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Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 431

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, July 24 1909

Price Five Cents

UP TO NATIONAL EXECUTIVE WONDERFUL MINUTES

The minutes of the Gag Convention are out. They are signed by W. H. Waynick as "State Secretary-Treasurer." When did Waynick get that title? He was chosen "Temporary Secretary-Treasurer" by the State Committee vote of 7 to 6 on April 18, 1909. On July 12, the same State Committee, by a vote of 8 to 0, removed Waynick from even that position. So, since his removal altogether, he signs himself, "Secretary Treasurer." He is a usurping and false claimant, he holds property of the Socialist Party of Washington without any shadow of right, and is acting in marked contrast with Krueger, who vacated his office promptly, when the State Committee removed him, even though he knew said removal was unconstitutional and unlawful. Waynick, removed in a perfectly lawful manner, holds on and even claims the full title, now that he is entitled to no title. He certainly is a good Anarchist, believing and practicing defiance of all control by the Socialist Party.

The only explanation of this remarkable exhibition of unconstitutional and lawless defiance of the regularly elected State Committee, must be the hope that the National Executive Committee, known to be out of sympathy with the Revolutionary element in Washington, will recognize him in preference to Krueger. But that hope is delusive. No executive will set aside so plain a case of constitutional action as the removal of Waynick and the reinstatement of Krueger. If they did, the National Committee and the National Party would certainly reverse their action. Waynick and Barth and Bostrom and Hurgess assume too much.

But this action of the Anarchists in the Socialist Party of Washington is quite in keeping with their convention at Everett. They defied the Constitution in the convention. Why should they pay attention to it now? What right has any constitution to exist in the Socialist Party anyhow?

Didn't you know that is what many Socialists openly argue? Yes, the impossibilists generally regard constitutions as so many obstacles to democracy. They actually contend that a majority rules and must rule on all occasions. No matter if that majority be accidental or stampeded. Majority is majority, to these Utopian organizers. "Majority Rule" is their idol and they worship it without thought or reason, like so many South Sea Islanders. If three people are present at a Local meeting, two of them may decide to vote the absent ten for Waynick's illegal referendum. No matter if their Constitution demands five for a quorum. Damn Constitutions, they are only a fetter on Liberty! Is not two a majority of three? Hurrah for Majority Rule and down with Constitutions!

Your Impossibilist Utopian will gravely tell you, the other ten ought to have been there and it serves them right to have one man (that one who really made up the majority of two) vote for the absent ten. Into such absurdities will your logical and impossible freak lead you and assure you he alone is truly wise!

These minutes of the Gag Convention are really wonderful, aside from their bold advertisement of their defiance of the Constitution as follows:

Report of Committee on Rules and Order. (1) "That a majority vote shall rule in any and all points and questions in the convention, REGARDLESS OF ANY BOOK OF RULES."

(2) That Robert's Rules of Order, as long as it does not conflict with THIS REPORT, shall be recognized.

BARNEY GORDON,
W. E. BARBER,
E. W. PHILLIPS,
Committee."

Yet here is the last section of the State Constitution:

"Robert's Rules of Order shall be authority where they do not conflict with the State Constitution."

Notice: (a) Robert's Rules provide that debate shall be shut off only by a two-thirds vote. (b) This two-thirds rule does not conflict with anything in the State Constitution. (c) Hence, this requirement of two-thirds to prevent free discussion, is binding in a Socialist assembly in the State of Washington.

But the Everett Convention put itself above the Constitution. What this Gag Convention decided was this: Robert's Rules shall be authority where they do not conflict with this Convention, instead of, "Where they do not conflict with this Constitution."

The Committee on Rules, Gordon, Phillips and Barber, did not know what the rules meant which they reported. Gordon and Phillips both declared on the floor they had no intention to shut off debate by a bare majority. Indeed Phillips said he would not close debate "so long as one out of ninety-nine wanted to go on." This shows that some one outside the Committee prepared those rules, defying and setting aside the Constitution.

THE GAG RULE WAS PURPOSELY INTRODUCED TO PREVENT THE REVOLUTIONARY FACTION FROM BEING HEARD. Who prepared that Gag Rule and got the innocent Committee to adopt it? The caucus at Smith's.

When Davie or Everett broke over the traces once and voted in favor of Free Discussion with the Revolutionaries and against the Reformists, said W. W. Smith, sitting alongside Titus in the Convention: "We'll kill Davie for that vote." But poor Davie afterward fell into line and saved his neck.

These "Minutes" are quite inaccurate in many places. They were left to Mrs. Cory and Waynick and Barth to prepare for the press. Omissions and corrections have been variously made.

For example, there is no Sunday afternoon session mentioned, no suggestion of that momentous recess of an hour Sunday noon, when the Revolutionists held their caucus on the porch. One vote ordering the "Previous Question" on Herman's appeal, just before the recess, is omitted altogether, as are also the two motions by Titus just before the vote to adopt the Gag Rule and his subsequent motion to submit to referendum of the Party. Twice was this motion to submit the Gag Rule to Party Referendum made by the Revolutionists; once it was ruled out of order, once it was voted down. YET NEITHER APPEAR IN THESE MINUTES. Nor is there any reference to the Withdrawal Statement read by Titus on a Question of Personal Privilege. Not a word of these most significant motions and action. Yet such an insignificant event as this appears in these wonderful minutes: "A delay of a few minutes was caused by Martin being out of the room." And again it is soberly recorded: "Comrade Mrs. Wolfe" (not a member of the Party) "spoke eleven minutes, reciting the difficulties of obtaining membership in Local Seattle No. 1."

What the compilers of these "Minutes" put in and what they left out, is seen to be pretty significant.

One thing is in the Minutes which "The Socialist" reported last week as having been ordered out by the Convention, namely, the "Explanations" of their votes made by the Revolutionists on the Gag Rule. Whether this was really done by the Convention, as we were reliably informed, or whether the compilers left our comments in after seeing "The Socialist," it is hard to say. Anyhow, they are in the Minutes, the only thing which shows the attitude of those who withdrew.

But what the Minutes show better than anything else, is the Convention itself. They show the Everett Convention not only gagged and excluded the Revolutionary Socialists who have been entrusted with the conduct of Party affairs for the last nine years, but specifically introduced an amendment to the Constitution to admit the Brown, Parks, Mills, Burgess faction into the Party in Seattle. The most significant amendment to the present Constitution is found in Article 4, Section 28, as follows:

"Locals may be organized in any country precinct OR CITY WARD; provided, however, THAT NOT MORE THAN ONE LOCAL, using the same mother tongue, SHALL BE PERMITTED contemporaneously IN ANY ONE precinct OR WARD.

That allows the Reformists to get a Charter from the State Committee for Ward Five in Seattle and the Revolutionists to get a Charter for Ward Six and so on—having no organic connection with one another in the same political division where candidates must be nominated as for a City Election, except through the State Committee.

The sole purpose of this impracticable provision which any one famil-

iar with city affairs would condemn at once, is to get the Reformists back into the Party in Seattle. It will settle nothing. It will make confusion worse confounded.

Of a piece with this disorganizing amendment is that which says: "City Conventions may be called by one, or more, Locals within their limits and shall be held when a majority of members in a city may deem it necessary."

But how shall such majority be ascertained or counted? By the State Committee?

But Section 12 of same Article is amended to read: "Cities shall elect a city Committee to call Conventions, etc."

But how "elect"? And how does this "calling of City Conventions" jibe with the preceding amendment?

The Constitution provides that "ALL acts of the State Convention shall be properly arranged, paragraph by paragraph, by the State Secretary-Treasurer and submitted to a Referendum vote of the entire Party Membership, etc."

We note in these "Minutes" a number of "Acts of the State Convention at Everett," which Waynick has seen fit to omit in HIS ILLEGAL BALLOT WHICH HE PUT OUT ON JULY 20, AFTER HAVING BEEN REMOVED FROM HIS OFFICE ON JULY 12.

For instance, the "Minutes" say: "Local Tacoma recommended that we favor Industrial Unionism that is not antagonistic to revolutionary political action."

Why was not this slap at the American Federation of Labor, and endorsement of one branch of the I. W. W., submitted to the Party Referendum, as provided by the Constitution?

Because—Waynick and Barth are above the Constitution.

Here also is the only Resolution presented by the Resolutions Committee, which the Convention saw fit to adopt, namely: "We are unalterably opposed to any compromise, etc."

Was not that almost the only sensible and Socialist thing done by the Gag Convention?

But Waynick and Barth thought it not worth while to submit that "Act" to Referendum.

The Convention voted down the Prohibition Resolution prepared by the Seattle Finns.

That "act" was not thought worthy of submission by our rulers, Barth and Waynick—in spite of the Constitution.

The "Minutes" record the following statements by Jesse I. Day, of Seattle, taking no measures to procure any testimony on the other side.

Day said, "he would not countenance the work of the Seattle ring in robbing the Debs fund, giving a concise statement of facts." Day declared, "Krueger put up \$120.00 of State funds, presumably, and others did the same, to make good the defalcations of the ring."

Not a hint in the Convention or its "Minutes," that a Committee of such tried and known Comrades as J. G. Brown, Ex-President and Clarence Folsom, present President of the International Shingle Weavers' Union, and Comrade Ferris, M. A. L., chosen by the State Committee, had investigated all these charges of Day and others and FOUND THEM ABSOLUTELY GROUNDFLESS AND MALICIOUSLY FALSE.

Smith, Barth, Hale, Roeder, all members of the State Committee, knew Krueger and the Seattle Comrades were absolutely innocent, yet they never said a word, and they will read these libellous charges repeated in the Minutes and sent all over the State, and keep their cowardly silence when innocent Comrades are falsely charged.

