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## SOCIALISM— AND THE STATE.

Many people honestly think Socialism means More Government, and hence loss of individual freedom.

They are forever misunderstanding, and seem incapable of learning. Socialists, they say, will be slavery.

All such should read the book of Gabriel Deville, lately translated from the French. It costs only ten cents, and contains food for thought for those people who read only the capitalist view of things.

The extracts below are only suggestive, but they show that Socialism means not More Government, not less freedom, but more freedom.

### STATEMENT OF THE CASE.

What do the Socialists think about the State? How do they regard it theoretically in the present and for the future? What are the practical consequences which result from their views?

Such are the questions which I propose to answer here and now, and this answer will be the one which appears to me to be in most perfect harmony with the facts, for conformity to the facts is, and ever must be, the guiding principle of modern Scientific Socialism, of our Socialism.

What is the State?

Here I could easily make a show of learning by quoting a number of definitions drawn from philosophers and writers more or less famous; but such an enumeration would occupy space and time without being of any real advantage to us; for, in most cases, the word State is identified with other words such as society, nation or government, and so these confused definitions would be of no help to my hearers or readers as the authors of the definitions did not themselves comprehend the essential distinctions. Do not fancy that this criticism is made by the Socialists alone. You will find this same confusion set forth in the work of one of our adversaries, in "La Politique" of M. Charles Benoist, who is the last, so far as I know, who has treated these questions among us.

And so, partly because he is the most recent writer, and has thus been able to profit by the labors of all the others, but more particularly because he has succeeded in avoiding confusions of a nature to obscure the question at issue, from among all the definitions that bourgeois writers have given of the State, I select for the purposes of my discussion that of M. Charles Benoist. "The State," he maintains, "is the moral personification of the nation endowed with perpetuity and incarnated in institutions, clothed with the power and right of constraint. It may be recognizable by these two signs: it makes laws and it levies taxes."

The State, I will maintain in my turn, is the public power of coercion, created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, and which, having force at its disposal, makes laws and levies taxes.

The only real difference between these two definitions—but it is a difference of the first importance—consists in the fact that in the latter—i. e. for Socialists—the existence of the State in a society is bound up with the existence of classes in that society. Hence, this conclusion: Before classes came into being there was no State; when classes shall cease to exist there will be no State. While in the former

—i. e. for bourgeois theorists—the State exists independently of every other social institution, and, in particular, of classes. According to M. Charles Benoist, "it is congenial in human societies, and they could not live without it." Contrary to our opinion, the same author thinks that "primitive communities, the embryos of society, contain an embryonic State," and that the State is a "moral personality endowed with perpetuity."

Parenthetically, we remark here again that passion for perpetuity so marked in the ruling, property-holding class and in the economists, their official defenders. According to them, indeed, the situation from which the capitalist profits is simply the realization, the embodiment of eternal verities, and eternal capital must go on eternally breeding more capital. The capitalists, in their insatiable thirst for gain, cry to their God with all zeal and sincerity: "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen," but this prayer, even though it be granted, is not enough. They require, besides this, the protection of the State. And so they and their theorists have eagerly and emphatically pronounced themselves in favor of its perpetuity, blaming its intervention only when its powers are not exerted in their behalf.

Which of the two—the Socialist theory of the State or the bourgeois theory—corresponds the more closely to the reality? I believe that I can prove—at all events, I am going to try to prove—that it is ours. From the definition that I have given of the State, it follows in the first place that the State has not always existed, that there have been societies without a State, but the absence of a State did not prevent these societies from having an organization. My thesis is that a social organization is possible without a State, and that the State appears and subsists only in societies divided into classes.

