Seattle, Washington, Saturday, May 8, 1909

**Price Five Cents** 

# REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

# THE VOTE WE DID NOT GET

### By C. W. Barzee, National Committeeman of the Socialist Party from Oregon

failure to obtain the expected Social the capitalist party will then enact ist vote at the late election was not reform legislation meeting the ex on account of the lack of Socialist sentiment and a desire for the supremacy of Socialist principles by taminated with middle class reform. those inclined to Socialism, but on account of the known inability of the Socialist Party to reach, at the present time, a position commanding legislation. The vote was not cast in accordance with the voters' candid opinion of what would be best for fu-ture society, but with a view of relieving their need, which meant to

tion of protest, instead of a declarahave made it plain to each voter that form or of rank plutocracy. to register his vote with the Socialist Party would be giving it double force A Revolutionary and double power.

### Failed as a Vote Catcher

The clearsightedness of Debs never permitted him to refer to the platform appeal for the votes of the working man, nor in his interview with Lincoln But he did declare, always and everystand before the nation a mixed quan-

# Necessity of

thinking working man previous to his profit system. As long as the wage that will arrest the attention of the becoming class conscious and intelligently informed in the science of social economies. We must appeal to his vote as a protest he will further his judgment, though we reach it the cause of revolution and still be through his stomach. With clear rea- permitted to gather "crumbs." soning from a scientific standpoint let

### Middle Class Legislation

The middle class is capitalistic. It is a fact that we weaken our party scientifically and every other way ure that tends to compromise between profit, or a legitimate business, is a capitalist measure and tends to repropose any measure that can be appropriated by a capitalist party in selves fusionists and our party a

It is an established fact that the In self-defense against this position pectation of the protesting voter, and

### Constructive Socialism vs. Capitalist Reform

We cannot have Constructive So cialism as long as a profit system inthem their reinstatement in the lost stead of a use system, continues to or der our social relations. LET SO CIALISTS EVERYWHERE UNDER-Our Faulty Position STAND THIS AND REFUSE TO WALK INTO THE "PROPERTIED" In the nature of its campaign prop- MIDDLE CLASS TRAP. Every vote aganda, the Socialist Party is very registered, every nominee elected much to blame for this practical, or every utterance in speech or press is impractical, conclusion on the part of but a protest against capitalism and voter. The erroneous position an exhortation to rally to the cause and the faulty wording of the na- of Socialism. Until we possess our tional platform left the "job seeker" selves with the powers of government little to expect from his vote for So and legislatively or otherwise declare cialism. Whereas, had we by clear our emancipation from the profit sys wording made our platform a declara tem, our social relations will be directed by capitalist interests, whether tion of reform principles, we would they may be under the auspices of re

### Protest vs. a Middle-Class Program

With a Revolutionary Socialist Pro of reform legislation measures in his test as a basis for action we would as sume a commanding position tha would demand recognition; where Steffens for "Everybody's Magazine." with a reform Socialist platform we could command neither respect no where, the power and influence which recognition. We well know that the one million votes for Socialism would capitalist party will, as the concentra have on future legislation, for and in tion of wealth increases, inaugurate behalf of labor. No matter which a system of taxation that will be used party was elected it would heed that as a pretense to destroy predatory protest. Debs well knew, as did every wealth. We can outline their legislaother voter, that legislation for or tion for them with scientific accuracy against the working man must come They will give the people income and from the party in power, which in any inheritance taxes with other reforms case surely could not be the Socialist to relieve the middle class. They will Party. With a straight revolutionary grant old age and unemployed insurprogram we could have then made ance to wage workers for the purpos a clear declaration for the abolition of relieving acute distress among the of rent, interest and profit; and not wage slaves, and thus avoid the danger of revolution arising from their a Program were directly assessed to them, and are but an apology for the evil that plan of our purpose in a declaration They effect nothing but an illogical islation by any party. It is always worker votes with the capitalist par-

### Class Consciousness

Thus by a clear exposition of middle and weaken the Capitalist party's po-Analyzed sition until they will be compelled to unite their forces to carry an election. tween Capitalism and Socialism, eliminating the middle class, and bring the two opposing factors of society for a final conflict of votes and balganization. The agitator will then be of the existence of a revolutionary

not proletarian interests that speak of the Socialist Party. through reform measures. Socialists ties they will not fear him. In giving must face this proposition as a pro-

