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# The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 432

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## EXECUTIVE KEEPS HANDS OFF

### State Autonomy Holds Good -- Now for Referendum -- Line Up, Divide, Decide -- Krueger Legal State Secretary -- Question in Courts -- Waynick to be Enjoined from Acting -- No Dual Organization to be Allowed -- State Constitution Must be Observed

The National Executive Committee did practically nothing, at its meeting July 23 and 24, concerning the Washington situation.

The following telegram was sent by National Secretary Barnes to both Richard Krueger and W. H. Waynick, word for word the same to both:

"Substance of decision: The Committee will await the results of the Referendum vote ordered by the Everett State Convention and will recognize the State Committee elected upon such referendum and the State Secretary elected by such Referendum."

The Opportunists are claiming this decision supports Waynick as State Secretary and puts them in the saddle. They publish their good news in their "P-I" and sent out circular letters announcing themselves as "the official State Committee now recognized by the National Office."

Nothing of this kind appears in the above two telegrams. They are exactly alike, sent to Krueger and Waynick, and they say, "The National Executive Committee will wait." There is not a word as to who is the State Secretary in Washington. That question was up to them, as "The Socialist" said last week. It would appear that the Opportunist National Executive, though known to be antagonistic to the Proletarian organization in Washington, yet did not have the courage to declare openly for Waynick and the Opportunists he represents in this state.

The most the Committee does is to recognize the regularity of the Everett Convention, which no one has ever denied.

That Convention was regularly called and regularly met. At a certain point in the Convention, it denied and flouted the State Constitution. At this point, certain delegates left the convention, declaring they would appeal to the membership to decide whether a Socialist Convention could violate the Party Constitution and deny the rights of Free Debate.

That question is now before the rank and file on a regular referendum called for by six Locals. This referendum precedes the other referendum on the specific acts of the Convention, which latter referendum is erroneously referred to in Barnes' telegram as "the referendum ordered by the Convention." That referendum on "all the acts of the Convention" is provided for by the Constitution itself, quite apart from any "ordering" by the Convention. This provision of the Constitution directs the State Secretary Treasurer to prepare and submit such referendum on all the acts of the Convention, for a "Yes" and "No" vote.

But Waynick was regularly removed before he was ready to issue said referendum and it is up to Krueger to submit it.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE APPARENTLY DOES NOT TOUCH THE QUESTION OF WHO IS STATE SECRETARY. THAT IS TO BE DECIDED BY THE STATE ITSELF. The state autonomy section in the National Constitution says the National Officials "shall have no right to interfere in matters pertaining to the propaganda organization and financial affairs of any state organization."

The strictest construction of this section would have forbidden the Executive Committee from passing even on the regularity of the Convention, but they evidently allowed their acknowledged sympathy with the Reformists to express itself to that extent, while refraining from deciding that eight members of a State Committee of fifteen are not a majority of that committee and that they have no right to call a meeting of such committee and remove the Temporary Secretary-Treasurer they themselves elected. EVEN OUR OPPORTUNIST NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BALKED AT THAT MONSTROSITY, though that it what our stupid Opportunists in Brown's Dental Parlors are claiming now.

Meanwhile, what?

TWO THINGS: Waynick and his minority of the State Committee have been directed by the Superior Court of King County to show cause why they should not be ordered by that court to cease running an illegal dual organization of the Socialist Party in the State of Washington. There is no other way to settle this dispute as to who is State Secretary and entitled to act for the party.

Legal proceedings were instituted by Richard Krueger and the majority of eight on the State Committee, July 30, and the hearing is set for Aug. 6. Whether we like it or not, that court decision will have to be observed by all parties. We shall then know who is the legally qualified Secretary-Treasurer, Krueger or Waynick. We predict that any money sent to Waynick and used by him will have to be accounted for, even though he has never put up a bond, as Krueger has done.

In the second place, let the discussion go on in every Local, so as to be ready to vote on the Referendum or Referendums. The specific acts of the Convention at Everett will have to be voted on UNLESS THE NULLIFICATION REFERENDUM CARRIES, which does not close in the Locals till August 18. The other Referendum has not legally been put out yet, as Waynick was removed on July 12, eight days before he issued his alleged Referendum, July 20.

There is therefore no hurry in voting. We can await the Court's decision on August 6. Then we can vote on the Anti-Gag Referendum and finally on the acts of the Gag Convention itself, if the party votes to approve the Gag Rule in the Convention.

Anyhow, the National Executive has decided nothing, except to keep its hands off till the Referendum on the Everett Convention is voted on.

IF IT HAD OPENLY DECIDED AGAINST US, OUR COURSE MUST HAVE BEEN THE SAME. WE CAN NEVER ALLOW A MIDDLE CLASS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO USE ITS POWER TO CRUSH THE PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATION IN THIS STATE AND THEREBY DISCOURAGE PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATION EVERYWHERE.

EVEN IF THE CAPITALIST COURT DECIDES AGAINST US, AS WE BELIEVE IT CANNOT, IF IT SUSTAINS OUR CONSTITUTION, THE PROLETARIAN SOCIALISTS OF WASHINGTON WILL STILL BE ON DECK TO FIGHT FOR A REAL PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATION IN WASHINGTON AND IN EVERY OTHER STATE.

cluding this referendum, to his successor, Krueger. Instead, Waynick went ahead illegally, and put out the referendum on July 20, eight days after he ceased to have any authority to act.

Yet the convention was legally called, and the referendum on the acts would legally have gone to the membership if Waynick had not usurped an office he had no right to hold, and sent out a referendum he had no more right to send out than any other member of the Party.

As the matter now stands, Krueger will have to send this referendum over again, unless the membership vote the entire gag convention null and void. In which event, things will remain exactly as if no State Convention had been held.

The thing to be done now is for every Local to vote on the Nullification Referendum, which no one can deny has been constitutionally and regularly called for by five Locals. Let everyone vote on that. If it carries, then it wipes out the convention and all its acts. If it fails to carry, then the other referendum, "Yes" or "No" on all the acts of that convention will be properly before the Party.

Fifth—The National Executive Committee has simply decided to keep its hands off the Washington situation till a referendum of the Party is taken. Secretary Barnes sends the same dispatch to both Krueger and Waynick, thus leaving the Washington Party to decide who is its own secretary and how its referendum shall be conducted.

This action of the National Executive Committee seems like a dodge, a sidestepping. But it may be claimed that the committee was only obeying the National Constitution, which forbids the National organization from interfering with state organizations in any matter of "propaganda, organization or finances."

Very well. If Waynick persists in heading a second or dual party in Washington, there is nothing left for the regular Party organization represented by the State Committee and its "official agent," State Secretary Krueger, to compel the impostor, Waynick, to surrender the records, seal and funds unlawfully retained by him. When nothing but force will avail, then force must be adopted. For over two weeks Secretary Krueger has waited for Waynick to cease his illegal and disrupting tactics. The State Committee ordered him by registered mail and over the signatures of eight members to deliver all Socialist Party goods in his possession to Secretary Krueger, and they hold his receipt for same. He has ignored this order, and proceeds to issue circulars

to the Locals as if he were Secretary-Treasurer, calling for votes, for dues and reports. He is thus an absolute impostor and usurper, using the Socialist Party for his own private ends. He will be forced to stop by the only force available in present society, that of the capitalist courts and police officers.

Sixth—THE RESOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS REPRESENTED BY THE MAJORITY OF THE STATE COMMITTEE AND BY SECRETARY KRUEGER ARE WILLING TO ABIDE BY A REFERENDUM OF THE PARTY, CONDUCTED BY THE REGULARLY ELECTED SECRETARY.

Why are those who defend the Gag Convention afraid to submit their Gag Rule to the entire membership?

If they can get the Party to endorse their Gag Rule, then their "acts" will be submitted in due course and their candidates, resolutions, constitutional changes, etc., be accepted or rejected.

THE NULLIFICATION REFERENDUM IS REGULARLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY BEFORE THE PARTY. It is the only one which is regularly and constitutionally before the Party. It is returnable August 18. Let us all vote on that, and all will abide by the result.

Seventh—"The Socialist" has a proposition to make, which may or may not be acceptable. In order that no accusation of unfairness may be made against Secretary Krueger's conduct of the Nullification Referendum, we propose that it be conducted jointly by both Krueger and Waynick. That is, let Waynick assist Secretary Krueger in receiving and counting said referendum ballots. That would assure a fair count.