According to these "Minutes," Chairman Barth "exhibited a great supply of State Constitutions, 7,000 in all, printed at the expense of the Party, declaring the printing of so many Constitutions an extravagant waste of Party funds.

Motion and second, that all these Constitutions be turned over to the Secretary of Local Everett to be held in evidence for future use."

As shown last week, these "Constitutions" are a neat pamphlet containing the Party Platform and the Party's address to Organized Labor.

It is an admirable propaganda leaflet and will readily sell for 10 cents at street and other meetings. If Barth had stopped long enough last year

from fighting with Krueger to put these 7,000 pamphlets into circulation, he would have done something to justify his election on the Executive Committee and have put some \$350 into the Party Treasury.

Those pamphlets can yet be disposed of at a nickel apiece, if the Everett Local keeps them safe. Notice the high handed way in which the Gag Convention voted away those Seven Thousand Constitutions to which they had no more legal right than any other twenty-seven people. IT WAS A CLEAR CASE OF THEFT OF PARTY PROPERTY, as Local North Yakima has demonstrated in its Resolutions.

These Anarchist Socialists don't seem to know that under our Constitution, the State Convention has no power whatsoever till its acts are confirmed by Party Referendum.

The State Committee is the Sole Custodian of Party Property till its successor is elected by Referendum.

Another proposition endorsed by the Gag Convention was one in favor of "the Bulletin Plan" of Party organization and control.

This plan originated several years ago in Washington from one Jones of Whatcom County. The idea is to have an "Official Bulletin" published by somebody, but it must contain no editorials. Only Locals are allotted space, to say whatever they like. Every Party matter is to be discussed and decided through the columns of this unedited, democratic journal.

Its a lovely "system," far more impracticable and Utopian than Haggerty's I. W. W. "wheel of fortune."

But no "plan" or "scheme" or "system" was too freckish for this conglomerate Gag Convention.

Finally, these "Minutes" disclose the most dreadful lack of constructive features. Apart from the actual freakishness of the body, leaving out of account its actually vicious propositions, did it do anything positively good and progressive?

NOT A SINGLE RESOLUTION PRESENTED INDICATING ANY

Continued on Page Four

"Something Different"

For some time the Entertainment Committee of Seattle Local No. 1, Socialist Party, has been racking its brains for "something different" to interest the party members and their friends.

We have at last discovered "something different" which we think will be remembered for at least one day if not time.

The time set for it is Saturday evening July 31st. The place, the Socialist Party Headquarters, 711 Olive Street.

An interesting program is being arranged after which you will be free to wander through the rest of the building or dance in the main hall. Be as you please. Four rooms will be open the hall and the yard will be open to all. You will find something interesting in each. I won't tell what because I want you to come and see for yourself.

If you want to know what "something different" is you will have to come and learn. This much I will tell, though. The yard will be fixed up and seats put out so that those who are fond of star-gazing may gaze to their hearts' content. They may also eat their ice cream there too, if they wish.

No admission will be charged but in order to make expenses we are obliged to charge for the refreshments. A souvenir will be given to each person attending.

Come and bring the children. We will have something to interest them. The babies can sleep in the Woman's Room. So you need not worry about that.

This "Something Different" is for everybody, young or old, married or single, so you ought to have a good time.

Remember the Time, the Place and the Girl. Time: Saturday eve, July 31st, 8 o'clock. Place: 711 Olive Street, Socialist Party Headquarters. Girl: That's for you to decide. Bring her along. And girls, don't forget the man. Bring him along or rather make him bring you.

All Socialists and friends invited.

LULU AULT,
Secretary Entertainment Committee.

Present Evidence

The Socialist Party, Office of National Secretary, 180 Washington Street, Top Floor.

Chicago, Ill., July 13, 1909.

Richard Krueger, Care The Socialist, 14 News Lane Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade: Just received a telegram signed by A. Jonas, Ada Gatchell, and six others, in the name of the State Committee of Washington, stating that you have been duly reinstated as State Secretary.

I have had no report of the convention from Comrade Waynick as yet, though I have had several letters dealing with the transactions of the same from Comrades Szako, Burgess, W. P. Parks, D. Z. McClure, E. J. Brown and others.

This is to inform you that the meeting of the National Executive Committee will be held on the 23rd inst., and you are advised to present such evidence as you see fit. The same information and request is being transmitted by same mail to Comrade Waynick.

Fraternally yours,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
National Secretary.

Krueger's Case

SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON.
Office of State Secretary.
Room 208, Shafer Bldg., (Box 52)
Seattle, Wash., July 17, 1909.

To the National Executive Committee, Socialist Party of the U. S. Comrades:

National Secretary Barnes, date of July 13, requests me to present evidence of our case at your meeting, July 23.

The following is a summary, with documents enclosed for reference.

OUR CONTENTION IS THAT RICHARD KRUEGER IS NOW LEGALLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY SECRETARY-TREASURER OF SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON.

FIRST. The State Committee of fifteen is authorized by the State Constitution to elect the Secretary-Treasurer. (See Article II, Section 8, State Constitution, residing nearest the State Headquarters" (See Exhibit A, page 16-17 of Exhibit A, enclosed). Also to remove the Secretary-Treasurer. (See Article IV, Section 15, State Constitution, page 26 of Exhibit A.)

SECOND. In pursuance of the constitutional provisions, quoted above, the State Committee, which was elected by referendum vote in 1908, held its first meeting, November 15, 1908, on call of Secretary-Treasurer Krueger, 12 members present. At this meeting, Richard Krueger was unanimously re-elected to the office of Secretary-Treasurer. (See minutes of said meeting, Exhibit B.)

The State Committee held its second meeting, April 18, 1909, called by referendum vote of its own members, adopting the report of a sub Committee, recommending said meeting, 13 members present. At this second meeting Richard Krueger was removed from office by said committee, by a vote of seven (7) to six (6), and W. H. Waynick elected as Temporary State Secretary-Treasurer, by a vote of seven to five. (See minutes of said meeting, Exhibit C.)

The State Committee held its third meeting on July 11 and 12, 1909, on call of eight (8) members of the fifteen. (See introduction to minutes of said meeting, Exhibit D.) At this meeting, eight members were present. Richard Krueger was reinstated as Secretary-Treasurer by a vote of eight (8) to none (0) and W. H. Waynick removed by same vote. (See Exhibit D, top of second column.)

THIRD. Our contention is therefore sustained by the undisputed and recorded official facts. Krueger was elected, removed, and re-elected by the same body, at all times mentioned representing constitutionally the Socialist Party of Washington. The same body that elected Krueger, which afterward removed Krueger and elected Waynick, also removed Waynick and re-elected Krueger.

We urge that the National organization can no more recognize Waynick, subsequent to his removal on July 12, by the State Committee, than it could have recognized Krueger after his removal by the State Committee on April 18.

FOURTH. There are three arguments made to confuse this simple issue as stated above.

(a) It is technically urged that the meeting of the State Committee on July 12, was not duly called and was therefore illegal. In reply, your attention is called to the fact that the State Constitution nowhere provides a method of calling together the State Committee.

Of the three meetings held, the first was called by the State Secretary-Treasurer on his own initiative, the second was on Referendum vote (by mail) of the Committee itself, the third was by a mail call signed by a majority of the Committee in person, and this after Temporary State Secretary-Treasurer Waynick had refused to issue the call, when called upon to do so, in person, by a majority of the committee. (See introduction to minutes, first column of Exhibit D.) By reference to the passage in Exhibit D, just quoted, it will be seen that extreme care was taken, to give the minority of seven every opportunity to be present at the meeting of the State Committee, which, on July 12, restored Krueger to the office, from which he had been removed on April 18.

(b) A second argument to confuse the issue, refers to the State Convention, which met at Everett on July 3 to 5, as hostile to Krueger. In reply, your attention is called to the State Constitution, Article VI, Section 16 (page 34-35 of Exhibit A) which provides for submission of all acts of the State Convention to Referendum of the entire Party membership, from which it is plain, that the Constitution and State officials are not changed, by any act of the State Convention until confirmed by said Party Referendum.

In this connection, please notice that a Party Referendum has been called for by a constitutional number of Locals, declaring all acts of the Everett Convention null and void for having violated the State Constitution wilfully and deliberately. (See Exhibit E, being ballot for said Referendum). Here, too, notice Exhibits F and G showing the call for the last named Referendum to be endorsed by two Locals (North Yakima and Arlington) whose delegates, Griggs and De Luy have found that they did not represent their Locals in the Convention.

(c) A third argument to confuse the issue, claims the State Committee has no constitutional right to initiate any action whatever, and quotes Article II, Section 4 and 5 of the Constitution. (See Exhibit A, page 16). In reply, your attention is directed to Section 8 of same Article II, as well as to Section 15 of Article IV. (See Exhibit A, page 26) both providing for independent action by the State Committee and specifically empowering said committee to elect and to remove the State Secretary-Treasurer. Also please notice Section 17, of Article II, (Exhibit A, page 13), which bestows ample original authority upon the State Committee and explicitly in its last clause, directs the publication of the proceedings of its meetings in distinction from the meetings of the State Executive Committee.

It seems evident that the State Constitution places the highest administrative authority in a State Committee of fifteen, employing a Secretary-Treasurer as its "official agent" (See Exhibit A, page 17, Section 12) and having its ordinary business done by a State Executive Committee, consisting of "the five members of the State 15, Section 3). But there is no suggestion that the entire State Committee cannot meet of its own motion and transact the comprehensive business, specifically committed to it by the constitution in Section 17 of Article II and in Section 8 of Article II and in Section 15 of Article IV.

