stage of evolution."

Democracy Native  
to North Only.

The president of the British Labor party indeed announces views on the race question more reactionary than any that have met my eyes unless written by some of our Southerners or else German or English followers of the philosophy of Kipling and Nietzsche.

"I desire to make it clear," says Mr. Macdonald, "that I do not mean that the aim of the native policy of the white race must necessarily be the establishment of democratic government, as we understand it, among natives. The democracy of these northern lands is probably native to the race. To go with it North and South, East and West, as though it were the inevitable end of all government, is to make a fetish of it."

Socialists have hitherto been of the opinion that the equal treatment of the race was not only the end of all Socialism, but even the end of all democracy, or of the old radicalism.

Racial Antipathy  
"Is the Blood."

Holding such views as these we are not surprised that Mr. Macdonald considers racial antipathy not to be due merely to economic causes, but that it is "in the blood," and that he favors a perpetual government of India by the whites and regards the position

of the United States negro as being settled for all time. Referring, of course, chiefly to India, he says: "Mainly by reason of this antipathy (of the races) it is futile to hope that the governing majority should be composed of natives where the natives are in a majority, but where the white men have established their own government and are no longer guests of the native race. Nature does not work this way. To mourn over this is to mourn over creation—an utterly useless pastime."

Negro  
Doomed.

It seems that it is equally useless to mourn over the fate of the American negro. "The white man," says Mr. Macdonald, "chose the easier and the more brutal part. He exerted his power; he killed the native or brushed him aside; he destroyed and did not help to fulfill; he established his own government. That is the accomplished fact which makes the problem. I regret it. It is an unseemly blot on the white man's escutcheon. And what has been done cannot be undone—as regards the Congo native, as regards the United States negro."

World-Wide  
War Inevitable.

We are not surprised that a "Socialist," who so thoroughly agrees with Lord Curzon, Lord Morley, Colonial Secretary Dornberg, Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft, should look forward calmly and without any protest to a world-wide war as the result of this race issue. For Mr. Macdonald recognizes the inconsistency of insisting that the markets of the so-called inferior races be left open to ourselves while the white man's countries are closed to their emigrants.

"The present position," he says, "is being kept solely through force, and most likely force will continue to supply the answer to my questions. The position, therefore, is that both sides are striving for self-preservation, and war is not at all an unlikely eventuality." It has hitherto been the opinion of Socialists and even of democrats, the world over that the white capitalists were the aggressors. It now seems that the whole yellow race is equally responsible.

Even Monarchy  
Not Bad.

Naturally an ardent imperialist like Mr. Macdonald is unwilling to take a decided stand against monarchy. Unlike Bebel at Amsterdam, he will not declare himself a republican. Socialists are agreed with Bebel that it is not worth while to undertake a revolution for the sole purpose of overturning a constitutional monarchy, but they all consider the republican form of government as infinitely superior—except Mr. Macdonald. Like the upper classes of Austria, Mr. Macdonald has a kind of liking for monarchy. "In England," he says, "the power of the legislature will probably make a republic unnecessary, unless the monarch were to side with the threatened interest." Of course, this is begging the question. The monarch sided with the threatened interest at the present moment, and Mr. Macdonald himself confesses that Queen Victoria's letters showed that she sympathized ardently with all the reactionary forces of Europe. That the British monarch has less power than the Czar or Emperor, is acknowledged, but he represents the policy of the gloved hand. The whole English press has recognized his tremendous influence in diplomacy, but has also begged the question, by saying that this influence was for the best. It may not be for the best next time. Indeed, Mr. Macdonald's position is still more clearly suggested by his concluding sentence: "But I am inclined to think that this question will be settled more by accidental events than by the operation of political principle." The monarchy is popular in England. Perhaps Mr. Macdonald does not care to apply political principles to it.

The "State" to  
Be Supreme.