Meanwhile, let the arguments proceed. Let the Locals thresh it out. Let us line up and divide and decide. There are two factions in the Socialist Party; there is no doubt about it. Let us have a fair count of noses on this clear-cut issue: SHALL THE CONVENTION OVERRIDE THE CONSTITUTION? OR SHALL THE EVERETT CONVENTION BE REBUKED AND NULLIFIED FOR DENYING THE RIGHT OF FREE DEBATE GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION?

That is certainly an issue worth deciding. If a Socialist Convention can deliberately flout the fundamental law of the Party as embodied in its Constitution, if specifically a Socialist Convention can gag the minority and go unrebuked by the Party membership, then a representative convention of Socialists becomes what capitalist representative bodies have become, namely, a master and not a servant, a tyrant and not an agent.

Those who bolted that convention at Everett did it because they refused to be gagged by a tyrannical, autocratic majority. It was not because they were out-voted. They had often been out-voted. But when they were denied the common right of debate on questions before the house they decided to appeal from the convention to the Party.

That appeal of theirs is now before the Party in Washington. Will you, the rank and file, who sent your delegates to that convention, make it forever impossible for any other convention to ride roughshod over your Constitution and over the universal right of free speech?

VOTE DOWN THE GAG RULE. NULLIFY THE WHOLE CONVENTION.

Six Locals have demanded a vote on the question. The Constitution guarantees those six Locals the right to call for that referendum and have it voted on.

ONLY THOSE FEAR IT WHO FEAR THE RANK AND FILE.

We demand the Referendum.

At last, at last, the Opportunists in Seattle have been shamed into holding a street meeting. After the Revolutionists have won the freedom of these streets by a life and death battle, after the Revolutionists have held a hundred meetings in the last two months, reached at least ten thousand strangers and sold three hundred dollars worth of Revolutionary literature during that time, then at last come Day and Burgess and Ball and Sadler and do what? Take a new street corner and make their own fight? O, No! They plant themselves early in the evening on one of the regular Socialist party corners, where they expect our speakers to appear, so as to annoy the Revolutionists and drive them to find some new spot.

Exactly as the S. L. P. do. Tonight (Thursday, July 29) the S. L. P. speakers captured 4th and Pike, where Ralph Korngold spoke the last two nights to big crowds and where Hyde and Biscay have been speaking for months. Carlson and Gilhaus got out there early, so as to disconcert our Socialist speakers. But Korngold set up his box just across the street, and at this moment (9 p. m.) Korngold has 500 people and Gilhaus has 20. While Burgess holds down 2nd and Union with a crowd of 40 people, where Hyde usually has had 400.

As Lindstrom, of South Bend, said tonight: "These 'Independents' and S. L. P.'s are like poor fishermen. They watch to see where the good fishermen catch fish and then they rush over there and throw in their bait."

P. S.—At 9:30 Burgess, Day and Co. have played out and adjourned to the outskirts of Korngold's meeting at 4th and Pike. S. L. P. ditto. The fish wouldn't bite their bait.

### KRUEGER'S NOTES

Have you seen the last number of "Suppressed Facts"? As was predicted in Everett this sheet has become the official organ of the Barth, Smith element and their supporters.

In his circular letter to the comrades in Washington, Waynick informs you that the list of the Washington Locals formerly withheld by the Seattle Ring, is being mailed to you. Look at the minutes of the S. E. C. meetings and in four of them you will find that the request for a list of the Local Secretaries, made first by Local Outlook, then Olympia, then Burgess and last Spokane, was not granted. If Waynick tells the truth, then Barth, Smith and Hale is the Seattle Ring, for they were the majority of the Executive Committee.

State Committeeman Bostrom now also makes "Suppressed Facts" his official organ. Two letters are dashed out to you. Were his letters worthy of the space in the "Seattle Socialist"? one he wrote to State Secretary Krueger telling him about his own Local in Bellingham and the Temp. State Secretary now ousted, and making suggestions how they should be dealt with, would be interesting reading matter to those who now support him.

Why was not a report made by the S. E. C. to the convention as formerly was done in a most detailed manner? Had Waynick made this report, as he should have done, H. G. Cupples, of Bellingham; J. W. Daken, of Burlington; J. C. Harkness, of Colville; G. G. Severance, of Echo Valley; A. Roeder, of Granite Falls; P. C. Armstead, of Mukilteo; W. E. Barber, of Spokane; and W. H. Dorr, M.A.L., could never have been seated in the convention.

Had this report been made, we could have made a comparison between the condition of the party two years and a year ago, with what it has become under the regime of Barth, Smith and Hale.

Of the minority only Bostrom showed up once for a moment during the latest meetings of the State Committee, but the "Insurgents" and "Independents" were out in force. They, however, not having any business in Socialist meetings, and the purpose of the attendance being so well known, were forwarded by express to Texas.

It is a good rule made by the State Committee that henceforth only members in good standing will be allowed to attend committee meetings.

The meetings of Herman, Biscay and Hyde are in every respect successful. A summary of their work and experiences will be published in next week's issue.

In 1907 and 1908 the minutes of the

conventions in those years were printed and sent all over not only in this state but all the states and foreign countries, where there is a Socialist Movement, at the enormous cost of \$600.00. Probably a few hundred were printed this year, but watch out for the printing bill from the Ivy Printing Comp.

There is one redeeming feature in connection with these minutes. A scab concern, the Underwood Typewriter Comp. lent their assistance to get them out.

Convention hall for three days in 1907 cost \$15.00.  
Two convention halls for three days in 1908, \$12.00; both times in Seattle. One convention hall for three days in Everett in 1909—\$30.00, besides other unnecessary incidental expenses and the larceny of between 6000-7000 splendid propaganda leaflets.

The existence of such propaganda as the Address to Organized Labor together with National and State Platforms and the state constitution in a neat little pamphlet, is, as a matter of course, obnoxious to such men as Barth, Smith, Roeder, Bostrom and others. Barth's first encounter with the present State Secretary Krueger, was at a local meeting in Tacoma, when the secretary successfully fought scab printing done by Local Tacoma, 18 months ago. It was there that Barth openly fought for scab labor. Is it any wonder then that these people defy constitutions when they are openly opposed to the address to organized labor, as adopted by the membership of the Party in the Nation?

W. H. Waynick, from the offices of Lawyer Brown, and presumably under his instruction and that of Burgess, Parks, McClure and Day with Barth as a mere tool, the worthy Waynick who formerly posed as the secretary of a dual organization in Bellingham and at the same time performed the duty as secretary of a local chartered by the Washington State Committee, the local being composed of eight members of the dual organization, this same Waynick has sent out a list of the Washington Locals and included in that list there is to be found Local Paulsbo with Johnson, who was the organizer for the Mills Party, as the secretary. This Local never has made application for a charter and of course a charter could never have been granted. "To hell with the constitution" is the battle cry of the Waynick following.

State Committeeman Smith advertises to the world on his envelopes that the struggle between the rich middle class on the one hand, and the poor working class on the other, is, a la Roosevelt, a deplorable fact. But Smith is a part owner of the Washington Stove Works in Everett, and of course a wageworker. We of the working class are organized partly for the purpose to widen the breach still further between these two classes.

Everett Local at a business meeting decided, after they had notified the State Organizer they wanted Comrade Herman for a street meeting, that in no way would they support Herman at his street meeting. However, they were there, all the shining lights of that Local, when Herman held his meeting. Comrades Tibbits and Reece expressed their willingness to help Herman out with the sale of literature and the collection, but they did not, because they were threatened with expulsion from the local should they in any way assist Herman.

Because of this attitude Herman sold more literature at that meeting than he had ever done before in that city. Agnes Thekla Fair of "Sour Dough Bible" fame, secured a good collection also for Herman.

Al. Roeder, also of Everett, but a committeeman from Granite Falls, and also a delegate to the late convention from Local Granite Falls, confessed to Comrade Herman to dirty work on his own initiative while working with "The Ring." Al. Roeder is now out of the Ring and the Ring is to be congratulated.

KORNGOLD STANDS PAT.  
Ralph Korngold refused to accept dates from Waynick on the ground that eight is a majority of fifteen and that Waynick was removed by a vote of eight out of fifteen State Committeemen, and Krueger reinstated by same vote.

