Ninth Year-No. 430

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, July 17, 1909

Price Five Cents

18 LOCALS GAG 54 LOCALS

CONVENTION DISSECTED

By Emil M. Herman, National Committeeman

My Impression of What Should Have Been the Ninth Annual Convention of the Socialist Party of Washington. Locals Entitled to Representation- Those Represented ary, but has lost sight of the principles - Those Not Represented -- Those Misrepresented -- at stake and has been carried away by the hue and cry raised by the Entitled to Representation.

Of these only 39 Locals, with with a capitalist program. 35 delegates, most of whom were rank program fit his capitalist interests. middle-class opportunists or rattleheaded impossibilists, it would indicate that W. H. Waynick allowed no grass to grow under his feet in his effort to destroy the Revolutionary Socialist Party of this State. Whether he was conscientious in this or not makes no difference, the fact remains that he played directly into the hands of the capitalist-class.

Locals Represented and by

just to revoke Local Seattle's charter to emancipate themselves. after they had exonerated three of Lopez by - - Howell; a farmer their members for pledging themselves and logically a middle-class. Oppor whose delegates insisted on violating to support the Municipal Ownership tunist. Party in the spring of 1906.

Aberdeen No. 1 by O. H. Chamber-

lain (alternate); who is an Opportunist. He is a dealer in second hand furniture. He has not yet learned that a Socialist should have as much regard for the affairs of the S. P. as for his own. During the time he was Financial Secretary of Local Aberdeen he did not enter a single item in his ed by his Local and by himself. books, although considerable money

in the S. P. of this state, has never be-convictions and those he represented majority in this particular would-be League, most of whom are expelled

Party with Local Northport for lining and who together with W. W. Smith Seattle No. 3, A. Krumin; Buckley, J. up with the business interests against and A. H. Barth is responsible, in the Smelter trust in the municipal great part, for the present demoralized Winlock, (Finnish) Leo Leino; Midcampaign. We have it from good condition of the Socialist Party of land, Emil M. Herman; M. A. L. Mrs. may not have been at that particular he has been unfair to the Socialist been continuous members of the time a member of the Socialist Party Party and the proletariat to which he and some might contend that he had a belongs. perfectly right to do this, especially Prosser by - - Mathews; who is party less than three years, not one Socialist Party in Colville last May months ago. and was therefore disqualified as a delegate. See Sec. 9 article 5 of our as Pearson. State Constitution.

ing of July 2nd a caucus was held at Socialist Party. his home, attended by the other two delegates of Local Everett, delegates who is the wife of a mill owner, a from other locals, some of whom will spiritualist and as ignorant of the be dealt with later and such expelled science of Socialism as she is inand suspended members of the Social capable of recording the proceedings Dunn Ellensburg, Edmonds, Hoquiam, I was followed in a short talk by man Meyer, H. F. Titus, H. W. Titus Party as E. J. Brown, lawyer and of a meeting, which she clearly demon-Ilwaco, Kennewick, Kalisbell, La Comrade Griggs, who was their dele-Luiu Ault, Bessy Fiset, Anna I. Steele dentist, Irene Smith, who used to sell strated as Secretary of the so called Center, Little Rock, Oroville, Pogue gate to the convention. Comrade Eleanor Herman, David Howes, John spiritualist literature from the plat- Convention.

H. Waynick-who has been acting floated the stars and stripes of our ditional a politician who wants office for some time as temporary State masters with a tiny red flag of the Sectretary—issued May 23, 1909, 72 subordinate position underneath. proletariat taking a secondary and locals, with a total of 89 delegates and Davie one time withdrew from the some 75 M. A. L. with a total of 4 Socialist Party that he might take an delegates, were entitled to representa- active part in the Labor Party (?)

ented. In as much as 26 of these well to do farmer and is honestly pended from the Socialist Party till he Locals were represented by a total of striving to make the Socialist Party

from Local Arlington a few years ago member of Local Liberty who does rect legislation and the 'recall,' and for drawing a knife on one of his not stand pat for a proletarian Social we submit that this and this alone comrades and threatening to kill any- ist Party. He openly asserts that the offers a final solution of the problem one who would maintain that it was wage-workers have not brains enough of city government." (Italics are

and therefore an unknown quantity. Mukilteo by - - Armistead; recog-

nized even by those whom he supported as a man with a diarrhea of words and constipation of ideas. North Yakima by O. L. Griggs;

whose action has since been repudiat-

Outlook by Holbrook. This Local was received and expended, nor did and its delegates never made any with Walter Thos. Mills' provisional he enter in his book the names of bones about the fact that they believe organization which openly advocated

fore attended a convention of our Pt. Angeles by A. B. Gordon: New Party, is unacquainted with the long, in the Party and unknown except by hard fight between the Reformers and his actions on the floor. He voted to the Revolutionists in the S. P. of disfranchise regular delegates and to Wash, and was therefore temporarily give seats and voice to the representamisled by what happened to be the tives of the Socialist Propaganda

members of the Socialist Party. Colville by J. C. Harkness; who in Puyallup by C. C. Hale; who took 1903 was expelled from the Socialist part in the caucus mentioned above authority that last fall he campaigned Washington. As a member of the S. E. Stone; Olympia, Herman Myer. in Stevens county under pay of the C. he has insisted on being so fair to Republican County Committee. He the enemies of the Socialist Party that Titus, Myer, Martin and Herman have

Opportunists of the middle-class type one of the few members of that Local has ever been expelled from the who are continually clamoring for who actively violated the principles of Party, not one belonged to the pro "something now." According to his the Socialist Party by lining up with visional organization, not one has own statement he last joined the the provisional organization some 18

Seattle No. 2 by six delegates, same

South Bend by - Satterthwaite; Everett by W. W. Smith, W. E. who some years ago was expelled from Phillips and — Davie: Smith is a member of our S. E. C. On the even-for candidates not nominated by the

non-Socialists for office.

Snohomish by C. L. Whiting: Ab solutely honest, thoroughly Revolution enemies of the proletariat.

Sunnyside by H. D. Jory: Same as According to the statement of W. Al. Ball and others. Over his gate Outlook, except that Jory is in ad so badly that he would sacrifice prin ciple to procure same.

Tacoma by Wm. Ranke, A. H. Barth and - Johnson: Ranke is a furniture dealer, is two faced and boasts about his ability to work people. He was at the caucus mentioned above and a total of 48 delegates were repres- Elma by John Holman; who is a at that time gave D. Burgess (suspays \$23.75, which has not yet beer done and which he declares he will Granite Falls by Al. Roeder; who not pay) three due stamps for which lives in Everett and was therefore he had accepted the pay on June 12. disqualified as provided fofr in Sec. He is openly opposed to the Labor 22 of article 4, State Constitution. Union policy of the Socialist Party Georgetown by - Pettys; who and declares that all unions must be some six weeks ago appeared before smashed and he advocates that Socialthe S. E. C. with a statement that ists should join the army navy and Local Georgetown wished to withdraw militia. As far as I know Barth and from the Socialist Party until harmony Johnson are honest but are ignoran prevails. On the floor of the so-called of the basic principles of Socialism. convention he delivered himself of this This is proven by the late Tacoma anarchist expression: "To hell with platform against which neither en the Socialist Party constitution and tered a protest and upon which Barth the men who made it." Remember ran as councilman and from which I Whom comrades, you made the constitution quote as follows: "We offer to the Arlington by Wm. DeLilly, expelled me and others that he was the only and for the whole people through dimine.

