



The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 104 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK

be temporarily compromised but can never be harmonized, that the only way in which industrial freedom can be secured to the workers and industrial peace to the whole people is to make the mines and other means of production public property by first taking the government out of the hands of the owners and into those of the producers.

far as Britain is concerned, the Taft Vale decision is reversed. The workmen of the United States have suffered quite as much as those of Britain from the precedent set in the Taft Vale case. Seven months hence they will have a chance to follow what their British brothers have done, for there will be a Socialist ticket in the field all over the country.

Since we have spoken of the "Aeropagica," it may not be amiss to quote a few pertinent sentences from it. Milton wrote this address in 1644 in protest against an order of Parliament providing that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed unless first approved by certain licensers, twenty in number, appointed by the Parliament. What he said against that order, showing it to be pernicious even: "The licensers were sure to be wisest and most honorable of men (which, in fact, they were sure not to be), applies as well, with the change of a word here and there, to the proposition now made in your party that no member or members of the party be permitted to publish any Socialist paper, but that all the papers be controlled by a board or committee to be elected in some manner by the national organization. Space forbids us to quote the half of what we would wish. But note this, in the very beginning: "For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in the world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily remedied, that the people may enjoy their liberty obtained that wise men look for."

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?—II. In our preceding article we have undertaken to discuss the question: Whether the organization of labor unions on industrial lines is in itself a guaranty that they will support independent or Socialist labor politics. Does the fact that they appear on the field of the economic struggle, not in sharply separated trades, but in organizations in a certain kind of industry, give any assurance that they will use the political weapon of the ballot intelligently in the Socialist sense? If such is the case, the establishment of industrial unions would naturally be synonymous with a strengthening of the Socialist fighting organizations. It may be assumed that a larger portion of the wage-working masses can more easily be won to the economic organization than to the Socialist political body. Experience, however, teaches us that this expectation is not always fulfilled. If it be, then, expected, that when the understanding of Socialism, its principles and purposes, is generally lacking, an improved trade union designed only for the economic struggle will lead to the Socialist political action or even to independent labor politics for the betterment of their conditions of life—we may almost say, it will be just the reverse, if we consider the matter in a theoretical way. If the improved form of labor organization, as will naturally be the case, accomplishes greater results on the economic field, it seems reasonable to suppose that the organized workmen will have so much the less motive to look about them for new weapons than if, fighting only with the weapons of the old trade-union organization, they suffer defeat after defeat. We merely suggest this view. We cause its discussion here would lead us too far afield. In any case, however, it holds good that the industrial form of organization in itself has practically no influence upon the tendency toward Socialism among its members. It is thru considerations and experiences quite apart from the form of their economic organizations that the English workmen have at last reached the point of entering the field of independent labor politics. Regardless whether they were industrially organized or not, capitalism had simply struck them hard, and so, in spite of their generally conservative tendencies, they were finally compelled to enter the political field; but the leading elements were and are mostly Socialists.

IT IS BOUND TO COME. By Horace Traubel. It is bound to come. The new world of men as against the old world of money. It does not seem to care what the masters of the world think about it or what the slaves of the world think about it. It is bound to come. It may take a little more or a little less time. It may take a straight trip to the goal or it may go round some to get at its result. It may bring the harvest about by the vices of the sinners. I do not see the clock for history. But I can see the end. I can see what we are coming to. I can look back and see what we are coming to. I can look forward and see what we are coming to. I can dream far dreams into the future and see what we are coming to. All future drift in the same direction. The compa is set. Nothing can derange it. I am not deceived by the incidents of the day that do not seem to end right. I see the incidents of all time that always end right. I do not sit down with the child in the tannery and despair. The beautiful result is bound to come. That very child tells me in its starvation that the gracious result is bound to come. The conscience of man goes the way of the one result. The intelligence of man goes the way of the one result. And love goes the same way. Justice is appointed. Somewhere, when gathered about his money I do not beg his pardon and withdraw. I make a big fuss about money. Man can talk as loud and as long as money. I can give money any odds and beat it out with men. I can confirm all past history in the perspectives of my faith. History and love. History and the human brain. Things are all reaching out towards the commune. A thousand things reach out. Some timid people tremble. Some do not know what they are doing. They simply go on. So would rather go back than go on. If they could, but something that cannot be done, you would look them in the advance. I do not feel as if anything could turn the revolution back. Too many forces are interested in its task. If one force fails another force will appear in its place. The great cause has its promise announced by all the couriers of good and evil. Its blow cannot fail to land. I regard the degenerate diversions of the plutocracy with a sort of contempt. If not a kind of relief. Even that cruelty is helping us. Is it strange that cruelty should help us to be kind? I used to worry when the day did not always end right. But I know now that the day may not end right the days are bound to end right. The son of man is possessed with the notion of justice. Even conservatives, who are the beneficiaries of economic wrong are willing to concede that something is going to happen. They do not like the prospect which the wisest of them foresee. But they acknowledge the incertitude of their tenure. Yes, something is going to happen. Something that will take the whip out of the hand of money. Something that will give the soul the soul's place at last. Something that will give starvation food at last. Something that will give labor comfort and security at last. Something that will give man a chance to live. Something that will give the democracy of the real commonwealth. There are things in the road. But there is a power greater than any obstruction that is pushing on over and around all the barriers of caste. A power that is working in inexorable oberrance of natural law for a new world of men as against an old world of money. A new world of men. It is bound to come.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party has passed through its third general election, its growing power is indicated by the following figures: In the Presidential election, 96,981 votes (President and Congressional); 220,762 votes (President and Congressional); 405,280 votes (President and Congressional).