### SOME GUIDE POSTS

First—The majority in the Everett Convention represented the "Independents" in Seattle. Brown, Burgess, Parks, Mallory, Furlberg and the rest of the "Mills crowd" are delighted at the result of that convention. "Suppressed Facts" is out again, printing in biggest type, "Titus Gang Completely Routed."

That is Point No. 1, which no one will deny. The Mills following in Seattle, and all over the State too, are those who defend the Gag Convention at Everett.

Out of all the dust and gossip and personalities and confusion, in spite of columns and pages of printed matter, resolutions, circulars, letters, this one thing remains clear—THE MILLS SUPPORTERS IN SEATTLE ARE HAPPY.

That ought to be a guide to any uncompromising Socialist who is in doubt what to think of all the mass of talk and dispute.

Second—The Everett Convention applied the gag to the minority. No one denies that. When they tell you they only enforced "majority rule" they confess the very thing charged against them, namely, THEY ADOPTED A RULE WHICH ALLOWED THE MAJORITY TO SUPPRESS DEBATE. This was a gag rule, contrary to Roberts' Rule, which forms part of the State Constitution, requiring two-thirds to suppress free speech.

But the Everett Convention openly and in so many words rejected the constitutional provision when it said majority shall suppress debate, "regardless of any book of rules." REGARDLESS of any book of rules."

That is, the majority can gag the minority, regardless of the Constitution.

About that second point there is no dispute by anyone.

The Everett Convention refused to abide by the Constitution of the party which guaranteed free speech and full debate.

This point ought also to be a guide to anyone in doubt as to what all this fight is about and who's who.

JORITY OF FIFTEEN, AND THERE IS NO GETTING AWAY FROM THAT FACT.

The claim in the Everett "resolution," printed elsewhere in this paper, that the convention had power to expel members of the State Committee only shows to what extremities the defenders of Waynick are driven. No convention of the Socialist Party has any power until its acts are confirmed by referendum of the membership.

Until a new State Committee is chosen by the Party's rank and file the old committee holds its authority. It is this regularly elected State Committee which on July 12 removed Waynick as temporary State Secretary-Treasurer and elected Krueger State Secretary-Treasurer.

There is absolutely no doubt about Krueger's legal standing.

Fourth—Two legal referendums are now constitutionally to be voted on by the Washington Party.

One is called for by six Locals, the Constitution requiring only five. No one can doubt the constitutionality or binding character of this referendum, which puts this question before the membership: "Shall the acts of the Everett Convention be declared null and void because it violated the Constitution?" This referendum is returnable on the 18th of August. It has regularly been issued by Secretary Krueger and its regularity and constitutionality can not be intelligently questioned by anyone. If this first referendum carries the second one will have no force or meaning.

The second constitutional referendum has also to do with the acts of the Everett Convention. It was not "ordered by that convention," as some think. The Constitution orders it, whether the convention orders it or not. The Constitution is above conventions, though the Everett Convention defied the Constitution.

Here is the exact provision (Article VI, Section 16):  
"All acts of the State Convention shall be properly arranged, paragraph by paragraph, by the State Secretary-Treasurer, and submitted within fifteen days from adjournment of said convention to a referendum vote of the entire Party membership, who shall vote 'No' or 'Yes' on each paragraph of said acts."

Waynick was Temporary Secretary till removed on July 12. He should then have turned over all matters, in-



# 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

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 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 coddled lars. 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 power, 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

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 the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom of 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.

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 wages, 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 scheme of organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Kaywood 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.

### CONFRONTED BY GREAT CRISIS.

"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.

### 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 employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized 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 the 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 capitalist and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

### BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.

"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist Party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule."

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DR. TITUS has removed to 302-303 Shafer Bldg., 1414 Second Ave., opp. Bon Marche. Hours, 11 to 1 and 3 to 7.

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### 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 reforesting 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 assemblage.

### 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 unskilled 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,



# LET US BE REASONABLE

By John McSlarrow

Throughout the state Comrades are asking "If the charges that are being made against Local Seattle and the Titus Ring are not true then why is it that there is so little effort made to answer them?"

Now Comrades let us be reasonable, let us lay aside for a time this blind unthinking prejudice which we have allowed to warp our better judgment, let us try to see things as they really are.

First of all, why should we attempt to answer anything emanating from the source where these charges are conceived and incubated. If in passing along the highway I should be set upon by a bunch of howling, snarling curs, why should I be required to explain why the curs wished to bite? And in case I should fail to explain, why should anyone conclude that I must surely be a rogue or the hounds would not have attacked me?

At the bottom of all this, there is a question of principle. If a principle is ever to become active it must be represented by a person or a group of persons; for this reason, persons and principles are pretty hard to separate.

## Why a Socialist Party.

To proceed, why does the Socialist Party exist? I think any man who knows anything about it will agree that the Socialist Party exists for the purpose of fighting the battles of the Working Class, with the ultimate aim of abolishing the wage system and establishing the co-operative commonwealth. I hardly think this assertion will be contradicted.

I believe all will agree that today the Washington movement is considered the most revolutionary in the U. S. Let us keep these facts in mind in the further consideration of this matter.

## Suppressed Facts.

For many months there has been circulating throughout the state an anonymous sheet very appropriately named, for it certainly does attempt

## Washington State Platform

Continued from Page Two

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

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

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

(a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such work 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."

to suppress all facts and succeeds fairly well.

I have the latest issue (July 22) before me, and Comrades, I want to say, if any man can point to one truthful statement in the whole sheet I will on the streets of Seattle, or in their rendezvous, Arcade Hall, make public acknowledgment that I am the greatest liar in the state.

## That Slate.

Under the heading "Desperate Tactics of the Ring to Destroy the Work of the State Convention," a Quack Dentist tries to make a great capital of the fact that Local Seattle had framed a slate and tried to force it upon the Convention.

It is not denied that there was a slate, but it is not true that this slate was the work of Seattle alone, but was as a matter of fact the result of the mature deliberations of some 15 or 16 Locals of the Socialist Party.

It is quite true that we sought to control the convention, and it is also equally true that we did control the convention up to the point where it became necessary for the convention to renounce the Constitution and resort to mob tactics in order to get rid of us.

## Why Not?

But why should we not control the convention? Who had a better right to control? Who are the ones that composed this slate, of which our mountebank lawyer says: "The stench of this slate is enough to convince any one that they would steal the vote and destroy the party."

"For Chairman, Emil Herman." If there is a member of the Socialist Party who does not know Emil Herman, and the brand of Socialism for which he works and fights and often goes to jail, I should like to make his acquaintance, he would be quite a curiosity. We all know Herman, and I cannot believe that all the lies ever printed can convince any thinking man that Herman is not a strict Revolutionary Socialist, and as honest as the day is long, and yet it is said he would steal the vote, and wreck the party. It is to laugh.

"For Secretary, C. W. Garrett, of Centralia." As to the kind of Socialism he stands for I can do no better than refer to his letters which have appeared in the recent issues of "The Socialist." These letters speak for themselves and need no further comment. I will say, however, that he was slated for secretary of the convention because his many years service as a Government Clerk at Washington seemed to qualify him for the position.

I hardly think he would have read the question that had been previously acted upon, and have fondly imagined he was reading the "Previous question." Neither do I think that when the previous question was demanded Herman would have asked that the Secretary read the previous question.

Why were Herman and Garrett so objectionable? There is a reason, and I think all comrades must begin to see it. Certain Lobbyists, certain Powers behind the scenes, did not want the Convention to have honest, efficient officers.

"Credentials Committee." A Jonas, Aberdeen; John McSlarrow, Seattle; E. E. Martin, Silverdale.

For ten years or more the name of A. Jonas has always been coupled with strict Working Class Socialism, for ten years the name of A. Jonas has been accepted as a synonym for honesty, integrity, and strict revolutionary principles. Can it be that any honest person will require that he stoop to make explanations, just because some long haired tooth fixer says his name is a stench, and that he is liable to wreck the party? I hardly think so.

John McSlarrow. It is not easy to talk about ones self, neither will I any more than is necessary. Most of you know me and can be your own judge.