> The above 26 is a list of the Locals the constitution of the Socialist Party Mt. Vernon by Seth Crosby; who is so that the real representative Social new in the Socialist Party of this state ist Party delegates could be denied the right to speak.

OF THESE, ARLINGTON, ABER DEEN, GRANIT FALLS, LIBERTY, NORTH YAKIMA, PEARSON, PROS-SER AND SOUTH BEND ARE MIS-REPRESENTED.

Of the other 18 Locals whose delegates remained, six withdrew from Local. the Socialist Party in 1907 to affiliate

Bayview by Crosby; who is young independence he voted against his own Delegates Refused to Violate Par-THEIR EYES

Langley, Solscheid; Yelm, T. W. Longmire: Cle Elum. Thos. Russell: McMurray, Jas. Fotheringham; Mt. Seattle No. 1, J. A. McCorkel, John Mc-Slarrow, H. F. Titus and Floyd Hyde;

Of these Longmire, McCorkel, Hyde, only four have been members of the ever violated the principles or program of the S. P. and all have been loval, fearless and enthusiastic workers in the cause of working-class the State Committee immediately

33 Eocals Not Rep- gal and all its acts null and void. resented at all

33 Locals Not Represented at All. Alder, Aberdeen No. 2, Blaine, Camas, Charleston, Clayton, Darrington, from the convention.

Municipal Convention and nominating Wickersham. Total 33. No. delegates

Summary

Locals entitled to representation, about 75, with

Delegates entitled to seats at Con..92

Delegates representing 39 Locals (present) Delegates representing 33 Locals Delegates representing M. A. L. present

Delegates representing 13 Locals who refused to trample Party Law under foot Delegates representing 33 Locals

who were either misrepresented or and work for several weeks. not represented at all at what was

absent40

called a Socialist Party Convention. 72 Locals is the total number entitled to sit. Substract from this to tal the 41 absent and misrepresented. leaves 31. Substract from this the 13 Locals who withdrew, leaves 18 Lo cals with their 24 delegates who actualty determined the policy in what a public meeting, but will in a day was supposed to be the 9th annual convention of the Socialist Party.

In view of these facts it is hardly surprising that the middle-class opportunists and impossibilists should take advantage of the opportunity to ride, rough shod, over the constitution of the Socialist Party and then become so drunk with power when left unrestrained by the withdrawal of all straight Socialists as to actually nominate for State committeemen, non members of the Socialist Party, for instance W. A. King, of Burling ton, where there is no fully organized

Comrades, once more we are forced to the conclusion that "eternal vig

he enter in his book the names of people admitted to membership. His only excuse for this traitorous neglicance is that he did not want the office.

Bellingham by H. G. Cupples (Alternate); who knows so little about the purpose of the Socialist Movement that some time ago, when writing to Comrade Strausbaugh, of Clipper, he stated: "To me, Revolution would be Strausbaugh, of Clipper, he stated: "To me, Revolution would be lattle troops."

Beylingham by H. G. Cupples (Alternate); who knows so little about the purpose of the Socialist Movement that some time ago, when writing to Comrade Strausbaugh, of Clipper, he stated: "To me, Revolution would be shaded: "To me, Revolution would be believed to members of the state Convention unconstitutional and vote and that the "Independents" of revolutions and revolutions and revolution that "eternal vigolic the conclusion that "eternal vigolic the price of liberty."

If you have any regard for your interests as proletarians, if you would be seated on the destroints in principle is the principle is the principle diagration which openly advocated fivion and compromise. Leaving 12 Locals of which six were organized and that the "Independents" of revolutionary, class conscious polition. It is should be seated on the destruction. It is should be seated on the from Scallist, nevertheless should be seated on the destruction. It is the principle in dearling the regard for your interests as proletarians, if you would be seated on the other with the fusions. The principle is the principle and with you would be should be seated on the destruction. It is the proceedings of the proceedings of the proving the leaders. The make is the proceeding of revolutions, in the constant in principle and with you would be seated on the treats. The make is the proceeding of revolutions, i

OPENED

Local North Yakima Gets all Questions Ansewered. Delegate Griggs Reverses His Judgment of Everett Convention.

Why So Many Constitutions Wer Printed and Why They Were not Distributed.

North Yakima, July 11, 1909. Many comrades will doubtless be interested in learning that I was last night present at a meeting of Local North Yakima. Will say that though the Yakima bunch are no very numerous they are O. K.

In the regular order of business resolution was offered demanding tha submit a Referendum declaring the recent Everett Convention to be ille

I was asked to speak on this reso lution, which I did for a space of perhaps 30 minutes, giving a complete report of the reasons why the Social- Slarrow, Mr. and Mrs. O. H. Stone, ists found it necessary to withdraw

Prairie, Roslyn No. 1, Roslyn No. 2, Griggs stated that to the best of his Downie, J. E. Jaynes, A. Krumin, H. statements. I don't like the way some

mosly, signed by Secretary Stevens and Chairman Griggs, and at once forwarded to the State Committee. (A copy of the Resolution accom

Under "Good of the Party" we had

long discussion of the various. ague and indefinite charges which have been made against the Revolutionists. Most of these were easy to explain, the comrades stating that they never had taken much stock in them any way. One comrade, how ever, seemed curious why it was considered necessary to print so many thousands of constitutions for a party with such small membership as ours His criticisms were silenced, however, when I explained to him that the Platform, Organized Labor Address and Constitution had been combined cational matter. In carrying out this idea the booklets had been printed and the fact that they had not been properly used was quite evidently due to the hostility of certain members of our State Executive Committee supported by the almost criminal care-body.

The explanation was accepted and he comrades were unanimous in saying I had opened their eyes to the un speakable scoundrellism of those "Independents," to a degree which they Delegates misrepresenting 8 Locals.11 had never dreamed was possible.

The Comrades here are making an effort to increase their effectiveness lutionary ideas and will shortly ar-51 delegates representing 41 Locals range to have an Organizer come here

The last issue of "The Socialist was a dandy. Mail 24 copies to Ada Gatchell and I will settle for same when I return. A distribution of this number will save me a lot of hard talking and I am pretty sick and my throat is much worse than when left Seattle. Have not yet attempted or so, "Grip" or no "Grip."

The police here are arresting men by wholesale on the charge of vag-

VENTION AND YOU APPROVE CIDE THE RESIDENCE CONTROL OF C

Who They Were

Those who caucussed Sunday noon July 4, and afterwards retired from the Convention Hall, were the follow-

Emil Herman, Arthur Jensen, C. W Garrett, J. A. McCorkle, J. W. Mc Joseph Biscay, E. E. Martin, Jas. from the convention.

I was followed in a short talk by man Meyer, H. F. Titus, H. W. Titus,

BARTH ON THE DEFENSIVE

"The Weakest Ever" Quotes Section About Referendum as if It Applied to Convention -- Full Reply By the Editor of "The Socialist"

Editor "The Socialist," Seattle, Wn. Dear Comrade: Enclosed find the weakest case ever. Note the party seal with "Tacoma" instead of "Seat

tle." Please return this when through "WHAT TRUTH, into a little booklet with the idea of with it. Note the defense, Each candidate or proposition must receive a clear majority of all ballots cast' in a Party Referendum. Wonder if they call the previous question in a deliberative assembly, a "candidate" or "proposition" which is printed on a party "Referendum"? O! Oh! O'oh! Yours for Revolution,

C. W. GARRETT.

Socialist Movement of this State has been come. I am writing to you that Titus and others went to the State Office, 1414 Second Ave., room 208, forcibly opened the door, picked the lock and placed another on the door, so that our State Secretary cannot re-enter the office. This is the work of eight committeemen three of whom holted

comrades. On July 3, we convened at G. A. R.

by wholesale on the charge of vagrancy and putting them to work on
the public highways. Though the
charge is vagrancy, many of them
have considerable money. One man
paid a fine of \$99.99 and had \$100
left, for no other crime apparently
than coming to North Yakima dressed
as a logger.