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER. Gaylord Wilshire editorially proposes that, in the event of the present protest by meetings and literature falling of its immediate purpose—in the event, that is, of any one of the Western Federation officials now unlawfully held under arrest being convicted by a packed jury upon suborned evidence, as the capitalist authorities have planned—this should be taken as the signal for a general strike. The working class in this country have it in their power to do this. You shall starve to death if a hair on the head of either Haywood, Moyer, or Peterson is injured. Let us have the world that the workmen of America are not as lost to shame, not so devoid of the red blood of courage, that they will allow one of their comrades to suffer death at the hands of their enemies when they have at their command a weapon which will get him free. Hurrah for the general strike!

For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in the world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily remedied, that the people may enjoy their liberty obtained that wise men look for. We welcome the article as branching a proposition worthy of consideration. Recent experience in Europe and especially in Russia has shown what an effective method of proletarian action, under certain conditions, the general strike may be. It is well worth considering in this country, too, and sooner or later we shall pretty certainly have to consider it. But it is not a thing to be undertaken light-heartedly and without preparation. If European experience has shown us the power of the general strike—or, to use a more exact expression, the political strike—this same experience has also shown us its limitations, its difficulties, and its dangers. It is not a thing to be undertaken in a spirit of general strike as in praise of armed insurrection (as some of our other prominent courages have been doing; also it is as futile, not to use any harsher word. To talk of starving the capitalists to death by a strike is, of course, rhetoric and nothing more. The matter is too important to be discussed in glittering generalities or extravagant phrases. If it is to be considered at all—and only the rank and file of the workers, who would have to bear the burden, are entitled to decide that—it should be considered very soberly on a basis of ascertainment of ascertainable facts and figures.

WHAT BRITISH LIBERALISM MEANS. The more one surveys the list of new Liberal members the more profoundly is one impressed with the enormous power of organized Capital. One breathes a sigh of devout thankfulness that this did not happen before Labor was ready to bring its own organized battalions into the field. First, naturally enough, came a feeling of relief at the condition punishment which had come upon the Unionists. The spectacle has been dramatic. It might well be described by some words of Disraeli's spoken of another event: "It was like a convulsion of nature rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria or Peru. There was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a strike, a sound of distant thunder, and then a haze in the air, and the whole of the Opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy."

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Current Literature. "Down-Town" New York, the few hundred acres at the lower end of Manhattan that make up the financial and commercial center of the Western Hemisphere, has a character all its own. In the following two sonnets in the "Atlantic" George Cabot Lodge well expresses the hideous inhumanity of this region: BEFORE DAWN. There has no spectacle more stern and strange; Life has no sleep so dense as that which lies on walls and windows, blank as sightless eyes, On court and piazza, warehouse and exchange. Earth has no silence such as fills the streets left bare beneath the haughty skies— Of unremembered human miseries, Churned without purpose in the trough of change. For here, where day by day the tide rises rolls, Of sordid greed and passions mean and blind, Here is a vast necropolis of souls! And life, that waits as with suspended breath, Wears and still, here seems more dead than death, Aimless and empty as an idiot's mind. AT DAWN. Here is the dawn a hopeless thing to see; Sordid and pale as is the face of one Who sinks exhausted in oblivion After a night of deep debauchery. Here, the light restores reluctant— All that the soul has lost and greed has won. Scarce we believe that somewhere now the sun Dawns overseas in stainless majesty, Yet the day comes—stainless and harsh and far away. Down the cold street, and the foot for a way. We hear a vast and sudden clamor, As of the tide of ocean turning in. And know, for yet another human day, The world's dull, dreary business is begun.