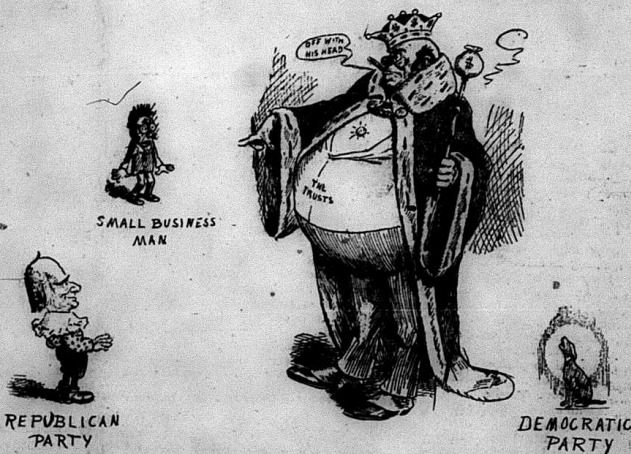
### The Role of "The State."

As soon as there are in a society a possessing class and a dispossessed class, there exists in that society a constant source of collisions which the social organization would not long resist, if there was not a power charged with maintaining, to use the consecrated phrase, the "established order," charged, in other words, with the protection of the economic situation of the possessing party, and therefore with the duty of ensuring the submission of the dispossessed party. Now, from its very birth, this has been the role of the State.

An organ of consecration, the offspring of struggles or threats of struggles between conflicting interests, conflicting because of the antagonism of material conditions, born with the division of society into classes, the State has evolved with the development of that division—i. e., in short, with the economic relations which form the basis of that dividing; but, under the various appearances it has worn, its object has remained the same because, ever since the appearance of classes, it has always had a privileged economic situation to defend and on which to repress.

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## KING AND SUBJECTS—LIFE SIZE



SMALL "STORES" OF EVERY KIND, THE KING IS AFTER YOU—PREPARE TO JOIN THE PROLETARIAT.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 12.—THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE OF TODAY SAYS:

"IT HAS BEEN LEARNED THAT THE SCOPE OF THE ASSOCIATED MERCHANTS' COMPANY, WHICH HAS JUST BEEN ORGANIZED BY JOHN CLAFLIN, AND WHICH MESSRS. J. P. MORGAN & CO. ARE FINANCING, IS MUCH WIDER THAN AT FIRST REPORTED. THE BUSINESS THAT MR. CLAFLIN PROPOSES TO BUY ARE, IT IS UNDERSTOOD, AMONG THE VERY HIGHEST CHARACTER IN THE CITY. NO DEFINITE CONTRACTS HAVE YET BEEN MADE AND NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT YET REACHED A DEFINITE STAGE, BUT IT IS KNOWN THAT IT IS MR. CLAFLIN'S IDEA TO SECURE, IF POSSIBLE, CONTROL OF SUCH HIGH CLASS HOUSES AS ARNOLD, CONSTABLE & CO.; LORD & TAYLOR (INCLUDING BOTH THE BROADWAY AND GRAND STREET STORES), AND SIMPSON, CRAWFORD & SIMPSON. THESE ADDITIONS TO THE ALREADY IMPORTANT LIST MENTIONED IN THE PROSPECTUS, NAMELY, THE CLAFLIN COMPANY, THE ADAMS DRY GOODS COMPANY, AND MCCREERY'S, CONSTITUTE A TRADE CONSOLIDATION MOVEMENT THAT IS WITHOUT PRECEDENT IN DRY GOODS MERCHANDISING CIRCLES.

THERE IS ALSO FOUNDATION FOR THE STATEMENT THAT MR. CLAFLIN HAS HAD IN MIND THE ENTRANCE OF JOHN WANAMAKER INTO THE COMBINE, BUT HE FOUND LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT IN THAT DIRECTION. OTHER REPORTS MENTIONED THE POSSIBLE ENTRANCE INTO THE COMBINATION OF JOSEPH H. BAUL & CO., OF FULTON STREET, BROOKLYN, AND BATTERMAN & CO., OF BROADWAY, WILLIAMSBURG.

IT IS, OF COURSE, NOT INTENDED TO PURCHASE THESE CONCERNS OUTRIGHT; IT IS SIMPLY PROPOSED TO DO THE SAME AS WITH THE OTHER STORES, NAMELY, PURCHASE A CONTROLLING INTEREST.