Wish I was back on tother side
the hump.

JOHN McSLARROW.

THE ISSUE IN

A NUTSHELL

comrades.

On July 3, we convened at G. A. R.
hall, Everett, and temporary organization was effected with fifty delegates
present. Emil Herman was elected
temporary chairman; Mrs. Cory temporary Secretary. After credentials
committee and all other temporary
matters were disposed of, we discovered us pagainst an organized movement to control the conred that we were up against an organized movement to control the confloor talked in the interest of the
Titus faction we were called to order.
Now, comrades, this condition has prevalled long enough. We are not paying dues and wearing out our lives for
any faction. It we are organized for
anything, we are for the propaganda
of revolutionary, class conscious political action. It is high time that the
from Seattle should be seated on the
from Seattle should be seated on the
from Seattle should be seated on the

amendments after 35 were asking for plying the Gag Rule to the minority, the original motion to adopt the com. Then the determined ones among the

lown, he refused and said we were un-constitutional, against free speech, and he did not intend to stay. He then led and was followed by 13 others he did not intend to stay. He theft and was followed by 13 others. Now, comrades, we are ready to take up our work in the interest of the wage-working class. Let us hold to our organization against all leaders. Yours in the REVOLUTION.

Address all communications to W. H. Waynick, Seattle, Wash.

Comrade, please let me know how much truth, if any, in Comrade Barth's form after delivering a lecture for the Spokane No. 1 by W. E. Barber: Socialist Party, D. Burgess, suspended by the State Complete for misspropriation of funds, Mr. and Mrs. Parks, non-Socialists to participate in their son No. 2, Washougal, Westport and dorsing them.

Spokane No. 1 by W. E. Barber: Roslyn No. 2, Griggs stated that to the best of his bownie, V. E. Saynes, R. Counting.

A. Korthagen, F. A. Solscheld, Floyd absolutely frue, and that he was glad by the State Complete for misspropriation of funds, Mr. and Mrs. Parks, non-Socialists to participate in their son No. 2, Washougal, Westport and dorsing them.

Centralia; Wn., July 12, 1909. | Waynick but had a good deal of ocnfidence in Com. Krueger, Fraternally yours

JAMES LUND.

IF ANY?"

Editor's Reply Indictment of Barth for Inefficiency and His Half-Truths Exposed.

Comrade Lund asks "how much truth, if any, there is in Barth's statement?

First, "Titus" did not even know the Seattle, Wash. July 10, 1909.

Dear Comrades: The crisis in the Socialist Movement of this State has be opened, till long after it had been

the office. This is the work of eight committeemen, three of whom bolted the Convention at Everett.

I do not wish to resort to capitalist methods and hope that I do not have to, but, comrades, these men have bolted a constitutional convention.

After working for one and a half days, the working class, who earnestly sought to do the work that they were sent to do, realized that they had to meet a difficult situation. I am calling upon the laboring class to use their judgment and not be persuaded by a small minority who can have no other motive than rule or rula. I am gilving you a short history of the trouble, comrades.

On the lab of the work of eight to enter their own Headquarters when locked out by their absconding Temporary Secretary, who had refused even to issue a call for a State Committee meeting when ordered to so by a full majority in person. No State Secretary. Temporary or otherwise, can prevent a State Committee from meeting when a majority desires to meet. And no Secretary and lock out from their own Headquarters when locked out by their absconding Temporary Secretary, who had refused even to issue a call for a State Committee meeting when ordered to so by a full majority in person. No State Secretary. Temporary or otherwise, can prevent a State Committee meeting when ordered to so by a full majority in person. No State Secretary. Temporary or otherwise, can prevent a State Committee meeting when ordered to so by a full majority in person. No State Secretary. Temporary or otherwise, can prevent a State Committee meeting when ordered to so by a full majority in person. No State Secretary. Temporary or otherwise, can prevent a State Committee meeting when ordered to so by a full majority in person. cialist Party of this state.

AND ORGANIZED THE CONVENTION, WITH BARTH FOR CHAIRTION, WITH BARTH FOR CHAIRMAN, THEY GAGGED TITUS, HERMAN, RUSSELL, LEINO, McCORKLE,
MEYER, JAYNES, ALL THOSE
WHOSE WORK HAS BUILT UP THE
PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATION IN
WASHINGTON.
THERE YOU HAVE IT; ON ONE
SIDE "THE MILLS BUNCH," ON
THE OTHER "THE TITUS BUNCH."
WHICH WILL YOU HAVE? YOU
HAVE GOT TO HAVE ONE OR THE
OTHER.
APPROVE THE GAG CONVENTION
AND YOU APPROVE MILLS, THE
SEATTLE INDEPENDENTS, AND
ALL THEY STAND FOR, NAMELY,
MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIALISM?
DISOWN THE EVERETT CONVENTION AND YOU APPROVE

I am asking you to stay by your organization, help us to stop this fight.
for by running away we can never
live this only the state of the convention in the interests of the Middle Class up
against another organized movement to control the convention in the inthe convention arose over the declear this up.
I wish to write you that the trouble at the convention arose over the declear this up.
I wish to write you that the trouble at the convention arose over the declear this up.
I wish to write you that the trouble at the convention arose over the declear this up.
I wish to write you that the trouble at the convention arose over the declear this up.
I wish to write you that the trouble at the convention in the interests of the Middle Class up
against another organized movement to control the convention in the interests of the Wage Class and supported by Herman, Jensen, Garrett,
Titus, McCorkle, Krueger, Jonas,
Gatchell, Steele, Hyde, Longmire,
Morris, Fotheringham, Stone, Biscay,
Gehrke, Boomer, Leo Leino, McSlarrow and many others, including at the report of the convention or row and many others, including at the report of the committee on reles, and the chair man opposed, raising points of orser this up.

I wish to write you that the trouble against another organized movement to control the convention in the interests of the Wage Class and supported by Herman, Jensen, Garrett,
Morris, From this Herman took an appeal,
and the chair man ONLY talke chairman bination in Seattle.

Then the determined ones among the mittee's report.

When the chairman asked him to sit Minority bolted the convention when sue to the rank and file.