In the State Secretary's office there is (or rather was before that office was burglarized by some one, presumably one Wayne, present whereabouts unknown) a book of reference, kept by the various secretaries for the purpose of keeping tab upon the personnel of the party. In that book, in what I believe to be the handwriting of D. Burgess is the following passage: "John McSlarrow—Probably the best posted and most revolutionary Socialist in the movement, qualified to hold any position in the State." Of course I have always considered this "reference" as somewhat overdrawn and as placing me on a rather high pedestal, but will D. Burgess or any other man, dare to say that except for the evident exaggeration, it is not true? Will D. Burgess, or even his temporal (and apparently spiritual) master Dr. (?) Brown, attempt to say that I do not understand the principles of Socialism, or that my class interests are such as to prevent me from being a Revolutionary? Does it look reasonable that I would attempt to wreck the only party that offers me any relief from my present condition of Wage Slavery? Brown says, I would, but I cannot believe that he will try to defend such

a ridiculous assertion, which he evidently made without weighing his words properly.

E. E. Martin, is so well known that he needs no defense. There is not a Socialist in the State of Washington who will for a moment entertain a doubt as to what principles Martin stand for.

McCorkle, Longmire, Jaynes, slated for Committee on rules, because of their known ability as parliamentarians.

As a matter of fact that is just why they were so strenuously opposed. Certain powers that be did not want an intelligent Rules Committee. "Nuf sed."

For Constitution: Tom Russell, Elia K. Stone, McSlarrow.

All chosen for their recognized ability in this kind of work. Tom Russell for years an officer in the United Mine Workers of America, a man whose ability is undoubted, a man whose Revolutionary proclivities have for years been a stench to Brown & Co.

Mrs. Stone needs no recommendation here. The fact that she is not on the visiting list of such folks as Mrs. Cory and Irene Smith ought to be sufficient to recommend her to all true proletarians.

## Titus Too.

On the slate the name of Titus appears. We have no apologies to offer for Titus. The whole Socialist world knows Titus, and nowhere in the Socialist world is that name ever connected with fusion or compromise, or trimming.

To question Titus' position is to question the principles of Socialism. Even Burgess does not dare to do that. In an earlier issue of "Suppressed Facts," Burgess admits that the kind of Socialism Titus fights for is the proper kind.

Now, if after admitting that a thing is right we see a man fighting that thing, we must conclude that man is willfully and knowingly wrong. Comrades use your reason, that is all I ask.

## Our State Committee.

We slated a State Committee. Read the names. Clarence Folsom, President International Shingle Weavers' Union of America. Burns of Tacoma, long recognized as perhaps the most efficient labor union organizer in the northwest. Russell of Cle Elum, of whom mention has already been made. McCorkle of Seattle, whose knowledge of constitutional law, and orderly procedure is second to none in the movement. J. G. Brown of Olalia, former president of Shingle Weavers, has been for years delegate to National gatherings of A. F. of L.

Ada Gatchell: A woman of such well known integrity and superior fighting ability that she has won the personal hatred of all enemies of the working class, than which a better recommendation could not be asked by any Socialist.

Other names there are on the slate, all of them well known names to the Socialists of this state. Every name on the slate is the name of some one who has for years been a stench in the nostrils of our enemies, the Capitalist Class. Everyone, the name of a person of unquestioned ability and fitness for the position for which slated.

Now Comrades when any man or set of men tells you that those people are a stench, and asks you to believe they are going to wreck the party, all I ask is that you lay prejudice aside and use reason in making your decision.

## Their "Fruits."

Long ago it was said: "By their fruits ye shall know them." After the "Boit" of the Revolutionists, the convention got down to business and proceeded to bear fruit, one choice bunch of fruit is their list of nominees for State Committee. In my opinion this list of nominees is in itself enough to cause any Proletarian to look with suspicion on the organization that named them. While it is true that the list contains the names of several supposedly honest working men, yet there is not one of them that has ever been recognized as a revolutionary except perhaps DeLilly, and he is an acknowledged Anarchist, which is the worst type of a reactionary. While Barber, and Barth, and several others, though undoubtedly working men, are notorious both for their middle class tendencies and their lack of common sense.

## Farmers and Merchants.

In addition we have a bunch of farmers, and merchants, all more or less honest (some of them quite perceptibly less) but in no case representative of the Proletariat; and last but not least, we have such freaks as Mrs. Cory, the wife of a mill owner, and H. D. Jory, whom his own relations will not trust with the loan of a dollar, and who has great difficulty in getting those who know him to believe a word he says.

## Ring Rule.

Now Comrades I with others am charged with trying to run the conven-

tion. In the light of what has developed, don't it seem that it would have been better if we had captured the convention? Would the Party have not been in better and more competent hands if we had elected our slate?

Until I am better informed I shall continue to believe that the Socialist Party of Washington is composed of honorable men and women, filled with the Revolutionary Socialist spirit. If I am right then I know what the answer will be. The Everett Convention will be turned down cold. But if I am wrong, if it is as Brown and his satellites and Licksplittles presume, if the Socialist Party is composed of dreamers and impossibilists and middle class freaks, then of course the Everett Convention will be upheld, and to tell the truth—rather hope that the Everett Convention will be upheld.

## Undesirable Elements.

For, no matter how much we try to ignore it, yet the fact remains that at present the party does harbor many undesirable elements.

If the Convention is upheld thereby creating a dual organization it will give us the chance of our lives to purge ourselves of all incompatible elements and build up a party which is representative of the Proletariat in fact as well as in name.

Principles, to become active must be represented by persons. Persons and principles are inseparable. The one who is opposed to the principles I stand for is opposed to me and vice versa, and I chose to count all such as personal enemies.

JOHN MCSLARROW.

## Ring or Circle?

Redondo, Wash., July 24, 1909.

Comrades:—Please let me know does Comrade Franz Bostrom belong to the Titus Ring or to Brown's Golden Circle?

One week not long ago he wrote in "The Socialist" telling how and why he voted to suspend Burgess and now again he writes in "Brown's Facts" of which Com. Burgess is editor, "A Piece of History" and "Incompetent Committeemen," where he claims to be one of the members loyal to the Party.

But to me it seems he was most loyal to the members of the Golden Circle and the Fox with the Golden Whiskers in the background. I am watching the fight and enjoying it immensely, but would like to see something from the rest of the fighters. I can better judge them by what they write under their own name than by what others say about them.

Fraternally yours,  
JAMES LUND.

I am not like Com. Larsen of Bellingham, disgusted and likely to throw it up. I am behind with my dues to the Party since May, but must try to get hold of a couple of \$ soon where to pay the next 4 months so my vote will count.

J. L.

## Read Both Sides

Centralia, Wash., July 24, 1909.

Mrs. E. D. Cory,  
Sedro-Woolley.

Dear Comrade:—I note your statement in "Suppressed Facts" of July 22, as follows:

"The writer of this article having been chosen secretary of the convention . . . immediately became the target of the Titus spleen because he could neither frighten or buy her out. After the bolt, C. W. Garrett, of Centralia, acting as a committee of one, waited on the secretary with a written request for a copy of the convention minutes of the first day and a half which was promptly refused."

The above statement you couple with a sensational case of alleged robbery, presumably of these same minutes of the convention. Let us see how far you are justified in indulging in such scare-heads and imaginative conjuring.

After the retirement from the convention, our delegation held an informal meeting to discuss the questions then at hand. For your information I will state that I am personally responsible for the move to obtain a copy of said minutes. To relieve you of any alarm as to the pernicious (?) power of Titus I will state that I made the motion to secure these minutes without consulting Titus or anybody else, and as the mover I was elected a committee of one to execute the motion.

Now please do not be alarmed about Titus in this connection, or the "gang." It was Garrett. If you have anything weighty in this line throw it at Garrett.

Local Centralia has had its fight. The issue was clear cut, but it is the same issue that underlies the trouble in Seattle, the State and in the National for that matter.

I have investigated the Seattle trouble for eight months. Have a large file of documents, letters and papers, including all the issues of "Suppressed Facts." Have read them all from both sides, thrashed it out, discarding the chaff, and have taken my choice between the two "rings" in accordance with my investigation and subsequent happenings. I have tasted the bitterness of this life too much entirely, and I do not propose to wander astray if I can help it, from the safe road of Socialism. I have no difficulty in recognizing those who hold a position with regard to Socialism that comprises a stage of ideas that I have already passed through. It is ideas that the

movement depends upon for fulfillment, not persons.

Persons are connected only as the ideas held by them bear upon our ultimate success as a working class movement.

Yours for the Revolution,  
C. W. GARRETT.