### Constructive Socialism

class legislation we will draw the litical power and legislative authority wage class vote to the Socialist Party we will be ready for Constructive Sowe will be ready for Constructive Socialism. The reconstruction must commence at the time and from the when we take it from Capitalism. Soof society will continue, with such use system is to establish

system may be abolished, is capitalist clearly defining the revolutionary use profit system. It is the purpose of the vate use value. For all common-use systematic robbery. None of these legislation and constitutes fusion. system, will carry society into a Socialist movement to destroy this property would at once lose it purpose measures will remove the cause or Capitalist interests, either directly or crisis, without the knowledge of a power and free society by placing of private ownership, and would be effect a cure. These meager benefits indirectly, cause us to become concure; and a universal strike ensue, human rights above property rights. delivered to the government by its are as truly drawn from labor as if it fused on this point. We either place with its accompanied riot and the loss of life and property. Indeed we are ment to protect society in the right tinued operation in the interest of all, are but an arrelary for the extl. ests, or we have individual private in the throes of this condition at the to earn a living (own the job) as it is The power (use system) that de-In our propaganda we find it abso- comes of a profit system, "the crumbs property interests which we wish to present time. There is now the to guarantee the right to use the liv- stroyed it would forever forbid its protect when we endorse reform leg- greatest need for clearer conception ing (the proceeds of the job) after it return to private ownership and cause excuse for the continued grind of the middle class propertied interests and the safety of society and the integrity possess the power through legislative ty of the government.

### Social Revolution

No ruling power of government ever vet abdicated its authority or submit ted to any change whatever, until some other organized body by force When we clothe ourselves with po- of circumstances, legally or otherwise took possession. This applies to po changes. The pending social revolu tion will combine both of these fea tures and will not differ in its author condition in which society may be, ity from any other change or revoluwhen we take it from Capitalism. So tion. The purpose of the profit sys-cialism is constructive and not determ is to make gain or profit to the structive. The science of Socialism owners of private property and is supis to construct, not to destroy. Every- ported by the powers of the govern thing which then exists for the good ment to that end. The purpose of a ure that tends to compromise between lots. With class lines distinctly drawn a large profit, or a graft, and a small lots. With class lines distinctly drawn changes as may be directed by a use erty and the pursuit of happiness" in system, for the best interests of fu- all that pertains thereto, for the use ture society. Constructive Socialism and benefit of the human family; and will consist of a reconstruction that the use system would then be en will adapt all the relations of society, forced by the government. A profit pertaining to human need, to a use system places human rights second system. Every act of legislation beary to property rights, and a use sys gotten through the profit system, pre- tem would place property rights sec nonenity. The late Populist Party "went over the road" by this route because it was not revolutionary and did not have a distinct cause to con
We cannot inaugurate Socialism by the capitalist party. By making clear to human rights. Human rights are and always have been subordinate to property rights are subordinate to property rights. Human rights. Human rights. Human rights. Human rights are subordinate to property rights are subordinate to property rights are subordinate to property rights. in existence. When we under reform methods. To engage in re- a distinction between a profit system system for private profit. Society has moved up to its present standard from the prove ourselves not to be a tailst legislation, and is not far re- pared for the change from Capitalism through chattel slavery and

and practical outline of program for is earned. For the Socialist Party to it to always remain common properauthority of this government, without destroying the profit system, would Revolutionary not be Socialism. The profit system must be abolished and a use system

### Confiscation

"To the victor belongs the spoils" will be the principle of the social lution. In the advent of the Socialist party to power, the government will, that will permit them to retain the become the rightful owner or possess or dictator and director of every part may shoose and denominate them as that Local Tacoma refused to endorse and parcel of property within its jurisdiction. The government would then the voter who is inclined toward Sodirect and rule with the same author- cialism a reason for divorcing the ity and enforce its dictum by the same Capitalist parties and the profit sysmeans as now. Through the demise tem, and it will prepare him for the of the profit system would come the adoption of the use system. It is an discontinuation of private profits to experienced fact that every propaindividuals owning property. Any gandaist is met with a demand for a property privately owned for the ex- program. Every unscientific voter property privately owned for the ex-clusive purpose of making profits has a common use value to all. If we de-stroy the profit value we destroy the stroy the profit value we destroy the purpose of the individual ownership, that will come from an alliance with which would virtually confiscate the the Socialist party. "Loaves and which would virtually common use purpose. Fishes" figured, as a policy, with the Socialism does not mean the exchange of graft legislation for reform or lead command consideration from our is temporarily out of danger gitimate business legislation; but it party. Revolution means revolution; does mean to exchange the profit sys- and Socialist sentiment will increase tem for a use system of production and more directly from the demonstrated by any means. We are look-distribution. The people through the demerits of capitalism, than from the ing to you for the sinews of