Contrast

But Barth is continuing his anarchistic tactics now that the convention has adjourned. In the conven tion he had a majority and tyrannically used it to apply the Gag. But in the State Committee, he is in a State Committee and setting up a new

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

What It Stands For

STATEMENT OF

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To er human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not atisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land

human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

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

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable anatogates of the most determined and irreconcilable and the capital is the wage laborer; the small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more long true, the fact that a few capitalists of the ruling class. They industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to the individual profit

more complex and expensary.

quires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machinery here were the collection of the climaxes of this system of property of the political power collective for private ownership of the particular area their only productive for property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage sixes of the industrial makers economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation, all the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been class whose only property is list manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been class whose only property is list manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been class who have been classed their labor power—the amalt traders and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the amalt traders and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the amalt area the lower of the class whose only property is its manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been classed the property is list manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been classed the property is list manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been classed the property is list manual and mental lisbor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been classed the property is list manual and mental lisbor power the visit of the class who have been classed to the particular and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have been classed the property is list manual and mental lisbor power the property is list manual lisb

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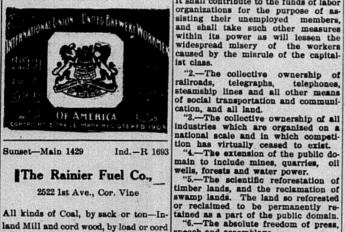
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"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the DR. TITUS has removed to 302-303 Shafer Bldg., 1414 Second Ave., opp. Bon Marche. Hours, 11 to 1 and



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Industrial Demands

"(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week. "The "(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factor-

"(d) By forbidding the employment children under sixteen years of

"(e) By forbidding the interstate

and substituting in its place compul-sory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands

"8.—The extension of inheritance

"9.—A graduated income tax.
"10.—Unrestricted and equal suf-frage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an ac-tive campaign in that direction.
"11.—The initiative and referendum,

SOCIALIST PARTY AND . THE 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 and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours, and other conditions of labor is absolutely neccessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to rave them from laing reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to read in humanity from class rule and policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on the working class in its fight for the economic field, as it insists on the economic field alabor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of or the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resisting and of the poles of other proletarian class and the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized in by the social structure of the proletarian class and the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized in by the social structure of the proletarian class and the political field. It is confident that i

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or cowrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of it declares that it is the duty of the Normalized labor. It declares that it is the duty of the Normalized labor. It declares that it is the duty of the Normalized labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory. 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.

vailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, it shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

"2.—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones.

"2.—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones.

battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come. Goornol Society.

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 Looking Backward.

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 trial stagnation is an example. The eemed advisable, other means have een used to the same end. "The movement for the so-called

mproved methods or 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 unemployopen shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by power-ful capitalist organizations, with mil-lions of dollars in their war funds.

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

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 "The courts, always hostile to larecords in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement 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 so-cial dissolution. calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union bene-fits, 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 Proletarian Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class, but abolish all other classes as well.

trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestrating 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 employers killed (e) By forbidding the interstate laws making employers liable for transportation of the products of child damages in case of employes killed labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

"(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place community."

"While affirming the right of em no rights in opposition to business

DANBURY HATTERS CASE

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

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atili 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.

day.

"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support ef 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 capi-

of complete emancipation from capi talist exploitation and misrule."

WASHINGTON

PLATFORM

We recognize the increasing in-capacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

ed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial

We assert the victory of the

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

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all

such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Prole-tariat to surrender the wealth it cre-

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factor-ies, 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 te

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WAYNICK DEFIES STATE COMMITTEE

Socialist Party of Washington, Office of State Secretary,

Seattle, Wash., July 12, 1909

To all members of the Socialist Party of Washington:

Comrades: It is presumably well known to all members of the Socialist Party throughout the state that the annual State Convention in Everett, in its effort to place the control of the Party in the hands of the element which has for years opposed the regular Party Organization, absolutely disregarded the will of the rank and file, as expressed in the constitution, and rode roughshod over it on several occasions.

At an informal meeting in Everett, July 5, four members of the State Committee, three of whom were delegates to the convention, had a call issued for a meeting of all members of the State Committee. They deemed the condition of the party in this state critical, and the meeting was called for the purpose of discussing the situation, and, if possible, to devise ways and means of averting probable calamity.

This cail was sent to all members of the State Committee and delivered to five of them by special messenger, while still present on the floor of the convention in Everett, and to the others by mail. The following eight members, constituting a majority, of the State Committee met in eattle, July 7, in response to the call; Ada Gatchell, Anna Steele, E. E. Martin, J. W. Morris, Emil Hendrickson, Tom Russell, L. W. Longmire

Although a majority of the members were present, no action was taken and in order to give the minority additional opportunity to attend, a request signed by seven members (J. W. Morris was temporarily absent) was presented to the then temporary State Secretary W. H. Waynick, asking him to call, by telegraph, a meeting of the entire committee to be held at State Headquarters, July 8, at 2 p. m.

W. H. Waynick first stated to these seven members of the State Com mittee that he would issue the call in due form but shortly after he said that he must seek advice on the question. Later in the afternoon the above named seven members of the State Committee received a statement signed W. H. Waynick, in which he refused to send out the call for the meeting. In the evening of the same day, after another conference of the eight members of the State Committee had been held, two special messen gers were sent to W. H. Waynick with a written demand, signed by the eight members, insisting that the can for the meeting of the State Com mittee be wired at once, and assurance was given that the demand would be complied with.

Shorny before the appointed time and place of the meeting, several of the members of the state Committee had occasion to visit the State onice, and there the following notice was found pasted on the door:

"Work will not be resumed in this office until it can be done withou interruption.

At one o'clock it was found that the office door was locked and the regular key to the onice not being available, the master key of the land ford, which is supposed to open every lock in the building, was taken into requisition, but it was found that not even that key would fuifill its regular service, thus conclusively proving that W. H. Waynick, without any authority either from the landsord or from the State Committee, had ordered a locksmith to after the combination of the office lock.

With the assistance of a locksmith the lock was put in its original condition, subject to the landlord's key. Upon entering the State Onice it became clear that W. H. Waynick had absconded with the state records in his possession. However, the meeting was duly called to order by Comrade E. E. Martin, who was chosen temporary chairman in the ab sence of the regular chairman. After a lengthy discussion of the situation it was decided to issue another can for a meeting of the State Committee to be held Sunday, July 11, at 12 o'clock, noon, this call to be signed by the eight members of the State Committee present, in order that no opportunity be lost to give the absent minority a chance to be neard on any and all questions.

The same eight members were present at this meeting, July 8. Committeeman Bostrom, from Bellingham, appeared during the meeting, but simply opened the door to decamp again. Several of the most conspicuous bers of the "Independent" forces made themselves unbearable by boisterous conduct and interruption of the discussions until it became ne essary to exclude all but regular party members from the meeting. W. H. Waynick, as well as the seven members of the State Committee, were

Sunday, July 11, at the time set for the meeting, seven members (Ada Gatchell, Anna Steel, J. W. Morris, L. W. Longmire, Emil Hendrickson A Jonas and E. E. Martin) had responded to the call. Tom Russell sent word by telephone that he could not be present, owing to some trouble amoung the United Mine Workers, but that he would come the following morning. The meeting therefore adjourned until 9 a. m. without taking

The following are the minutes of the meeting of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington, held at State Headquarters, 208 Shafer Building, Seattle, Wash., July 12: 1909:

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE STATE COMMITTEE, S. P. OF WASH. JULY 12, 1909

After the meeting had been called to order at 9 a. m., the roll call was had and showed the following members present: Ada Gatchell, Anna Steele, E. E. Martin, J. W. Morris, Emil Hendrickson, Tom Russell, L. W. Longmire and A. Jonas. Absent, A. Roeder, C. L. Whiting, A. H. Barth, C. C. Hale, W. W. Smith, W. K. McNell and Franz Bostrom.