AN EFFECTIVE PROTEST. From various sources of information, but especially from letters from Comrade Whishire, who is in Idaho representing "Whishire's Magazine" and has a chance to see things at closer range than the rest of us, it seems almost sure that the demonstrations inaugurated by the Socialists all over the land against the Moyer-Haywood outrage have had their effect. Altho McParland is still busily hiding bombs and rediscovering them, the demeanor of the state authorities, the press and the "eminent citizens" shows that they realize that they have overreached themselves and are more alarmed than they care to admit. It is not too much to say that if the Socialist and trade-union organizations of the country keep up the work as well for a few more weeks as they have done so far, the lives of the West Federation officials will be safe and the organization will come out the stronger for the experience. So let no effort be spared between now and the time of the trial—a matter of six or eight weeks—to spread a knowledge of the facts and manifest the indignation of the working class against the villainous attack.

THE MINERS' STRIKE. The long expected coal strike opens under such peculiar circumstances that we do not know what to expect. When this paper reaches its readers, the strike may have become practically general, or may have been practically stopped by a compromise, or, what is perhaps most likely, a part of the miners may be definitely committed to a long and bitter struggle while others go back to work with somewhat better wages and conditions. Any prediction would be a mere guess. We know that the trade-union struggle differs from the political struggle of the working class in that, whereas on the political field compromises are always undesirable and even dangerous, on the economic field compromise is the rule. The peculiar object of the trade-union movement is a proximate one, such betterment of conditions as can be had under the capitalist system, the ultimate effect of educating the workers for revolutionary action being incidental, tho not unimportant. The political Socialist movement, on the contrary, regards immediate ends, not as negligible, indeed, but as incidental and subordinate to the ultimate goal of complete emancipation. This difference in aim makes a difference in methods necessary. Even the general strike of the coal miners is declared and is conducted with the utmost vigor, the end will be a compromise. The result will be a compromise. The result will be a compromise. The result will be a compromise.

TAFF VALE REVERSED. It is a very notable victory that our comrades in the British Parliament have won in the matter of the Trade Disputes Bill. It is significant that, tho the Government has a clear majority of Liberals alone and tho the Labor Party numbers only thirty members in the House, the Government felt compelled to surrender on a point so important to its capitalist backers on the one hand and their wage-working subjects on the other. The explanation is that half of those thirty men are avowed Socialists and the rest have strong Socialist leanings and that the popular movement which has sent them to Westminster is essentially tho not yet clearly a Socialist movement; in line with and inspired by the growing Socialist movement of the whole world. It is only one more illustration of the fact that an aggressive Socialist minority always has an influence out of all proportion to its numbers. By boldly seizing and using the political weapon, the organized workingmen of Great Britain had at a stroke recovered what they had lost by adverse court decisions in the last three or four years and placed themselves in a stronger position on the industrial field than they occupied before. So

SELF-SHAKLED. Priest is the staff of king; And chains and clouds one thing; And fetters flash with devastated mind. Ope thy eyes to see, my brother, Slave, and thy feet are free; Thy bonds and thy beliefs are one in kind. And of thy fears, these lions wrought, Hang weights upon thee fashioned out of this own thought.—Switzerland.

WM.A. TOOLE and A. BLENKE. Your letters have been forwarded.

J. B. Osborne, formerly State Organizer of California, has written a pamphlet entitled "Hemorrhage of the Government's Democracy," which is published by the "Socialist," 105 Eighth Street, Oakland, Cal. Four copies are sent at 25 cents; 20 for \$1.00; 100 for \$3.00.

What we, as Socialists, have to do, if the strike continues, is to use any influence we may have to aid the miners in their fight with the mine owners and, at the same time, to lose no opportunity to point out to them and to all others the great lesson of such a conflict—the lesson that the interests of employers and wage-workers are fundamentally opposed, that they may

be temporarily compromised but can never be harmonized, that the only way in which industrial freedom can be secured to the workers and industrial peace to the whole people is to make the mines and other means of production public property by first taking the government out of the hands of the owners and into those of the producers.

