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CLASS STRUGGLE IN PARTY

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 middle-headers, those who write about middle-headers 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 words of Marx and Engels, who are everlastingly quoted 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, provision men? In the Manifesto is a definition of the proletariat, 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, man-chains, men that were hired and 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 machine industry, and he was a product of the era of handicrafts, not of modern industry. He is a disappearing quantity in the face of modern machine industry, and he was a product of the era of handicrafts, not of modern industry. He is a disappearing quantity in the face of modern machine industry, and he was a product of the era of handicrafts, not of modern industry.

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 would be to any Foreigner that dared insult to the flag." But was it a division of races? Oh, no. It was a division of skilled and unskilled laborers. The skilled workers, the skilled workers who were actually hired and 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 machine industry, and he was a product of the era of handicrafts, not of modern industry.

But it is not because each body of men are in an organization called an I. W. O. or because each man is an A. F. O. that 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 what the Untermann movement has tried to give to their history role, based upon behind the bayonets of the conscripts and with an American flag at their head, they formed their scab parade to the factory gates.

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 their organizations, but in giving their opinion of the farming element they say: "The (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 idiosyncrasy of rural life."

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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 members of the Socialist organization, in giving their opinion of the farming element they say: "The (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 idiosyncrasy of rural life."

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, is 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 shames of the pure and simple order, while the political movements represent the proletarian class, and 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 combating 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 power 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 question of membership in the political organization as is demanded by 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. It is the working class to blame for refusing to send a free train 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 horsehoes, 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 "specialized skill" which has 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 food in all of them.

What would the fact of a person 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 thank thee, O God, for all our workers."

That has been the trouble in the Socialist Party. We let everybody into the organization and then everybody is supposed to wear a muzzie 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 are just harping on the same old line of argument to the individual. We are just exactly the same position as the minister of a Methodist church. He gets up and preaches a long sermon about the deceptfulness 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 corner of his own church, and they go home talking about what a good 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 a 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 any 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 grades of the county road and the county road work 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, Middle-headers and the Revolution

By Ernest Untermann

EDITOR'S NOTE—Little more said concerning this article of Untermann's except to recommend every one to read also Sladden's article, which appeared on page 1. Neither writer had seen the other's production, yet they form a good debate. Untermann's entire essay seems to amount to this: "Cats is Agate, and dogs are Terriers, and this ought to be agreed 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 and Dogs and Rats, but no recognition of "historical necessity" can ever be made by the cats and dogs together unless the Rats are inside the Cats.

But Poodles and Terriers is both dogs, and they can mate. In fact, every one who interprets of events concludes that Middle Class and Wage Class are Cats and Rats, different species, hence not capable of unity, and now we see the 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 feet on the ground.

But if we are all dogs, some species, only different breeds, Middle Class Dog and Wage Class Dog, then Untermann's argument is good and we are fools for not uniting. Now, we see things, the Rats are getting terribly numerous and ferocious, while the Cats are getting terribly hungry and lean except the few big fat cats. These hungry little Cats are terribly anxious to have the monster swarms 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 feeding; but when the little Cats, with the help of the Rats, have put the Big Cat 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 so are the phrases, "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-dock fact is, the Rat is proving insatiable. 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 voracity, his cunning, his ability to get out and pull down the very foundations of those rich abodes upstairs that the cats now roam in freedom.

No, Comrade Untermann, we fear these Rats are too fierce to pay much attention to your loving words about unity. As to Tittus 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 of the despised Rats have a friendly squeak for either of them.

The publication of my letter to Comrade Tittus 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 rallying 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 expect 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 comrades in the various factions would see the main point and draw some intelligent 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 each individual and so forward 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 existing 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. But it can come only by an amalgamation of all factions. Such an amalgamation is inevitable in the end. It is a complete unity of all factions but one; it can come only by an amalgamation of all factions.

Because I foresee this direction of the development of our movement, I am not at all dismayed upon the fundamental points, in which all factions with out distinction are agreed, namely: the overthrow of Capitalism through the proletarian revolution; the Socialist 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 disagree theoretically, but in their actual practice they unconsciously admit the truth of this fundamental statement.

Tittus believes that only the industrial proletariat, safeguarded as a victory of our movement, but he and many of his friends make a tacit exception for themselves from this rule. They are not at all in agreement with me, but in their actual practice they unconsciously admit the truth of this fundamental statement.

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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 organized into three committees, 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 best radical call. 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 employees of labor" should be accepted on equal terms, but only wage workers should be eligible to serve as delegates to the convention 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, 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 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 local proletarian fights for your organization. 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 be prepared to give its entire organizing work among wage workers alone.

Undoubtedly this Constitution will stimulate the sharpest discussion among the comrades everywhere. It did it at the conference. The main question involved in the change indicated above reaches the roots of the Socialist struggle, and forces a decision as to whether Socialist tactics and organizations shall be strictly one class or some degree of two-classes. The notable thing about this decision is its precipitation of this question into the membership of the Socialist Party of Washington for a practical decision. Will you adopt this proletarian fight 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.