## A Historic Resolution

Everett, Wash., July 18, 1909.

WHEREAS. On July 4, 1909, the Socialist Party of Washington, was assembled in a regular Convention, said Convention being legally called and assembled according to the Constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington, and

WHEREAS. Sixteen of the delegates, including three Members of the State Committee, (Longmire, Russell and Martin) bolted said Convention on account of Convention voting, by over two-thirds majority, or 35 to 16, to sustain the principle of majority rule in said Convention, and

WHEREAS. Said Convention voted unanimously that those bolting the Convention had also bolted the principles of the Socialist Party, and forfeited their rights to be recognized as members of the Convention or the Socialist Party, which decision stands until it is reversed by the Membership of the Party. Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED. That all acts of such persons or Members of the Party are illegal, and be it further

RESOLVED. That in as much as three members of the State Committee were bolters, this Local (Everett) considers that said Members of the State Committee had no right to act as Committeemen, in the move which was instituted by the Bolters on the Fifth of July, in Everett, to undo the work of that Convention and thwart the will of the Membership of the Party thereby, and be it further

RESOLVED. That Local Everett refuses to acknowledge the action of those Bolted State Committeemen in their effort to reinstate R. Krueger as State Secretary-Treasurer, and that Local Everett refuses to recognize R. Krueger as State Secretary-Treasurer, and considering him an imposter in his pretense as such. And we further refuse to recognize the action of the said Bolters in their attempt to take the matters of the State in hand, and be it further

RESOLVED. That Local Everett recognize only the regular legal State Secretary-Treasurer, W. H. Waynick 8-Socialist 7-27

and the communications coming therefrom, as the only Legal Documents to their Local.

Above Resolutions adopted by Local Everett, July 18, 1909, at a regular business Meeting, without a desenting vote.

W. L. CARMAN,  
Chairman of Session.  
E. W. PHILLIPS,  
Secretary, 2822 Maple St., Everett,  
Wash.

## AN OMNIPOTENT CONVENTION.

Centralia, Wash., July 25, 1909.

Mr. E. W. Phillips, Local Sec., Everett.

Dear Comrade: A copy of Local Everett's Resolutions of July 18 received. These resolutions have apparently accomplished this much:

They have resolved the bolting delegation out of the Socialist Party for standing by their principles. They have resolved three State Committeemen out of the Socialist Party because they stood by their principles.

They have resolved that the State Committee meeting of July 12, was illegal because Local Everett has resolved three Committeemen out of the Party.

They have resolved that the Temporary State Secretary-Treasurer is now a full fledged State Secretary-Treasurer.

And to show their supreme authority they have resolved that the State Convention can legally vote members out of the Party anywhere in the State without formal charges or trial.

They have resolved that said action by the convention stands until reversed by the membership.

According to such logic they may just as well have resolved the following and therefore save the membership from doing anything except reverse such acts of the convention as did not suit them.

Everett could just as easily have resolved that all constitutional amendments made by the convention shall stand until reversed by the membership of the Party.

Everett could just as easily have resolved that amendments to the platform made by the convention shall stand until reversed by the membership.

When did Local Everett or the

State Convention become possessed with so much power?

This tortuous resolving by Local Everett seems to serve to make it appear that Local Everett is justified in recognizing a Temporary State Secretary-Treasurer who is hiding with Party records after having been legally deposed by the State Committee.

"Suppressed Facts" of July 22 says that "Secrecy is necessary to ring tactics." We believe they are right. Local Everett has possession of 7,000 Party constitutions and don't know how to use them.

Fraternally,  
C. W. GARRETT.

## Circulation Department

By Lulu Ault.

Well, here we are again. I wonder if you people really like to hear from us or if you just read our reports to pass away the time. But why worry about that?

We have been sending out sample copies of "The Socialist" each week, and as a result have been getting subs. and some real good letters with them. One man in Ohio wrote that he had received a couple of samples, and added that he thought "The Socialist" was made up of the right stuff. "Thank you, comrade. We always make it as near to the right as we know how. Our aim is to spread the teachings of true Scientific Revolutionary Socialism among the workers of the world."

Somebody says the majority of working people have no brains. Now that is not a scientific fact. Everybody has brains, but some people have not been able to or have neglected to develop those brains. This is true among the poorer classes, but it will not always last, for the wage workers are beginning to show they are not quite so stupid as their employers (or rather owners) think. They listen to the soapbox orators, attend Socialist lectures, buy Socialist literature and subscribe for Socialist papers, and best of all, they "think." They see things more clearly than some people think they do. The capitalists realize this to some extent, and are getting nervous and doing their best to keep the wage workers from "thinking." They (the capitalists) hire brass bands to play patriotic airs, get preachers to advise young girls to get to work fifteen minutes earlier and work fifteen minutes later in order to please their employers, and incidentally get a raise of 25 cents a month in wages. They also tell the working people that the Lord is to blame for it all. He made these things, so in order to "try" his "sheep" or "lambs," as some prefer to be called, and that they, the workers, should be patient, they have no right

to try to change things so as to better their conditions. The Lord will provide. Yes, the Lord will provide. On Thanksgiving and Christmas he provides for some of the poor, a charity meal. Just think, Mr. Poor Man. You get two full (?) meals a year from the agents of the Lord, who care very little what you do the rest of the year. Sweet Charity—don't you like it?

When I think of these things I get more determined that the circulation of "The Socialist" shall increase. So when the subs. come in I am glad, for that means some more thinkers. A great many of these "thinkers" are real workers, who earn their living by hard manual labor and who are often called stupid and brainless "machines." The number of "thinkers" among the workers is increasing fast, and it takes a "thinker" to read "The Socialist." It's too deep and scientific for others.

## Sunnyside Socialism

H. D. Jory of Sunnyside was delegate to the Everett Convention. He is also editor of the "Northwest Forum," an alleged Socialist paper published at Sunnyside, Yakima County. Mr. Jory is evidently anxious to have "The Forum" made the official paper of the Socialist Party, as the last issue was mailed to party members throughout the State. Brother Jory, who has always supported the Mills outfit and has consistently shied away from the class struggle, has a long editorial denouncing the bolting delegates, whose view of Socialism and Socialist tactics he refuses to accept. If the "Forum" is recognized as the official organ of the "Independent" Fusionist-Mills bunch it will be perfectly proper, for in the same number with the editorial scolding the philosophy and tactics of the proletarian comrades, appears, and on the front page, a favored communication from the State President of the Farmers' State Grange, wherein a call is made for a mass convention—and what for? To advance the cause of the working class in its fight against capital, or to make the Socialist Party more impregnable to assaults from the capitalist enemy? Not on your life. The convention which has found evident favor in the eyes of Brother Jory, the would-be savior of the Socialist Party, is to be held for the purpose of "pledging of all parties to support a bill for the initiative and referendum." For the working class members of the Socialist movement all over the country, it is too laugh.

As evidence of the ignorant and wishy-washy attitude of the sentimentalist who are now attempting to seize control of the Socialist Party by making a feint at a war on personalities, nothing could have been more timely at this moment than the circulation of Jory's "Socialist" paper.

"UNCLE SAM."

## An Infallible Guide

By John Downie

"Men as well as classes must be judged not by their words, but by their deeds." Kari Kautsky's "The Social Revolution." Page 47.

In the whole controversy affecting the Party in the State, there are so many conflicting statements sent out to the membership that it is hard for those members not in direct touch with affairs to correctly judge the true merits of the question. At the convention a comrade said to me: "There are so many conflicting statements going out over the State that it is hard to tell who to believe or who to trust."

Now comrades, that is exactly the condition our enemies wish us to be in. If they can keep our membership bewildered by sending out all manner of statements, they can paralyze all our efforts and retard the growth and effectiveness of our Party. And so long as the membership can be fooled by any kind of statements you may depend our enemies will keep you well supplied.

But comrades, there is a way by which you can judge all party questions correctly, no matter how many conflicting statements there may be sent out to you.

Take the personnel of all those who walked out of the convention. Every one of them have fought for the proletarianization of the Party. They have fought everything that savored of fusion or compromise or loose party organization and almost every one of them was a member of the Working Class.