IT WAS REPORTED ON GOOD AUTHORITY LAST THURSDAY EVENING THAT THE STOCK OF THE ASSOCIATED MERCHANTS' COMPANY OFFERED BY J. P. MORGAN & CO. TO THE PUBLIC HAD ALREADY BEEN FULLY SUBSCRIBED.

JOHN CLAFLIN, WHEN QUESTIONED, SAID THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY YET TO CONSIDER WHAT ADDITIONAL COMPANIES WOULD BE TAKEN OVER, AS NOTHING HAD BEEN DEFINITELY ARRANGED IN THAT DIRECTION. A REPRESENTATIVE OF SIMPSON, CRAWFORD & SIMPSON, WHEN QUESTIONED, SAID THAT HE HAD NOT HEARD OF ANY NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. CLAFLIN DECLARED ABSOLUTELY TRUE THE STORY THAT THE LAND FRONTING ON SIXTH AVENUE, BETWEEN TWENTY-FIFTH AND TWENTY-SIXTH STREETS, BELONGING TO THE ASTOR ESTATE, HAD BEEN LEASED BY THE ASSOCIATED MERCHANTS' COMPANY, THE NEW DRY GOODS COMBINATION, AND IS TO BE USED FOR A NEW FIREPROOF BUILDING 12 STORIES HIGH. THIS BUILDING, ACCORDING TO THE REPORT, IS TO COST \$3,000,000, AND IS TO BE USED AS THE EASTERN HEADQUARTERS FOR THE BUSINESS OF THE COMBINATION OF THE ASSOCIATED MERCHANTS' COMPANY. J. PIERPONT MORGAN IS SAID TO HAVE SIGNED THE DOCUMENTS IN THE TRANSACTION BEFORE SAILING FOR EUROPE LAST WEEK. IT IS SAID THAT THE TENANTS OF THE SMALL BUILDINGS WHICH STAND UPON IT HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THEIR LEASES WILL NOT BE RENEWED. IT IS THOUGHT THAT THE BUILDING WILL BE BEGUN BEFORE SEPTEMBER.

MAN Y SUGGESTIONS.

Comrade Nuhse, of Granite Falls, Writes an Interesting Letter—Is Sick of Wrangling Among Leaders—Wants a State Organization Independent of National—Would Abolish Dues and Make Payments Voluntary—Thinks the Subscription Price of The Socialist Should Be Raised.

GRANITE FALLS, WASH., Feb. 25, 1901.

Mr. Editor— Dear Comrade: I have often read in The Socialist that you like to hear from Comrades to express their opinions, no matter how many mistakes they make. Now, I will make lots of mistakes, besides I can't express myself the way I would like to, for I am not capable enough in the English language to express my real words. I have listened to lots of other comrades and so will give my thoughts here-with:

I believe, and lots of others do also, to make any progress in our cause, we have to quit fighting each other. My idea is to do away with our, or all, National Executive Boards, without our dues from all of them, establish a Socialist headquarters in our state and keep our headquarters by contribution and not by monthly dues. That will do away with disfranchising comrades that cannot pay their dues. It will not raise bad feelings amongst the comrades because one pays and the other not. Our ranks will fill more readily and all good comrades will contribute all that will be needed and will do it more heartily than paying fixed dues.

I am speaking from my little experience in our Local. Some who have got the cause at heart will do all they can for it. Others pay the dues, but not free-hearted, and still others keep away altogether on account of not feeling like paying their dues.

To keep our state organization in running expenses I have got an idea. We publish an all-round good Socialist family paper with all interesting news, such as market news and daily happenings, so we can do without the Associated Press news, and some comrades, especially new comrades, would not tire reading our paper.

Some do rightly claim that there is nothing in our papers to read. Especially it is the case with our party papers. They are as much censored as the U. S. forces in the Philippines. I have no knowledge of running a paper. Will leave that to comrades that understand it, but think by charging from one dollar to one-fifty a year for subscription would have a little above running expenses and profits on book sales would almost keep our state organization afloat; that is, if press plant was paid for to begin with. To do that we would have to raise enough funds by contribution to pay enough for it. I am sure we could raise from \$25 to \$50 in our local here at Granite Falls.