Another change, drawing out vigorous differences of opinion at the conference, was that which limits the Board of Control to elected members of the Party into "innocuous desuetude" therein. The first question is: Will five locals be found to endorse it for submission to Referendum?

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To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation

Continued on Page Three

Continued on Page Two

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Hertics, Dogmatists, Middle-heads and the Revolution

Continued from Page One
 is good for some particular time and place and that only a full measure of all of them will produce a revolutionary harmony. He understands that questions of tactics can never, in the long run, remain principal considerations between these two must unite, if they would fulfill their fundamental historical mission.

The very first thing that logically follows from this is that the understanding 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 exist in the same class and among 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 way this fact and to find a way to overcome the existing schisms?
 Do you imagine you are fulfilling the needs of the party if you have "tests" by continually harping on your own oversized peculiarity? Does not the inconsistency of your theory and practice strike you, if you think about it just for one minute? You have dealt with all the registers of your lungs: "workingsmen, United!" And in the same breath you harp on those peculiar differences now so apparent in the various 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.

Some of you don't want the small farmer of 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 active in the movement 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 "middle class" workers, and that other wage workers support other middle class men in other views, which are no less inconsistent, and thereby separate themselves as wage workers into hostile factions led by middle class contrivances.

Some of you don't want the party to remain a mere propaganda and to do that shows sound judgment, for a propaganda sect cannot be a political party. But you get at once to the extreme of trying all sorts of foolhardy and needless experiments 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 small business men and small farmers, the labor unions, 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 take as your effective organization and before it is strong enough to take care of itself as an independent political organization.

It is an evidence of a weak conviction to fear that the middle class 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 who are with us 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 a 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 undeniable doom it cannot find any other place for its political defense but the Socialist Party. The excessive emphasis laid by Titus, Glendon 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 proof that the proletarian comrades can be a true revolutionist and must become one in proportion as

Platform of the Socialist Party of Washington

his situation becomes more and more nearly like that of the industrial proletariat. 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 practical opportunist demands made upon us by the present capitalist environment. This can be done without sacrificing any of the great principles of Socialism, science, and must be done, if we ever hope to win.

I know that this cannot be done by any single article of any single will. 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.

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 will see the unimpaired proofs, democratically secured and offered as before I join the hue and cry against any individual comrade. Until such proofs are brought forward, I shall continue to attribute to unaccountable inconsistencies what most of you attribute to intentional crookedness.

I shall strive to unite the movement on essentials, not to split it over secondary and mostly misconstructed points of tactics, constitution or personality.

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of internal organization and union policy, if it recognizes the necessity. It autonomy of the union movement on the economic basis, it instead of maintaining its own autonomy on the political basis. It is a condition that in the school of experience, the organization will be rapidly as possible to void the most effective forms of organization and methods of organization.

The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression of any kind; it will use the capitalist as its enemy; it declares that it is the duty of every wage-earner to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to advance its interests.

"Organized labor" is today controlled by a great crisis. The capitalist class, 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.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veiled an attempt to close the shop against organized workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalists and organized thousands of dollars in their war funds."
COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in persecuting the law for the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, announced the use of force, payment of union dues, and they have attempted to organize unorganized workmen in grain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary orders discharging unionists under a pretense of their being labor trusts."

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against labor, and have protected their children from exploitation in the factory, thus forcing employers to pay damages in case of employee killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of employees to belong to unions."

"While affirming the right of employers to be organized workmen, after allowing that they have declared themselves for workmen to refuse not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed in the course of dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalist have a right to make 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 twisted the law to make it do what it never lawfully can do, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful. That boycotted employers may recover damages to amount to the time and wages lost, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasury, may be levied upon to satisfy such damages."

"The decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of justice. It is in the support of the capitalist class. The decisions are not specially reserved, organized labor will find itself completely at the mercy of the courts. A peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the courts 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 use of this political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from the ruin which would otherwise befall them. The Supreme Court can be reversed, the courts can be nullified, and the courts can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election days."

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Socialist Party and Trades Unions
 The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist Party of Washington. It is a call to force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.
DO YOU WANT DICTATOR?
 The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor; it seeks to help it to organize itself.

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

A STATE FOR A MAN

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.

McCorkie: "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 having 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."

Aut: "All should be allowed a voice 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."

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

Aut: "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 here in abundance. 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 adopting a hard and fast line to shut out of the Party all but wage workers. I will vote for 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."

Aut was elected chairman; Sullivan, secretary.

McCorkie: "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 opposition by Johnson, 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 exchange of opinion on discrepancies which fall to attend their local meetings. Let's settle that first." (Bita down.)

Chairman Aut: "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. After discussion, until Section 1 of Article VIII was reached, which read 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 election, to other than proletarians, and I am opposed to it."

This Constitution as read removes Krueger, 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 be silly enough to elect a person to convention who would have no vote there to play at home and abroad."

Hendrickson: "Only 30 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 local meetings 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."