It is even worth while to penetrate to the heart of this new school of reactionary "Socialism." In a word, it is a Bismarckian Socialism in a more extreme form than the man of "blood and iron" ever dared to announce. Mr. Macdonald finds that Engels was wrong in predicting that "the state will have to die out when Socialism arrives." On the contrary, says this prophet of the British Socialistic movement, "the state will have reached an importance in the community far greater than it could possibly have attained under a regime of competitive production and individualist economics."

Parliaments to Remain.

The fears of Marx and Engels that the machinery of the state, if too rapidly developed, might be used to crush and impede the Socialist movement, are not shared by the English leader, who himself expects to be on the inside, according to his own statements. Mr. Macdonald's unregenerated state—for the institution of monarchy and parliament are good enough for him, without any fundamental change—"thinks and feels for the whole." Under this system the individual becomes a "hand" even more than he does under the present capitalist system. The referendum and recall will not be tolerated, since that would allow the "hands" to do some of the thinking and feeling. Mr. Macdonald finds that the present representative system of government, with

two parties, is an ideal one—he and his associates are ready to be the representatives, to do the thinking and feeling themselves.

Carnegie a  
"Socialist, Too."

Naturally this "new Socialism" has received applause from all quarters. Not only some of the leading bishops of the English state church, as well as conservatives in all walks of society, have approved of it, but even so ardent a capitalist and anti-Socialist as Andrew Carnegie, the founder of that great "friend" of labor, the Steel Trust, indorses it. In his latest book, "Problems of Today," Mr. Carnegie finds that he is in hearty accord with the program of Mr. Macdonald's deed, he considers its universality to be its only justification. "Today," he says, "the field of battle has become the whole world."

Walling Quotes  
From Karl Kautsky.

In the "Road to Power," this famous leader, the man who is accepted by a majority of the Socialists of nearly every country except England as the greatest living authority, denounces Macdonald's plan to achieve immediate political results at any cost as follows:

"Troubled friends fear that the Socialist Democracy may gain a premature power in the state through a revolution (in which case, of course, a reaction might follow), but if there is a danger of obtaining premature power. It comes from winning of the appearance of power in the state before the revolution—that is, before the proletariat has won the real political power. So long as this has not happened, the Social Democracy can win a share in the power of the state only by selling out its political influence to a bourgeois government. The proletariat as a class can win nothing by this, but only at the best the parliamentarians who make the bargain."

"Any one for whom social democracy is the means of freeing the proletariat must oppose such a participation of his party in the ruling corruption in the most decisive manner. . . ."

"The only people who would gain by this are those elements for whom our party is nothing more than a ladder by which to climb higher—namely the careerists and office-seekers. The loss of such elements we attract to us the more we repel them, the better for our struggle."

(Editor's Note. Yet Kautsky voted for the admission of this British "Labor Party" of Macdonald's into the International Socialist Bureau and Congress, and in last week's "Workman's Paper" defended his vote and even advocated a similar party in the U. S.)

Which Shall  
It Be?

Shall we form a Social Democratic party such as Marx and Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel and Kautsky have done in Germany, or shall we put an end to our brief experiment, dissolve the Socialist organization and form a "Socialistic" party, as J. R. Macdonald advises?

It is sometimes said that no such proposal has been made in this country. But how else are we to interpret the statement made by one member of our executive committee that if an Independent Labor party is to be formed, we ought not only to co-operate with it, but to "support it," and the statement by another member of the executive committee that we ought at least to form some agreement with such an organization "as to candidates?"

The movement for a Labor party is on foot in Pennsylvania, in California, in Chicago, and in New York. It has already been officially indorsed by a majority of the trades unions in all these sections; it is favored by a majority of the trade union papers.

The question, then, is opportune. If a Labor party is formed, and if the Socialist party "supports it," or comes to an "agreement about candidates," then it will be a very short time before the same question is asked in this country as has been put by the Socialist leaders of this movement in Great Britain.

Is a Socialist party desirable?

Will Macdonald's principles be applied here also? The principle that "Socialism will be retarded by a Socialist party."

## From a Worker

The following extract from the letter of Comrade Wm. C. Green helps to "cheer us on the way" in more ways than one:

"The Workingman's Paper.