What he said against that order, showing it to be pernicious even: "The licensers were sure to be wisest and most honorable of men (which, in fact, they were sure not to be), applies as well, with the change of a word here and there, to the proposition now made in your party that no member or members of the party be permitted to publish any Socialist paper, but that all the papers be controlled by a board or committee to be elected in some manner by the national organization. Space forbids us to quote the half of what we would wish. But note this, in the very beginning: "For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in the world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily remedied, that the people may enjoy their liberty obtained that wise men look for."

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MAY DAY NUMBER OF THE WORKER

The Worker for April 25-which will go into the mails on April 25... will be a special May Day Number, intended particularly for use in the streets.

THE WORKER, 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

THE IDAHO OUTRAGE

Full report of the investigations of Joseph Wanhope

ON THE SPOT WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

will appear in the April number of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE... Send for a bundle—5c. per 100, \$6.70 per 1,000.

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Socialist Party, Local New York

At Sulzer's Westchester Park, SUNDAY Afternoon and Evening, JUNE 3rd, 1908.

For the benefit of the State Campaign Fund. Mark this date and make no other arrangements.

Watch this space next week.

A YEAR OF REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

By Maxim Gorky.

The New York "Times" of Mar. 11 printed an article by the great Russian author—the spokesman of the downtrodden and outcast—who has thrown in his lot with the Socialists in their struggle with autocracy.

The revolutionary movement as it now stands is obliged to take into account those persons who have into the meantime been won over to the government by minor reforms and promises of larger ones.

What is this Duma? It is a limited franchise through which the Tsar graciously asks the people to aid him—according to his will—in getting rid of the old order of things.

With every week the ranks of the anti-governmental party of all phases are augmenting. A year hence I predict—and my prediction is based upon the events of the past year—Russia will be as free as the United States.

—The giant figure of poverty is the skeleton at our feast," writes a Foreigner by Reviewer.

to advertise in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, 184 William Street, New York.

and he will get the BEST... F. KRAFT, Manager.

SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

Electoral Manifesto Issued by Our Party.

Basis for the Campaign Now Being Waged for the General Elections to Be Held in May or June—Briand Proclaimed Outside the Party.

The following is the text of the campaign manifesto unanimously adopted by the National Council of the Socialist Party, and to be signed by all its candidates for the Chamber of Deputies, in view of the general election to be held within a few weeks.

"Citizens:—The legislative elections give you again the occasion to affirm, and with renewed emphasis, your desire for complete emancipation.

"This emancipation is possible only with the establishment of collective ownership. So long as the means of production are held by a class, so long as that capitalist class, controlling the lands and factories, control and exploit labor, there will be for you neither liberty nor safety nor prosperity.

"There is only one way for you to become free—by replacing capitalist ownership with collective ownership, which, administered by you and for you, will transform you from wage-slaves into free comrades-workers.

"Citizens, the Socialist Party is the only one which recognizes and proclaims this sole solution of the problem of poverty and servitude, the only party which, with you and for you, wage-workers and peasants, labors for this end.

"All the other parties either oppose you or betray you. Either they even seek to wrest from you your hard-won elementary rights and throw you back into the darkness of entire subjection; or else they hypnotize and deceive you with illusory programs which, maintaining the right of capitalist property, maintain the very cause of all oppression and exploitation.

"Republicans, resolved to defend the too few political liberties of the working class against all attempts at reaction, you will declare that the political republic must be completed by the economic republic, that the liberty of the citizen is not full nor sure unless the liberty of the producer is also guaranteed.

"Men of action, resolved to wrest from the state, by the power of your political and trade-union organization, all reforms which can somewhat alleviate your sufferings and increase your liberty of action, you will openly say that the immediate reforms—

"Limitation of the working day to eight hours; "Extension of the right of organization to all public employees; "Public insurance against the danger of unemployment; "Progressive income and inheritance taxes; "Nationalization of monopolies which are the chief stragholds of capital; and "Election on general ticket (scantin de liste), with proportional representation—

are for you only means to increase your aggressive power and to destroy the edifice of capitalist exploitation.

"You will, then, workers of field and factory, organize yourselves in a great class party, in the Socialist Party, to bring about common ownership of the means of production by all the workers.