Take the personnel of those who staid and those who supported those who staid. Jory, Harkness, Cory, Patterson, Brown, and many others could name that were at the convention, and scattered all over the State who work with them. They are all Middle Class, both in their position in life, their ideas and training. They have always supported loose party tactics and organization. They have always supported fusion, compromise and treason whenever it was a question in the Party. A good many of them have been expelled and suspended from the Party for committing treasonable acts. Therefore they are in everything that constitutes an enemy, an enemy of our class and working men who train with them, no matter how ignorantly, no matter how they may prate about being class conscious, revolutionary Socialists, and so forth, are really nothing but enemies

of their own class, in this, that they are only betraying their own class into the hands of the Middle Class, who have always been, no matter what their pretensions may be, our most treacherous and deadly enemies.

The Middle Class always stood between the Working Class and the master class. They have always professed friendship for the Working Class and they have always betrayed the Working Class.

It seems to me that nobody can read history without being impressed with that fact.

Of course individual members of the Middle Class can and do come to us and are as useful to us in our struggle as they have been in the past, but they can only be useful when they come to us on our terms. For them to come to us on any other terms only means that they would be a disrupting factor in any working class organization.

Were I to go to California, I should not hesitate which side to take, irrespective of what terrible stories were related against Tuck, and those comrades who work with him, by those of the King elements; knowing this is the general method used by crafty opportunist politicians to weaken a formidable opponent.

The same if I went to any other state or country. I would take positive sides against all that savored of fusion or compromise or loose Party discipline or organization. That comrades is the lesson we have to learn. Anything that tends to obscure the class lines is against us; anything that tends to build up a strong organization of a well disciplined membership is for us. And until the Working Class learn that, they can never hope to build up an organization capable of leading them out of the swamps of degradation, servitude, misery, brutality and into the sunshine of peace, leisure, plenty and refinement.

There can be no middle ground; positive sides must be taken. The Working Class cannot afford to allow themselves to be divided on this issue.

If the proletarian elements win, the Socialist Party will lead the Working Class to victory. If the Middle Class win, the proletarians will have the weary task of building up a new party.

For men as well as classes must be judged, not by their words, but by their deeds.



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**CHARGES**

**How to Make Them and How to Make Them Stick**

How to Make Them and How to Make Them Stick.

There is an epidemic of "charges" going the rounds of the Socialist Party in Washington.

Like most things, there are two kinds of "charges," the true and the false. Some of the untrained comrades seem to think the false charge just as good as the true—if not better.

Our State Constitution says: "Any member or members of the Party can deposit charges against any other member or members, either with the State Committee or the Local where charged members hold membership" (Art. IV, Sec. 4).

But after "charges" are so deposited, then what?

The next thing is for the "State Committee" or "The Local" to take some action about the "charges." They can dismiss the charges as trivial or demand some proof or refer the charges to a committee for investigation or cite the accused to appear for trial.

The mere fact that "charges" are presented against a member may mean nothing whatsoever. Any malicious or mischievous or stupid person may "deposit charges" against the most reliable and tried member of the Party. There is nothing against you simply because some fool or freak or rascal "deposits charges" against you. The "State Committee" or "Local" must be convinced that the "charges" amount to something and vote to accept them, before you are really charged with anything.

That is plain common sense as well as the rule in all courts of law. You cannot go to a Prosecuting Attorney or before a Grand Jury and get a warrant for any man's arrest, unless you produce some evidence that he is guilty of what you charge him with. Otherwise, your enemies would keep the courts and officers busy arresting and trying you for theft or assault or some other crime, for no other purpose than to persecute you.

So, in the Socialist Party, when Day and others charged Richard Krueger with embezzling Party funds, the Executive Committee should not have paid the slightest attention to those charges, unless the accusers produced some proofs of such a serious charge, sufficient proof to warrant the further investigation secured by a formal trial. In this particular case the State Committee took the case out of the hands of the Executive Committee, and referred the charges to three impartial and well known comrades, J. G. Brown, Folsom and Ferris, who reported the "charges" were utterly without shadow of proof, and unworthy of trial.

In such cases, it is only just that those who bring such serious charges without any foundation against the established character of innocent comrades, should themselves be severely punished by expulsion from the Party whenever they are unable to prove their charges. Then we should put a stop to this epidemic of "charges."

A delusion exists among many comrades that "charges" disqualify the member charged from voting or acting as a Party member in any way.

Robert's Rules are fortunately adopted by our constitution and supplement its provisions when they are incomplete or indefinite.

Article IV, Section 16, of the State

Constitution says: "Officers and assistants, elected by State Committee, shall not hold office while charges are pending." This refers to charges pending before State Committee, as shown in preceding section.

But "charges," as shown by Robert, pages 112 and 202, are not "pending" till accepted by the body trying one. To illustrate: The fact that Barth deposited charges with Local Seattle against Anna Steele for having signed a call for a meeting of the State Committee, of which she is a member, has no bearing whatever on her qualifications as a member of the State Committee, or of Local Seattle, unless the Local votes to consider the charges and decide upon a trial.

What the Local did in this case of Mrs. Steele, was to cite Barth, the accuser, to appear before Local Seattle at its next meeting, to present any evidence he might have to show that his "charges" were worthy of consideration by the Local. Barth did not appear and Local Seattle very properly dismissed the "charges" as constituting no offence, even if true.

This case is a good example of the epidemic in Washington we are talking about. It seems incredible that any man occupying the position of Chairman of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, could be so utterly stupid as to "deposit charges" against a State Committeeman for calling a meeting of his own Committee and, still more stupidly, to call it "Party Treason." You might as well charge a comrade with combing his own hair and then call that "Party Treason;" or charge a state committeeman with voting for Krueger as Secretary-Treasurer and call that "Party Treason." It is simply idiotic to "deposit charges" of this character.

**JONAS EXPELLED.**

Yet Local Aberdeen, led by Middle Class Chamberlain, has actually treated seriously Barth's "charge" against A. Jonas, one of the staunchest, truest, clearest, bravest proletarians in the State and has BY A VOTE OF 8 TO 4 ACTUALLY EXPELLED JONAS FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY!!! Their action is absolutely null and void, as the charge did not constitute "Party Treason" in any possible sense. "Party Treason" is defined in Art. IV, Sec. 3, of our State Constitution as "advocating fusion with any party or faction not representing Revolutionary Socialism," or "exonerating any one for fusion" or "signing or depositing a pledge, promising to support, politically, any party, or faction not representing Revolutionary Socialism or exonerating such action."

This Barth charge against Jonas has no possible reference to any of the things named above, and therefore has no possible connection with "Party Treason."

Furthermore, the acts "charged" against Jonas have to do solely with his duties as a member of the State Committee and therefore the State Committee alone can try him for those acts, as provided in Article IV, Section 15, which declares: "They shall not be tried by their Local first but direct by the State Committee."

The Aberdeen comrades, eight in number, who were thus led by Chamberlain into a ridiculous position might just as well have voted to expel Chamberlain for Party Treason because he took his wife to the State

Convention with him. To such weak, petty, childish, crazy lengths will these Reformists go.

**TOM RUSSELL TOO.**

Over in Cle Elum the miners made short work of the same charge against Tom Russell. Two thousand members of the United Mine Workers in the Roanly district swear by the kind of Socialism Tom Russell believes in. When Barth accused Tom Russell of "Party Treason" for the performance of his duties on the Socialist Party State Committee in defense of Proletarian interests, he made a big mistake. When he and the comrades read the Miners' Resolutions on the subject of those "charges," they will sit up and take notice.

No wonder Wolfe said to McCorkle at Everett: "You fellows are too smart for us. You know too much." Really, if we Revolutionaries did not know more than Barth and Chamberlain, we should take back seats and learn at least to count four.

This depositing of "charges," by Barth, against eight State Committeemen for daring to call and attend a meeting of their own Committee of 15, and naming it "Party Treason," is certainly the limit of ignorance.

Least some one should think we are misrepresenting the case, we print herewith a copy of the said "charges."

**STUPID CHARGES.**

Socialist Party of Washington, Seattle, July 15, 1909.  
 Joseph S. Biscay,  
 Sec. Local No. 1,  
 Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrades:—Charges are hereby preferred against Anna Steele for signing a call for a state committee meeting to be held in Seattle, in Local Seattle Headquarters, 711 Olive St., on the 7th of July; also for signing a call and participating in a so-called State Committee meeting in State Headquarters on the 8th of July, neither call issued through nor by State Secretary, nor through means of referendum as per constitution; and furthermore, not stating any action taken by S. E. C. not satisfactory to her as a state committee member. (See State Constitution, Art. II, Sec. 4, Art. II, Sec. 5, together with Sec. 12, Art. II and Sec. 10, Art. IV, clearly defining powers of State Committee to meet.)

