



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY

## What It Stands For

### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Human life depends upon food, clothing 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 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. They bring over larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class

cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class. (As adopted by the National Convention, this should read after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, 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 during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial 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 mill and factory, it snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. 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 pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant 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 intellectually just as they own it industrially.

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

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production 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 belief. In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national 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 battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and

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.

"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 the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

"18.—The free administration of justice.

"Such measures of reform 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 of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workmen 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 laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day."

"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 emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule."

"The Socialist Party of the State of Washington endorses the Principles of International Socialism and of the Socialist Party of the United States. For the campaign of 1922 we present to the voters of this state the following declarations of our principles and program:

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.

2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.

3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.

4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.

5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition, did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually result in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletarian Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class, but abolish all other classes as well.

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land, gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletarian Class and to use political power to that end.

This is the Proletarian Revolution.

8. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executive, legislative, courts and army

"The Socialist Party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters 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 not a part of the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization 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 confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power, and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class under taken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial interference 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 workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

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

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of trying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to hire organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

"DANBURY HATTERS CASE.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with

its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasury, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon 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 workmen 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 laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day."

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**WASHINGTON PLATFORM**

**IT DOES NOT DICTATE.**

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# WAGE LABOR PARTY

## Vigorous Correspondence

### Trained Comrades Needed

New Plan Proposed—Suggestive Reply to Question

Editor The Socialist.

Dear Comrade—In "The Socialist" of August 7 the question is asked by "T. H. W.": "How can we get a working class party on a working class program in the United States?"

I have been thinking about this for some time, because we are getting further away from such a desirable condition all the time. These are the reasons I see why the party is wandering from Marxian economics and real working class principles:

- (1) Insufficient organization.
- (2) Agitation not properly followed by education and organization.
- (3) Lack of incentive for proper education and organization.

Agitation creates a condition in society that is apt to result in a revolution of confusion if the way is not properly pointed out. Thus we have it today. A lot of workers are jarred loose by our party press which fails to properly impress the need for effective education and organization. If we are to have a safe political organization for the working class a strong organization is necessary; and this organization must be based upon education in working class principles and executive procedure.

Another comrade and myself have been working on this and our conclusions can be expressed in a few words as follows:

- (1) We need a strong, solidly built organization.
- (2) We must impress the need for such organization along with all agitation; also the need for education.
- (3) There should be put forth some

### Washington State Platform

Continued from Page Two

ies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class, while it is still in power, such concessions as we can. Whenever Socialist Party candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living. We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combinations known as the Trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will, therefore, continue to exist in full power so long as the Proletariat remains a subject and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man."

The wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

"Proletarians of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

incentive for the workers to so educate and organize.

To make a strong effective working class political organization I propose the following plan:

Such an organization must have individuals amply qualified to execute its function in every particular. Those who function for the party are its Secretaries, State and National Committeemen, Speakers and Organizers—and we must not forget the delegates to conventions; this is vital. Besides this we also need the same kind of material to put forth for political office, and not make a farce of it, as has happened too much already.

There should be established within the organization a scale of eligibles which should be based upon party service, education in party principles and tactics, and perhaps on economic condition also.

Say we have three grades of eligibles—Local, State and National. For instance, those members who qualify for the first grade be eligible for local office or nominees. Those who qualify for the second grade be eligible for State Committeemen, State office and Delegates to State Conventions; also State political nominees. Likewise those who qualify for third grade be eligible for National position.

This is rough, but it expresses the plan. How the eligibles should qualify is left open. They could pass examination or go through some procedure to show they could make good. Said qualifications could be certified to by some constituted authority. Then the party would not be represented by half-baked Socialists and incompetent individuals.

Perhaps you now discern the incentive for education which a proper eligibility scale would induce.