"Dear Comrades: The Workingman's Paper has always proved staunch and true in every emergency and has never shunned any task or failed in its duty. It seems a blistering shame that such an efficient defender and fighter for the workingman's cause should ever have to make a struggle for its own life. I have had a plucking time financially myself of late, but then I hope to help Socialism a little more generously, and surely will not forget 'The Workingman's Paper' when matters come around right. I enclose \$1 now of which you may make what use of you see fit.

"Yours very truly,  
"Wm. C. Green."

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## Is THE Socialist Party Desirable?

That is a very different question from that asked by Walling in another part of this paper, namely, "Is a Socialist Party Desirable?"

It all hinges on what you mean by the term "Socialist." If you mean Socialistic, as defined by J. R. Macdonald, of the British Labor Party, and as representing all who are opposed to the domination of the Trusts, including the great masses of unenlightened wage-workers, then a Socialist Party is by no means desirable—except for the Middle Class; and neither is THE Socialist Party of the United States desirable. Inasmuch as it is now a Berger Party, a Milwaukee Party, whatever the Proletarian-disposed contingent and residue in its ranks, like Kerr and Bohn and Duchez may say or do. The Kerr Co. as publishers of Scientific Socialist literature, are of far more importance to the cause of the working class in America than a so-called Socialist Party aiming only at a Middle Class and temporary victory.

The Socialist Party in the United States has expelled its most revolutionary elements and is now worshipping at the shrine in Wisconsin. There is hardly a discordant note. Even the "International Socialist Review" in its last issue, feels called upon to extend a left-handed welcome to the Milwaukee success, even while editorially proposing a revision of the Socialist Party platform in the direction of the Wage-Class interest; which illustrates once more, by the way, the truth of Engels' remark that "the essential of all criticism is—Independence."

The mission of a really Socialist Party, as shown in our paper last week by Kautsky, is educational rather than political. In this sense, the position of Hyndman and Quelch in the Social Democratic Party of England, is more conducive to Proletarian victory, than a Labor Party which has been so MacDonaldized as to secure the approval of Andrew Carnegie.

Nothing can be effected toward Proletarian emancipation until the masses of workmen are delivered from the overwhelming hypnotic influence of Capitalist thought. A Socialist Party which will assist toward that awakening by insisting in season and out of season on a Wage Class basis for the Party, even though it be so inconsistent and unavailing as the S. L. P. is not to be condemned as useless. Out of this turmoil will come one of these days a really Proletarian organization, turning both a Proletarian membership and a Proletarian knowledge.

## England, 1892---America, 1910

Industrially, and hence socially, America has lagged many years behind England, until very recently. And even now American experiences can be duplicated in England a score of years ago. For example, in the following quotation from Engels, written in 1892, substitute "America" for "England," and "I. W. W." for "New Unionism" and "East End," and the entire passage applies almost word for word to present conditions in the United States:

"Today there is 'Socialism again in England,' and plenty of it—Socialism of all shades: Socialism conscious and unconscious, Socialism prosaic and poetic, Socialism of the working class and of the middle class, for, verily, that abomination of abominations, Socialism, has not only become respectable, but has actually donned evening dress and lounges lazily on drawing room causeuses. That shows the incurable fickleness of that terrible despot of 'society,' middle-class public opinion, and once more justifies the contempt in which we Socialists of a past generation always held that public opinion. At the same time, we have no reason to grumble at the symptom itself.

"What I consider far more important than this momentary fashion among bourgeois circles of affecting a mild dilution of Socialism, and even more than the actual progress Socialism has made in England generally, that is the revival of the East End of London. That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the 'New Unionism'; that is to say, of the organization of the great mass of the 'unskilled' workers. This organization may, to a great extent, adopt the form of the old unions of the 'skilled' workers, but it is essentially different in character. The old unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wages system as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members. The new unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders and promoters were Socialists either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that their minds were virgin soil, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' unionists. And thus we see now these new unions taking the lead of the working class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud 'old' unions.

"Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders: so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire Socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in the past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this fine siècle, and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it."

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