All of these disruptive actions, and

her participation in the annexation by violent methods of the state headquarters in the secretary's absence, and taking and withholding all the paraphernalia of the headquarters, render her guilty of treason to the party. Yours for the Revolution,  
 A. H. BARTH.

**REAL CHARGES.**

Seattle, Wash., July 11, 1909.  
 To the State Committee,  
 Socialist Party of Washington:  
 Comrades:—We the undersigned members of the Socialist Party hereby enter formal charges against A. H. Barth and W. W. Smith, members of your committee, and elected by your body, for gross misconduct while members of your committee.

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

We also charge them with conduct traitorous to the Party in that they, each of them, and both of them, conspired with E. J. Brown, W. F. Parks and other expelled members of the Party to defeat and overthrow the regular Party organization in Seattle and the State, and to control the State Convention in the interest of the "Independent" Organization in Seattle. We therefore demand the impeachment of A. H. Barth and W. W. Smith as members of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington. We stand ready to present the evidence of these charges at any time you may designate.

(Signed)  
 ARTHUR JENSEN,  
 National Committeeman.  
 E. B. AULT,  
 Local Seattle No. 1.  
 JOHN DOWNIE,  
 Local Seattle No. 1.

These charges were accepted and ordered to trial by the State Committee on July 12, THEREBY MAKING BARTH AND SMITH INCAPABLE OF LEGAL ACTION AS MEMBERS OF THE STATE COMMITTEE OR STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Yet they went ahead just the same and pretended to act on the Executive Committee, even issuing an illegal charter to a well known Reformist Local at Paulsbo. Here again the Reformists defy the Majority of the State Committee.

**THE WOMAN**

By Bessy Fisset

That a Fourth of July celebration should make a profound impression on a bunch of Socialists seems incongruous. Such is nevertheless true.

There are some thirty Socialists in the State of Washington who will always look back upon the Fourth of July, Nineteen hundred nine with a feeling strongly like reverence.

In the heart of one of the small cities of Puget Sound is one block square that has miraculously escaped devastation by human hands. In this block some fifty or sixty feet from the street, lies a quiet glade, completely surrounded by alders, willows, and young evergreens.

In this clearing—accessible only by means of an obscure trail—were gathered on the Sunday afternoon in question a small band of Revolutionists (What a magnificent word—that last—Revolutionists!)

Let us take a look at these men and women—these Revolutionists!

Here, the stalwart form of a man grown gray during thirty years of service for the working class; there, men who have stood in the Proletarian organization as rocks against which every wave of opposition has broken and receded—scattered in groups and singly we find, men and women who for years have borne the brunt of the party work; men who have been attacked and reviled until the "physical" has almost given out; young men and women, new in the movement who have been put to the test for the first time.

Some Jimmie Higginnes who have done what ever lay at hand without receiving the adulation which is a welcome sound to all ears. Women, who will stay by the movement while there is left one to call "Comrade!" A young man from a foreign shore whose frame is shaken with emotion at being forced to leave his countrymen and women. Some, who have seen their own kin sacrificed for the sake of the Working Class. Others who until this day had been thought lukewarm!

In each breast was the same tumult; in each mind the same resolve: To have a Proletarian Party of Socialist Principles—rather than a Socialist Party of Middle Class Principles.

Graybill of Everett had said that Comradeship existed in Everett. He is right. We found it—sitting there on the grass with the dazzling blue sky above us—with the call of the meadow lark on the wing in our ears, we became conscious that there existed a comradeship between us, that nothing could destroy. A comradeship, a solidarity that means death to all traitors of our organization, that will stop at nothing, that will accept no compromise, however slight. A comradeship that will survive until the last one has been crushed in the fight for the emancipation of the Proletariat!

This much the Convention of Everett has done.

In next week's issue of "The Socialist" the organizer of the Woman's State Committee will publish the report of that committee for the year just passed.

This report was to have been made at the Convention, but, inasmuch as the women who were ready to run off

the Organizer, Secretary and Special Lecturer of the Woman's State Work left the Scab Convention with the rest of the Socialists, this report was not read at that time.

It was hoped that, during the first hours of the Saturday morning's session of the Convention, the women would be able to hold a meeting and go over the work of the past year and have open discussion on the topics of greatest importance along the line of woman's work in the Socialist Party.

The main discussion would probably have occurred under the head of "Study Clubs." I realize that all over the country the "Study Club" is considered the most effective method of getting the women actively interested in Socialism. I agree that under ideal conditions this may be so. But where do the ideal conditions exist?

To be able to approach any ideal condition there must be in every Study Club at least one woman who is SO GROUNDED IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM AND WHO SO UNDERSTANDS THE PROLETARIAN POSITION THAT NOTHING CAN HEAD HER OFF.

Now, will you tell me where the Study Clubs are that have these women? You can't find them with a fine toothed comb! Its had enough to find locals with men enough to keep them straight, let alone any women.

When clubs are formed and there are no women who are sure of themselves and their principles—then these clubs should meet but once a month and that meeting should be in charge of some one whom the state committee sends out. In this way only can the women keep clear of the middle class snags that surround us.

The latter method of conducting Study Clubs is practical in that it makes for clear headed Proletarian Socialism (provided the woman in charge sent out by the State Woman's Committee is clear) and it also makes for closer and more solid organization, but how is the expense of sending out a woman and keeping her out constantly going to be met.

The Study Clubs cannot do it. The Locals can hardly support propaganda speakers. The Woman's State Committee has a hard time keeping a lecturer out doing agitation work. So there you are!

Of course if numbers are what we want, why, the Study Clubs should be organized whenever and wherever possible.

But on the other hand, if we want a solid Revolutionary organization, if we want our Locals to be on a sound proletarian basis, then we would better let the promiscuous Study Club go.

Let the two or three women who are in the Local get together and, with the aid, if necessary, of some man comrade who is perfectly clear, get down to business. Let them become so familiar with the Class Struggle and the reason for it, with surplus value, with the proletarian question, that nothing can shake them and the Local will have a greater source of strength than as if they had an ordinary Study Club of twenty enthusiasts.

**PROLETARIAN EFFICIENCY vs. BOURGEOIS INEFFICIENCY**

By Arthur Jensen

**The Lineup**

Many people wonder at the fact that wherever the Socialist movement has fastened its roots we always find at least two elements fighting to control it.

**Factional Controversies in All Countries**

In Germany the Social Democratic Party has been on the point of splitting in twain more than once. At the last German Socialist Congress a bitter fight for control was waged between the Revolutionary and the Opportunistic factions with the result that the Revolutionaries came out victoriously.

In France, a few years ago, there were as many as five distinct Socialist Parties, and although the various elements have since been united into one united Socialist Party, there are still at least three distinct factions, all trying to gain or retain control.

The Italian Socialist movement contains three elements and no friendship is lost between them.

England has at least five distinct Socialist organizations and the largest one of these, the Independent Labor Party, is at present experiencing a quite bitter factional fight.

**The Causes**

Now, what are the causes for this universal condition of the Socialist movement?

Petty, personal jealousies will not be accepted as sufficient reason by thinking man or woman. As scientific Socialists we must look for an economic cause for this strife within the Socialist movement of the world.

In looking for the cause, let us briefly analyze the elements composing the Socialist movement. The Socialist movement is a movement of the Proletariat, the Wage Working Class, having for its aim the overthrow of Capitalist Society.

It is necessarily a movement of the Proletariat as members of other classes can not work for such an aim without working against their own class interest. But still we find in the Socialist movement a large number of workers who have not been recruited from the Proletarian Class.

Practically all of these non-Proletarians are men and women who earnestly work for what they believe to be Socialism. A few of them are capable of ignoring their class interest and realize clearly the class character of the movement. But the vast majority of them are merely "rebels" against Capitalist society. They feel the iron heel of the great Capitalist and when they enter the Socialist movement they regard it as merely a reform movement against Capitalist Concentration. They are voicing the interests of the Middle Class, the merchants, farmers, etc.

Instead of being a revolutionary force, this element is distinctly reactionary. While earnestly regarding themselves as progressive, or even revolutionary, they are the very opposite.