THE TWO

**UNCLE** 

SAMS

How long will the

little one be boss?

a revolutionary program that says to attle matter, leaving Local Seattle to them, "You vote against the profit settle its own troubles. system and for the use system and they will fear you and concede to you ates in Puyallup with Patterson, facevery reform within the catechism their reforms as specifically as we capitalistic measures. This will give it, though State Chairman Barth

### Party Unity

The matter of reform measures is the bone of contention in all our conventions. By the foregoing plan we would remove the cause and make the party a unit. Every desired reform by the most extreme opportunist could be pointed out as a conciliatory measure favorable for the Capitalist legislation; and thus the Socialist party would avoid confusing its members and allied voters with the Capitalistic meas ures. The scientific analysis of social economies, together with a thorough exposition of the profits ystem, would become clear to every one; and Socialist economy would be assimilated intelligently by the working class. A careful study of Socialist philosophy and revolutionary tactics will support here qualified and practical suggestions. If we are to maintain our standing as a revolutionary party we must act consistently.

### International Consolidation

There is dire need for endorsing ne such program by the Internation al Movemet. Capitalism with the prof it system is a civilized, or uncivilized world condition. Its subjects are menaced by the same system of robbery and the same result is in every land There is the greatest need for a unified program. A universal program. for a universal party and the failure of Capitalism to make good in every land, will cause capitalism and the profit system in each nation to go down before the mighty force of International Revolutionary Socialist phi-

### Conclusion

This brief analysis of Capitalism and Socialism in relation to the profit and use system is given with the hope of unifying the party on the vexed ques-tion of program. The writer, while obscure and not wishing or desiring notoricty, does desire unity and party success. Ten years of active propa ganda work in the Socialist Party has, by actual experience in direct contact with criticism from every vantage point of capitalism, developed the foregoing position as being the practical program for the Socialist party. Look not to precedents, as you criticise this neither ask yourselves if it be Marx fan, European or American; but take counsel only. If it be scientific and

Yours very ary Socialist party, C. W. BARZEE. Yours very truly for a Revolution

### Their Latest Dodge

The Middle Class elements in the Socialist Party of Washington are bound to get Mills, Brown & Co. back into the party. Defeated in every allow several Locals in the same city "shall," not "may." but shall grant charter to any who apply. This is aimed directly at Seattle, so as to let in the Mills "Independents," the Burgess "Insurgents" and all the anar chist Socialists who have drifted out Program of the Party during years past. It is Let us go before the people with a way to get around the recent Referendum, which tabled the whole Se-

> This propesed Referendum origintory owner, who attended the recent conference of "Independents and Insurgents" held at Seattle. It will be endorsed by every Middle Class Local in the State. We are glad to report worked hard for it.

revolutionary, we constitute a power ent conditions without declaring for the construction of Capitalist rethrough our revolutionary purpose. actual confiscation, by which the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a construction of the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a construction of the profit system, confiscate all the failure of one must precede the confiscation, by which the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a confiscate all the failure of one must precede the confiscation, by which the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a confiscation, by which the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a confiscation, by which the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a confiscation, by which the profit forms by the Socialist Party, without revolutionary by means of a confiscation by the socialist party by means of a confiscation by the socialist party by means of a confiscation by the socialist party by means of a confiscation by the socialist party by means of a confiscation by the socialist party by means of a confiscation by the socialism through confiscation than the confiscation of capitalism through the demerits of capitalism than from the capitalism than from the capitalism than from the



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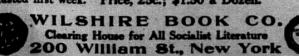
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# Che Socialist WHAT SOCIALISM IS OFFICIAL STATEMENT

# STATEMENT OF

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

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes

But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases.