We submit to the National Executive Committee that there is no constitutional warrant for the claim that Richard Krueger is not now the regularly elected and duly authorized Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of Washington and as such qualified under the National Constitution to receive official recognition from your body as the only authorized representative of the Socialist Party of Washington.

Much capital may be made by those opposed to us out of the character of the Everett Convention and the Party division therein manifested. We submit to you that matter has no relation to the issue before your Committee at present which is simply this: Who is the legal and constitutional State Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of Washington, a pure question of fact. Whether the Everett Convention truly represented the Party or not will be decided by Referendum of the Party.

Comrades of the National Executive Committee, it seems pertinent for us to say in conclusion, that the Socialist Party of Washington has paid more per capita of population into your treasury than any other state, that there has never been any lack of loyalty to the National Organization, that we have always been quick and liberal

in our response to special calls, as in the case of the "Red Special," when Washington stood first on the list, and again in the recent call for support of the Minnesota Primary Law Contest, where Washington's contribution is the largest yet reported by your Secretary; that we have made almost no calls for help from the National Treasury; and that it appears to us that we deserve the same loyal encouragement for straight and constitutional organization, that we have always rendered the National body and its officials.

Fraternally submitted,
R. KRUEGER,
State Secretary-Treasurer.

Endorsed by
EMIL M. HERMAN,
ARTHUR JENSEN,
National Committee members from Washington.

NOT AGAINST FREE SPEECH.

North Yakima, July 12, 1909.

To all whom it may concern, Be it known as I did in the recent Socialist convention at Everett because I did not properly understand parliamentary rules. I certainly never would have KNOWINGLY supported a measure for the suppression of free speech, which it now seems quite certain was the intent of the first clause in the Rules Committee report which report I voted to adopt, and which action I now deeply regret, and the effects of which I shall labor to overcome.

O. L. GRIGGS,
Delegate from Local North Yakima to the Socialist Party convention.

North Yakima On the Job

The alleged minutes of the recent so-called Socialist State Convention state that seven thousand constitutions taken from the state office were turned over to Local Everett. As an answer to such high-handed methods Local North Yakima has adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The below named persons, alleged members of the Socialist Party of Washington, did on the 6th day of July, 1909, seize upon certain property of the Socialist Party held by the State Committee of said party, which is the legally recognized head of said party, and

Whereas, Said below-named persons did without the knowledge of, and against the will of said State Committee, transfer the custody of this property to persons other than the State Committee, the specific act in question being the theft of some six or seven thousand copies of the Socialist Party of Washington State Constitution; which acts were without warrant of law or the consent of the party, and

Whereas, If such acts are allowed to go unrebuked it must inevitably lead to the destruction of all discipline and result in absolute anarchy.

Therefore, Be it Resolved, That Local North Yakima hereby demands of the State Committee that charges of party treason be at once placed against all of the below-named persons. Charges to be filed with the different Locals as provided for by the party Constitution.

(Here follows names of all delegates who remained in convention after the withdrawal of the Socialists.)

And Be it Further Resolved, That State Committee shall at once institute proceedings looking to the recovery of said property and punishment of all parties concerned in theft of same.

Adopted unanimously.

A Drink Too Much

I understand that members of the Capitalist Class are rejoicing because of newspaper reports that Wm. F. Haywood takes a drink too much on occasions when he is with "the boys." Of course members of the Capitalist Class never do that, or if they do, they are quietly carried home in a taxi-cap, the keyhole found for them, and they are undressed and put to bed by the slaves of the Capitalist Class, and the Capitalist press is "mum."

But the moment a member of the working class, and worse yet, a Socialist forgets to stop drinking in time to prevent a voluble tongue or uncertain steps, the Capitalist Class hold up their hands in holy horror, and say, awful, horrible, what a dreadful thing to see a Socialist in such a condition. Just because Haywood is a Socialist that he took that extra drink! Nothing else could account for it! It couldn't be possible that members of the Working Class drink at times to forget for a few hours the misery of poverty or the persecution of their class by the class who spend their days and nights in idleness and dissipations of all kinds that can be mentioned! Oh, no, working-men should be angels. But working-men are not angels, they are just like other folks.

H. W. T.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

What It Stands For

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

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

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

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

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dolls. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

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

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Industrial Demands
"7.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.
(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.
(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.
(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all unscrupulous factories.
(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.
Political Demands
"8.—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.
"9.—A graduated income tax.
"10.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.
"11.—The initiative and referendum.

has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief. In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

PROGRAM

"As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforestation of cut-over 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 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, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.
"3.—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.
"4.—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
"5.—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.
"6.—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assembly.

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.
"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under a pretense of their being labor trusts.
"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employee killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.
"While affirming the right of employers to hire organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.
DANBURY MATTERS CASE.
"In the Danbury matters case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with

proportional representation and the right of recall.
"12.—The abolition of the Senate.
"13.—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.
"14.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.
"15.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.
"16.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.
"17.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.
"18.—The free administration of justice.

"Such measures of reform as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

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 system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wage hours, and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.
"In the history of the recent Meyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist Party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

"Organized labor is today confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power, and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class under taken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.
"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.
"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under a pretense of their being labor trusts.
"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employee killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.
"While affirming the right of employers to hire organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.
DANBURY MATTERS CASE.
"In the Danbury matters case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with

its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasury, may be levied upon to collect such damages.
"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.
"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.
"Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist Party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule."

WASHINGTON PLATFORM

The Socialist Party of the State of Washington endorses the Principles of International Socialism and of the Socialist Party of the United States. For the campaign of 1908 we present to the voters of this state the following declarations of our principles and program:

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.
5. The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.
6. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.
7. The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition, did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.
8. This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society is a sign of approaching social dissolution.
9. We assert the victory of the Proletarian Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class, but abolish all other classes as well.
10. Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.
11. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.
12. The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land, gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletarian Class and to use political power to that end.
13. This is the Proletarian Revolution.
14. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executive, legislative, courts and army

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TWO CLEAR LETTERS

Secretary Garrett, of Local Centralia, is one of the newer comrades in this State who does his own thinking and cannot be frightened into saying what he does not think, even if his thinking happens to agree with what Titus thinks, or Herman thinks, or Krueger thinks, or any other Revolutionary Socialist thinks, the world over. The reasons Garrett disagrees with Bostrom and Waynick are very clearly set forth in the two letters printed below.

As to the Bostrom letter, it should be said, for Garrett's information, that Bostrom is dead wrong when he says no Washington convention for nine years has observed Roberts' Rule that debate can only be shut off by a two-thirds majority. On the exact contrary, not a single instance can be named in the last nine conventions where debate was shut off by a mere majority vote. Bostrom is simply telling "what ain't so."

Comrade Garrett. THE EVERETT CONVENTION IS ABSOLUTELY THE FIRST IN WASHINGTON WHERE THE MAJORITY GAG HAS BEEN APPLIED, AS IT IS THE FIRST IN WHICH THE REFORMISTS HAVE HAD THE CONTROL. THE REVOLUTIONISTS HAVE ALWAYS ENCOURAGED debate, discussion, deliberation, free speech. The Revolutionists have never feared debate and free speech. THEY DID NOT FEAR IT AT EVERETT, BUT THE REFORMISTS DID. They were afraid of the Revolutionary debaters from Seattle and elsewhere. That is why they brought in that Gag Rule and added the words "REGARDLESS OF ANY BOOK OF RULES." The people who drew up those Rules knew Roberts' Rule requiring two-thirds to shut off debate was in our Constitution. That is why they added "REGARDLESS OF ANY BOOK OF RULES." That is, the Constitution be damned.

That is precisely what Waynick is now saying and doing, as pointed out by Garrett in his second letter. He even signs himself, "State Secretary," when he was never elected as anything but "Temporary State Secretary." The State Committee has fired Waynick, as the Constitution provides. But that makes no difference to Waynick, led by Barth and Bostrom. "What is the Constitution among friends, anyhow?"

Which Is Democracy?

Comrade Frans Bostrom of Bellingham defends the action of the convention of July 3 to 5, and its acts in letters he has written to party members. I will here quote the statements of importance which he uses in such defense and reply to each in detail.

Bostrom says: "For nine years I have been a member of the party, and in all my experience I have never seen an instance in local or convention where majority rule has not prevailed. The last section of Art. 6 has never been construed to mean that a minority shall render the majority powerless with the enforcement of two-thirds majority on certain motions. Roberts' Rules have been used only in a general way to decide priority of rights of motions, etc."

Washington State Platform

Continued from Page Two

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

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class, while it is still in power, such concessions as we can.

Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

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

(a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.

(b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.

(c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes.

(d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.

(e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.

(f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.

(g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.

(h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.

(i) Equal suffrage for men and women.

(j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combinations known as the Trusts.

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

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

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man." The wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

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

We say granted that it can be true that a majority can rule on any motion in the past where conditions were not acute. The conditions we had to contend with July 4 may not occur again in 15 years. The possible fact that Sec. 18, Art. 6, has never been construed to mean that a minority shall render the majority powerless with the enforcement of two-thirds majority on ordering the previous question, shutting off debate, does not alter the fact that it can be construed in any particular case to prevent a mere majority in convention from rendering the minority "powerless" by closing their mouths when the previous question (main question) is ordered to be voted upon without debate.

Which is nearer to democracy? First, to let the minority render the majority powerless (?) by requiring two-thirds majority to order the previous question? or, second, to let a mere majority prevent discussion by the minority, rendering the minority of no effect in deliberations by giving this mere majority power to order the previous question and close debate? The first might be parliamentary bickering or dilatory tactics, while the second would be the suppression of free speech. Which do you choose?

