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# The Socialist

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of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation

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## CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By Tom Sladden

In the opening paragraph of the Communist Manifesto is the sentence: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

The fundamental requirement for admission into the Socialist Party is, or is supposed to be, an acceptance of the fact that society is divided into two classes whose interests are diametrically opposed to each other. And yet muddle-heads, those who write about muddle-heads and those who do not, would tell us that to exclude the middle (capitalist) class would be foolish if practicable, but which is really impossible.

Let us take the word of Marx and Engels, you who are everlastingly posing as interpreters of Marxian Economics, and here is what Marx and Engels propose to do:

"The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties—formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat."

What is the proletariat? Is it a farmer class, skilled mechanics, professional men? In the Manifesto a definition of the proletariat is given in this sentence: "The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Now what is it that modern industry called into play? It was hands, machine hands, men that were hired not because they had a head, or skill, but because they had a strong back, strong arms and a willingness to slave faithfully. But is the skilled tradesman, the professional or small farmer a product of modern industry? I guess not. He is a disappearing quantity in the face of modern or machine industry, and he was a product of the era of manufacture, not of the era of modern industry.

By taking this view many of the seeming inconsistencies of the present time are easily solved. Take the Associated Press dispatches of the 17th of September.

Here it was stated that "the American working men were going back to work marching behind the fixed bayonets of the militia and State constabulary with the American flag at their head; that they were all armed and were it to any Foreigner that offered insult to the flag." But was it a division of races? Oh, no. It was a division of skilled and unskilled laborers. For years the skilled work had been done by American skilled mechanics, while for unskilled labor these Pennsylvania factory owners and mine owners had been importing their proletarians from Europe. The skilled trades were as a general thing satisfied with their wages and never did strike at McKee's Rock, but they were scared out. But the unskilled laborers were actually forced to the stand they took by conditions. The skilled trades were organized under the A. F. of L. while the unskilled were rallying under the Industrial Workers, and the skilled workers did just what they have always done from the very first—deserted everybody immediately their own wants were satisfied. So, as a natural consequence, they lived up to their historic role, lined up behind the bayonets of the cossacks and with an American flag at their head, they formed their scab parade to the factory gates.

But it is not because one body of men are in an organization called an I. W. W., or because another is in an A. F. of L., but it is because each are living in different social conditions. The unskilled proletariat can no more help being revolutionary than the skilled mechanic and middle-class farmer and business man can help being conservative and reactionary. It's not the idol they worship, but the job they work at that makes them satisfied or dissatisfied, conservative or revolutionary.

Marx and Engels at no time conceived of forming a political party of wage workers and capitalists and farmers, but at all times advocated a party of proletarians. In fact, Marx and Engels despised the farming element of which the Unterermans would form a Socialist organization. In giving their opinion of the farming element they say: "It (modern industry) has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idleness of rural life."

What is a Socialist movement? What is a labor movement? The labor union movement in all its ramifications has always been a class movement. Here and there in the labor movement in the United States, trades unions in exceptional cases have allowed members of the lower middle class to become members of the different trades unions, a fact which has proved to be a serious mistake, but taken as a whole, the labor movement has always been a class movement to better the conditions of the wage-working class, or of some fraction of the wage-working class, either by the shortening of hours or in the increase of wages of that class or fraction of a class at the expense of the employing class.

Its every strike has been an open revolt, and when any man states that the labor unions all over the world are inveterate reformers, that man shows that he has not the slightest conception of what labor unionism really is, and his middle-class conception is governed entirely or largely so, by his rural environments. In France we have a revolutionary labor movement. But in France, as in all other countries as yet, as every one knows, the political parties alleged to be representing the working class are freak movements largely given over to an advocacy of middle-class reforms while every benefit gained by the wage workers in the entire world has been gained by the active struggle of the wage class against the capitalist class on the economic field.

In the United States nothing, and in Europe but a few paltry reforms, have been obtained by political parties. The one object and use of a political party of the working class, to weaken the resistance of the capitalist class to a working class strike on the industrial field by making the executive powers of government unsafe for this capitalist class through its being partially in the hands of its enemies, has been ignored and kept in the background by political skates of the pure and simple order, who can see in a political movement, nothing except an opportunity to elect an ecclesiastic mountebank, or buy out the capitalist class editor, or send a shyster lawyer to a capitalist congress.

The working class on the industrial field have gone out on strike and suffered privations and misery and want to better their conditions, while the pure and simple Socialists have peddled hot air, and safe and secure from the class battles, they have rendered their learned (?) opinions of the men on the firing lines of the class war.

No matter what any man may think of the industrial organizations of labor—those organizations are fighting the class war 365 days a year, and they need no bum theologians or college professors or what-nots—the lower fringe of a dying class that should be buried to get rid of the smell—to tell them how to fight their battles.

The industrial movement of the wage workers is a movement of the working class joined into labor unions, here in an American Federation, representing the crafts and the skilled mechanics, there in a Western Federation of Miners, or a United Mine Workers, representing a combination of skilled and unskilled workers; in other places the Industrial Workers of the World, beginning to represent the proletarian element of labor, the great mass of unskilled common laborers. All these different industrial organizations as a whole constitute the American labor movement, and they are actively engaged in combatting the encroachments of the capitalist class on the economic field.

The political organization of the working class is or should be composed of all these elements, and none other, consolidated into a working class political party, organized to nominate and elect members of this organization into political office where possible, in order to capture the political powers of government and abolish capitalist laws and the institution of capitalist private property.

The Socialist Party is, or is supposed to be, attempting this very thing, but in order to bring about the dominance of the wage worker in the party, it must make the same qualification for membership in the political organization as is demanded in the economic organization.

Either the Socialist Party must be a labor organization or not a labor

organization, and if it is not a labor organization it need never expect the support of the wage-working class.

When it has accepted as members none but actual wage workers, then and then only does it become a true reflex of the working class.

Is the working class to blame for refusing to send a freak parson or editor from Wisconsin or a bum lawyer from New York to Congress?

The wage worker that votes to send a lawyer, a preacher, a proprietor farmer or a business man to a political office is just as big a sucker as the one that voted for Taft last election day.

Now, men have gone out of their way to prove that I, as a horseshoer, was not a proletarian, consequently my contentions regarding a proletarian being the unskilled worker, and not a skilled mechanic, was wrong. I am glad this was brought up. I have no time to prove myself in or out of the proletarian ranks. I may be one of those "whose specialized skill has been rendered worthless by new methods of production," and I may be not; but I am glad this statement was made, because it shows that a man may be a master of a half-dozen languages and a fool in all of them.

What would the fact of a person's being a proletarian or not have to do with any statement he might make? I suppose if a person owned a bank, then the fact that he owned a bank would make it impossible for that person to understand that bankers were not wage workers.

I must do like my critics; if I am a blacksmith, include blacksmiths in the proletariat; if a college professor, include college professors; if a lawyer, include lawyers; if a banker, include bankers; if a millionaire, include millionaires—oh, hell! we can use that kind of reasoning and reason ourselves all into proletarians, much as that sanctimonious heavenly hypocrite that opened a capitalist legislature in Wisconsin with a capitalist prayer, would say, "We want them all—all the workers."