Otherwise, how would it do to raise the money by shares without interest, to pay back if money is available, and if wanted back? I for my part would not want any back, although I am as poor as most of our comrades. The shares should not be too high, either, so all poor comrades that are willing can reach up to purchase one or more. It would work about on the same principle as our comrades are now working in Germany, and they seem to make better progress than any of them.

I will not say anything against or for it, but it is very disgusting to think that we all or most all, with a few exceptions, mean well toward each other, but are prevented from acting so by a few selfish leaders. They claim that we can settle everything by referendum vote, but it seems they are very slow with their referendum votes, a chance probably once in three or four years. Between times they have the chance to quarrel to their heart's content, enough to make a person sick to have it dished up to him almost daily.

By having just our state organization we could settle difficulties very quickly by referendum vote, and the chances are by our next election harmony may be restored between all Socialist factions. I like to hear from other comrades to give a better plan to come to an end with all our troubles. Yours for success,

JOHN N. NUHSE.

SOCIALISM AND THE STATE.

(Continued from page 1.)

Socialist Definitions.

I have pointed out to you the genesis of the State and shown you its necessary, inevitable character. I have striven, in a word, to justify the terms of the definition given in the first part of this lecture. Whether or not I have succeeded in my task, you must at least have been convinced that the Socialist definitions are not arbitrary. Our opponents may very legitimately discuss them and attempt to prove that our terminology is wrong. That which they have no right to do is to attack socialism without taking pains to know clearly and definitely the meaning that, rightly or wrongly, it gives to the words that it employs. By disdaining this elementary precaution, they expose themselves to the most ridiculous confusion and waste their time in combatting something quite different from that which the Socialists defend.

"The State" Necessitates Classes.

This has happened in the case of capital. In order to understand what we mean by the suppression of capital, one must know that capital is for us a character which the means of production have taken on under given definite social conditions, and which they may lose without affecting their existence in the slightest. It is just the same in the case of the wage-system and wages. The latter term cannot, according to us, be applied to any system of remuneration whatsoever, but only to a mode of remuneration presupposing surplus-labor. It is just the same finally in the case of the word State, which means, in our opinion, a system of social organization which implies necessarily the division of society into classes.

It is not by caprice—it seems to me that I have furnished you the proof of this in the case of the State—that Socialists give such or such a meaning to such or such a word. Of course, they may be mistaken; but one can reasonably criticize their theories only by using words in the same sense that they do.

duction will be capital after they shall have lost the power of exploiting the labor of others, or than the future remuneration will be what we call wages when it shall not longer presuppose surplus-labor. These two latter changes will be the result of the suppression of the character of capital which is today stamped upon the principal means of production.

It is needless for me to talk of the future organization, and I limit myself to pointing out the general lines along which it will develop. In the transition period in which the transformation will be accomplished through conscious adaptation of measures to facts, there will still be a State, but that State will be a Socialist State. In the following period, the political rule of the men who constituted the State in the transition period will have become a business administration of affairs. Instead of government there will then be simply a business administration.

NO "STATE" UNDER SOCIALISM Fundamental Error of the Rev. Mr. Simonds and Other Critics of Socialism.

Mr. Simonds brought fourth the old-time criticism of Socialism last Sunday to the effect that Socialism involves Tyranny by the State and Suppression of Individual Liberty.

His fundamental error lay in a false conception of "The State." He really supposed that the State was a Government by the people, of the people and for the people. He innocently took the common capitalist view that the State was, as he said, "all of us," or at least, "a majority of us." He had never grasped at all the evolutionary view of history which shows that the State was always only an organ of the wealthy class to exploit the working class.

He had never conceived what the most advanced scientific school now recognizes, that human history in all ages is explained by the varying conditions of production.

The economic foundations of society he knows nothing of.

AN INVITATION TO DEBATE.

On Sunday Evening last the Rev. Mr. Simonds Expressed a desire to the Editor of The Socialist to debate further the question raised at that time as to the influence of economic conditions upon social institutions.