McCorkie: "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 of the Party have good incomes \$30 a week or more. You can't draw any lines, 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 stop where we are going to get a question in the British or German Party, just admitted to the International Socialist Bureau, has the same limitation, like all labor unions."

Herman (in reply to remark from Krueger): "We propose a working class environment for a working class program. Is not that natural?"

Biscay: "Let's have what we have always contended for, a party of our own class. Why be afraid to be consistent?"

Krueger: "I want to ask a question of Biscay."

McCorkie: "I object to further discussion. The wage class have not voted to disagree with this proposition."

Krueger: "I want to ask why Local Seattle has not the confidence of the wage class in Seattle. Why?"

Hendrickson: "We never can win with out middle class."

Longmire: "Such literature as 'Rip and Tug' has been the cause of our trouble in the past. Get different literature for the future. I won't be insulted whatever you decide."

Question put to vote and carried.

Mrs. Gatchell: "We had a good illustration of Aut's point. Local No. Yakima sent Griggs, a wage worker, to the Everett convention. Yet he went over to the middle class."

Krueger (Chairman): "Krueger has spoken four times already. If no objection, proceed, Comrade Krueger?"

"I have tried to come and attend business meetings, you never will have organization."

Herman: "Krueger is inconsistent. On his plan, business and professional rank and file will send their representatives, selected from middle-class wage workers, just as now. On the plan as Assistant List in this motion of mine, the Assistant List have to be Socialists and pay dues, but will have no voice or vote. You might nominate candidates from the Assistant List."

"Look at history of Socialist Party. Ten years ago there was a fight over a Farmer's Plank in platform. In 1899 it was stricken out. Today the middle class controls the Socialist Party and has just voted for another Farmer's Plank. That's what you get by admitting the middle class into full voting membership."

"We have tried to 'sit' every kind of voter, farmers or Christians or any other. Better have membership small but right."

Titus: "There is nothing new in this restriction. The British or German Party, just admitted to the International Socialist Bureau, has the same limitation, like all labor unions."

Herman (in reply to remark from Krueger): "We propose a working class environment for a working class program. Is not that natural?"

Biscay: "Let's have what we have always contended for, a party of our own class. Why be afraid to be consistent?"

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Question put to vote and carried.

Referendum Debate

The remainder of the afternoon session was occupied in discussion of motion by Mrs. Steele, that "Referendum be omitted from Constitution."

Martin: "I am in fence about this proposition."

Mrs. Gatchell: "You restrict your membership to wage workers and then are afraid to trust them?"

Long: "Referendum is a failure when Secretary fails to send the ballots to voters opposed to his policy."

Hendrickson: "Favor majority rule, even if it makes mistakes."

McCorkie: "Referendum always worked all right when we had working class organization in this State. We should guard against abuse of it by making it more difficult to issue."

Garrett: "Suppose you have 2,000 members, only 500 or less vote on the referendum, as happened more than once, that is not the rule of majority."

"Another case: A majority of some Locals decided not to vote at all on a certain referendum. Then the minority who wanted to vote, were completely suppressed."

"In case of vote conducted by mail, many fail to vote because they don't understand the issues involved; no guide because of ignorant of meaning."

Krueger: "Middle class element get control of Party by means of Referendums. They are always on deck to vote while workingmen are excluded. The Referendum is a middle-class weapon to control Party. You can never get rid of Barnes or Berger so long as they are elected by Referendum. They know that and that's the reason they favor the Referendum. If you adopt this wage workers' exclusive program you voted for, a while ago, clerks and bartenders will be sent into your locals by their middle-class employers to capture your Party."

Herman: "Minorities have always controlled Referendums in the past. Only 8,000 voted in this land referendum just passed, out of 50,000 members in the Party."

"Nor has any question in the past been settled from even after Referendum was taken on it. The convention plan allows complete discussion of every question. In Germany, the annual convention lasts a week. No 8,000 vote. Then when vote is reached, it is intelligent. Barnes would have to be elected by convention after full report and debate of his qualifications, if he were not entrenched behind Referendum. Germany has tried this plan for the last thirty years."

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

elector 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 the present one."

Aut: "The official organ" provided for in this new Constitution will remove many of these objections to the referendum. It will get 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 Gatchell's motion."

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

Aut: "Don't get a hard and fast right and try to fit everything to that right." 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 fall."

McCorkie: "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 will let the referendum stand, we can make the change in the future."

Westerman: "My experience in the unions shows me delegates are not angels and don't always represent the whole class. We will control delegates if they go wrong at convention, when we have no referendum."

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

Hendrickson: "Then your wage worked delegates may also disobey the will of the Party."

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

Moses: "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 article after working ten or twelve 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 retorted, vehemently, his objections to these changes in the Constitution as proposed by him.

Krueger: "We endorse 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 old parties. It is unsafe to drop it."

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

Herman: "I think the special cost of Referendum enough. 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."

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 so wasted eloquence or any "hot act." 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 decided, a committee on Constitution was chosen to consider and report on the rest of the Krueger document. Herman, Garrett and McCorkie were the members who labored over it from six to eight hours, reporting from

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