That has been the trouble in the Socialist Party. We let everybody into the organization and then everybody is supposed to wear a muzzle so they will not hurt any one else's feelings. We will never be free to call a factory owner an exploiter as long as we allow him in the party.

We will keep harping on the system instead of smashing into the individuals that make up the system. We are in just exactly the same position as the minister of a Methodist church. He gets up and preaches a long sermon about the deceitfulness and sin of this wicked world, and how corrupt people are, and about the misery and the poverty of the poor in the East End, and all the time the chief sinners are "way up in the amen corner of his own church, and they go home talking about what a great sermon the Dear Doctor preached tonight. He was like the baseman trying to catch Ty Cobb stealing a base—"he never touched them;" but the difference between the preacher and the baseman is that the baseman tried to get Cobb, while the preacher tries his damndest not to get them, and he always succeeds. So now we send out organizers the same as the churches send out missionaries. Deliver a pretty sermon but do not hurt the feelings of "the influential" members of your flock, the middle-class members of the local. Do not say "damn" or "hell," because it is not polite, and is regarded as vulgar among the better element of respectable society.

Imagine the brotherly picture of a factory owner with fifty of his men on a strike to get a raise of 25 cents a day shaking hands with his comrades at a local meeting. Imagine the brotherly picture of the farmer in the Grange meeting voting to have the county road work done by a chain gang and then shaking hands with the out-of-work comrade at the local meeting of the Socialist local in the town.

If the capitalist class and the working class have nothing in common then by all the rules of logic there is no basis on which they can be held together in one political or industrial organization.

All political parties must reflect the interests of one or the other of the classes in modern society. In the words of the pulpit pounder, you can not serve God and mammon at the same time.

You can not benefit the working class and not harm the capitalist class.

THOMAS SLADDEN.

## Heretics, Dogmatists, Muddle-heads and the Revolution

By Ernest Untermyer

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Little need be said concerning this article of Untermyer's except to recommend every one to read also Sladden's article, which appears on this page. Neither writer had seen the other's production, yet they form a good debate.

Untermyer's entire essay seems to amount to this: "Cats is Cats, and Rats is Rats. They ought to agree, and I advise them to agree, but I don't expect they will agree."

What he thinks he is contending for is this: "Poodles is Poodles, and Terriers is Terriers," etc.

"Historical necessity" makes Cats Cats and Rats Rats. But no recognition of "historical necessity" can ever make Cats and Rats lie down in peace together unless the Rats are inside the Cats.

But Poodles and Terriers is both Dogs, and they can mate.

Now, our interpretation of events concludes that Middle Class and Wage Class are Cats and Rats, different species, hence not capable of unity, and our nine years' experience in Washington proves it. If Wisconsin proves otherwise, it is only because there the Middle Class Cat has swallowed the Wage Class Rat. It is because the Rat in Washington would never consent to be swallowed that the Cat in Washington has always had its fur on end.

But if we are all dogs, same species, only different breeds, Middle Class Dog and Wage Class Dog, then Untermyer's argument is good and we are fools for not uniting.

As we see things, the Rats are getting terribly numerous and ferocious, while the Cats are getting terribly hungry and lean except the few big Cats. These hungry little Cats are terribly anxious to have the monster swarm of Rats ally themselves with the hungry little Cats to eat up the few big fat Cats, who are now monopolizing all the opportunities for Rat-catching; but when the little Cats, by

the help of the Rats, have put the big cats out of business, what is to become of the Rats? Will the reinstated Cats cease to eat Rats for a living?

It's a homely illustration, but scholarly phrases, like "Historical necessity" and kindly admonitions from the heights of a "correct theory of cognition" will not change the nature nor the appetites, nor the fierce antagonism of Cats and Rats.

The fact is, the biological, every day, wharf-and-cellar fact is, the Rat is proving ineradicable. He is so numerous, so savage, so alert, so adapted to his horrible environment, that the human species, let alone Cats, can hardly cope with him. The human Rat, the Proletarian, is not so unlike, in his capacity to survive. His historic necessity seems to be to eat out and pull down the very foundations of those rich abodes upstairs where the cats now roam in idleness and luxury.

No, Comrade Untermyer, we fear these Rats are too fierce to pay much attention to your loving words about unity.

As to Titus and Sladden, they are both born Rats, though for a few short years they grew so big and furry that they almost deceived the cats themselves into taking them for Kittens. But nature will out, and now none but the despised Rats have a friendly squeak for either of them.

The publication of my letter to Comrade Titus in a recent issue of "The Socialist" has brought me several personal letters from comrades belonging to various factions of our movement in the state of Washington. I prefer to answer them here publicly.

Each faction applauds those portions of my letter which hit some other faction. And each faction expects me to take part in the local fight by enlisting in its own particular camp.

The main point of my letter is overlooked by all factions.

This is no surprise to me. It is exactly what I expected under the circumstances. I expected this as surely as I stated that I did not believe for one moment that my letter would change anything essential in the situation.

I simply went on record with my views, trusting to the laws of mental development that the one or the other comrade in the various factions would see the main point and draw some individual conclusions out of it for his or her own personal development, which would in due time make a little change in the particular environment of that individual and so pave the way for similar changes in others.

With the purely personal aspects of these factional fights I have nothing to do, comrades. Neither is it my intention to take part in those factional fights by enlisting with any one side.

What I am interested in is to make each faction understand that the other factions are as much a historical necessity as itself. And the conclusion from this premise is: Unity, which is our common aim, cannot come to the movement in Washington by the complete rout of all factions but one; it can come only by an amalgamation of all factions. Such an amalgamation is inevitable in the end. It is a historical necessity as much as the present meagre stage of the movement in Washington is.

Because I foresee this direction of the development of our movement, I lay special emphasis upon the essential points, in which all factions without distinction are agreed, namely: The overthrow of Capitalism through the class struggle of the industrial proletariat, assisted by its natural allies, the small business men and small farmers, and aided by friends from all other social classes, who see far enough to understand that Capitalism must disappear.

I say that all factions are agreed on this essential point. They may not agree to it in so many words, they may even dispute it theoretically. But in their actual practice they unconsciously admit the truth of this fundamental statement.

Titus believes that only the industrial proletariat safeguards the victory of our movement, but he and many of his friends make a tacit exception for themselves from this rule. They are themselves middle class economically, but proletarian in mind. Sladden believes only for others that the unskilled wage worker is the only true and revolutionary champion of the proletarian revolution, but not for himself. He is a skilled worker and excepts himself and a good many of his friends from this rule. Burgess, Brown, Mills, etc., are not one whit more middle class in mind than Titus or Sladden. They believe in the class struggle and in the overthrow of Capitalism as much as the strictest Marxian does. Wherein they differ from some of us, is not this fundamental Socialist principle, but in the method, by which they work for our historical mission from day to day. In this they may go to extremes, but no more so than the sectarian Marxian does in advocacy of fundamental principles, which reach far beyond the daily scope of our present possible activity.

