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THE SHARE OF LABOR

Carnegie's View.

Mr. Carnegie's attitude on the proper share of labor in its own product is clearly shown in his remarks on the wealth based in the founding of Cooper Institute. Says he: "Much of this sum, if distributed in small quantities among the people (among those who produced it) would have been wasted in the indulgence of appetite, some of it in excess, and it may well be doubted whether even the part put to the best use, that of adding to the comforts of home, would have yielded results to the race, as a race, at all comparable to those which are following and are to flow from the Cooper Institute from generation to generation. Let the advocates of violent or radical change ponder well this thought."

That the Cooper Institute, and similar institutions, are doing excellent work for the bourgeois in turning out skilled labor in abundance, and therefore to be had cheaply, there can be no doubt. It is very likely, however, that those in the sweat of whose brow these "benefactions" were produced, would have preferred a few more "trifling amounts," with which to secure a home, and to add to its comforts, especially in view of the fact that despite the benefits that are accruing "to the race as a race," the relative per capita wealth of the working-class has been steadily decreasing since 1850, as also the difference between the wages paid the average worker and the value of his product.

Care of the Race

It is characteristic of the bourgeois apologetic that it should abound in high-sounding phrases, suggestive of boundless love for "the race," while scorning the welfare of the average individual; though in the next breath "individualism" will be claimed as the one thing in civilization worth preserving; not, of course, the individualism of the wage-earner, of the mechanic, poet, or philosopher; but the unrestrained "individualism of the business man," the ruthless exploiter of the useful workers. The factory, mill and mine "operatives," including seven or eight millions of women and children, are to be sacrificed for the "larger interests of the race."

Mr. Carnegie, being an agnostic, has adopted the care of the race as a substitute for the care of individual souls, once a popular and effective method of fostering the spirit of submission and pious resignation among the exploited.

Carnegie's Antidote for Poverty

Mr. Carnegie contends that if the multi-millionaire would but administer his superfluous wealth during his own life-time on such benefactions as are represented by the gifts of Peter Cooper, the Fratts, Senator Stanford, and others, we would then have "the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony," etc. Doubtless the application of Mr. Carnegie's views, especially the acceptance of his advice regarding a high tax on legacies, would be a great and much-needed step in advance. But even if the larger capitalists of the country could be induced to follow the "isopol" according to Carnegie (which is, of course utopian), much of the suffering due to "economy in the matter of wages," to lack of steady employment at good wages, would continue; since, as Professor Charles Booth freely admits, "our modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin, some reserve of labor." Unfortunately for the wage-slave, this "reserve" is growing constantly larger, and under the present systemless system, must continue to increase. The census of 1890 showed that but 15 per cent of the workers were suffering from enforced idleness during part of the year; in 1900 22 per cent of the wage-earners were unemployed for a part of the year; while three years later this "unemployed margin" rose to 49.8 per cent of the millions who depended upon the requirements of capitalists for a subsistence. "These statistics indicate," says, Hon. Carrol D. Wright, then Commissioner of Labor, "that the increase in production has been accomplished very largely through the utilization of new and improved machinery without a corresponding increase in the number of wage-earners and wages paid." The same authority tells us that of the six to ten millions who lacked steady employment, 3 per cent only were idle through fault of their own.

Obviously, an industrial regime (it could not be accurately described as a "system") which produces such fruits as have herein been alluded to, must be "hewn down," root and branch. Its evils are inherent and in-

The Question of Party Tactics and Platform Discussed by Two Ex-State Secretaries---Barzee of Oregon and Bostrom of Washington

A Joint Discussion of Party Affairs and Platform Immediate Demands Between C. W. Barzee of Portland, Ore., and Frans Bostrom of Tacoma, Wash

OUR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

Third Contribution

WHO IS A SOCIALIST?