Bostrom says: "The idea that the State Committee should have any power to annul the convention proceedings is absurd and not even insinuated anywhere in the Constitution."

We say, that the State Committee is not annulling the acts of the convention. The fact is that this matter is being handled according to Sec. 1, Art. 6, page 32, which provides that "any question involving a change in this Constitution . . . or any other party matter, shall be submitted to a party vote if called for by five locals."

This has been complied with, as five locals have called for the proceedings of the convention to be annulled by referendum vote.

Bostrom says: "Besides, the State Committee has not constitutionally met since the 3d of July. The State Executive Committee transacts the business of the State Committee. See Art. 2, Sec. 4, page 16. When the State Executive Committee has met and transacted business in a way not satisfactory to the State Committee, then two or more State Committeemen may, by referendum, try to upset such action. See Sec. 5, page 16."

"If 14 State Committeemen had called for meeting it would not be constitutional."

We say, that there is no provision in the Constitution giving the State Executive Committee sole power to call a meeting of the entire State Committee. There is no constitutional provision whatever to prescribe how the entire State Committee shall call its meetings. The entire State Committee is constitutionally a higher power than the State Executive Committee (See Sec. 5, Art. 2), just as the entire state membership is a higher power than the entire State Committee. The State Committee is therefore not debarred from calling a meeting of its own to reconsider its own acts. (The removal of Krueger April 18, by vote of 7 to 6.)

If a majority of the State Committee cannot call a meeting, in the absence of any specific constitutional provision, as has been done (meeting of July 12) to consider its own act, then the State Committee has no constitutional rights whatever and is therefore entirely ineffective.

The State Committee did not meet to consider any action of the Executive Committee as per Bostrom's statement, therefore Sec. 4, Art. 2, page 16, does not apply. However, the State Committee has the power to do this, and may have done so, as they are higher authority when in session.

The Constitution does not contemplate that the State Executive Committee shall transact all the business of the State Committee, Sec. 4, Art. 2, page 16, says "the business," not all

the business. The Constitution contemplates that the entire State Committee shall hold meetings. See Sec. 17, Art. 2, pages 18 and 19, which says: "The State Committee shall represent the party of this state, etc."

I shall report monthly to the National Committee and publish monthly a financial report, also proceedings of its meetings and the meetings of the State Executive Committee."

The Constitution provides for entire State Committee meetings, but does not provide how these meetings shall be called. Unquestionably 4 or 8 State Committeemen can call a meeting any time.

Therefore if the State Committee could remove a state secretary by vote of 7 to 6, then it can certainly reinstate him if a majority of the State Committee (eight) vote for it in the meeting July 12 which cannot be termed unconstitutional by any sort of reasoning if the constitution is called into regulation. It therefore appears that Waynick has been lawfully removed and Krueger lawfully reinstated.

Comrade Bostrom overlooks one point. It is this: While our delegation at the convention did not wish to leave the convention without giving the convention a chance to redeem itself, we purposely asked to have the issue in question submitted to party referendum along with the other acts of the convention. Sec. 16, art. 6, page 34, states that "All acts of the state convention shall be properly arranged . . . and submitted . . . to a referendum vote of the entire party membership."

Ordinarily the rules of order for the convention are never submitted on referendum, but owing to the importance of it in this case, we asked that it be submitted. The convention would not entertain this proposition, and therefore overrode the constitution the second time, forcing us to retire from the meeting.

To assume that the majority in the convention represented the majority of the state membership is guess work.

I suppose that if the present "ring" is deposed so they can no longer "live off the party," that others will take their place and have a little ring of their own, if they have opposition. Fighting is what makes rings on both sides. You have to choose between two rings. I choose the ring that I think is nearest right, considering at the same time the party efficiency in its composition outlined in my article in last week's "Socialist."

For the Working-Class Revolution, C. W. GARRETT. Centralia, Wn., July 18, 1909.

Usurps Authority

Centralia, Wn., July 19, 1909. W. H. Waynick.

Dear Comrade: Your communication of July 18 at hand. You claim to be the state secretary of the S. P. and make the following statement:

"The Titus faction has lost possession of the records and the working machinery of the party, all of these things are safely in my possession. . . . I will continue to transact the business of the organization until the state membership elects another man to relieve me. I will readily step down for a successor of this kind, elected in this way, but I propose to hold these records against any combination that attempts to take them from me by mob violence, and I ask all persons to quiet down so that we can settle this trouble in a peaceful way among ourselves. . . . I would like very much to return to my job of grading lumber at Bellingham, but conditions are such that I cannot 'jump' this job at present, and besides there is no hurry, anyway."

You show no more regard for the party constitution than the Everett convention did. The present constitution stands until amended by referendum vote of the state membership. Sec. 8, art. 2, page 16, provides that, "The State Committee shall elect a Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer, etc." When you state that you will continue to transact the business of the organization until the state membership elects another man to relieve you, you are defying the authority that placed you in your position. This is simply a pretext on your part for maintaining a dual organization.

The responsibility rests with you for such action. It is an impossible position for you to take while at the same time standing for party unity and the majority of the State Committee which elected you certainly had the authority to remove you at its meeting July 12. This action of yours will go down in party history and will always stare you in the face.

The plea that a majority of the State Committee did not have a constitutional right to meet and reconsider its own act of April 18 is most insanely absurd. This plea has been made by your faction. There is no constitutional provision governing the calling of a meeting of the entire S. C. except in Sec. 10, art. 4, page 25, which provides that "In all trials before the S. C. either the whole S. C. shall vote to meet and try those charged, etc." and in Sec. 15, art. 6, page 34, which provides that "In case the S. E. C. changes or refuses to submit to Referendum any party matter which has been called for in the proper manner, any member of the S. C. may, upon the application of five locals, call a meeting of the other ten members of the S. C. who shall investigate the matter." These two separate provisions for calling a S. C. meeting con-

dict with each other and therefore show that each procedure to be used applies only in the special case embodied in the provision for the S. C. meeting. This leaves no provision whatever for calling a meeting of the entire S. C. to reconsider its own acts. In the absence of such a provision there is no question but that 4 or 8 committeemen have the right to call a meeting any time. This they did when they removed you and reinstated Krueger.

Since you are undertaking to usurp authority and maintain a dual organization in the state, Local Centralia cannot recognize you as state secretary, but must recognize Krueger, who has been lawfully reinstated. If you want party unity please consider the facts here pointed out.

Yours for the Working-Class Revolution, C. W. GARRETT.

A Lawyer, A Preacher, and Boomer

In spite of the fact that the meeting was slimly attended, contrary to our hopes and beliefs, the lecture given by Comrade Boomer Thursday evening in the Methodist Church was one of the most successful ever held under the auspices of Sedro-Woolley Local. The talk was supposed to be upon prohibition from a Socialist viewpoint, and before Comrade Boomer got through with it, he had thoroughly explained the working-class position upon the liquor question and all the other problems of the capitalist system.

Most of those present were Socialists, but questions from a prohibitionist lawyer, as well as from the pastor of the church, Rev. Wolf, created much interest. The questions and remarks of both these opponents of Socialism showed how little either knew of the modern economic conditions and the causes thereof. Lawyer Perry tried to disprove the speaker's claim that poverty was the cause of drunkenness by asserting that nine-tenths of all the criminals in jail became criminal through drink. Comrade Boomer created roars of laughter at the lawyer by admitting that even if that were true it still left unsettled the reason as to why the alleged criminals became drunkards in the first place.

The real funny thing happened when Rev. Mr. Wolf, who had incidentally prayed long and loud that all should be satisfied with what God might give them and to be saving of His gifts, so that all might be happy and contented, denied the lack of opportunity which the capitalist system presented to the working class. He claimed there was chance for all who desired work and attempted to clinch his statement by saying:

"Why," he said, "I can take five cows and go out on a piece of land and make a good living selling milk and raising chickens and rabbits." To his reverend's surprise the whole meeting broke out into a loud "hah-hah," and he apparently did not realize that it had at once flashed over the mind of the audience that the average workman would be up against it for the necessary overwork to buy five cows, to say nothing of the land, the chickens, the ducks or a house to live in. According to the plan of Mr. Wolf one would need about \$2,000 to begin to assure himself of the more or less uncertain livelihood of selling milk. Members of the audience pointed out that if everybody was to thus sell milk there would be no one to make the clothes or even to buy the milk.

Although Mr. Wolf said he would be glad to have the speaker hold forth in the church again it is doubtful if such a meeting will be held there again. Both the minister and the lawyer showed much abject ignorance of economic truths and so utterly denied the modern discoveries of science as applied to conditions surrounding the world and the human race that it is plain to be seen that even when a minister claims to be liberal as does this Mr. Wolf such liberality is very narrow indeed. To them the material conception of history is a closed book, a history which they cannot see and if they could see they could neither read nor understand. It will be better for the Socialist Party if its work in propaganda be confined to the members of the working class and not bother with the alleged intellectuals, or try to overcome the unreasonable superstitions of the middle class. Better meetings with greater results can be held on the streets of any town in any of the yesterday "houses of God" as they are deliberately misrepresented to be. Comrade Boomer's remarks were all splendid and all illustrative of the working class position and program.

FORREST R. EDWARDS, Financial Secretary, Sedro-Woolley, Wash.

A Malicious Lie

By Ada Gatchell, Member of State Committee.

To the State Committee of the State of Washington: A circular sent out to you signed by Chairman Barth of the State Executive Committee, declaring that Titus and others went to the State Office, 1414 Second ave., Room 208, forcibly picked the lock, opened the door, is a malicious lie.