The tactical differences of the various factions are not due to the alleged fact that one faction is truly proletarian, the other factions truly middle class. Not at all. The same differences of tactics, which are attributed to the distinction between middle class and proletarian thought, appear also in organizations that are composed wholly of wage workers. In Europe, for instance, the socialist labor unions are noted for their so-called revisionist tactics, and the real proletarian attitude is claimed by men of middle class extraction like Kautsky, Mehring, Singer, Bebel, Guesde, Lafargue. Marx and Engels themselves were middle class. In the United States, the most advanced labor organization, the Western Federation of Miners, has shown more leaning toward revisionist or opportunist tactics than the Wisconsin section of the Socialist party of America, which has for its strongest support the Milwaukee labor unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor.

All the mutual vituperation exchanged between the various factions, all this personal billingsgate of muddleheads, fakirs, heretics, dogmatists, etc., is idle verbiage. Titus is not any worse dogmatically than Mills or others are opportunistically. Each individual, each faction, harps exclusively on that string of the Socialist harp to which it happens to be best attuned.

A Socialist who has learned to apply the method of historical materialism, a Socialist who has passed from the mere definition stage of Socialist science to a practical working stage of scientific Socialism, understands that all these strings have their full historical justification, that each one

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## A STEP FORWARD

Sharp Debate at Conference Called by State Committee  
—Proposed Constitution Embodying Several New Departures—None But Wage Workers Eligible to Active Membership—Referendum Retained—German Party Model, as Revised by Krueger, Adopted in Its General Features.

The "Informal Conference" called by the State Committee, met at Hall 106, Labor Temple, Sunday, June 19. The State Committee was called to order by Secretary Krueger at 10 a. m. Representatives were present from Local Seattle No. 1, Local Seattle No. 2, Local Silverdale, Local Buckley, Local North Yakima, Local Raymond, Local Yelm, Local Midland, and Local Centralia, besides several members at large, in all some thirty-five comrades.

From the first it was evident decided differences existed as to the proposed new Constitution. The conference was of one mind in this respect, namely, that the Wage Class should control the Party. But just how? That was the question on which the differences developed.

There were three propositions, revealing three degrees of one radical advance to Wage-Class control.

Krueger represented the least radical. He had prepared a carefully thought-out draft of a new Constitution, based in general outline on the organization of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. This general outline was finally adopted. But Krueger's special proposal was rejected, namely, that all classes except "bankers, preachers and steady employers of labor" should be accepted on equal terms, but only wage workers should be eligible to serve as delegates to the conventions or as members of the executive committee.

Rejected also was the most radical proposal that none but wage workers should be admitted to the Party on any terms; meaning by wage workers "the class of modern wage laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live," as defined by Engels in the Communist Manifesto.

The medium method adopted by the conference was that drawn up by Herman, providing for an active list and an assistant list, only wage workers, as above defined, being admitted to the active list. The assistant list cannot hold office and cannot vote.

This provision is embodied in the Constitution recommended to the Locals for their endorsement, as printed in this paper. If five Locals endorse it and call for a Referendum on it, and for a convention to act under it, if adopted, the Party will then be prepared to do active organizing work among wage workers alone.

Undoubtedly this Constitution will stimulate the sharpest discussion among the comrades everywhere, as it did in the conference. The main question involved in the change indicated above reaches the roots of the Socialist science, and forces a decision as to whether Socialist tactics and organization shall be strictly one-class or some degree of two-class.

The notable thing about this conference is its precipitation of this question into the membership of the Socialist Party of Washington for a practical decision. Will you adopt this new proletarian basis for your organization? Will you put it into your Constitution and dare to organize on it? That is different from a theoretical discussion. It means business. It means that many of the most active members will vote themselves out of the Party or into "innocuous desuetude" therein. The first question is: Will five Locals be found to endorse it for submission to Referendum?

Another change, drawing out vigorous differences of opinion at the conference, was that which limits the Referendum feature of previous Socialist Party Constitutions. The Krueger draft abolished it altogether, though providing a substitute, as in the German Social-Democracy, which is said to be in reality more democratic.

The Party convention is given more authority in the following draft, and a Board of Control is elected to decide appeals or complaints against the executive committee. In extreme cases or critical times, a special convention can be called to correct any departures by the Party officials.

The German method was endorsed only in part, ten Locals being authorized to call for a Referendum on the acts of the convention. The experience of the Party in Washington these many years with the practical application of the Initiative and Refer-

endum, an experience probably more extensive than that of any other organization on earth, has proved three things: (1) That too easy an initiative induces perpetual voting on freak propositions, (2) that only a minority of the membership take interest enough to vote, and (3) that those who do not vote, for lack of discussion and consequent enlightenment, usually vote yes, in blind acquiescence. Therefore the German method, with modification for a reasonable use of the Referendum, will be found in the Constitution endorsed by the Labor Temple conference at Seattle.

Other marked changes will be noted, nearly all copied from the German model, and all believed to be in the direction of greater efficiency. For instance, there is a small executive committee, unhampered by residence qualifications, yet all old and tried Party members, who can attend strictly to the Party work. But they are not supreme. A control committee of nine is chosen for the express purpose of judging the executive when complaints are lodged against the latter. The executive is relieved of all trials of members, for which purpose special arbitration committees are selected in an automatic manner.

These and other features will seem peculiar to American Socialists, but they are based on nearly forty years' experience of the most successful Socialist organization in the world, and Socialists will be the last to object to anything because it is "foreign."

The conference adjourned to the Local headquarters at 711 Olive street for its evening session. Here the woman's committee had prepared a solid supper in the woman's room, beautifully decorated with evergreens and red drapery.

At the close of the supper Ault the Printer presented to all participants in the conference a most artistic souvenir, entitled "Under the Red Flag." It consists of a four-page 10 by 12, sepia-ink print, with cover, containing a half-tone of "The Boonch," the famous "33" who bolted the Gag convention at Everett, taken in the "clearing" just after the bolt, together with brief description of the event. The cover of this elegant piece of printing is a unique design of type work and red ribbon, called "Under the Red Flag," dated "Seattle, Wash., Sept. 19, 1909." Besides being a work of art, it will be preserved with pride for years to come as a proletarian souvenir.

We give now a brief outline of the debates of the Sunday sessions of this memorable conference, which marks the certain beginning of a real wage-workers' political organization in the State of Washington, the thing we have talked about for nine years but never once had in fact.

## Proceedings and Discussions

The morning session was chiefly occupied with the regular work of the State Committee and the organization of the conference.

An application for a charter was granted by the committee to Raymond, Pacific county, including ten wage workers and one physician.

Reports of State Secretary Krueger and State Organizer Herman were read and accepted by the committee.

These reports showed that Herman had done effective work in mining camps and had supported himself for the past month without expense to the party, except a trifling balance of five dollars.

At 11:15 a. m., the State Committee having adjourned, the conference was called to order by Secretary Krueger, who announced the conference was only an "advisory board" for the State Committee; in fact, that this was really a meeting of the State Committee and all others were only "advisory," according to the call.

Accordingly, Martin was chosen chairman, Krueger serving as secretary, with Sullivan as assistant secretary.