"Citizens, as Socialism alone can establish justice among men, so it alone can establish justice and peace among nations. At this moment when the combinations of secret diplomacy and the greed of the possessing-classes are multiplying the dangers of war, you will not confine yourselves to assuring the possessors and rulers that you are opposed to war; you will render war impossible by driving out of the government those who alone have an interest in war and installing your own class in power.

"It is necessary that the international organization of labor array itself and act on behalf, at the same time, of the independence of nations and the peace of the world. By assuring the inviolable liberty of peoples, it must guarantee the free development of the whole proletariat.

"Prepare, then, citizens, in the name of Socialism, to conquer the political power, the indispensable means to the emancipation of labor and of humanity. You are now numerous enough, well enough organized, clearly conscious enough, to make your power felt in every quarter and to expel the hostile class from power. Forward to the battle with vigor and confidence! The approaching elections can and ought to be a great victory for you, for the Republic of Labor.

"Hurray for the Social Republic! "Hurray for International Socialism!

There will be Socialist candidates for the Chamber of Deputies in over 300 districts.

The French Socialists are determined that the entry of Briand into the Cabinet shall not cause another trouble like that about the Millerand case. At a meeting of the National Council of the party it was agreed that the former Socialist deputy, by the very fact of his acceptance of office, had placed himself outside the Socialist organization.

There will be Socialist candidates for the Chamber of Deputies in over 300 districts.

PARTY NEWS.

Continued from page 8.

printed, we would not have to do this, but you saw how our press garbled even that which we printed. We must publish the program in full, and we can raise the money.

Eck: To print the pamphlets we need money, and I think we should get together and not postpone the work. If we want unity let us show that we do, and the way to show that we do is by making our members feel that we are not here to get the money, but to get the work done.

Killingbeck: These subscription lists are really advance orders for the pamphlets. Wilson: Don't think I would stand to block any necessary work of the Conference, but I realize the importance of putting ourselves right at a critical stage.

McGarry agreed to this. Eck's amendment to stand by recommendation of the committee that entire proceedings be published in the Worker was adopted.

Hosack: I will guarantee for the S. L. P. that we will raise half the expense. Green (S. P.): For a point of information, I would like to know what label it will be printed under.

Galle: The members will want to read the proceedings, not a label. Green: I am not opposed to the I. W. W. label, I only want to know.

The motion was carried unanimously. By unanimous vote the committee was constituted, with full power to publish.

Wilson: There should be no hesitation on that point. If the Labor News has the I. W. W. label, by all means have it done there.

Hosack: I would move that when we adjourn it be to meet at the call of the secretaries. Unanimously carried.

Killingbeck: I move that the respective State Committees be requested to call upon the locals of the S. P. and sections of the S. L. P. to hold joint meetings to discuss the findings. Seconded and carried unanimously.

Green: We should also take action looking toward joint S. P. and I. W. W. demonstrations on the Moyer-Haywood arrest.

Eck: In some localities rival meetings are to be held, which is not a good plan. The Western Federation of Miners is an integral part of the I. W. W. Meetings should be held in the same place as well as the same success.

Hosack: Moyer and Haywood are presented as Socialists, also.

Wilson: How should we work in localities where there is no I. W. W.?

Eck: You couldn't do it that way in such places, but where there is an I. W. W. organization, let us support their efforts.

Glass: Wilson's objection can easily be overcome. In such places the S. P. and the S. L. P. should jointly take the initiative.

Wilson: I don't see that a resolution would do much good, but we can recommend that the S. L. P. and the S. P. act in conjunction.

Schmittler: I move that it be the sense of this body that there should be united action on the Moyer-Haywood demonstration. Seconded and carried unanimously.

Wilson: I rise to a point of information.

THE COLORADO-IDAHO OUTRAGE

to be taken to bring about a National Conference about the two organizations, in order to bring about unity on a national basis.

Galle offered, as part of the motion, which was accepted: "We, the delegates have assembled, pledge ourselves to take the necessary steps."

Killingbeck: To make it more emphatic, I would like to see the motion amended so that it would read: "We, the delegates have assembled, pledge ourselves to take the necessary steps, and to bring about a National Conference about the two organizations, in order to bring about unity on a national basis."

Killingbeck: Our state organizations will have to take action along these lines in the event of the adoption of the manifesto.

Wilson: I think we are getting away from the point. We are in a basis for unity and we should not let it be broken.

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