The temporary secretary, with others, I suppose, had changed the combination, so that Secretary Krueger's key or the landlord's key would not open the door. We employed a locksmith to change the combination back to the original combination, with the approval of the owner of the building. He recognizing only Secretary Krueger, to whom the room was rented.

Certainly the State Committee have a right to their own office.

When the door of the office was opened we found the temporary Secretary, Waynick, had absconded. The official records were gone, also the party seal.

July 7, 1909, seven members of the State Committee requested temporary Secretary Waynick to issue a call by telegraph for full State Committee

meeting the 8th. He replied that he would take it under advisement. We, the State Committee, are his advisors; none other should be recognized.

Again the same day eight members of the State Committee made the same call which was ignored, there being nothing in the Constitution as to how a State Committee meeting shall be called. The action we should have taken then was to declare the State Office without a secretary and placed one there, to do the work required of them the same as all secretaries do.

Now who did the dirty work? Plain stealing I call it, of the property of the Socialist Party. The circular in your hand tells you.

The State Office was locked by the State Committee after finding the records and seal of the party had been taken on July 7, 1909. The circular in your hand is dated July 10, 1909.

The former official seal of the Socialist party is also on this circular letter sent out by a private individual, Chairman Barth. The P. O. box was also changed from Box 52 to 446. Notice given that all communications be sent there. Still showing their intention to steal the moneys, etc., belonging to the Socialist party by this act, they have left a plain trail, so plain that all members can see it, straight or rather crooked capitalist methods and they deserve capitalist treatment.

This man Barth says that it is high time the working class in Washington assist in destroying leaders. I agree with him. For the sake of humanity, drop a man that has stolen the official seal of the party and is using it. This circular letter in my hand to be very leading has been stamped three times. One of the delegates of that convention following such as Barth has repudiated his act, asserting it was ignorance of parliamentary rules on his part. This delegate is Comrade O. L. Griggs, of North Yakima, Wash. Roberts' Rules of Order have been adopted by the membership to control our meetings and only by the membership can it be changed, by referendum. A bare majority cannot decide acts of convention.

When at the last committee of 1906 the same trouble was up, but the minority was heard although we were detained three days. A Socialist Convention without free speech (for which our Seattle comrades went to jail 700 times to establish in the city at Seattle and is now recognized by city officials) ceases to be a Socialist convention. Thirteen Locals were denied hearing on the floors of that convention. Bolt the convention, certainly. Had Comrade Debs not bolted the convention in 1898 we would not have a Socialist Party today.

I absolutely deny this convention legal in its acts, denying the minority to be heard.

Now, Comrades, we, the eight members of the State Committee, with two National Committeemen and State Secretary Krueger, are certainly legally elected and our position recognized or there would have been no need to abscond or take the seal.

Comrade Wagenknecht also recognized us as the official body of the Socialist party when he presented his account for payment.

Yours for the Revolution, ADA GATCHELL, Member of State Committee.

PROTEST.

North Yakima, Wash., July 14. To the State Committee Socialist Party of Washington:

Comrades: We, the members of Local North Yakima, wish to enter a protest against the way in which Referendum "C" has been conducted. This Local has never to this day been furnished with ballots for Referendum "C." We have not even been officially informed that there was such a referendum, and we maintain that to count such a referendum without giving all members of all Locals a chance to vote on it is not only unfair, but illegal. In this connection we wish to say that Local North Yakima was—say the least—treated very unfairly in regard to the issuing of credentials to our delegate to the recent convention. We never received our credential blanks until just two days before the convention, and then only after our Secretary had written a special letter demanding them.

Such action on the part of those in the State Office certainly seems rather queer, and quite naturally creates the impression that there is something rotten. Why is it that we are compelled to demand credentials for our delegates? Why is it that we are denied an opportunity of voting on referendums? Can it be as many are beginning to think, "Because we are considered rather low revolutionaries to be agreeable to certain ones who are striving to control the Party in the state?" We want to know.

Adopted at a meeting of Local North Yakima, held July 14, 1909. GEORGE T. STEPHENS, Secretary.

MORE ABOUT KUPPLES.

North Yakima, July 16, '09. Have just finished reading No. 430 of "The Socialist." Was especially interested in reading of the way in which Cupples got in.

On Friday, June 25, I was in the State Office and Waynick told me that Cupples would be the Delegate from Bellingham. He said that although Larson had been elected, Cupples was the best timber and would certainly come. As this conversation occurred some time two days before the writing of Larson's letter, it would appear that Waynick already had knowledge of the fact that he was not to be allowed to come. I remember the date so well because it was the day on which we issued the circular concerning Referendum C. Comrade Waynick will also probably remember the day because it was the day Mrs. Parks was there inspecting the office records. No wonder Larson feels like letting the whole thing slide.

JOHN McSLARROW.

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AN UNFOUGHT FIGHT

CUPPLES' LETTER.

2505 D St., Bellingham, Wash. July 14, 1909.

Trustee Printing Co., Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrades: I have just been released from jail under cash bail. Comrade M. E. Eldridge is still behind the bars. I will be in jail again tonight unless I am allowed to speak on the street.

The criminal element in Bellingham would put Liberty in jail while thieves are in office. In a society of thieves it is a crime to be honest.

The city controller has not made a public statement of accounts for years. In fact, the financial condition of this city is in such bad shape that it is feared to let the public know about it. "The foolish people cannot be trusted by their masters."

We MUST have free speech in Bellingham.

Bellingham is in debt beyond all reason. Some of the crooks who made the debt have left town; but they are all out of jail. They don't want their game exposed. That is the probable reason for trying to shut off free speech.

Less than 20 per cent of the money paid for street work here goes to the men who build the streets, the workers. More than 80 per cent goes to the grafters. No wonder they don't want free speech. We cannot stop. We must continue this fight.

The fight has just commenced. Our first trial comes off today at 2:30 p. m.

Yours for Revolution, H. G. CUPPLES.

ELDRIDGE'S LETTER.

Bellingham, Wash., July 14, 1909. H. F. Titus, Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade Titus: The police arrested me Monday evening after I had spoken for a couple of hours and sold some literature. The police refused bail, but a comrade got the judge by phone and he ordered my release to appear next day at 2 p. m. I wrote for Biscay to come up, but fearing he would not arrive in time to speak, I asked the judge to delay trial until Wednesday. Then I started the meeting at 8 o'clock with a good crowd (mostly police and plain clothes men). Comrade Cupples announced that a collection would be taken up to defray expenses of trial and he was arrested.

There is an ordinance here which prohibits meetings on the streets that blockade streets or annoy the citizens and the police and judge can always interpret this against the Socialists. So it looks as though we would have to smash up this ordinance which is not only unconstitutional but contrary to the interests of the working class population.

Comrade Cupples has a fine home with plenty of room to entertain any of the boys who will come up and it will not be difficult to forage—and the jail is a nice large place, too, fairly clean and airy.

There are several of the local comrades who are willing to take part whenever the word is given and the enthusiasm of a good fight would surely arouse others.

The police demanded \$100 cash bail last night so I slept in jail all night. I will be tried today for Monday night's work and will probably get a fine up or not we ought to fix that ordinance so that the police cannot use it as an excuse to break up our meetings.

There has been no meeting of the Local since I arrived, but the comrades seem to favor a fight now while the weather is warm, so I think it would be a good idea for you to come up and bring some of the boys along. Boat leaves Colman dock at 10 p. m., 9 a. m., fare \$1.25.

Fraternally, MAURICE E. ELDRIDGE. 2505 D St.

TITUS' LETTER.

Seattle, July 15, 1909.

Dear Comrade Eldridge: Yours of yesterday at hand, suggesting that I "come up and bring some of the boys" to make a jail fight for free streets in Bellingham. We have fought that fight to the finish in Seattle and it is no joke. We know the chief of police in Bellingham and have a score to settle with him. But now is not the time, in my judgment. There is another fight on in this state, for the very existence of the Socialist Party as a Proletarian organization. Every energy should be devoted just now to that supreme fight. You cannot conduct that street contest without the assistance and co-operation of the Proletarian State organization, under which you are now routed. But that organization itself is being attacked by the very man who entertains you and to whose "fine home" you invite me to come. He writes me himself on the same subject, just as if he did not vote, only one week ago, to "oust" Hyde and me and the other Revolutionaries who alone have won street fights in the state for the Socialist Party. When he wants men to go to jail, he sends to Seattle Local. When he wants to run the Party into middle class shallows, he tells us to go to hell.

Eldridge, get into the real fight which means something to Proletarians. Then, when that is won, we'll go to Bellingham and send that swell head chief to his little bed to stay. But your middle class sunkeys in Bellingham and elsewhere will never accomplish it.

Also, you are on the wrong track in trying to change the ordinance. You can beat them on the ordinance itself. There's nothing the matter with the ordinance. We have spent six years on a similar ordinance in Seattle, and we know.

Cupples seems vastly concerned about the Graft of the Grafters in Bellingham. But how do they and their graft concern Proletarians?

You, if you line up in the state fight, can do a world of good in Bellingham and elsewhere for the Proletarian faction. If you don't or won't, why—

Fraternally yours, RALPH KORNGOLD.

you'll line up just the same, willy nilly. Yours sincerely, HERMON F. TITUS.

Here are three letters which tell a story. The sequel is this: Local Bellingham concluded it would not go into this fight. It might injure their chances in the coming city election. You know they already have one councillor up there and they want to re-elect him.

So Eldridge was fined \$10 each on two counts. He refused to pay and asked for sentence. The judge gave him 15 days but afterwards held it up and told him to go.