Krueger then said: "We are not here to organize a new party, but to reorganize the Socialist Party. Everything done must be in harmony with

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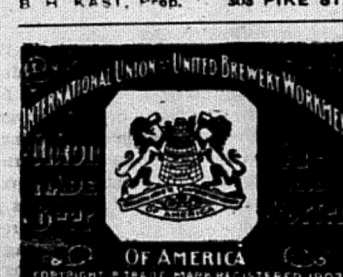
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# Heretics, Dogmatists, Middle-heads and the Revolution

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is good for some particular time and place, and that only a full mastery of all of them will produce a revolutionary harmony. He understands that questions of tactics can never, in the long run, remain principal causes of separation between those who must unite, if they would fulfill their fundamental historical mission.

The very first thing that logically follows from an application of the materialist conception of history is the understanding that comrades with different temperaments, different degrees of physical and mental aptitudes, different stages of education, different class extraction, must disagree on many points. And a close look shows that similar disagreements must and do exist also among comrades of the same economic class.

Every faction of our party in Washington is composed of middle class and proletarian elements. It is so hard to understand the why of this fact and to find a way to overcome the existing schisms?

Do you imagine you are fulfilling the tenets of the "Communist Manifesto" by continually harping on your own one-sided peculiarity? Does not the inconsistency of your theory and practice strike you, if you think about it just for one minute? You bawl out with all the registers of your lungs: "workmen, unite!" And in the same breath you harp on those peculiar differences that now separate the various individuals, differences which each individual acquired under Capitalism, differences not due to Socialism, differences which the Socialist understanding can and must overcome first, before any effective co-operation between comrades of the proletarian revolution is possible.

Do you imagine for one moment that you will ever get any really effective political party of the working class established in your state by such methods? Can't you see that you are keeping the party small and weak by such methods? What else do you accomplish by your one-sided emphasis, either on proletarian fundamentals or on the opportunist requirements of every-day life under Capitalism, than to keep those apart who ought to be united?

Some of you don't want the small farmer or the small business man in your movement. But the queer thing about this attitude is that some of the very men and women who are most pronounced in this view are themselves small business men and small farmers. And still queerer is the fact that these small farmers and business men are supported in this view by wage workers, and that other wage workers support other middle class people in other views, which are no less inconsistent, and thereby separate themselves as wage workers into hostile factions led by middle class controversialists.

Some of you don't want the party to remain a mere propaganda sect. And that shows sound judgment, for a propaganda sect cannot be a political party. But you go at once to the extreme of trying all sorts of foolhardy and useless experiments at fusion and compromise with the very elements that have fooled and fooled the working class for centuries. And you try these experiments before our party has any effective organization and before it is strong enough to take care of itself as an independent political organization.

You don't want a farmers' party, you don't want a labor union party, you don't want a sect. But if you had only unskilled workers in your party, you could be nothing but a sect, and the small business man, the small farmer, the labor unionists, would be compelled, out of sheer necessity, to form an independent party of their own, in order to defend themselves against the increasing encroachments of Capitalism!

The only sane, the only scientific, the only really Marxian method is to unite all these elements of the social revolution, to fill them with the proletarian spirit, and to weld them into one compact and solid revolutionary organization, that must overthrow the Capitalist system, because it cannot do anything else.

It is an evidence of a weak conviction to fear that the middle class spirit might overcome us in the end. The entire history of our movement proves that the Socialist spirit is a proletarian spirit, and that the majority of the middle class men and women who arrive at the point where they turn towards Socialism will inevitably subordinate their particular class instincts to the historical necessities of the proletarian revolution. Here and there the small business spirit may lead to excessive caution, to vacillating policies, or even to reactionary leanings, but in proportion as the middle class realizes its unavoidable doom it cannot find any other place for its political defense but the Socialist Party. The excessive emphasis laid by Titus, Shadden and others upon the proletarian nature of our movement is but an echo of their own distrust in the past historical character of their own class. But they are themselves living proofs that a middle class comrade can be a true revolutionist and must become one in proportion as

his situation becomes more and more nearly like that of the industrial proletarian.

So long as you comrades harp on the points that divide the natural elements of the social revolution I shall have to lay more than ordinary stress upon those fundamentals which unite these elements.

But an excessive emphasis on either side is a violation of the scientific method. We are all compelled to be revolutionists and opportunists at the same time. We must learn to keep clearly in mind the fundamental principles of our movement, and yet at the same time to keep account of the peculiar opportunist demands made upon us by the present capitalist environment. This can be done without sacrificing any of the great principles of Socialist science, and must be done, if we ever hope to win.

## Platform of the Socialist Party of Washington

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 1908 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.
6. The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state 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 results 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.

7. 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.
8. Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

9. 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.

10. This is the Proletarian Revolution.
11. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executives, legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

12. 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.

13. 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.

14. 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.

15. 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."

## Socialist Party and Trades Unions

The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist National Convention:

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist

This shall and must, be learned by all of us without regard to faction. It cannot be learned over night. It will take years to develop such a way of thinking and acting as a mass phenomenon among our membership. In the meantime I love you all equally well. If there are any traitors among you, they must be weeded out. But I want to see the unmistakable proofs, democratically secured and offered, before I join in the hue and cry against any individual comrade. Until such proofs are brought forward, I shall continue to attribute to unconscious inconsistencies what most of you attribute to intentional crookedness.

And I shall strive to unite the movement on essentials, not to split it over vaguely understood and mostly misconstrued points of tactics, constitution or personality.

I know that this cannot be done by any single article of any single writer. It must come as a historical growth that enforces itself in the minds of the great mass of our comrades.

In this sense I shall continue to exclaim: "Comrades of all factions, unite!"

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

ters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is evident that in 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 Moyeringwood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it is his 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 undertaken 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 murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

### COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

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 workingmen 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 tying 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 bar organized workingmen 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 treasuries, 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 workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workingmen 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.

Two years ago, when a coalition of all the conservative parties in the empire reduced the Socialist representation in the Reichstag by one-half, the death of Socialism was heralded all over the world by the capitalist press and Buelow, the chancellor, and the moving spirit in the campaign was publicly complimented by the emperor. A few weeks ago Buelow was compelled to resign because of the great increase of Socialist strength. As a result, several bye-elections for representatives in the Reichstag have been held and the result has been uniform Socialist success. And now they have got to kill the beast all over again.

Creel, circulation manager for the "Chicago Daily," says in a recent issue that paper is responsible for making a class-conscious Socialist out of an Illinois banker. What a sight for the gods and man that banker must be!

### IT DOES NOT DIGTAE.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in mat-

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# A STEP FORWARD

Continued from Page One

the present organization. Nothing can be allowed by State Committee but consideration of such reorganization of the present party."

Discussion was then held on the matter of credentials.

McCorkle: "I believe we should invite all present to participate in our discussions. There is no one here who is not loyal to the party as at present constituted."

Krueger: "In that case Local Seattle might monopolize the debate and hinder our proceedings."

Herman: "Do I understand delegates chosen by Locals, or members at large here, are to have voice but no vote?"