The following motion was introduced by Comrade Jonas and seconded by Comrade Steele:

That the action of the State Committee at the meeting of April 18, by which State Secretary Krueger was declared removed from office on charge of incompetency, without serving notice on him, said action being consummated without allowing him to be heard in his own behalf and in his absence from the meeting, be, and is hereby declared nill and void on the ground that said action was illegal and a flagrant violation of Section 15 and 17 of Article IV of the State Constitution and therefore is hereby rescinded, and the temporary State Secretary Waynick, elected illegally at said meeting, is hereby directed to turn over to this committee at once all Party paraphernalia of the State office. Adopted.

The following Resolution, initiating a state membership Referendum was received and submitted:

Referendum

To the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington:

Comrades: Local Seattle No. 1 hereby calls for an immediate Referendum of the membership of the Party on the following Resolution:

WHEREAS, the State Convention, which convened at Everett, July 3 to 5, refused to allow debate, applied Gag Law and suppressed discussion,

WHEREAS. The State Constitution in its last section adopts Robert's Rules of Order which provide for free discussion, and

WHEREAS, There can be no deliberative assembly which denies free

WHEREAS The State Constitution was thus deliberately violated by the Everett Convention and the fundamental principle of Free Speech

WHEREAS, The convention refused to submit this question to

WHEREAS. Fifteen delegates representing twelve Locals withdrew from the convention rather than submit to the suppression of debate and announced their purpose to appeal to the rank and file, therefore be it

Resolved by the Socialist Party of Washington by Referendum vote That the annual Convention assembled at Everett, for violating the constitution of the Party and the suppression of free debate, is hereby

declared illegal and all its acts null and void. (Signed) JOS. S. BISCAY, Sec.

BERNARD KUBASKI, Chairman. Endorsements were received from Locals Buckley, North Yakima, Se-

attle No. 3 and the regular course ordered pursued Moved by Steele and seconded by Longmire that the action of the State

Executive Committee employing the State Organizer to do the State Secretary's work, routing field workers from the State office, be declared and is hereby rescinded. Carried. A Motion instructing State Organizer Wegenknecht to render a report

The bond of State Secretary Krueger in the sum of one thousand dollars signed by five regular Party members owning property in the city of Seattle, was approved.

at once was carried.

After a lengthy discussion a motion instructing the Secretary to route all available speakers on the best terms possible, supply them with the proper literature, was carried.

The State Secretary reported at this juncture that W. H. Waynick had absconded with Party property from the office, as well as from residence, including Postoffice key and Party funds.

A motion that the State Committee take the necessary steps to recover Party records and funds from W. H. Waynick was carried.

Also a motion carried to elect a committee of six Party members assist the State Secretary in an effort to recover the property and take whatever steps they may deem advisable. Committee: Anna Steele, Emil Herman, J. A. McCorkle, H. F. Titus, Joseph Biscay and Floyd Hyde.

A motion instructing the State Secretary to notify Local secretaries, by wire, of the action taken at this meeting with reference to the office of State Secretary was carried.

Seattle, Wash., July 11,1909.

To the State Committee, Socialist Party of Washington;

Comrades: We the undersigned members of the Socialist Party hereby enter formal charges against A. H. Barth and W. W. Smith, members of your committee, and elected by your body on the State Executive Committee, for gross misconduct while members of your committee.

We charge them individually and jointly with conduct on the Executive Committee as officials of the Party, injurious to the Party, and calculated to disrupt the Party and destroy its efficiency as a Proletarian organiza-

We also charge them with conduct traitorous to the Party in that they, each of them, and both of them, conspired with E. J. Brown, W. F. Parks and other expelled members of the Party to defeat and overthrow the regular Party organization in Seattle and the State, and to control the State Convention in the interest of the "Independent" Organiza-

We therefore demand the inpeachment of A. H. Barth and W. W. Smith as members of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington. We stand ready to present the evidence of these charges at any time you may designate.

(Signed)

ARTHUR JENSEN.

National Committeeman. E. B. AULT, Local Seattle No. 1. JOHN DOWNIE, Local Seattle No. 1.

A motion to accept the charges and pursue the regular course in matter pertaining to trials, was adopted.

At this juncture State Organizer Wagenknecht reported verbally, but received the instructions to submit a report in writing and an itemized bill for his services.

The Secretary read an address proposed to be sent out to the Party membership, the general principles of which were adopted on motion.

Another address also proposed to be sent to the secretaries and Locals, signed by the eight members present at this meeting. Adopted. State Secretary rendered a verbal report with reference to the present

complexion of the State Executive Committee on account of charges preferred against Barth and Smith and also the probable attitude of Comrade Whiting and suggested that a member of the State Committee be elected to act temporarily as a member of the State Executive Committee in case a vacancy should occur.

Emil Hendrickson, of Black Diamond, was elected.

A motion to send a message to the National Secretary, signed by the eight members present and informing the National office of the actions taken with reference to the reinstatement of State Secretary Krueger.

The Secretary was instructed to procure a proper party seal. A motion to pay the expenses of the State Committee members who remained in Seattle to attend this meeting was adopted.

A motion to allow Comrade Wagenknecht \$20 on account for his services, while working in the State Office under the instruction of the State Executive Committee was adopted.

Adjourned subject to call.

Fraternally submitted,

R. KRUEGER State Secretary.

Note.-A correction should be made with reference to the number of delegates leaving the convention and the number of Locals represented by them. Seventeen delgates representing twelve Locals and the members a large left.

Address all communications as formerly:

R. KRUEGER.

Manifesto

STATE HEADQUARTERS, SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON.

To the Secretaries and Members of all Locals:

Comrades: Your State Committee desires to warn you against misleading and false statements concerning the officials of the Party which have been and are now being sent out from Seattle by members and nonmembers of the Party who are united in their purpose to disrupt the Party organization and to gain control for the Middle-Class element which they represent. If the Locals and Local Secretaries refuse to pay any attention to these false and unauthorized circulars much trouble will be saved.

We suspect their object is to establish a dual organization in this state. Your committee warns you to recognize from this date no State Secretary but Richard Krueger, Box 52, Seattle Washington, or his duly elected successor. We have today decided that Secretary Krueger's removal without any trial was unconstitutional and illegal. The former action of this committee in removing R. Krueger as Secretary and electing W. H. Waynick temporary Secretary-Treasurer is therefore reversed in order to do justice to an efficient official and to avoid legal complications. Any claim or pretense that Waynick or any other not elected by your State Committee has any right to act as Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of Washington, should be ignored by all who desire to avoid a dual organization in this state.

Various claims and charges will be made in behalf of a new organiza tion represented by a minority of this committee. But we ask you to remember that a majority of the State Committee forms the highest and only authority in the Party until the will of the rank and file has expressed itself in a Referendum vote. The State Convention has no constitutional authority whatsoever unless approved by vote of the entire membership.

Unless a new committee is elected by your vote we hold on selves responsible for the conduct of Party affairs and expect the cordial cooperation of all loyal comrades.

[TELEGRAM SENT JULY 12, 1909]

ANNA STEELE ADA GATCHELL, TOM RUSSELL. EMIL HENDRICKSON, J. W. MORRIS. L. W. LONGMIRE, A. JONAS.

State Committee, Socialist Party of Washington.

E. E. MARTIN,

J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary:

Action State Committee April 18, which unconstitutionally removed Richard Krueger, regular State Secretary, was this day rescinded by majority vote of State Committee and Krueger duly reinstated as State Secretary, vote being Yes 8, No 0. Membership referendum annulling all acts of recent state convention for defying state constitution in progress.

Signed by above Eight Committeemen.