Another sequel: Eldridge refuses to line up in the state fight, though he says he would have withdrawn from the Gag Convention, had he been a delegate, when the convention broke the Constitution. He says he does not believe in Constitutions, anyhow, but, when you have one, line up to it. That means Eldridge is an "impossibilist," that is a practical Anarchist, an Unorganizable. This is no "personality" concerning Eldridge. It is the simple fact. He refuses to line up with the straight Socialists. Therefore, he lines up with their opponents. There is no middle ground.

One other remark about these interesting letters. Cupples claims, like many another Middle-Classes, to be "Revolutionary," so we understand. But see his reason for desiring free speech in Bellingham, so as to show up that city's corrupt city government. "Bellingham is in debt beyond all reason," says this correspondent. If he were really Revolutionary, he would say, as Seattle platforms have always said, "If elected to office, we Socialists will increase the city debt, will tax you capitalists out of some of the surplus wealth you have robbed us of."

Apparently Cupples has not learned the first principles of Revolutionary tactics. Now, don't let some ticklish chump call this a "personality" about Cupples. It is a simple statement of fact. We have nothing against Cupples or Eldridge as persons. But, when they are not clear on the Proletarian principles of the Socialist Party, we point out the fact. Titus is not "attacking" Cupples as Cupples, but Cupples as coupled with middle class ideas. So let him and others, not attack Titus as Titus, but the Proletarian Policies he stands for.

Sure of Two Points

(National Organizer Korngold is pretty clear-headed on the Washington situation, as his letter below shows.—Ed.)

Centralia, Wash., July 16, 1909. R. Krueger, State Secretary, Box 52, Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade: Things are happening so fast in this state that it is hard to keep track of it all. Wagenknecht, as you know, had charge of my routing. He wrote me that he had lost that authority, did not tell me, however, that you had been reinstated. I wrote to Waynick to take charge of my route, presuming that he was still State Secretary. I do not know whether Waynick still claims the secretaryship, but judging from the legal aspect of the matter I have to recognize you.

It is very hard for an outsider like myself to decide the right and the wrong of all these problems and I think I shall be compelled to plead ignorance on a great many matters if the members happen to ask me. Two things, however, I am quite sure about, viz: that eight forms a majority of a committee of fifteen, and that if seven members of a committee can fire a secretary, eight can surely re-instate him.

Another thing I am quite sure about is that I am opposed to dual organization. I think these things can be far better settled by a referendum. To form a dual organization means to show plainly that one is afraid of the results of a referendum.

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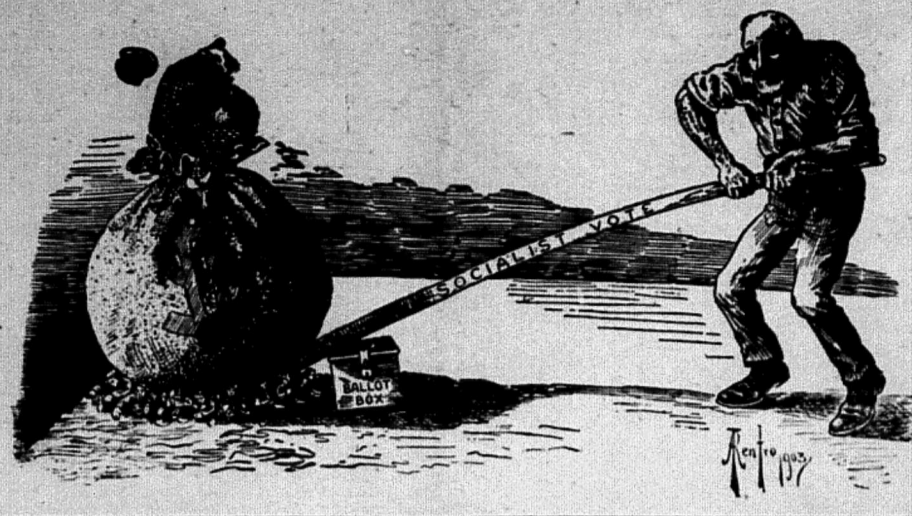
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Table with names and titles: HERMAN F. TITUS... Editor; ERWIN B. AULT... Managing Editor; ARTHUR JENSEN... Assistant Editor; BESSY FISKE... Assistant Editor; HATTIE W. TITUS... Manager; LULU AULT... Circulation Manager; RYAN WALKER... Cartoonist; JOHN F. HART... Cartoonist; THOS. J. COONROD... Idaho State Editor; THOS. A. SLADDEN... Oregon State Editor.

Table with names and titles: EMIL HERMAN... Socialism and the Farmer; C. W. BARZEE... Socialism and the Middle Class; MRS. FLOYD HYDE... Socialism and the Home; A. B. CALLAHAN... Socialism and Science; ERNEST UNTERMANN... Socialism and Science; EDMOND PELUSO... French and Italian Translator.



National Committeeman Herman's searching analysis of the Everett Convention printed in "The Socialist" last week, showed 33 Locals in Washington all having no delegates in that body. But there were 72 Locals entitled to representation, yet only 39 sent delegates. Of these 39, the delegates who withdrew rather than be gagged, represented 13 Locals, leaving only 26 Locals out of the entire 72 in the State represented in the actual proceedings of the Gag Convention.

No wonder comrades everywhere are asking if such a minority of Locals, 26 out of 72, shall be allowed to run the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. But Herman showed the real case to be still worse. Eight of these 26 Locals were misrepresented by their delegates. Two of these Locals, North Yakima and Arlington, have already been heard from, repudiating the action of their delegates. Delegate Griggs of Yakima, sends in a manly disavowal, printed in another column. He acknowledges he was misled and now sees his mistake. He signs his name as chairman of his local's meeting, where the Seattle Resolution was endorsed, calling for a Party Referendum to repudiate all the acts of the Gag Convention at Everett.

In the same way Delegate De Lilley, of Arlington was made chairman of that Local's meeting when they too endorsed the Resolution nullifying the convention. Comrade Herman's prediction has thus been fulfilled literally in these two instances. He said last week that also named six others equally misrepresented in the Convention. He also named six others equally misrepresented, namely: Aberdeen, Granite Falls, Liberty, Pearson, Prosser and South Bend, leaving only 18 Locals out of the entire 72, which were truly represented. We have evidence that yet other Locals of the remaining 18 will repudiate the action of their delegates.

But granting them the 18, as Herman did, what does the Party think of it? 18 Locals doing the work of 72? That is, just one quarter of the Party did the work of the party at Everett. Yet they talk about "King Rule!" But how did it happen? Whose fault was it, that 33 Locals failed to send delegates? WE SAY DELIBERATELY IT WAS THE FAULT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WHO HAVE HAD CHARGE OF THE PARTY'S AFFAIRS THE LAST YEAR.

Not of every member of that Committee, but of THE THREE WHO CONSTITUTED ITS MAJORITY. Anna Steele was not to blame certainly. She never flinched for a single instant in the midst of the most difficult situations. When the State Headquarters was packed with "Independents," like Brown and Parks and Robbins and Burgess, seeking to bulldoze the Executive committee and turning its sessions into fierce wrangles and almost into fist-fights, this gentle woman always retained her composure even when brutally taunted and insulted by the brave Burgess and others. Nothing but highest praise is due to her and to her associate in the minority, Comrade E. E. Martin. But the majority of Three, Barth, Smith and Hale, have so demoralized the Party during the last year, that the Locals were too discouraged to elect and send their delegates to the Convention.

Not one of these men were experienced in Party affairs. But they began at once to assert their authority. Comrade Krueger must be made to know his place. The Constitution made him "the official agent of the State Committee," not of the executive committee. He is the executive officer of the Party, as J. Mahlon Barnes, the National Secretary is of the National Party. He is not a mere clerk. He does the work and the Executive Committee meets once or twice a month to counsel with him and, if necessary, to direct him in the work of the Party.

But Barth, being elected chairman, after Mrs. Steele had declined the honor, began to boss Krueger, not even allowing him to be heard. He must keep his mouth shut in the presence of his superiors, Barth, Smith and Hale. Now Krueger is a mighty hard man to be bossed. He grew nervous and savage, demanding his rightful voice as the experienced and successful executive officer of the Party. Bu Barth was well-headed and ugly and he was supported by Smith and Hale. So the fight went on. The State Committee was appealed to. They writer) and I have been so busy answering letters and filling out orders that we had no time for reporting. However, I will now try to make up for the past.

We have received a larger number of subs and boosts during the last month than ever before. One Comrade in Roslyn sent in seventeen subs at one time. How's that for hustling? You could do the same if you tried. A local sent in five dollars worth of subs last week and got three dollars commission for it, as per agreement.

Middle Class or Wage Class

Many honest comrades in this state of Washington believe the present fight in the Socialist Party of this state, is a matter of personalities. They have heard so many different stories circulated about this or that person that they have concluded there is nothing to it but personal jealousies and ambitions. They are tired of that sort of thing and want to stamp it out and go on with real Party work.

No greater mistake was ever made. If the fight was all Titus and anti-Titus, it would have been stamped out long ago. It could not have lasted nine years, as this has. It is because Titus stands for something which cannot be destroyed, that he succeeds in maintaining his influence. He has no mysterious power such as his enemies superstitiously attribute to him, or maliciously attribute to him, in order to destroy the principles he represents.

There is a real fight on in this state between the material interests of the different sections in the Socialist Party. We urge every one to read Herbert Langerock's article in Number 429 of "The Socialist," on "The Coming Reaction." What he there says about the rising class consciousness of the middle class betrays itself conspicuously in the Socialist Party. The shrewd small business man sees his opportunity to capture the virile organization of the working class, known as the Socialist Party, and to accomplish his own objects by means of it. His interests are not the wage earners' interests. Therefore, where the wage earner is class conscious, as in Seattle, there is an everlasting clash between the business faction and the wage faction. Titus and Herman represent the wage faction. Mills and Brown represent the business faction.