Johnson: "Are we nothing but advisory board?"

Chairman Martin: "Yes, that is my ruling. The State Committee is in session; all others are only advisory."

Herman: "Vote only by State Committee?"

Chairman: "Yes."

Jensen: "Can't we stay here if we don't monopolize anything?"

Gatchell: "Local North Yakima elected its delegate with clear understanding."

Krueger: "Why delay matters? This ruling of the chairman ought to settle it."

Longmire: "That is my understanding."

Ault: "All should be allowed a vote in this conference, for the expression of the sense of the conference. Then the State Committee can do as they please, accept or reject the advice of this body. The conference has no power."

Krueger: "Delay is evidently intended. Local Seattle is here in strength, and can monopolize, if they wish."

McCorkle: "No one has suggested any delay. Let the State Committee decide to dismiss this conference, if that is what they want."

Ault: "Let the State Committee take a recess and let the 'advisory board' meet in conference independently, and afterward submit its advice to the State Committee, when it meets again."

Krueger: "Let us proceed to business. Will some member of the State Committee please make this motion: 'That we endorse the address issued by the State Committee at its last session.'"

Titus: "The State Committee has invited Locals to send delegates here today, and has also invited members at large to attend. They are the conference. The question is: How are they to act, as individuals or as a body?"

Johnson: "I want to state my position right now. I am in favor of drawing a hard and fast line to shut out of the Party all but wage workers. I will vote for such a line as will shut me out." (Applause.)

Motion (by Mrs. Steele): "That committee take recess till 1 p. m., that conference last till 3 p. m., and that then State Committee reconvene." Carried.

## Afternoon Session

SUNDAY, July 19.

Krueger called to order, announcing the conference to be an informal meeting. "State Committee has nothing to do with it."

Ault was elected chairman; Sullivan, secretary.

McCorkle: "I move that Herman and Johnson be admitted to this conference. Neither of them belong to Local Seattle."

Motion carried against opposition of Krueger. After considerable further objection by Krueger, motion by Herman was carried. That Krueger present his draft of a Constitution for consideration by the conference and that Krueger have voice and vote in the conference.

Krueger (presenting his Constitution): "I want first to have an expression of opinion on disrupters who fail to attend their Local meetings. Let's settle that first." (Sits down.)

Chairman Ault: "We are here for work."

Krueger: "With that understanding I will proceed. And I want to say, too, there is no necessity for any one to vote himself out of the Party."

Proposed Constitution was then read by Krueger with occasional interruptions for information, but little discussion, until Section 1 of Article VIII was reached, which reads as follows: "Preachers and bankers and steady employers of labor are excluded from membership in the Party." Krueger stated that he put this in, not because he himself favored it, but in order to provoke discussion.

Motion (by Krueger): "That Section 1, Article VIII, be stricken out."

Johnson: "I am opposed to any Party members but proletarians. This Constitution gives power of voting and hence the power of decision, to others besides proletarians, and I am opposed to it."

Martin: "I am down on preachers, doctors, lawyers and all such. Let's get the line drawn. The workers and they alone—practically the proletarians."

Garrett: "I am opposed to the enumeration as given in this section. It needs more—real estate sharks, for instance."

This Constitution as read removes Referendum, puts supreme power in convention, but gives no vote to any delegate to convention who is not a wage worker. It admits other classes to Locals, but these people will not be silly enough to elect a person to convention who would have no vote there."

Hendrickson: "Only 20 per cent of voters in the United States are wage workers. How, then, can you ever win, if none but wage workers are admitted to the party?"

Herman: "I move, as amendment, that it is the sense of this conference that none be admitted to full membership except proletarians as defined by Engels in the Communist Manifesto, and that others be admitted as an Assistant List, the latter to take no part in business of the party."

McCorkle: "Give them voice, but no vote."

Krueger (to Herman): "Can a wage worker be a proletarian who has property?"

Herman (reading from "Manifesto"): "Those who are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live."

Krueger: "Many members in Local Seattle have good incomes, \$30 a week or more. You can't draw any line, classes are so mixed. Three distinct classes in Local Seattle, (1) Wage workers who have valuable property, (2) wage workers interested in business enterprises, (3) wage workers who have nothing but wages. Don't see where we are going to land. In every other place in the world the Socialist Party just admits Socialists, no such distinctions as here proposed."

Burns, of Tacoma, said to me: Most destructive measure we could adopt. "In this Constitution, as proposed by you, if the middle class want to get power in the Socialist Party, all they have to do is to find workers to represent them. Capitalists will get their employees to join and get control. Fuhrberg can send his bartenders, Brown his clerks. You cannot succeed on these lines. Ten is a quorum in Local Seattle. Unless members in Seattle attend better than they have, it would be easy enough for Brown or Fuhrberg or any other employer to send enough of his employees to join and run your proletarian Local right now here in Seattle. Your wage workers don't attend. They haven't interest enough."

"The Socialist Party is an organization for Socialists first of all. Some new authorities seem to be arising lately who tell us different. They may not be good authorities. "Don't insult Johnson, Gatchell and Longmire and ask them to vote themselves out of the Socialist Party! Ridiculous! This proposition is sophistry. There is another and concealed purpose in view."

Herman moves substitute, merely dividing party into two lists, active and assistant, but not designating duties and powers of each.

Mrs. Titus (to Krueger): "Is not McCorkle, for example, a proletarian, though he owns his house, yet cannot live without working for wages? The Manifesto definition, included in the motion, says proletarian is one reduced to selling labor power in order TO LIVE."

Garrett: "Let the definition stand. Each Local will have to decide each application for itself, just as the unions do."

Mrs. Gatchell and Lund: "What are our positions under this rule?"

Jensen: "Let us insult the middle class, if we need to do it, in order to succeed."

Ault: "Why not exclude from our membership in the Socialist Party those who are middle class, even though proletarian in views? They will still support the Party, if they are worth while. On the other hand, if you admit the middle class, they will vote for middle class proletarians like Barth, Hale and Smith, who will go to the conventions and become members of State committees and support middle-class measures, just as they have done. If you give the middle class voting power in the Locals, even if you restrict delegates and committees to wage workers, you give them power to select those wage workers who have a middle-class mind. On Krueger's plan, middle-class votes and influence would control in the Local's selection of officials."

"Error in the past has been, we have made our appeal to all sorts, instead of to the 71 per cent (not 20 percent, as Hendrickson quoted) that Sanial's statistics show to be wage workers in the population of the United States. We will lose some, but will be compelled to appeal to those we have neglected in the past."

Howes: "Don't know where I am at. Pretty small membership in Buckley if this proposition carries. Each Local should study its own community and admit only those who are reliable, whatever class they are in. I know some proletarians who can be led like sheep."

McCorkle: "Don't have to admit every proletarian just because he is a proletarian. Of course, you must select and reject. A proletarian who is not a Socialist is not wanted."

Martin: "Where will you get your nominees in some communities, out of your 'Active List'?"

Titus: "The 'Control Committee' of this Constitution takes place of Referendum to considerable extent. It is

elects for purpose of hearing complaints against central committee.