As the party is now constituted, some "personality" is apt to be put forth to function for the party. The middle class is full of these "personalities," and when any of them drop into the Socialist Party they are immediately shunted forward by the unthinking without considering party efficiency or working class qualifications. An eligibility standing would determine party efficiency, regardless of personalities, and thus have a great tendency to keep the party on the right track, as only those who possessed eligibility rank could be nominated or elected to anything. Possibly a more binding pledge is necessary for those who become members. The workers can make good. Give them a chance.

Yours for Revolution,

C. W. GARRETT.

Centralia, Wash., Aug. 8, 1909.

### A Reply to "T. H. W."

By Arthur Jensen

"T. H. W." in last week's issue of "The Socialist" asks a question which opens discussion on a very important though, as yet, little discussed subject.

The question is, "Which is better, or worse, a Working Class Party standing for a Middle Class program, or a Middle Class Party on a Working Class program?" The correspondent adds: "The former they say we have in Milwaukee, the latter it is said we have all over the United States."

I take it that the question means, "Which is most likely to be a force in the formation of a movement for Proletarian supremacy?"

Let us see—WILL THE MIDDLE CLASS EMANCIPATE THE WORKING CLASS?

Is it possible for the Middle Class to carry out a Working Class program? Or, is it reasonable to expect that an organization, controlled by members of the Middle Class, even though it has a WRITTEN program proclaiming a Proletarian Revolution, will champion the cause of the Working Class? I believe not. The following words of Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto still hold good: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today the Proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the Proletariat is its special and essential product."

"The lower Middle Class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, TO SAVE THEMSELVES FROM EXTINCTION THEIR EXISTENCE AS FRACTIONS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more; THEY ARE REACTIONARY, FOR THEY TRY TO ROLL BACK THE WHEEL OF HISTORY."

Sixty years ago, when the Communist Manifesto was written, the Middle Class was struggling against the evolution of modern industry. The scientific Socialist was pointing out that there was a struggle going on between the modern Wage Worker and

the industrial Capitalist, a struggle which was growing fiercer as industry developed.

#### The Class Struggle Today

Today it does not require the mind of a Karl Marx to see the correctness of his analysis of Capitalist society. The Middle Class is still fighting against that concentration of capital, which is the natural result of economic development. The only difference is that it is struggling more desperately against its inevitable extinction. The Capitalist Class is also the economic foe of the Wage Working Class. We thus see that both the small Middle Class and the Proletariat have a common enemy in the modern Capitalist Class. Then, why can we not co-operate with the Middle Class in fighting the Modern Capitalist?

#### Middle Class Interests vs. Proletarian Interests

Because the enemy of the Proletariat against the Capitalist Class rests on a basis different from that of the Middle Class. The latter is opposed to the Modern Capitalist Class because concentration of industry has a tendency to proletarianize the members of the Middle Class. The Wage Worker has no quarrel with the Modern Capitalist in as far as he is an agent of industrial evolution. Socialized production is in perfect accord with the aims of the Proletariat. The cause of the conflict lies entirely in the capitalist appropriation. Or, in other words, the Class Struggle between the Proletariat and the Capitalist Class is simply the manifestation of the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation, while the antagonism of the small Middle Class to the Modern Capitalist Class is a manifestation of the contradiction between individual and social production. In the former struggle the Proletariat is the constructive, the progressive force, while in the latter the Middle Class is the destructive, the reactionary force.

#### Co-operation Impossible

Now with these facts before us it is not clear that the petty Middle Class and the Wage Working Class cannot possibly co-operate in the Socialist Movement? If that is clear, it must be still clearer that a "Socialist" movement CONTROLLED by members of the Middle Class must eventually become a force opposed to Proletarian supremacy, even though it may temporarily have a Proletarian program.

#### The Middle Class and the Socialist Party

Now then a member of the Middle Class may be found who clearly sees the necessity of a Proletarian organization controlled by Proletarians, but he is a very rare article. As a rule members of the Middle Class, when active in the Socialist movement are ardent advocates of public ownership of public utilities, postal savings banks, parcel post, etc. In short, they are advocating a State Capitalism, which, in the advanced stage of industrial concentration of the United States, is reactionary rather than revolutionary. Frederick Engels, in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," has this to say of "State Socialism": "Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metetrich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines, if Bismark, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously."