Entered as second-class matter April 18, 1907, at the postoffice at Scattle. Washington, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1907.

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Special Contributors.

C. W. BARZEE	Socialism and the Middle Class
MRS. FLOYD HYDE	Socialism and the Home
A. B. CALLAHAM	
	Socialism and Science
EDMOND PELUSO	French and Italian Translator

A Few Pointers

Comrades of Washington and elswhere: Notice!

First. THE EVERETT STATE CONVENTION WAS A MINORITY CONVENTION. Read Emil Herman's analysis in another column. Thirty odd Delegates who were left after the bolt did the work of ninety odd entitled to be present.

Second. This Minority Convention gagged and drove out those refused to be gagged. Its best title is therefore "THE GAG CONVEN-

Third. This Gag Convention did absolutely nothing positive or aggres sive or progressive toward building up any kind of a Socialist organization in this state. By gagging and driving out the Revolutionary Comrades, who have built up the present magnificent organization in Washington and who had large plans for the future of the Party, the Opportunists have delighted the Capitalists and started the Party on a downward course.

Fourth. The Gag Convention has put up a list of thirty comrades as candidates for State Committee, among whom are only two of proved revolutionary views, Al. and Sid. Roeder, and these two are impracticable impossibilists. Commit the destiny of the Proletarian Socialist Party of Washington to such Middle Class people as Cory, of Sedro-Wootley, Gordon, of Pt. Angeles, Sax, of Colville, Holman, of Elma, and Jory, of Sunnyside? It

Here are the names the Revolutionists had selected as their candidates for the Executive Committe: Clarence Folsom, President International Shingle Weavers' Union; J. A. McCorkie, delegate to Central Labor Council from Carpenters' Union, Seattle; T. F. Burns, Business agent Central Labor Council of Tacoma and fifth comrade to be selected by the Finns. These are men who have proved their efficiency in the organization of the wage-workers.. They, of all men, are best qualified to win to the support of the Socialist Party the wavering hosts of Union Labor. But all such men have been ignored by the Gag Convention, which formulated no policy whatever, except, Down with all those who have helped build up the foremost State Socialist Party in the United States. For remember the undisputed facts: WASHINGTON HAS THE LARGEST PERCENTAGE PARTY AND THE LARGEST PERCENTAGE VOTE, comparing with population. This has been accomplished under the lead of those who stand and have stood for Proletarian organization.

Fifth. The Gag Convention must be repudiated.

If you vote at all on their Referendum, it should be "No" on every

proposition, including the candidates. But the Seattle Referendum, declaring all the acts of the Everett Convention null and void, should be sustained overwhelmingly, whether it precedes or follows the Gag Referendum.

Sixth. Until these matters are settled by Referendum of the entire party, everything remains in the hands of the State Committee.

Seventh. Every Local in the State should line up. Get busy, you Socialists, and show what stuff you are made of. Take your time before voting on anything. Find out for yourselves what the whole controversy is about. Thresh is out from start to finish.

Do you believe in Free Debate in a Socialist assembly?

Do you believe in a Proletarian Party?

you believe those who have proved themselves capable of building up the Washington Party to its high standard should be turned down and the Party commit itself to unknown hands?

Do you want Proletarian organization or Middle Class anarchy? It is up to you. If you don't act at all, you are equally guilty as if you voted with the enemy

The Real Situation

The Gag Convention will be re-|fused to send out notice of the Com-

This is what has happened since

the Convention. The State Committee met at Se-

attle on July 11 and 12, and declared competency" but allowed no trial, vention's acts. though the constitution provides ex-

Second. Five Locals have called Second. Five Locals have called for a Referendum to declare the State for a Referendum to declare the State trol till their successors are elected Convention illegal and void for have by another Referendum—unless it is ing violated the constitution in re-fusing to allow debate to delegates could abolish the old constitution and regularly elected to represent their put a new one into effect at once with-

the Everett Convention to the Party part of the constitution when it stood Membership in substance as follows: in this way, why not the whole Shall the Socialist Party of the State

pudiated by the rank and file of the mittee's meeting when ordered to do membership who will not stand for Gag Law in a Socialist Convention.

But how?

But how? July 5 by Secretary Krueger of the to scare me.

I know that the Canadian Com
I know that the Canadian Com ly absented themselves.

We shall probably now see attie on July 11 and 12, and declared Secretary Krueger's removal, last claiming to be the true representatives April, unconstitutional and void. He of the organization and sending out a was charged at that time with "In- Referendum to approve the Gag Con-

But no one can possibly claim that the old State Committee, elected by ocals.

Third. This Referendum will subthat case, the Gaggers would be permit the question of the illegality of fectly consistent. They abolished one

The State Committee consists of 15 of Washington declare the Everett members. They have entire manage-Convention illegal and void for violating the constitution in denying the right of debate?

This Referendum will go out immediately under the direction of State Sectretary Krueger.

Seven members of the State Committee failed to meet with the majority who took the above described action. Acting Secretary Waynick re
members. They have entire management of management of Party affairs until the Party affairs unt

for must be the will of the Party till Will the seven defy the will of the eight, and attempt an unconstitutional committee and State Secretary as well

The Crisis

A crisis, a momentous crisis, faces labor. No one doubts that. The leaders and the rank and file agree to that.

vation:
What shall this action be?
That is a question whice That is a question which every union in this broad land should be

discussing.

There must be a change of policy.
The old game won't work. What,
then, is to be done?

For twenty years Samuel Gompers
has said that politics would destroy
the unions. What did he mean by
that?

He meant that when the union lead-

ers began to work for democratic or republican politicians the labor move-ment would be sold to the highest bid-

He meant that corruption would eat its way into the ranks for the sake of good fat political jobs. He meant that Tammany would

have its representatives in the unions; that Morgan and Rockefeller would have their representatives in the unions; and that organized labor would be torn asunder and slaughter

would be torn asunder and slaughtered in a futile and corrupt warfare between these political forces.

Politics in the unions meant that every corrupt leader could become rich. The union movement would become the tail of a political machine, and the organization that had cost so much toil and anguish and sacrifice to build up would end in chaos and destruction. This is what Samuel Gompers

meant. And he spoke the truth.

But he spoke these words when all was smooth sailing for the unions. Today they are in rough seas, threatened by a tempest of adverse winds. He begins now to question his former judgment and is on the point of re-vising his former decisions. The dangers ahead are great: some-

must be done

All right; something must be done.

Now, what is to be done?

The question can be answered right, and it can be answered wrong.

It is a big question that has been

They have answered it by adopting

They have put their trade union eaders into politics, independent of all

other political parties.

A labor leader who helps one of the old political parties is looked upon as a scab and a traitor. The workers have united. They nave elected their own representatives paid their political expenses out of paid their pointeal expenses out of their own funds, and they control their representatives as they now control their trade union leaders. Their political organization is their own, and to voice the wrongs of labor and to support the demands of labor they have

by the workers.

The workers of Europe are in politics good and strong, and they will be here at the finish.

There is no corruption, and no inter raternal warfare.
The John Mitchells and the Samuel Gompers are in the parliaments of Europe, not representing a Tammany machine or a republican oligarchy, not working underground alongside of cor-poration attorneys, traction thieves and trust magnates. They are in parliament as the representatives of the llament as the representatives of the working class, hostile to the old political machines, and to every man and every institution that represents capitalist exploitation.

A crisis faces American labor. A new policy has to be formulated. A decision has to be made.