"Also special conventions can be called in emergencies and a truly representative convention will get more democratic results than a Referendum conducted in haphazard fashion, like most."

Ault: "The 'official organ' provided for in this new Constitution will remove many of these objections to the Referendum. It will go to every member and keep him informed. It will also save expense of printing and mailing."

"The tendency in organized labor is more toward the use of the Referendum to escape centralization of power in hands of few officials. To abolish Referendum just now is to arouse suspicion on their part toward us, and force us to explain."

"Perhaps we should make voting on Referendums compulsory on every member under pain of expulsion, like payment of dues."

Krueger: "Don't fit your Constitution to mere policy."

Ault: "Don't get a hard and fast 'right' and try to fit everything to that Utopian view. The final appeal should be to the Party membership. Trust the wage class and let the wage class settle every point."

Gatchell: "Make your secretaries attend to their duties and don't let any Local vote absent members. Every member should sign his own ballot."

Garrett: "Why not make it necessary for at least two-thirds of total membership to vote in order to have the Referendum legal? But then you would have to take Referendum to find out whether it would stand or not."

McCorkle: "After listening to this discussion, I believe Referendum ought to be retained. The Assistant List will have no vote. The wage workers alone can vote. The Party organ will inform every voter and save expense. If we still find it does not work, we can make the change in the future."

Westerholm: "My experience in the unions shows me delegates are not angels and don't always represent. How then will we control delegates if they go wrong at convention, when we have no Referendum?"

Krueger: "Are you afraid of your wage class? The wage class have not voted in the past."

Hendrickson: "Then your wage worked delegates may also disobey their Locals."

Westerholm: "Can't you compel members to vote on Referendums? Force them by means of rules or fines."

Howes: "I was on the fence about this matter, because I have seen wage workers talked into voting on Referendum in five minutes at the mill door on the way to lunch."

"About the official organ, you forget how tired and sleepy the wage workers get. I can't make any sense of the doctor's articles after working ten hours. I drop asleep, then wake up and try again from the beginning; then on Sunday, and if it rains two or three days, I may be lucky enough to get some little sense out of it."

Krueger reiterates, vehemently, his objections to these changes in the Constitution as proposed by him.

Korthagen: "We educate by the use of the ballot in our organization for the use of the ballot in campaigns."

Martin: "We have always used the Referendum in the Socialist organization as a strong argument against other parties. It is unsafe to drop it."

Krueger: "You have made a radical departure in 'excluding Socialists from the Socialist Party.' Is the dropping of the Referendum any more radical?"

Herman: "I think the 'special convention' is Referendum enough. I don't think the rank and file can express themselves as well by the Referendum, as it is used, as by the proposed special convention."

Vote taken. Motion to drop Referendum was lost.

Work of the Final Session

The debates on these two great questions occupied some five hours. We have given above only such extracts as represent the gist of the speeches made. There was no wasted eloquence or any "hot air." Every one was intensely in earnest and the subjects were pretty thoroughly covered. Yet the other features of the Constitution remained to be considered.

To expedite matters, after the two most important points had been settled, a committee on Constitution was chosen to consider and report on the rest of the Krueger document. Herman, Garrett and McCorkle were the committee, who labored over it from six to eight hours, reporting from

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time to time during the evening. At midnight, the work was still incomplete and the tired delegates adjourned till 10 a. m. Monday, the 20th, at which time the conference resumed and continued for several hours, at last adjourning at 3:30 p. m. with the draft complete as printed below.

It is now up to the Locals to decide whether they like it well enough to send it to Referendum.

## The Only Course

(From the "Western Clarion.")

The way of the revolutionary movement is beset with dangers. Not only is the master class its open enemy, but there are others more insidious, though even not always intentionally so. On the one hand we have the antipolitical act, the loosely termed Anarchist, reformist or opportunist element. Between the two the revolutionary political movement has to steer its course.

In Canada the danger from the Anarchist element is not so great, and it is not likely to become greater so long as we continue to hew to the line of uncompromising revolutionary political action; that is, action aiming at the overthrow of class rule. For it is when a party becomes compromising in its tactics or opportunist in its tendencies that it becomes the most vulnerable to the attacks of the Anarchist, who can trenchantly criticize the fatuity of parliamentarism and the futility of reform, and, by representing these as political action, can win adherents to what seem more vigorous and less vacillating methods. But when the Party takes an unequivocally revolutionary attitude, the Anarchist's recruiting ground is considerably restricted.

The danger from the opportunist element, however, lies in that its field is wider one than that of the straight political revolutionist. His propositions appeal to the discontented of high or low degree. What with specious palliatives, a school of economics that emphasize the robbery of the consumer, and a conception of the class struggle that can be made to include every wage dispute that occurs, he attracts small business and professionalists, while the presence of a more or less revolutionary leaven gives such a movement some of that coherence for lack of which purely reform parties so speedily die.

The danger of such a movement lies in its very popularity, for it would tend to recruit an ever-increasing number of individuals who, while quite keen on such measures as purport to "curb the power of monopolies" or "alleviate the conditions of labor," are yet unprepared to swallow the principle of the expropriation of the expropriators, with the result that there is an eventual probability of this element attaining the majority and diverting the movement from its proper purpose, that of overthrowing capitalism.

So that, with these two dangers in view, it becomes doubly essential that a Socialist Party should be, before all things, Socialist, and that its propaganda should be clear and unequivocal, thus rendering the movement alike invulnerable to the attacks of the Anarchist and immune to the pollution of reform.

Another point that can be adduced against opportunist propaganda is that actually it falls in the very purpose it seeks to achieve. It aims to build up the membership of the movement more rapidly than can be done by purely revolutionary propaganda. To achieve that it is prepared to a certain extent to sacrifice quality to quantity. But while it sacrifices the quality all right, the quantity is nevertheless not forthcoming, for the reason that, while its reforms appeal to elements previously mentioned, other elements are unmoved by them. To the rank and file of the working class it promises at the best but some measure of alleviation, which the old parties are equally ready to promise and seemingly more able to obtain, and so they stay with the old parties. On the other hand the revolutionary propaganda holds out to them the hope of deliverance from their eternal grind of toil and poverty, and to it they rise much more readily, and what is more to the purpose, they hold fast to it. While it requires but the personal magnetism of some old party leader, or promise of reform a degree more plausible than those of the constructive Socialist, and lo, the rank and file of the opportunist army desert to the enemy, leaving the generals to bite their mustaches in vexation of spirit.

There is nothing gained by sacrificing the future for the present, for neither the future nor the present are won thereby.

Another bad dream which the Socialist movement has to endure every two weeks is the "Christian Socialist," which has attained something of a circulation. It is one of the things which point to a condition in the working class movement similar to that in 1848 when Marx and Engels and those associated with them were compelled to adopt the name "Communist" because of the vast number of freaks of all kinds who posed as Socialists. Perhaps the real working class political movement of the present day will ultimately be forced to take some name other than Socialist.

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Our Plant Fund

It took us about ten days to secure the wire stitchee, and it looks as though another portion of our plant would be paid for soon. That Plant Fund is like a ball of snow on its way down hill. It gets bigger and bigger every turn it makes.