The repeated failure of Comrade Bostrom to meet criticism of his objections to immediate demands and discuss them on their merits makes his part of the discussion a farce. To elaborate on generalities and talk about using the club in an organization which has a well defined and limited program, the whole theme of which is education and its plan declared to be acquisition of power in government by the peaceful means of the ballot, legally and socially divorced all such arguments and its advocates from the socialist party. This statement does not enter into the discussion of the merits or demerits of the use of the club, or of a general strike as a means for emancipating labor from the tools of capitalism. But let it be understood that we are defending "political action," defined by the party to be "participation in elections for public office and practical legislation and administrative work along lines of the socialist party platform."

Neither are we arguing whether some other organization is better or worse. We are not called upon to say whether the I. W. W. will lend support to, or succeed ahead of the socialist party, or whether nihilism that kills off rulers will succeed, or if we will reach that higher civilization of anarchism before we pass through the evolution and revolution of socialism. Who Are and Who Are Not Socialists.

We are discussing "immediate demands" in the socialist party platform; which platform and constitution, including the party pledge, constitutes socialism and defines who are and who are not socialists.

From Comrade Bostrom's own writings it appears that he is not a socialist. That he does not understand the working program written out by the socialist party and as a party member cautions ideas and tactics of other organizations with that of the socialist party.

It would present more reasonable, not to say honest argument, if those not in agreement with proscribed socialist party tactics and program would affiliate with other organizations operating along their own peculiar line of ideas. This is not a personal criticism

eradicable. Once a necessary step in economic evolution, the bourgeois civilization and industrial regime are no longer adapted to the needs of society. The absurdity of socialized production and individual, capitalistic appropriation; of co-operation in the workshop and anarchy in the market; of poverty, ugliness, and idleness in a land of boundless wealth and ineffable beauty, infinite in resources, physical, moral, and esthetic, can not much longer maintain.

Rumblings are Heard

At the present moment a very large number of what were until recently contented and submissive wage-slaves are keenly alive to the wholly unnecessary poverty, ignorance, disease, suffering and moral degradation of the masses involved in the capitalistic system of production and distribution of wealth. Having so far failed to secure for themselves an equitable share in the increasing comforts and conveniences and pleasures of civilization, and having been assured that the present "system" offers no escape from wage-slavery and social inferiority, the workers are becoming restive rebellious, self-assertive, and ripe for revolution. If we must have a large number of industrious poor with us under the present anarchic regime, then the prevailing "system" must be abolished, for there is no necessity for either poverty or general lack of culture outside of bourgeois philosophy. Trading-class "political economy," and trading-class ethics have been found out. They are now recognized in their true nature as narrow, baneful, and illusory products of trading-class selfishness and conceit. "Justice" is bourgeois justice, and double-faced. "Morality" is bourgeois morality, and contains a dual element of public philanthropy and private greed; of rigid exactions and flexible actions. "Religion" is bourgeois religion, the hand-maid of "business," paradoxical and puerile in theory, impracticable and impotent in fact. But the hour of cunning, and craft, of graft and greed, of idleness and wealth, and of industry coupled with poverty and want has come! Already the rumblings of a great social upheaval may be heard. The industrial army is marking time. "As yet," remarked Ex-Governor Hanly, in a recent address, "there is in a liberal sense no call to arms. There are no drum beats, no bugle blasts, but the revolution is upon us."

The industrial despots who are attempting to crush out the right of labor to organize in its own protection are but adding fuel to the flame of social unrest. The Socialists have no better aids than the "practical" union-smashers.

WHAT IS OPPORTUNISM?

(By Frans Bostrom)

Nothing can better illustrate the difference between revolutionary Socialism and that remnant of Populism known in the party as opportunism, than the style of argument pursued by Comrade Barzee in his letter in the Washington Socialist of April 8th. It was not and is not my intention to be personal, but the opportunity is too tempting to refuse. Comrade Barzee begins his letter with the statement that in my letter (of March 25), I denied that food, shelter, raiment, culture and the enjoyment of life are common requirements of society. My statement was that "society is not homogeneous, the interests of its individual members are not, have never been and can never be identical."

If common needs make for common interests, then our interests are to some extent identical with the wild beasts, who also need food and shelter. Another instance: He quotes me as saying that "correct relations between the units of society is NOT the aim of the Socialist party," where I said that "the RE-ESTABLISHMENT of correct relations, etc." In order to get something to say, he left out the word upon which I placed the greatest stress, and which meant simply that we did not intend to RE-ESTABLISH anything, but were progressive in nature.