Because such a discussion would be eminently instructive to all, the Editor hereby invites Mr. Simonds to a public debate on some Sunday evening upon the following propositions:

The State is the product of industrial conditions, the instrument of the propertied class to exploit the producing class. Under Socialism, classes, and hence the State, will cease to exist.

Willful Ignorance.

At bottom I am not far from thinking that this ignorance of our definitions is willful ignorance. It must be more easy to refute that which we do not say and which they put in our mouths, than that which we do say and which they ignore. There are some ideas incompatible with the tranquil security of the possessing class, the class controlling production and power. Among these ideas, the ideas of surplus-labor and of the existence of distinct classes are particularly repugnant to those who profit by just those conditions. They feel that the mere divulgence of the secret of their power is an impairment of that power, and the very truth contained in our definitions appears to them a danger. And so, not content with avoiding this truth in their own definitions, they avoid it—so far as they are able to—in ours. In order to confound us the more triumphantly, they first change the meaning of our words, then, after the words, they travesty our ideas, and then they have no trouble to demonstrate the absurdity of the fabrications they attribute to us.

"The State" Will Disappear.

When the socialization of capitalist property shall have been effected, and legally effected, there will no longer be any economic subordination of some to others, there will be no more classes, and the State, made a necessity by the existence of classes, can at last be suppressed, or, rather, it will disappear of itself when-it shall have accomplished its task of transformation.

This is not equivalent to saying that the Socialist Society will have no organization. But the future social organization, when antagonistic classes no longer exist, when constraint no longer has to be exercised over some for the benefit of others, will not be a State any more than the means of pro-

so utterly in rapport with capitalistic thought, so prostrate before the popular fetish called "American Liberty," that he probably still falls, to understand what Socialism is driving at. He and Socialists speak a different language. He talks capital. They talk Labor. He talks Utopianism. They talk Science. He talks theories. They talk facts. He talks unworkable hopes. They talk scientific anticipation. He is out-of-date. They are up-to-date. He is as much behind the times as the preachers of Louis the XVI. He knows no more that they that a revolution is in progress, and its culmination at hand.

We advise the Rev. Mr. Simonds to read Deville's The State and Socialism, price 2 cents. Also Ferri's Socialism, and Modern Science, price \$1. Also Loria's Economic Foundations of Society, price \$1.50.

Let him learn what Prof. Keasbey, Professor of Political Science at Bryn Mawr, means in this sentence: "The Economic would seem to be the only proper point of departure for the study of social phenomena, and it may well be that by applying the economic laws of production and consumption, distribution and exchange, historically to social evolution, the sociological process will itself become intelligible and the true philosophy of history stand revealed."

QUERY.

The Review of Reviews, page 27, January number gives official vote in United States for S. D. P. 93,865; for S. L. P. 33,226. Socialist vote, 127,001.

Appeal to Reason claimed over 500,000.

How many registered Socialists are there in the United States? H. P.

About 15,000 to 20,000, probably. The Appeal is too sanguine, basing claims on its own circulation. But most of its subscribers fail to vote the Socialist ticket. The Appeal, too, reckons thousands of Socialists votes were uncounted.

SONG OF THE CAPITALISTS.

We're a band of husky brothers, and you as you perhaps have guessed, Wrestling with the Laboring People is the game we love the best. First we get the "Strangle-hold," and then we get the gross Proceeds, And the Laboring People get it where the lady woe her beads.

—A. S.

S. E. U.

Applications for Membership. The following additional applications for membership in the Socialist Educational Union have been received: Otto Shields, Seattle. Mrs. M. A. Hartman, Seattle. Mrs. Susan Pryor, Seattle. T. E. Latimer, Seattle. E. Lux, Whatcom. D. Burgess, Whatcom. Mrs. D. Burgess, Whatcom.

WANTED—Young married man either has to have work or blood of a Western man and a rustler. G-39, The Times.

That man is dangerous, is he? No, the system that allows that sort of a product is dangerous. Seattle has hundreds of men and women who are beginning to think what that man wrote—"Work or Blood!"