Green Lake Drug Co LA PROSPERIDAD Colony Associa-

Physician and Surgeon—Residence 933 Tweifth Avenue S. Beacon Hill. Office 634-635 Pioneer Block, Pioneer Place, Seattle, Wash. DR. TITUS has resumed the practice of medicine. Rooms 313-314 Hues-sy Block, corner Third Avenue and Pike Street. workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of pro

duction are the regularly recurring in-dustrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or

dustrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical, exhaustion and, ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the first wives from their homes to the first wives from their homes to the filldren from the playgrounds and achools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold doliars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their nay all orwans of the public of them into beggary, vagrancy and all their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their nay all orwans of the public of them into beggary, vagrancy and all their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in the products and equal sufficient of the public of the minus hard their rule over their fillow men, the capitalists must keep in their nay all orwans of the public of the minus hard factories. It drives millions of the bequests and to the mount of the capitalists must keep in the product of the public of the minus hard factories. It drives millions of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uning their rule of the minus hard factory. It shades their wives from their homes to the factory. It shades their homes to the factory it of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uning their wives from their homes to the factory. By forbidding the interstate from emp 9 A. M., 1:00 P. M., 5:00 P. M., 9:00 P. M.

fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public con-science. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and inte ctually just as they own it industri-

ally.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever flercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishmost direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, out also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

rapidly developing within present pitalist society. The factory sysm, with its complex machinery and inute division of labor, is rapidly devoying all vestiges of individual prouction in manufacture. Modern pro-

by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to rea-lize the international brotherhood of man.

### **PROGRAM**

They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive and brain are their only productive and brain are their only productive and to increase its power of resist-property. Millions of formerly self-ance against capitalist oppression, we employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial elected officers to the following program:

Socialism and Science Prench and Italian Translator PikeStreet Transfer & Messenger Co. Prench and Italian Translator & Messenger Co. Proper independent 1.4518. Office of the nation falls upon the shortest form the capitalists and present of the nation falls upon the shortest form the capitalists and in the life of the nation falls upon the shortest form the capitalists and in the life of the nation falls upon the shortest form the capitalists and in the life of the nation falls upon the shortest form the work of the nation falls upon the shortest form the capitalist and present of the class whose only the clas

"7.-The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers. trial condition of the workers.

"(a) By shortening the workday
in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

"(b) By securing to every worker
a rest period of not less than a day

tive campaign in that direction.
"11—The initiative and referendum,

# SOCIALIST PARTY AND

duction is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious bellef.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only gational but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this actile for freedom the Socialist Party in the study of the conomic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the conomic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible designed. to dictate to organized labor in mat-ters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible de-velop the most effective forms of or-ganization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-

ganization and methods of action.

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

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

"Organized labor is today con-fronted by a great crisis. The capi-talists, intoxicated with wealth and power, and alarmed by the increasing "In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and

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

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by power ful capitalist organizations, with mil-

"The courts, always hostile to la make the production of the necessaries of life the object of competitive
private enterprise and speculation is
at the bottom of all the social evils
of our time.

"5.—The scientific reforestation of
timber lands, and the reclamation of
swamp lands. The land so reforested
pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are
largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the
workers are mercilessly used up, and

"4.—The extension of the public domines, quarries, old preverting the law to the
service of the capitalist class. They
timber lands, and the reclamation of
timber lands, and the reclamation of
timber lands, and the reclamation of
swamp lands. The land so reforested
or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.
"6.—The absolute freedom of press,
speech and assemblage.

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

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestrating their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many la-bor laws—laws protecting little chil-dren from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable fo.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with The Jungle "10.—Unrestricted and equal suffifty sears age. It has stretched and frage for men and women, and we distorted the Anti-Trust law to make pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction. tive campaign in that direction.

"11.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

"12.—The abolition of the Senate.
"13.—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

"14.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

tile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself competers amendable by majority vote.

"15.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

"16.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.
"17.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that he power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.
"18.—The free administration of issue.
"Such measures of renef as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system to findustry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

tile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts to ward a peaceful solution of the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

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

"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony

SOCIALIST PARTY AND
THE TRADES UNIONS
The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist National Convention:

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

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