Two Indians once lay down together at the same camp fire, supposing their tribes were friendly. But in the morning word reached them that war had broken out between them. Then they fought together. Both would have been cowards and traitors had they not fought each other.

In the same way, the wage man and the business man have lived together in the Socialist Party in hundreds of Locals, not knowing they were enemies, not working very harmoniously or effectively, as a rule, but still in fair harmony. Only when they both awake to class consciousness, do they find it no longer possible to get on peacefully. Then contests arise, personalities enter in and the unthinking cry out, "See those disgraceful Socialist squabbles. Do you suppose such people, eternally quarrelling, will ever be able to introduce and operate the Co-operative Commonwealth?"

The mistake of the Seattle Socialists for all these years has been one of tactics of organization. They have been clear on Proletarianism, in theory, but not in practice. While teaching the wage basis of the Party more practically than any other Local in America, the Seattle Socialists have practically never advocated the exclusion of the business class from the Party organization until during the last year.

Bitter experience has taught them the folly and disaster of getting a large membership, regardless of its character, whether it be Proletarian or bourgeois. Again and again, under the management of Revolutionary comrades, Local Seattle has grown to a membership of many hundreds, only to be swamped in fusion and confusion by the votes of the uneducated hundreds who have been admitted on the mere signing of an application blank, and who, in times of crisis, overlooked, because of their middle class interests or their working class ignorance, the mere scores who really understood the economic situation.

This explains the underlying causes of the Seattle fight at present. The business class, represented by Brown, supported by a few ambitious wage earners, like Day, are clamoring to get into Local Seattle. The wage class, already in control of that Local, like Hyde and Biscay and Ault and McSillarow, are determined those middle class interests shall never gain the ascendancy in Local Seattle, only to plunge them again into compromise and defeat.

That is the true explanation of the Seattle fight, which is now up to the State organization, and which occasioned the split in the Everett convention. Local Seattle stands for an organization which shall be composed of Proletarians controlled by class conscious Proletarians. It fights against being captured by middle class interests. Local Seattle is fighting for no man. It sees, and knows, from its own experience of thrice repeated disruption, that the middle class seeks to capture the Socialist Party. In many places, we might almost say, in most Locals, the middle class has captured the Socialist organization. But not in Local Seattle. The question at stake at the Everett convention was precisely that question. Those who gagged and drove out the Seattle delegates and those clear-sighted Constitutionalists who agreed with them, and a combination led by middle class Opportunists, like Jory and Cory, Harkness and Brown, Chamberlain and Patterson, Ranke and Cupples.

Brown, Chamberlain and Patterson, Ranke and Cupples.

And that is the underlying issue now as it has been for years past in the city of Seattle and the State of Washington. The middle class or the working class, which? It is an "Irrepressible Conflict" because the interests of the two classes are fatally antagonistic to each other.

Wonderful Minutes

Continued from page One

CONCEPTION OF THE IMPENDING POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN AMERICA!

They did not even have the courage to be frankly Middle Class. Read Jory's paper, the "Northwest Forum." Jory had more brains and common sense than most of the Gag Delegates. His paper is devoted to measures advocated by "the State Grange," a middle class organization. He is much concerned about "Safe Banks for the People," etc.

But not a word from this Convention which would satisfy these consistent longings of Jory's Middle Class heart. There were too many freakish impossibilities there for Jory's "Business Mind" to get any recognition. The Convention thus failed on the one hand to do anything for the Middle Class and on the other was too far out of touch with life to propose anything practical for the Proletariat.

Examine their list of Candidates for Executive Officers. Hale, Smith, Coates and Cupples for National Committee-men. Cupples' Middle Class viewpoint is seen in his Graft-letter in another column. Coates has been not

ed for compromise tactics in Colorado and Idaho and fits this mixed outfit of Barth and Brown perfectly. Hale and Smith have proved their inefficiency on the Executive Committee the last year.

Boomer and Elba for State Organizers. Boomer went out of the Convention with the Revolutionists and is put on only to mislead the Comrades. He will undoubtedly be heard from when he sees his name on the illegal ballot.

Elba is an entirely inexperienced Comrade in Mt. Vernon, in the movement only a short time, who would never have thought of putting himself up as State Organizer of the Socialist Party of Washington.

Bostrom and Salter for the most important office in the gift of the Party—State Secretary-Treasurer. Salter is absolutely unknown outside of Everett and Bostrom is the only man on the list who has some show of qualification for the office. He is truly representative of the Impossibilist element, but has never displayed any special organizing ability in Bellingham where he has lived for years.

Consider now who would constitute the Executive Committee proposed by the Gag Convention.

If Everett is chosen for Headquarters, "the five living nearest Everett" will be probably S. Roeder, Everett, Al. Roeder, Granite Falls, Wm. De Lilley, Arlington, Clifford, Mukiteo, and perhaps Thompson, Seattle, or Cook, Edmonds.

If Spokane is chosen, Barber, Spokane, Sax, Colville, Wood, Echo, Halbrook, Outlook, Lake, Prosser, or Jory of Sunnyside.

Where is there a single Executive in all these names, unless it be Jory? Contrast with these the selections of the Revolutionists for the Executive Committee: Clarence Folsom, President International Shingle Weavers' Union; T. F. Burns, Business Agent Tacoma Central Labor Council; Tom Russell, Organizer United Mine Workers; and J. A. McCorkie, Delegate from Carpenters' Union to Central Labor Council; and a fifth to be selected by the Finnish Comrades.

REMEMBER ALWAYS, COMRADES OF WASHINGTON, THAT NO REFERENDUM SENT OUT BY WAYNICK ON JULY 20 CAN HAVE ANY CONSTITUTIONAL RECOGNITION BY ANY LOCAL, SINCE HE WAS REMOVED ON JULY 12 BY THE SAME BODY WHICH ELECTED HIM.

Waynick very properly keeps in hiding in Seattle. He sneaks about the streets and alleys when he gets his mail at 5 o'clock in the morning. BUT HE ALWAYS BRINGS UP AT BROWN'S OFFICE.

Here also Burgess has his coop. Astonishing as it may seem to those who know Burgess in former days, he now wears a uniform, with Brass Buttons, and a label on his cap, reading "Brown's Dental Parlors." Burgess a lackey to Brown and Waynick ashamed to give his address, at the same Brown's Dental Parlors!

It is a situation, distinguished by several "Suppressed Facts."

The American Mind

The American mind, which is wont to be regarded by its possessor as the most progressive and most modern mind in the world, is in reality exactly the contrary. The American mind, considered strictly as a mind, is a relic of a past stage in human progress. Only when it is considered as an implement whereby wealth is to be created can the American mind be said to be up to date. When it comes to the matter of entertaining or working out philosophical, or social, or political questions, the American mind—that is, the mind of the average American—is from twenty-five to a hundred years behind its own environment. The reason for this is to be found in the economic history of the country. The intimate struggle with nature, from the very beginning, has created a nation of individualists. Until about twenty-five years ago the United States was a land in which the possibilities of the individual were limited, practically only by the individual himself. This condition bred a race of people which was intensely self-reliant and intensely hopeful of individual success. It developed a race of solitary fighters, each considering it his glorious advantage to go in for success, and, fighting alone, to win.

as a whole. The true-born American is led by this psychology to believe that anything he is worthy of he can get—in other words, that if he fails to make a success of life it is his own fault and strictly his own business. This attitude of mind excludes efficient thinking on collective problems. Hence the Americans have given to the world very little of value in philosophical or social thought.

But the conditions which have made the Americans a race of individualists have since changed. Modern industry has developed in America as nowhere else in the world, and with it has sounded the knell of individual ambition and individual achievement. Man can no longer carve out for himself the success that he aims at. He finds himself in America, as in the rest of the world, a mere cog in the social mechanism—made what he is by the inexorable force of circumstance and kept where he is by the same invincible force. The freedom of the individual to make himself what he chooses is over. He is crowded upon all sides and he can no longer move.

But the American mind, the American psychology, remains as it was in the days when the American was untrammelled. He is still an individualist, still believes in the potency of self, despite the fact that he is living in a society where, increasingly, only social things are potent. While the rest of the world has progressed, while the people of other nations, particularly those of Europe, are considering social questions and arriving at solutions which, working through society, help the individual, the American remains a solitary individualist—impatient in his individualism. The American, his mind educated to individualism and fed upon the antiquated literature of individualism, is not capable of dealing with the momentous issues which confront his own country and the world.

Hence it is that the Americans, through their municipal and national governments, are not able to solve the new questions that have arisen; are not capable of dealing with industrial questions, and are standing by impassively while the few surviving true individualists composing the ruling class of the land are having things their own way, evading the law, or making the law, or interpreting the law as it seems best for them.

When will the American mind cease to be obsolete? It cannot always be tied to the past. When social consciousness does come to it, it will come with a rush. That is the Mexican way.—"Modern Magazine," Chicago.

The Wild Irishman

By Ben Hanford, in his splendid book, "Fight for Your Life."

It was 1902, the seventeenth week of the great anthracite coal strike. Several miners had told me about "The Wild Irishman." The wonderful things he had done. His boldness and bravery. Equally ready to go down the shaft in time of danger to rescue a comrade, or to demand of the boss a raise in wages for himself and fellow miners, or to assist in organizing his brethren into a union.