There are other instances in Comrade Barzee's letter of similar kind. This style is what is called opportunism, which is a polite name for humbug. I am after all not personal in saying this, since it is a common characteristic of all opportunists. I have yet to meet the first one who will put up a straight argument, unembellished with doges. I must decline to follow Comrade Barzee into all the little traps he sets for me, not because they could catch me, but it would be useless fooling.

That Industrial Department Bill. Comrade Barzee says that the Oregon party tried to get passed a bill to employ all the unemployed, and asks if this immediate demand would not have been a benefit, even more so than the eight hour bill. We here in Washington have now what is called "the lazy husbands law" under which all family men get employment providing they get their wives to complain over lack of support. This is what relief for unemployed can ever be expected while capitalism lasts.

But even should compulsory employment lie within the limits of probability, Socialists should consistently oppose it, since if the worker is deprived of his fear of tomorrow, he is also deprived of his strongest, and, in most cases, only incentive to revolt.

Immediate Demands. The purpose of immediate demands is solely to catch votes. With few exceptions they would do the working class no good, in most cases they would do positive harm, if it were possible to carry them into effect. They would prolong the struggle, perpetuate the middle class or emasculate the working class. The middle class would probably have taken them up as suitable planks in some Bull-Moose party, (and in fact have done so lately) but they are branded Socialism which render them more or less useless as bait for middle class votes. Any one therefore, who earnestly desires to see them carried out, should insist upon it that the Socialist party drop them, so that some more respectable party could pick them up.

In conclusion let us say that opposition to educational immediate demands, which opposition always comes from disorganization, is the enemy of all progress in the movement. On account of this disloyalty the party organization has fallen far behind its possibilities, and it has not reached the capitalist expectation for working class emancipation. However, notwithstanding this fact the party vote has far out-stripped the party organization.

For the third time we ask: did party advancement come of the "immediate demand" contained in the Oregon measure? C. W. BARZEE.

HAVE YOU SEEN IT?

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"I am done with politics," says Victor Murdock. Whereupon they elected him national chairman of the Progressive party.—Springfield Republican.

MAN ON TWO LEGS

(Ernest M. Shipley)

Man on two legs, everywhere, Quit that tearing of your hair! Got enough of sweat and grind? Got enough of groping blind? Hanging round away behind Man that do and dare?

Think some one will bear your pain? Build your shelter in the rain? Think they're going to think for you, Take the "rinky-dink" for you, Snatch you from the brink? You do? Better guess again!

Man with two eyes, gazing out Over issues thick about, Think that things materialize Just by using legs and eyes Searching for them in the skies, While you fret and pout?

Don't sit 'round and weep and groan, Nay, the masters must be shown. Better step up and subscribe! Better write a diatribe! Better vote without the bribe, When you want your own.

Men with two hands, therefore pause, Idle in the grand old cause. Want some one to grind your ax? Think the "gent" that lays the tax Isn't "comfy" on your backs, While he made the laws?

Speaking of the ship of state, And the way to keep her straight, Better get an oar or two; Better show what you can do Paddling in your own canoe. Try, at any rate!

Help the merchants to success who are patronizing YOUR paper!

The Socialist party cannot make good before elected by majority vote, and then we have bigger things to accomplish than reforms. That we will gain any votes because of the promises, is very doubtful. If we gain any, they do us no good. We must know that behind every one of our votes stands a person who is willing to lay down his life if need be, to back up that vote. And as long as revolution and reform are being served up as political hash it will be impossible to take a scientific position, impossible to satisfy the intelligent investigator; we can only convince the public that we are dishonest. Government ownership of railroads would make it possible for farmers to ship at cost and thus increase their income, municipal ownership would lessen the taxation of property owners, neither would do a thing of good to the workers. And precious little it would amount to for the workers as property owners, whether their taxes were \$10 or \$15.