It can be made right, and it can be made wrong.

nade wrong.

If it is made wrong, the unions will be destroyed and the working class

or destroyed and the corucified.

If it is made right, it will mean the unity of labor and the onward march toward emancipation.—Robert Hunter.

THE MILLS GHOST.

on, Wash., July 8, 1909 Editor "Suppressed Facts,"

me with fear. I wish you would explain in what way it has done so.

The first I heard of the "Mills

The first I heard of the "Mills ghost" was in "Suppressed Facts," and I certainly fail to see anything about it very alarming. I happen to be personally acquainted with W. T. Mills and it will take a bigger man than he is (mentally or physically)

rades preferred charges with Local Seattle against Mills for being a Judas to the Socialist Party, and advocating fusion, and that just last year, in a speech he made at Houlton, Oregon. advocated middle-class democrac; and not Proletarian Socialism.

and not Proletarian Socialism.

My objections to Milis are simply made on the man's record, not through influence of "The Seattle Wing."

I am not a member of Local Seattle, neither have I ever been. I would not know any member of that Local if I met them. I was introduced to Comrade Titus and wife in September, 1902 at a meeting held by John C. exchange more than a dozen words with them and have not seen them since. So you see my "fear of ex-posure" on their account is rather What have I to be afraid of?

18 Locals Gag 54

Continued from Page One

That 7000

Third. Barth says, "7,000 copies of our State Constitution were left over." Yes, and whose fault was it that they were not distributed broadcast in this. state where they would have done incalculable good? Barth's and Smith's and Hale's. Barth tells here again only a part of the truth. He and Waynick had these thousands of State Constitutions shipped in trunk and packages to Everett and ostentatiously displayed in front of the chairman's desk at the convention. It was to be an object lesson of Krueger's extravagance.

Yet, notice what this booklet con title page, "SOCIALIST PARTY OF Party to Organized Labor, both admit ted to be among the best propagands documents ever printed. The intent of the Executive who ordered them printed was to put a copy into the hands of practically every Socialist voter in the State. This was in pur suit of a comprehensive plan to reach at least Ten Thousand of the Fifteen state and to educate them in the Prinwhich the Barth-Smith-Hale trio. answered, and answered right by the workmen of nearly every country of tive Com., entered at the very outset They have answered it by adopting he same independent action in poli-lowed up by the year-long attempt of ics that they have adopted in their the same trio to defeat Local Seattle icy and to compel that Local to take sionist Middle Class Mills crowd, who had been expelled by the State Refer

ago for neglecting to distribute those Seven Thousand splendid propagande pamphlets to the State Convention

ame over a decision of the chair that a majority vote shall decide all matters pertaining to this convention. No. it was not the decision of the

chair, but of the convention, though there was not much difference and Barth quite naturally confuses the

Barth advises you, and you will find the following language, as he says: Each candidate or proposition must receive a clear majority of all ballots cast." But read what other language precedes and follows this language quoted by Barth. He omits the first wo words of the section which he quotes, namely, "To elect, each candidate must receive, etc." And he absolutely misleads every reader when he omits to say that the whole article preceding applies to the submission of Referendums to the Party member-REFERENCE TO CONVENTIONS. Dear Sir: I received a copy of If Barth did not know this fact, then your last issuer in which you make comments on my recent article in "The Socialist."

REFERENCE TO CONVENTIONS.

If Barth did not know this fact, then appeal was taken from it.

Then the chairman called the comments of the comments o know it, then he is stupendously roll call on the original motion to quired to order the previous question You say the "Mills ghost" has filled stupid for thinking his readers so stupid as not to be able to read the constitution for themselves.

ing two-thirds to suppress or stop de the Convention and its Chairman de CONSTITUTION AS WELL AS IN DEFIANCE OF COMMON FAIRNESS

Fifth. Barth's later statements are so jumbled and inaccurate that we refer you to the true account printed is. Barth was so inexperienced in the chair and so determined to run things In what way did I attempt to disguise either motives or alliances?

As for personalities, if there is any
paper published can exceed "Suppressed Facts" in that line I'd like

Cory, who was utterly incapable of re-

cording a motion correctly and even read the question which had been voted on previously, when "the previous question" was called for. To put THE PARTY ITSELF. On the other such a person in the office of Secretary hand, Barth, leading Wagnick by a of a political convention was a piece string, defies the majority of the State of sentimentality and chivair which Committee and says, "Address all itself betrayed the Utopian character communications to W. H. Waynick." had selected C. W. Garrett as their that his long experience as Department Constitutions Clerk in Washington specially fitted him for Recording Secy.

Inasmuch as the convention proeedings will be prepared by Cory, assisted by Barth and Waynick, it may be well to state here in the brieflest way what actually took place just before the time when the straight Socialists withdrew.

At the Sunday morning session, the that all motions should carry by a majority vote, regardless of any Book

An amendment was at once made to make an exception of the vote for 'Previous Question," that is, the motion to close debate and proceed to vote without further discussion, as this motion to close debate, according to Roberts' Rules and all sense of justice, should require a two-thirds

This amendment was thoroughly discussed and finally voted down.

majority.

Then the point of order was raised

superior to any convention. Chairman Barth declared this point appealed from the decision of the of it without doing dirty work. So ciples of Party Organization. This chair. This appeal was partially dis- they found none. So Bostrom went short by a motion for the "Previous called away last Thursday, and sent taken immediately. This required a So you see they played their trick two-thirds vote at this time, before well, and I suppose Cupples will be the convention had adopted the un-there as alternate and act as deleconstitutional rule. This motion car- gate. ried. At this point the convention I hardly feel like paying fare to took a recess for lunch.

pursue in case the unconstitutional don't you think so? Gag Rule should be adopted by the

After lunch, Chairman Barth had the roll called on the appeal from his

THE CHAIR WAS SUSTAINED CLARED THE UNCONSTITUTION-AL RULE TO BE CONSTITU-

The next thing in order was to debate the original motion to adopt the man.-Ed. committee's report recommending the

Here Delegate Titus obtained the foor and presented the first motion Socialism or agreed upon in the noon caucus, as follows: "Resolved, it is the sense of this convention that Robert's Rule requiring a two-thirds vote to close debate, being a part of our State Constitution, cannot be abolished except

by a Referendum vote of the Party.' been voted on when the appeal was decided. In this ruling he was correct Convention. and no appeal was taken from it.

follows: "Resolved, That this question book of rules." of shutting off debate whether by a bare majority or by twothirds, be submitted to a Party Referendum, the of order, an erroneous ruling, but no stitution. Sec 18, Art. 6. Then the chairman called for the

adopt the Committee's Report, which and shut off debate. This rule aphad not yet been debated at all. Mc- piles to deliberative assemblies and Corkle and Herman and Titus were all not to party referendums. It on their feet demanding recognition, therefore appear to an investigator the first two in order to debate the that we were deprived of our conmotion before the house on which no one had yet spoken, and the latter de-

the orderly motion "to indefinitely

postpone."

chairman would not recognize any of the three, though all of them were properly in order and were shouting for recognition. Barth would allow no debate, no motion, only the roll call on a motion not yet debated. Amid great excitement the roll call was had, several of the Revolutionists refusing to vote and several recording "expla-Titus said: "I vote. No. to emphasize my protest against the suppression of Free Speech in a Socialist Conven-McCorkle and Herman said: "I refuse to vote on a motion which I have been refused the right to dis-These, and other explanations which went into the record, were subsequently stricken from the record. drawn. The Gaggers were afraid the

by a vote of some 15 to 30, as several

Their Ultimatum

body which had ceased to be a Social- all, here you will find those who stand candidate for Secretary for the reason endum and when it refused the Minority a right to be heard.