Table with columns for Name and Amount. Includes entries like S. P. Sullivan .50, M. R. U. 1.00, Ella K. Stone 1.00, C. W. Garrett .50, David Howes, to start on subsidy list 1.00, Wm. Hogan 1.00, Dr. T. Norris 1.00, B. F. 2.00, John Gehrke (to apply on stock) 1.00, Westerholm (to apply on stock) 5.00.

THE WORKERS. After all it is the subscriptions that count most of all. But some comrades say they can't get subscriptions. All right, those comrades can help on the Plant Fund or send us a donation each month (or week) on our subsidy account.

So keep trying to get subscriptions. If you don't get the first, you may get the second; if not the second, the third. We will send cards to any one who will send us 40 per cent of the subscription price of the paper—45 worth of cards for \$3—or less amount at the same percentage off.

We want subscribers! Do you want 40 cents out of every dollar you get in subscriptions. If so, we are agreed. Here are a few letters we are getting: Vallejo, Cal. Trustee Printing Co. Comrades.—Find enclosed 25c for subscription to "The Socialist."

"The Socialist," Box 1908, Seattle, Wash. Comrades: Enclosed find \$... as my contribution to the "Plant Fund," to apply on the purchase of new machinery and other printing material. Fraternally, Name Address (Fill this out and cut it out and mail.)

THE SWEDISH WORKING CLASS

By Arthur Jensen

The following communication was received last Monday from John Sandgren, one of the representatives of the Swedish strikers now in this country: "That the efforts of the combined capitalist class of Europe have been unsuccessful thus far to break the backbone of the Swedish strike, will be best understood from the following cablegram received in the office of the Swedish-American newspaper 'Arbeteren' (The Worker) from the president of the Swedish National Organization of Workers:

"Stockholm, Sept. 15, 1909. 'Arbeteren,' 28 City Hall Place, 'New York City. 'The gigantic struggle continues with undiminished energy against the Swedish Employers' Association. More than 150,000 still continue the struggle. As yet, no settlement. With courage and endurance, the workers are keeping up the fight to the utmost, and will win the fight, if only some economic assistance is given to the strikers.

"LANDSSEKRETARIATET, 'HERMAN LINDQUIST.' 'It will be seen from this cablegram that the situation has remained unchanged. The strike is now in its sixth week and the Swedish unionists are standing firm in spite of all the efforts made by their opponents to beat them down. This must not be understood to be a fight against the capitalists of Sweden alone, for the entire capitalist class of Europe are combined and are using their best efforts to break this labor body, the most thoroughly organized in all Europe today.

"The workers of the world cannot afford to permit the destruction of Swedish Organization. Its present efficiency is the result of over twenty-five years of indefatigable work on the part of its builders and preceptors. What is needed is financial aid and much of it. 'If the workers come to the rescue and keep up the flow of funds as they are now coming in and which are only now arriving in Sweden, then victory will surely be ours. This is the time for action. All the forces of labor the world over should stand with us in this struggle. If we go down it is only a question of time when you will follow.

As will be seen from this letter the situation is about the same as it was September 6th, the day when over 100,000 strikers resumed work under the conditions which existed previous to the strike. As will be remembered, this was a strike against reduction in wages, and not for higher wages or shorter hours. TO THE RESCUE, WORKINGMEN! American wage workers should consider it a duty to themselves and their class to assist the strikers to their utmost ability. It is absolutely true, as Comrade Sandgren says in his letter, 'If we (the Swedish wage workers) go down, it is only a question of time when you will follow.' The Capitalist class of the world is watching this struggle, even though their press is saying nothing, and if they succeed in defeating the Swedish organized workers it is an absolute certainty that they will attempt to destroy Labor's organization in other countries.

But the Capitalists must not and will not succeed! REMARKABLE SOLIDARITY. The Swedish Working Class is displaying a solidarity, the equal of which has never before been approached in the history of the labor movement, and the World's Proletariat is rallying to its support. The following letter from the scene of the strike describes this solidarity more vividly than anybody can do it away from the battle field. It was published in 'Social-Demokraten,' Copenhagen, before the unorganized resumed work and has been translated from the Danish.

LETTER FROM BATTLE FIELD. 'The closer one comes in touch with the Swedish strike and the more one studies it, the more one is compelled to deeply admire the staunch workers of Sweden. It is almost impossible for an outsider to comprehend the extent of brotherly feeling and the sacrifice for solidarity which carries this struggle onward.

STRIKE "A TIDAL WAVE."

"There have been lockouts and general strikes before, but never before, has the world witnessed the equal of this class uprising which has paralyzed industrial life in Sweden for over a month. Within the labor movement it is of world significance. It is as a tidal wave which has passed over the country and has carried everything with it. Not a wave carried by the impulse of the moment, but based on and carried forward by the feeling that here is the life of the entire working class at stake.

"New members are coming into the organizations from all directions. Women, who have stood outside the organizations because of lack of understanding, old working men, who have been wearing their lives away working at the one place and have never been in social currents—all are being caught in the whirlpool of organization.

"In trade after trade, in city after city, this great strike is making impressions on the Swedish labor movement, impressions which will long be felt. For it is not an isolated craft, but an entire nation of workmen which is being forced into action.

"I was, one morning, watching the crowd gathered at the 'People's House' (Labor Temple). The space was black with people. They stood there in thousands—old and young, men and women—but without a demonstration, without a sound. That whole detachment of police which is patrolling there outside is yet unable to register a single arrest.

NEW BATTLE FIELD WAS BATTLE FIELD OF OLD.

"And here at this place where Danish and Swedish armies fought one another in bloody battles, on this same place, money, collected from Danish workmen, is being handed over to their Swedish brothers in need.

CAPITALIST AND PROLETARIAN "ARMS."

"The 'People's Home' is the headquarters for the distribution of help. Here the arms are being distributed. The arms which will bring the employers to defeat. While the capitalists

are constantly concentrating their soldiers, and while they are getting ready to march out with bayonet fastened on their rifles, the poor workingman is going out to the 'People's house' with his bread ticket, and he knows that he is carrying that weapon which, in the course of time, will give capitalism its death wound. 'An old man is coming, and he is fanning the air with his ticket. 'It says on it that it is good for one crown (26 cents),' he says, and smiles at the surrounding crowd; 'but I will show that I can get as much out of it as if it was good for ten!'

SPLENDID SELF-SACRIFICE.

"There stands a group of young men. 'I haven't received any strike benefits yet,' says one, 'and I do not want any. I am half starving every day, but that does not matter, for I can starve! I am young; let the others have it, the older ones, who cannot stand starvation.'

WOMEN MOST HEROIC OF ALL.

"And there is example after example of this kind. And perhaps mostly among the women. The heroism displayed by the wives of workmen is so wonderful that it is beyond description. If the husband is about to lose courage, then it is she who encourages him. If there is no food in the house, it is she who finds a way out. If the landlord is pressing for rent, and if the children are compelled to go ragged, it is she who consoles and gives advice. She is here and there, the poor, faded housewife, whose life under ordinary circumstances is less noticed than that of any one else.