Often, however, members of the Middle Class, who have a superficial theoretical knowledge of Socialism, but generally without any practical experience in the real living class struggle, become "ultra-revolutionary," i. e., scoff at every thought of improving the condition of the Working Class, rant against "Reform" and about "Revolution," etc. But it has been shown time after time that these two Middle Class elements always join hands and unite against the Proletarian elements whenever it comes to a test.

No, a Middle Class Party, even though it has a Working Class program, cannot become a force for Proletarian supremacy. On the contrary, it appears to me as though such a Party would always be an obstacle in the road of Proletarian progress.

Working Class Party and Middle Class Program

Now, as to a Working Class Party with a Middle Class program. There is some hope for that as long as it is in the control of Wage Workers.

But there is the danger. As long as it appeals, even partly to the Middle Class for support, it is in danger of being captured by the Middle Class.

The Middle Class in the United States

If it is true that we in the United States have a Middle Class Party with a Working Class program, except where we have a Working Class Party with a Middle Class program—and it appears to me as being true—there must be some economic causes therefor. The United States is the only populous nation in the world in which the present ruling class was the original ruling class. Serfdom never reigned here. Individual, independent production was the predominant system of production from the time of the discovery of America. The natural consequence of this condition is that Middle Class ideas, ideals and thoughts have fastened themselves on the American people with much greater tenacity than in any other country. In all of the European countries, with the possible exception of France, a complete breach with feudalistic traditions was never made and the result has been that the Middle Class has never developed that courage, energy and perseverance which it has displayed in this country.

On the other hand, the Working Class in these European countries has been fortunate in not being so hampered by Middle Class ideas and ideals and the consequence is that a splendid Socialist movement has developed, especially in Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

#### The American Wage Worker

When the Socialist movement was first talked of in the United States there was no great need of a Proletarian Party. The American Wage Worker was in no such state of dependence as his European brother. He could go out West to the frontier where, until the last few years, the more sturdy and energetic of the Wage Workers have gone to better their condition. This course of development has constantly removed from the Wage Class those who would be the aggressive fighters for their class had they remained Wage Workers.

#### Middle Class "Revolution"

On the other hand the little shopkeeper and merchant was being squeezed out by the big corporations and he felt the effects of industrial evolution far more keenly than the Wage Worker. This little, business man revered the "Revolutionary Spirit of 1776," and when he heard the Socialist talk of "Revolution" he was at once reminded of the time when the Revolutionary members of his class licked King George and began dreaming of the fine time he would have after licking "King John D." and all the other industrial "kings" who had practically destroyed every vestige of his old time liberty. So he began prating of "Revolution," "Co-operation," "Brotherhood," etc. Some thought that Colonies might be established where by capitalist profits could be eliminated. Others thought that their oppression was due to the fact that exorbitant freight rates, telegraph and telephone rates, etc., prevailed and they imagined that Socialism consisted in making "public utilities" "public property," thus eliminating their oppressor, the trust magnate. "The people," which these members of the Middle Class so dearly love, is but their own class whose interests are the only interests comprehended by them.

#### The American Wage Worker in Politics

These are, as I see it, the causes underlying the unsettled condition of the American Socialist Movement. But economic conditions are changing. The American Wage Worker can find no more frontiers to which to flee from capitalist exploitation. He is now in practically the same position as his European brother. And he is already clamoring for political recognition. He feels that he must be represented in the legislative bodies of the country in order to maintain and secure what he terms his "rights." Now how will he proceed? Will he turn to the Socialist Party? If he should discover that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has not a single bona fide Wage Worker on it and that the movement in practically every state is controlled by persons whose interests are with the Middle Class, is it not reasonable to expect that he will turn away from the Socialist Party and organize a Party of Wage Workers, controlled by members of his own class? And to reason further, does it not seem plausible that such an organization, even though its written program may show the earmarks of lack of thorough knowledge of economic conditions, stands a better chance of being the germ of Proletarian political supremacy than do the Middle Class theorists, who seemingly control the present Socialist Party?