The Proletarian has no quarrel with the big Capitalist about the trustification of Capital. He cares little or nothing about regulations of freight rates, revision of the tariff, or guarantee of bank deposits. The Wage Worker is in the business of selling labor power and it is in this sale that he is being exploited. It is in the act of disposing of this labor power that the capitalist master extracts surplus value. It is this extraction of surplus value which brings about the Class Struggle. And the Proletarian is interested in only one question: To get more of the wealth he creates, more of what is now extracted by the Capitalist, and he will not rest contented until he, through a revolution, has come into possession of his own.

We can readily see now, why there are generally two factions in the Socialist movement. The element representing the Middle Class can not and will not honor the Proletarian basis of the Socialist movement. The Proletarian element can not and will not work for reactionary "reform."

So a clash occurs. The Proletarian element lines up on one side and the Middle Class element on the other.

on Equal Suffrage, Theosophy or Prohibition at the first crack out of the box.

I would like to hear from other women in the State. There are some splendid Socialist women in Washington and their opinion would be of great value to us in our work.

"The Woman" is not like the Everett Convention. It invites the freest discussion.

True, many a misled Proletarian is found on the wrong side of the fence. Many have become Socialists for sentimental reasons, and for sentimental reasons they will go with the "reform" element, because they are being "roughly attacked" by the class conscious Proletarians.

Occasionally a clear headed member of the Middle Class is found working for the Proletarian class character of the movement, but their number is small.

Those comprising the Proletarian faction are constantly pointing out the real cause of this strife.

The opposing element, on the other hand, are denying their reactionary tendencies, are proclaiming themselves revolutionary, and are always maintaining that these fights are based on personal ambitions and jealousies.

If we keep the above stated points well in mind, it will never be found difficult to analyze a factional fight.

We can now see why there are "Revisionists" and "Revolutionaries" in the German movement. We can see the reason for the fierce struggles in the French and Italian movements, and the strife within the English movement is becoming plain to us.

To get nearer home, the Nebraska controversy was the same struggle, and the Proletariat went down to ignominious defeat. The controversy in Minnesota was temporarily ended in a partial victory for the middle class element, but everything is far from being peace, as is witnessed by the recent bitter fight in Minneapolis. In this state a bitter fight has been waged almost ever since the Socialist Party was formed.

**Proletarianism in Washington**

And Washington is the only state in the Union where the Proletarian element has always been dominating the movement. And this in spite of tremendous opposition. The Socialist Party in this state has been more openly proletarian in its declarations than in any other state. It is therefore natural that stronger opposition should be encountered from the middle class element.

The movement in most of the other states is neither clearly Proletarian nor Middle Class in character. The Party in Wisconsin comes perhaps nearer to being representative of the Reform element than in any other state.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the bitter strife within the movement in this state the Party has maintained itself as the most efficient and best organized State organization in the country.

In comparing the membership in this state with that of other states we will find that Washington shows up remarkably well. Any one may be convinced of this by investigating the yearly report of the National office. And in number of votes cast the State of Washington has always been far ahead of the far more densely populated Eastern states.

**"Reformism" in Wisconsin**

As stated above, the Party in Wisconsin comes nearer to being a Reform movement than in any other state. And the element in control here have had practically no opposition from a Proletarian element. One would therefore naturally expect that great progress would be shown in Wisconsin. BUT IT SEEMS AS THOUGH REACTIONARY "REFORM" DOES NOT THRIVE WELL IN SOCIALIST SOIL, EVEN WHEN CAREFULLY CULTIVATED, WHILE PROLETARIANISM IN SOCIALIST SOIL GROWS IN SPITE OF THE MOST OBNOXIOUS "REFORM WEEDS."

**A Table of Comparison**

Below is a table of comparison showing the number of members in each of those states which have 1,000 or more members, together with the number they would have if the same ratio between population and party membership prevailed in these states as in Washington.

The table is based on the annual report of the National Secretary for 1908 and on the estimates of the population in the various states as published in the World Almanac for 1908. These estimates credit Washington with a population of 900,000 as compared with only a little over 500,000 in the 1900 census.

State—	Actual number of party members.	No. if Wash. ratio prevailed.
New York	3,458	14,920
California	3,100	3,520
Illinois	2,972	9,338
Pennsylvania	2,640	12,144
Oklahoma	2,243	2,464
Ohio	2,156	8,020
Minnesota	1,873	3,872
Massachusetts	1,778	5,475

Missouri	1,635	6,839
Wisconsin	1,628	4,004
Washington	1,584	1,584
Texas	1,537	6,236
New Jersey	1,416	4,138
Kansas	1,291	2,957
Michigan	1,188	4,674
Indiana	1,075	4,714
Oregon	924	968
U. S.	about 41,000	about 156,000

The above comparisons are illuminating. Practically the same results would be had if the same comparisons were made for any other of the last seven or eight years. During these years the Proletarian element has been in undisputed control.

**First Slump in History**

The report for 1909 will, for the first time in the history of the Socialist Party in this state, show a marked falling off in party membership. The Secretary can not be the cause of this falling off. He is the same as last year, when the Party experienced its greatest growth in any one year. The responsibility for the changed conditions must rest with the new State Executive Committee, the majority of which proved at the recent State Convention that they were working hand-in-glove with the old-time representatives of the middle class element, such as Ira Wolfe, Irene Smith and others.

**Middle Class vs. Proletariat**

What lessons can be drawn from the above facts and figures? We see that the State of Washington has had the bitterest and longest struggle of any state for the maintenance of a Proletarian Socialist Party. We also see that, in spite of this fight, and because of it, the Party had a healthier and more vigorous growth in this state than in any other. The success of the Proletarian element has caused the middle class element to muster its forces until it, during the last eight months, has been partly represented by the State Executive Committee. As a result we see a slump in activity and a large decrease in membership. The lesson to be drawn is this:

THE MIDDLE CLASS CAN ONLY RETARD, BUT NOT STOP, THE INCREASE IN WORK OF ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION WHEN THE PROLETARIAN ELEMENT IS IN CONTROL, WHILE ITS INEFFICIENCY IS MANIFESTED AS SOON AS IT GAINS A SEMBLANCE OF CONTROL.

Or, in other words: THE PROLETARIAT HAS PROVED THAT IT IS FAR MORE COMPETENT TO ORGANIZE FOR ITS OWN EMANCIPATION THAN THE MIDDLE CLASS IS TO ORGANIZE TO PREVENT IT.

Let us therefore learn that a Proletarian Socialist movement can not remain Proletarian unless controlled by members of the Proletariat.

**THE HIDDEN FOUND.**

Slowly, gradually, the hidden Wayneck is being found. It has been a joke in Seattle. "Where is Wayneck?" "Have you heard anything of Wayneck yet?"

Ever since he absconded from the State Headquarters with the records, funds and old "Tacoma" seal, Wayneck has never been seen by a Revolutionist.

McCorkle and Hyde and Biscay, in search of Party Property went down to "Brown's Dental Parlors" where Burgess stands in blue uniform and brass buttons, advertising said "Dental Parlors," but Brown said he did not know where Wayneck was. Then Biscay stood on watch all night at P. O. Box 446 and was rewarded at 5 a.m. with a sight of the missing member. He was led out north ten blocks, thence south twenty blocks again north five blocks, by back ways and devious ways, at last fetching up at "Brown's Dental Parlors" where Wayneck disappeared. Rouleau, just back from California, was more fortunate, being told by Burgess himself that Wayneck's Headquarters were in a room adjoining the Dental Parlors.

Here are stenographers galore, who with Burgess, run off the literature, letters and comments and addresses, which flood the Locals and the Comrades throughout the State and the United States. E. J. Brown is an old hand at advertising, and he is now practicing on the Socialist Party, with Wayneck and Burgess for clerks and Parks, McClure and the other expelled members of Local Seattle as assistants.

It's an instructive situation, comrades of Washington. All the Middle Class "Independents" and Working Class "Insurgents," united at Brown's Dental Parlors to form a dual organization in the Socialist Party of this State, to rejoice the hearts of Walter Thos. Mills and Irene Smith.

The Socialist Party Headquarters of Wayneck, Barth, Smith and Hale at Brown's Dental Parlors with Burgess in Brass Buttons as Doorkeeper labeled "Brown's Dental Parlors" on cap and both arms!