CAPITALIST LIES.

"The capitalist papers are daily bringing reports of increased begging. There is nothing left untouched and unbesmirched in the struggle, not even the honor. But these reports are lies just as other reports, without number, in the capitalist papers are lies. That the reports are lies is best shown by the fact that the managers of the poor houses have nothing to do. Never have there been so few applications for assistance as during the strike. The city inspector of Stockholm has reported that the poor

houses during the week of August 15-21 had distributed 800 rations of food LESS than were distributed in the same period of last year.

"Such is the feeling of honor in the Swedish Proletariat! They do not want to give the capitalists any opportunity to besmirch the Swedish working class, and those who would otherwise apply to the public for food—they are also joining, and starve together with the thousands of others.

"In Stockholm, as in Malmoe, the help consists partly in money and partly in food and clothing. Tickets have been issued and are accepted as cash at the workmen's co-operative stores.

PROLETARIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"In other words, as the workers during the strike have formed their own police—a large order corps, with the authority of the strike committee, to act when necessary—so they have also created their own commerce and their own money. These tickets in the hands of a striking workman are worth as much as the government's own silver. New problems have thus been encountered during the strike. The working class has become a state within the state, an independent mechanism which does not need the assistance (?) of capitalism.

"Thus we see that this is not an ordinary economic struggle, but has become a far-reaching manifestation of Socialist character. It is the first step forward on the road where the working class learns to know its independence and power.

FACTORY LIFE CEASED.

"Out on the Kungsholmen (an island) is found Stockholm's largest factories. As I walk across the bridge I see to one side Bolinder's monstrous machine works. At first sight it reminds one of a gigantic railway station. The tall smokestacks are towering like great obelisks above the complex, and down by the dock lies scow after scow loaded with iron and coal.

"A watchman is sitting outside the gate and a few children are playing in the dirt, but otherwise not a human

being, not a motion, not a sound. The factories are as a desert, where suddenly all work has become petrified. Where the air ordinarily is seething with the sounds of hammers and chisels, here it is now as quiet as in a chapel on a week day.

"And so we find it also on the other side of the bridge where the great cream separator factory is located. The complex with its small windows has the appearance of a prison. Not a sound to be heard. Where the cranes ordinarily squeak, and where the machines make a hundred different sounding noises, here stillness is now sitting, yawning from every doorway.

"And this little Kungsholmen, this little spot of ground, which otherwise daily yields values of thousands of dollars, has now laid itself down to rest and is eating values, rents, money, food!

"I walk on into the workmen's quarter, where the tenements are surrounding the factories as a capsule. Here one meets the same sights as are known wherever poverty resides.

"It is not easy for a foreigner to secure a confidential interview with Swedish workmen. They are suspicious and have also difficulty in understanding one's language. But finally I came to a house where two women are sitting on the doorsteps. I announce who I am and before I know it some of the children of the house have joined us.

GENUINE HEROISM.

"Yes, we have four children,' says one of the women. 'We have nothing to live on but potatoes. But that is all right. We will not become strike-breakers! I don't know much about politics, but I know enough to know that we must starve now, starve until we twist with pain rather than starve all the rest of our lives.'

"And the other woman adds: 'We are not fighting for ourselves alone, but also for our children. Our children must not have to say to us when they grow up: 'It is your fault that we are starving, because you did not stick in 1909!''

Send all contributions to "LANDSSEKRETARETET, FOLKETS HUS, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN."

Push the Campaign

We, the undersigned wage-workers of the Socialist Party of Washington and those in sympathy with our aims, recognizing the necessity for political action along revolutionary lines as one of the means for the immediate relief and ultimate emancipation of the wage-working class, hereby pledge our financial support to the amount opposite our names to assist in conducting the campaign of our candidate, Emil M. Herman, for Congress in the Third Congressional District.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The only way Herman has to live while stumping his district is from the contributions of those in sympathy. Let us stand pat.

Herman for Congress

The Wage Workers' candidate in the Second Congressional District is nominated and his nomination on record at Olympia under the Party heading of The Socialist Party of Washington. That the Capitalists realize its importance is seen by the following news item appearing in the Tacoma "Ledger," Tuesday morning, September 21: "LUMBER JACK" WANTS TO BE CONGRESSMAN

Emil E. Herman, Socialist, of Midland is First Aspirant for the Late Francis E. Cushman's Place to Place Name on Record.

(Special to the Ledger.) OLYMPIA, Sept. 20.—Emil E. Herman of Midland, Pierce county, is the first candidate for congress in the Second district, to succeed the late Francis E. Cushman, to place his name on record. Today J. M. Howell, secretary of state, received the official notification that Emil E. Herman was the regular candidate of the Socialist Party, being nominated at a convention held in Tacoma September 20. Herman lost no time in getting his candidacy on record, as it was forwarded to Olympia on the same day it was received. There are no fees charged for putting the names of candidates on record.

The notification is signed by David Howes, chairman, of Buckley; C. W.

Nomination for Congress

On Monday morning, delegates from six counties in the Second Congressional District met in mass convention and named Emil M. Herman as the Socialist Party nominee for Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Francis W. Cushman. The Primary Law does not apply in case of vacancies, and it costs nothing to put up our candidate in this instance. Herman was candidate in the last regular election, is well known, is a lumber jack himself, and will make an active canvass through the district.

David Howes, of Buckley, was chairman of the nominating convention, and C. W. Garrett, of Centralia, was the secretary. The nomination was filed with the Secretary of State on Monday, Sept. 20th, at 10 a. m. Pass the word along. Election day is Tuesday, Nov. 2d.

You Must Register in 1909 to Vote in 1909

Dates for the Lumber Jack

- (As Proposed.) Yelm—Oct. 2, Saturday. Centralia—Oct. 3, Sunday. Chehalis—Oct. 4, Monday. Centralia—Oct. 5, Tuesday. Chehalis—Oct. 6, Wednesday. Raymond—Oct. 7-8, Thursday and Friday. South Bend—Oct. 9-10, Saturday and Sunday. Chehalis—Oct. 13, Wednesday. Winlock—Oct. 14-15—Thursday and Friday. Centralia—Oct. 16, Saturday. Aberdeen—Oct. 17-18, Sunday and Monday. Westport—Oct. 19, Tuesday. Hoquiam—Oct. 20-21-22-23, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Aberdeen—Oct. 24-25, Sunday and Monday. Cosmopolis—Oct. 26, Tuesday. Montesano—Oct. 27, Wednesday. Centralia—Oct. 28, Thursday. Tenino—Oct. 29, Friday. Little Rock—Oct. 30, Saturday. Tacoma—Oct. 31, Nov. 1, Sunday and Monday.

REGISTRATION LAW Requires residence in state before election one year, in county 90 days, in precinct 30 days. Books open until Tuesday, Oct. 12. Hustle.

BIG MASS MEETING

in the interest of the

Swedish Strikers

will be held on Pike Place next Sunday Afternoon, Sept. 26, at 2 o'clock. All Wage Workers, with their families and friends, should be present.

Several able speakers will address the meeting.