These are questions facing the Socialist Movement of the United States. Unless we find the correct answers it

may mean years of hard and wasteful struggle.

#### "Fatalism" Answered

"But," says the fellow who has read of economic determinism without understanding, "what is the use of worrying? Socialism will come when conditions are ripe for it and nobody can stop it." Wilhelm Liebknecht, whose name will always be among the first in the German Proletariat, in his little pamphlet, "Socialism, What It Is, and What It Seeks to Accomplish," says:

"We have said that this movement accomplishes itself through class struggle. This word, which was first brought by Marx from the English into the German, forms the best refutation of the opinion that the Marxian Theory, Scientific Socialism, excludes persons from taking part in the social evolutionary process and is inclined toward a certain fatalism and passive waiting. This is false. The exact opposite is true. It was Marx himself who explained the whole development of industrial society as a series of class conflicts, that corresponded to unbroken, ever more comprehensive developing economic relations, fulfilling themselves in ever higher forms with deeper and wider meaning. And the class struggle is a struggle of living persons, an actually personally directed struggle, and no one has expressed the nature of this conflict clearer than Marx."

Engels, in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," says: "Active social forces work exactly like natural forces—blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will and by means of them to reach our own ends."

It behooves those members of the Working Class who realize their position in society, to study the forces which move the awakening Giant of Labor that we may assist in directing his actions toward his emancipation from Wage Slavery.

#### Majority Rule or Majority Gag Rule? Which?

### "DIVIDENDS —DIVIDENDS"

(For "The Socialist" by Emil M. Herman.)

Tacoma, Wash., Aug. 9, 1909.

There have been many rumors circulated throughout the state by insurgents, Independents, Reformers and impossibilists to the effect that the reason Krueger, Titus, Hyde, Bisbee, McSharrow, Herman and other Revolutionary Socialists seek to maintain control of the Socialist Party is not because they take a different stand fundamentally with respect to what the S. P. is and seeks to accomplish but because they have been living off the party for many years and realize that should they become discredited in the eyes of the membership they would lose their "graft."

Like many other rumors of a similar nature, they have made some impression on two types of people in the S. P. First, those who do wish to get control of the S. P. in order that they may be provided with a job, and being naturally dishonest with the S. P. and Proletariat themselves, they are prone to judge all others by themselves; and 2d, those who do not stop to investigate, do not consider the merits of the issues involved but judge everything and everybody by the amount of noise any particular crowd may make against it or them.

However, this story is so rank and ill-founded that it has been worn threadbare and no longer carries any weight except with a few simpletons. So now they have started another and still more ridiculous and absurd story to the effect that most of those who bolted the Everett should-have-been-convention of the S. P. and those in sympathy with them are stockholders in "The Socialist" and if they lose control of the party machinery they will no longer be able to tap the party funds for support of the paper, with the result that "The Socialist" would die and the stockholders lose the chance of drawing dividends on their stock. It is to laugh. What fools these mortals be. Brown, Ranke, Chamberlain, Aller, Eddy, Jory, Cory, and all other cockroach-business men who strive to make the Socialist Party program fit your petit bourgeois interests take notice. You can fool all the Socialists part of the time; you can fool a few of them all the time, but you cannot fool most of them very long, and from all indications at the present time you have about run your course with all Socialists worthy of the name.

Dr. E. J. Brown owns some 200 shares of stock in the Trustee Printing Co. His Opportunist associates are responsible for the rumor that stockholders are drawing dividends. Will he kindly inform those he seeks to misinform as to just how much dividends he has drawn on his stock?

No defence is made of the Gag at Everett, except that free debate would keep the Convention too long in session. Which is worse, to lose a day's wages or to lose Free Speech?

Has a Socialist Convention any power to change the Constitution of the Party? No, that power resides in the Referendum alone.

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