Delegate McCorkle then requested the convention to allow the Protesters the privilege to withdraw without hostile demonstration, but the delegates were too much sobered at that moknow what the real issue is. ment to indulge in any manifestation of triumph. The fact of the matter was a good

many of the majority were quite uncertain of themselves and their posi Committee on Rules reported the Rule tion. They realized the enormity of suppressing debate in a Socialist asan announcement on the membership

Dalegate Titus very calmly declared olters did not bolt the Party but appealed from the Convention to the Party which that convention misrep-

HOW CUPPLES GOT IN.

Bellingham, Wash., June 28,1909. W. H. Waynick:

Dear Comrade and Friend: I write ou to let you know that I don't by Delegate Herman that it was an think I will be at the convention as unconstitutional motion, as Robert's a delegate, as I have not received tion than to withdraw from a Conven-Rule could not be abrogated by this credentials, nor do I see any way to tion which refused us our constituconvention, having been incorporated get them. Cupples is gone some where, in the Constitution itself, which is and we have not the books nor stamps. I have paid for stamps, but they wanted the books audited to see if of order not well taken and Herman they could find some way to get out cussed when debate on it was cut to a picnic yesterday and Cupples was This meant that debate on the keys to me to open the Hall, but the appeal should cease and a vote be did not send the books, nor stamps.

the convention unless I could act as delegate, so under the circumstances, Great Excitement I think best to let them all go to hell, and the party in this state. It is During the noon recess, the Revolu- not a party of Socialists, but a lot of tionists held a caucus on the Porch of dam grafters and schemers. This last the Hall and decided what course to deal is the rankest I ever heard of.

> Yours in the Revolution. HENRY LARSON,

Note. The above letter was found y Secretary Krueger in the State AND THE CONVENTION THUS DE- It tells how one Opportunist delegate got into the Convention. Cupples was very active, and has been nominated by the Gag Convention as one of the priation of all property used as capicandidates for National Committee-

Anarchy, Which?

By C. W. Garrett, Centralia, Wash.

A number of Comrades have asked me why I acted with the delegation This Chairamn Barth declared out that withdrew from the Socialist (?) of order, as the same question had State Convention at Everett, July 4. I will state the case at issue in the

The committee on rules reported a Then the second motion agreed rule "that a majority vote would gov upon in the caucus was presented, as ern in every case regardless of any

This rule was adopted by the Convention over our vigorous protest. The State Party constitution emconvention meanwhile to abide by the bodies Roberts' Rules of Order, where-Constitution." This was declared out in they do not conflict with the con-

Roberts' Rules of Order provides that a two third-majority shall be restitutional rights when this Convenmanding to be heard in order to make bate with a bare majority vote over our protest, and in spite of the facts pointed out by members of the floor. If this Convention had the right to adopt such a rule as its own, as some contend, then Roberts' Rules of Order

are not in our constitution. We cannot get away from the fact that Roberts' Rules of Order are part

Here is the line up in the Con-

tion of the unconstitutional gag rule. were those who tried to seat in the were those who tried to seat in the Convention a contesting delegation that is outside of the party organization, people who pay no revenue into the state office and do not affiliate with the state party organization. To have seated, this delegation, would have seated this delegation would have been a body blow at organization, as under the same reasoning any malcontent or even Republican comrades might read these pithy pro- claiming to be a Socialist might be seated. With these people were also The motion adopting the Gag Rule those whose conceptions of Socialist against the Constitution was carried principles are very limited or nil, as principles are very limited exhibited by them on the floor. These people have charged the other side with "ring rule" while they them-

motion to submit the motion just for the Party constitution and constipassed, to a Referendum of the Party. tutional rights which they, as a minor-This was voted down with a shout, ity, were deprived of, and who also At last the Straights presented stand for organization and discipline their ultimatum and announced their which is necessary in a working-class withdrawal. Delegate Titus, as their movement if in no other. Here were spokesman, on a question of Personal also those who have been in the Pribilege, rehearsed their reasons for Socialist movement for 25 and 30 withdrawal, stating in substance that years in this country and in Germany, those who now withdrew did so solely and those who have spent years build on behalf of Free Speech and Fair De- ing up the organization in this, one bate and Constitutional Procedure, and of the strongest Socialist states in the that they would no longer sit in a Union. And last and most vital of let body when it disobeyed the Con- for the proletarian policy, as against stitution adopted by the Party Referany middle class policy. This last is the vital issue which confronts all Socialists throughout the United States, but has been obscured in this state by personalities and misstatements. Many of those on the other side plainly showed that they do not

> Between these two contending elements in the Socialist Party there is no middle ground.

I will now state why we withdrey from this Convention.

When the rule in question was adopted, thus allowing a mere major ity to shut off debate on the main question-to gag the minority-clearly unconstitutional, our delegation de cided to place the convention on record. We proposed that the Convention express its willingness to submit the question at issue to a referendum vote of the entire state membership, we in the meantime to abide by the rule of Convention. This the Convention absolutely refused to enter-

That is another constitutional right we were deprived of

We could logically take no other actional rights.

C. W. GARRETT

INTELLECTUAL FLASHES FROM THE CONVENTION.

Charman Barth: "Will the Secre tary please READ THE PREVIOUS

Mrs. Cory: (Reads the motion

which had been carried before mo tion was made upon which previous question was called). Screams of laughter from the "gallery." Mrs. Cory: Comrades, I demand

order. I am reading the previous question and I guess I know my business." (more hilarity.) Chairman Barth: "Any one who

wants to laugh may leave the room and do it. They can't laugh here This is no laughing matter!" (Laugh ter immediately stops.)

Washington State Platform

Continued from Page Two

les must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appro-

in power, such concessions as we can Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

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

of the unemployed at the State's ex pense 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 so cial use after the Revolution.

(c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes. (d) Abolition of all Oriental imstimulated 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

(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 (i) Equal suffrage for men and

(j) Initiative and referendum in

order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representalive government. 11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product ex-

cept 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.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution. 12. The small capitalist is doomed

ognize the facts, accept the inevita-ble and join forces with the Prole-tarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation. selves were using ring tactics, plainly

Then the Revolutionists made their last stand. They presented another that withdrew) were those who stand chains. You have a world to gain."

PEALED FROM A GAG CONVEN-

tains. This is the contents of the WASHINGTON. PLATFORM FOR 1908. ADDRESS TO ORGANIZED LABOR. CONSTITUTION." Not only the constitution, which is last, but the Platform and Address of the National Thousand Socialist voters in that plan was completely defeated by the petty bickering with the State Secretary over a question of authority into Question." of their administration. This was folfrom succeeding in its Proletarian Pol-

The truth is, Barth and Smith and Hale should have been impeached long very pamphlets among the Socialist voters of this state and thus educating them into the Party. To bring those was itself an Indictment of their own

Stupid

Fourth. Barth says: "The trouble

But look up the Constitution, a

No, there is no possible defense for Barth's Suppression of Debate at the convention. That is evident from this stupid defense, Robert's Rule requirbate is in our Constitution. This Rule SOCIALISTS WITHDREW, BECAUSE MAJORITY IN DEFIANCE OF THE

Happened