We Socialists discourage that sentiment. We urge men to vote together to abolish this hateful system.

But we are not surprised at such expressions. They are like bell-bottoms that roll in the night, full of warning of rocks and wrecks.

Land and Machinery enough to produce untold millions worth of the necessities of life—and men with families must cry out, "Work or Blood!" Do you wonder that Socialists are increasing fast?

Did you ever think why men are so eager for "offices"? Is it honor? There is no so much honor in being named Warden of a Penitentiary or Commissioner to the Buffalo Fair, or Member of the State Board of Audit and Control, much less to be Door-keeper to the Legislature, or even Sergeant-at-Arms? Yet every one of these offices is sought by scores.

Doesn't show that decent ways of getting a sure living are pretty scarce? They are plenty—no need for any man to go unemployed.

Does it look like it, when so many "offices" are fought for?

PATRONIZE SOCIALISTS.

A New Phase of Class-Consciousness. "Stand By Those Who Stand By Us." Will Make Us Irresistible. Those Who Are Not With Us, Against Us—A Plan Entirely Feasible and Practicable Proposed by Comrade Barringer in Erie (Pa.) Public Ownership—A Way to Sustain a Socialist Paper is to Patronize Its Advertisers.

A great deal is being said now about class-consciousness. The phrase is particularly used by the Socialists in referring to a condition existing between the employed and employer, and is a rattling good topic, and its meaning, if carried out, would be tremendous teacher in educating us to its application in every-day affairs.

Those who claim to be class-conscious Socialists ought to put into practice the ideas they so persistently advocate, that is, they should positively refuse to deal with those who are opposed to their ideas, and should show to the world that their intentions to deal with each other in moral duty and an obligation too sacred to be carelessly considered.

The old adage, "Actions speak louder than words," would soon convince those who are now watching Socialists and criticizing every move they make that the genuine Socialist is reliable and trustworthy, and it would soon inspire more confidence in others. "They who are not with us are against us," so true that it ought to convince every Socialist that it is a hurt long deep every time this fact is ignored.

The true Socialist adherent should patronize the ideas of his party in preference to any other. They should all means know where the Socialist has his place of business, cigar maker, baker and shoe dealer. The doctor who helps along the cause is by every right entitled to your patronage, the editor and publisher of Socialist papers by all means should have the undivided support and active assistance of every member in the vicinity where the paper is issued. And every one in business known to be disposed towards Socialism should have a place of honor in the menu of every one contending for Socialism. (Here's where our advertisers come in.)—Ed.

Imagine how great the help to cause such acts would be. It would enable many to give to the propaganda, provide employment for the discriminated against by capitalism, and in various ways open up new fields for our workers. Pondered thought into your brain and see how it will not be of far greater value than appears to be on first sight. The thoroughness the question is studied greater will become the necessity act on such lines.

Let the comrades consider it as duty to place on file the places where Socialists are employed, and by patronizing such persons show that we appreciate their fairness. Do not an instant indulge in boycotts or coercion in any sense, but simply act at such places and with such firms are broad and tolerant enough to recognize the indisputable right of every man, practice or test by such things, their judgment may dictate, especially when such acts will redound to the benefit of society.

While it will require some time to practice such things and may be difficult to start, a few persons can induce others to follow their example and then the force of numbers alone, demanding recognition and practice that which they preach, will have most salutary effect on others. Consistency is so rare a jewel, that for anyone to practice it brings them into prominence at once and nothing could more to establish respect for a cause than for others to see that the discipline of that cause are carrying out their convictions.

Twenty-five or thirty men in a community establishing this procedure can convert many others who will give their aid, and this plan will then become irresistible. Be not class-conscious politically, Socialists but in all your dealings adopt such tactics as will rivet on you the attention of the public and show those who ridicule your beliefs that they are your principles in every act, and will be conscious of a duty well done. —W. BARRINGER, in Public Ownership, Erie, Pa.

If you want a hat, our advertisement can give you the best.

If you want the best butter, see our advertising page.