Once more, if wage workers, small farmers and all other socially small people have a common interest, it is in the revolution and in the revolution only. And it can only serve as a cause for disunion to introduce any issue, that does not concern all.

Opportunism in Party Affairs. In the party itself opportunism has played havoc to an extent that should condemn it forever. From the national office has emanated for many years past persistent attempts to break up all state organizations who did not follow in the foot-steps of Milwaukee, Nebraska, Missouri, Texas, Washington, the Finnish Federation, and just now Michigan, have felt that nefarious influence.

In Washington we had the experience of having our enemies encouraged by clandestine letters from at least one member of the National Ex. whom we honored to the extent of making our candidate for governor, worked overtime trying to teach the small farmers that they had no business to permit the wage workers to run the affairs of the party in this state. Ex post facto resolutions were passed in the National Ex. Committee for the purpose of thwarting the Washington Reds, mistakes were committed in the national office that knocked out the right of our national committeemen to make motions within the time limit, comments to motions of Washington national committeemen were limited to 100 words, while no limit was placed upon comments of favorites. The committeemen of Maine were allowed 215 words not long ago. Finally the national constitution was set aside absolutely and a carpet-bag administration sent us. Our regularly elected officials were dismissed, and after we had been forced to take back those whom we had expelled in obedience to the national constitution, we had to elect new ones. We came out on the top and showed Berger that he did not tell the national committee the truth when he said that there were as many yellows as reds in the state. Truth has always an uphill fight but it wins in the end. It does not pay to be dishonest in politics any more than elsewhere. Opportunism has cost this state 3500 members and has poisoned the ranks of what remains with treason. All over these United States its influence has done its deadly work. In Europe it has set the German and Austrian Socialists to fight the French Belgian and English Comrades. The Russians were revolutionists and refused to murder. And in the face of all this opportunism is unblinking enough to still argue its case, Bah!

The Mexicans may be pardoned for failing to see wherein their method of conducting war violates the rules now followed by civilized nations.—Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

"A good man never makes a soldier. The worst man always makes the best soldier. The soldier is nothing but a hired legalized murderer."—Napoleon Bonaparte.

With a sister of the Kaiser in the royal family and \$4,000,000 from the Allies in the royal treasury, Greece is, indeed, in a state of cruel perplexity.—Chicago Herald.

We must really be more careful in the future. Every time we protest against something Great Britain is about to do, Great Britain cites an American precedent for doing it.—Chicago Herald.

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Local Republic Comes Back

Local Republic comes back at the expense of its "money" resolution. The "money" proposed by that local is merely a scheme of exchange, or contrivance. Socialism is not a scheme.

This scheme, if adopted by us, would be an assumption that we, still in the kindergarten of Socialism, know more about what to do at some future time than a united working class will know after we have passed through the necessary development and gained the power to overthrow capitalism.

What right have we to impose any scheme of money on our comrades of the future who will certainly be our superiors if they learn to unite and develop sufficiently to put an end to

exploitation and run the industries democratically? How do we know that the revolution will come off as per any prescribed formula? How do we know it will be pulled off in Congress? Would it not be more to our credit if we, who have not yet learned to agree on the source of power, should begin to exercise our energy and intelligence on the question as to the source of power instead of trying to lay down the law for those who will know many times more than we do about it all?

How to develop the necessary power, is a question that would have to be discussed outside of this article. PROLETARIA BILL

MAN'S RIGHT TO WORK

By EDWIN MARKHAM

Out of the roads they have gathered a hundred thousand men, To ask for a hold on life as sure as the wolf's hold in his den. Their need lies close to the quick of life as the earth lies close to the stone; .. It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow to the bone.

They ask but the leave to labor, to toil in the endless night, For a little salt to savor their bread, for houses waeright. For they ask but the right to labor and live by the strength of their hands— They who have bodies like knotted oaks, and patience like sta-sanda.

And the right of man to labor, and his right to labor in joy— Not all your laws can strangle that right, nor the Gates of Hell destroy. For it came with the making of man and was kneaded into his bones. And will stand at the last of things on the dust of crumbled thrones.