"I'll lose me job if I talk unionism, will I? Well, then, I'll get another. If I can't get another, I'll go without." That was the way the Wild Irishman talked when he was told that he would be fired for his activity in union matters. He kept right on organizing unions. Strange to say, his bosses did not fire him. As the Wild Irishman told me when I saw him:

"If I lost me job, I'd have had all the more time to organize the men." I looked forward with interest to meeting the Wild Irishman. At last I went to his cabin, a common "house" in a mining camp near Wilkesbarre, Pa. I introduced myself, and he invited me into the back yard, the afternoon being warm. His wife joined us. Notwithstanding all I had heard about him, the Wild Irishman took me by surprise. He was a man well along into the sixties, what with the diseases and accidents incident to his trade, a rare old age for a miner. He had been gone anthracite mining in the old days when something like decent wages were paid. I never saw such a remarkable looking man in my life.

His scalp was scarred, and his face bore the blue-black marks of powder explosions. For the rest, it seemed as though every bone in his body was either fractured or dislocated. During his many years in and about the mines he had met with every sort of accident. Premature and delayed explosions. Fire damp. Pillars giving way. Roof falling. Pumping machinery out of order and flooding of the mine. Besides, he had gone looking for accidents,—had both legs broken while digging to rescue some comrades when the "hill fell on them." Such a twisted, battered-up man I never saw. But somehow nothing had ever been able to "get him" in a vital spot. And regardless of the fractures, dislocations and scars, I must have thought even he was a handsome man—and a strong man, notwithstanding his years. Heart and lungs as sound as ever. And an eye like an eagle. Crippled and disfigured in half a hundred places, grizzled, and gray, and weather-beaten, but strong. He sat there on a bench in the little back yard, telling the story of the great strike and the causes of it. And his good wife sat by, the most beautiful old woman I have ever seen. Hair whiter than snow. A fine oval face. Wrinkled. Deep lines written there when her son was killed in the mine. Other lines that told of want, then and in days gone by. And other

lines that told of worry, and of the long sleepless nights and days while she was watching and nursing the Wild Irishman. And yet that seamed old face was cheerful. She was one of those women that made you feel better, if she merely nodded to you. Her "good morning" would cheer you up for the day.

The Wild Irishman told me the tale of the strike, what caused it and what it was for. He told me the low wages the men made—when they had work. He told of the short time, the lay-offs, and the shut-downs. He told how the company stores robbed the men, charging them two and three prices for the staple necessities of life; how the men were in debt, and were compelled to trade at the company stores; those who were not in debt being laid off. He told how the company charged the miner two and three times the market price for powder. He told how the company sold coal on a basis of 2,240 pounds to the ton, and how they compelled the miner to give them a ton of 3,000 pounds or more. He told how the men were docked for trifling things, and how the companies fought against a check weighing—a measure with no purpose except to insure the honest weighing of the coal. He told of the company doctor, the company houses, and countless other grand and petty forms of robbery and extortion practiced by the coal barons.

As he concluded his story of the conditions under which he had labored for so many years, the Wild Irishman stood up. He raised one hand as if taking an oath and said: "And I and the boys will never go back under the old conditions—never—I'll ate the dirt in the street first!" The white-haired old wife spoke up. Said she:

"Yes, and I'll cook it for him!" That's what I call Solidarity.

I am one of those who throughout my life have been very fortunate in my friendships. But I never have and never shall meet a nobler man than the Wild Irishman, nor a grander, braver man.

Why wouldn't he be—with a wife like that?

CHARGES THICK AS FLIES—AND AS IMPORTANT.

July 14, 1909. Comrade Emil Herman: I am notifying you that the following charges were placed with Local Tacoma, a copy of which is as follows:

July 6, 1909. "I, Wm. Ranke, herewith prefer charges against Emil Herman, member of Local Tacoma; guilty of Party Treason; guilty of violating Article 6, Section 10, of the Constitution of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, at Everett, Wash., July 4, 1909. (Signed) WM. RANKE. P. A. JOHNSON.

At the July 6 meeting of the Local a motion was made and carried to sustain the charges. Another was made and carried to fix the date of your trial on August 3rd. I expect at the regular business meeting. I would have notified you sooner but I was not sure of your address, and I am not sure now for that matter. I have just been made secretary and if I have not done the right thing I wish you would put me right. FRREDERICK P. LOWE. Recording Secretary Local Tacoma. 908 S Cedar St.

HERMAN'S REPLY.

Burlington, Wash., July 19, 1909. Frederick P. Lowe, 908 S Cedar Street, Tacoma, Wash.

Dear Comrade: Your favor of July 14th was forwarded to me at this place.

In reply to same will say that inasmuch as I am not a member of Local Tacoma it is outside the jurisdiction of that body to try me.

I am a member of Local Midland and would suggest that you look up Section 4, Article 4, of the State Constitution, and act accordingly.

The Secretary of Local Midland is Mrs. Eleanor M. Herman, Box 310, R. F. D. No. 4, Tacoma, and the State Secretary is Richard Krueger, Box 52, Seattle, Wash.

Yours for the Revolution, EMIL M. HERMAN. National Committeeman and State Lecturer for the Socialist Party of Washington.

Barth & Co. howl for "Majority Rule," regardless of any Book of Rules adopted by the Constitution, when they have the majority. But when the majority of the State Committee is against them, then Barth & Co. defy the majority just as they defy the Constitution. Besides the subs we have been getting orders for back numbers of the paper containing such articles as "Reform Socialism and Revolutionary Socialism," "Historical Achievement of Karl Marx," "Socialism in Theory and Practice," "Anarchism," etc. These sell at five cents each. In bundles of ten or more they go for three cents each.

The above named are splendid articles and seem to be very much in demand. So if you want any I advise you to send in your orders now. For they are going very fast. Some of the Comrades have been expressing their doubts as to how we are getting along with the subs. I presume that is because they have not heard from the circulation department for so long a time. "The fact of the matter is" (this is a very common expression among the Comrades) that Oliver (the type-

voted to sustain Krueger and gave him a chance to be heard.

Then the Executive Trio made their second great blunder. They determined to listen to the endless "charges" and "complaints" and "communications" and "protests" poured upon them by the Mills crowd in Seattle. These three men thought they knew more about the Seattle situation than Krueger, Secretary for two years, or than Martin, State Secretary for years all through the former Fusion Fights in Seattle, or than Anna Steele, for eight years a member of Local Seattle or than Herman and Jensen, the two National Committeemen, or than all the rest of the true and tried comrades who have fought the Working Class fight in this state for many years.

Both Smith and Hale judged themselves "ordained of God" to set things right and bring peace and goodwill and brotherly love into the Socialist Party of Washington. In order to effect this great reformation, Barth, Smith and Hale formed a practical alliance with the Middle Class, Reform Socialists known as the "Mills crowd" or "Independents" in Seattle and throughout the state. Hale knew better, probably. Barth and Smith were too opinionated to know better or learn better.

So they have gone on throughout the year, encouraging and fomenting suspicion and dissension. The Locals have been, by the weakness and cowardice of this Executive Trio, deluged with Brown documents, Burgess-letters and False Facts without number, until the comrades in the state grew disgusted and disheartened. It must also be said that State Organizer Wagenknecht did little or nothing to check this growing disaffection. He allowed Krueger to be misrepresented and misunderstood.

Instead of a spirit of hope and progress and pride and achievement such as has characterized the Washington movement, even when rent into factions in the past, the Party organization has fallen short in all these qualities and become distrustful of itself and of its representatives.

This is specially true since Krueger was removed in April. Krueger is no saint. He makes enemies. But he was always true to the Working Class. And he fights, fights for himself and for the class he belongs to, and he has been splendidly efficient. Yet this petty little trio in the Executive Committee allowed Krueger to be slandered outrageously, labelled most falsely and maliciously as a "Defaulter," so as to gain for themselves a personal point over him and displace his authority with them.

The wretched inefficiency of this bare majority of the Executive Committee culminated in an open act of Party treachery at Everett, the night before the Convention, when they held a caucus at Smith's House in association with Brown, Parks & Co., the expelled Seattle "Independents," and there and then "organized the Convention" in the interests of those expelled "Independents" whose organization, the "Propaganda League" includes every Fusionist, Compro-miser, Middle Class advocate, Mills supporter in Seattle.

Waynick was elected Temporary Secretary by this same combination. They literally yelled with delight when Waynick was elected in Krueger's place.

Things in the State organization have steadily deteriorated under Waynick. He is a slow, methodical plodder, with little personal initiative. He encouraged the Reform elements in the Party and discouraged the Revolutionary elements.

The result of all this, was disclosed in the diminished attendance at the Everett Convention. Suspicion, distrust, disgust, discouragement ensued at sight of the Executives of the Party spending their whole time throughout the year in petty squabbles among themselves and in allying themselves with the disowned Mills crowd in Seattle.

All this time, consider Local Seattle itself, not only having to fight the Mills crowd, bitterly hostile and forcing themselves back into the Party membership in order to defeat and disrupt the Revolutionists, but compelled by the Executive Committee to put up a continual defence, month after month, against scores of charges as false as hell, yet believed by outside comrades, BECAUSE THIS MAJORITY ON THEIR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PAID ATTENTION TO THEM AND ENCOURAGED THEIR ATTACKS.

Yet Local Seattle still lives in spite of the Executive Committee. It is still on deck and doing more propaganda work than ever in its history. In May and June, \$275 worth of Socialist literature sold on the streets, 70 street meetings held reaching 10,000 new people with the message of Socialism. While the "Independents" with their boasted numbers and undoubted cash, held one Hall meeting a week, having one night 122 people in attendance and another 75 people in a hall which the Proletarians when they had it three years ago used to pack with audiences of a thousand. "By their fruits ye shall know them."