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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 410 Seattle, Washington, Saturday, February 6, 1909 Price Five Cents

SHARP BATTLE AT CHICAGO

Washington Case at National Convention -- Attempt to Declare Washington Unorganized -- State Autonomy Defended By Berger--Spicy Speeches By Goebel, Hutcheson, Brown, Herman, Wagenknecht, Boomer and Others -- Verbatim Stenographic Report -- Principles and Tactics Involved -- Should Be Read By Every Party Member.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

(Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 10.)

Del. Solomon, (N. Y.): presented the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials met, with the following comrades present: Reilly, New Jersey; Untermann, Idaho; Clark, Texas; Berlyn, Illinois; Graham, Montana; Tuck, California; Solomon, New York; Boomer, Washington; and Gaylord, Wisconsin.

Clark of Texas was elected chairman, and Solomon secretary.

The Committee took up first the uncontested delegates, and ask to report as follows:

(Here follows list of delegates from various states).

The next case was the state of Washington. There has been correspondence filed with the national secretary from the provisional committee of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. The committee did not go into the merits of the controversy, but recommends for the present the temporary seating of the delegates from the State of Washington, as follows: Emil Herman, Richard Kreuger, John Dovenic, Alfred Wagenknecht, George E. Boomer, and E. J. Brown.

* * *

Moved, seconded, to concur in the recommendations of the Committee. Carried.

(Afternoon Session, Monday, May 11. Carey, of Massachussetts, Chairman.)

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m.

The Chairman: The first business will be the supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials. Comrade Solomon will read the report for the Committee.

With reference to the Washington contested delegation, the Committee makes the following report:

MAJORITY REPORT ON WASHINGTON CASE.

Whereas, the Provisional Committee of the Socialist Party in Washington present no delegates to be seated in this convention, and inasmuch as the matter of their recognition as a Socialist organization is still to be passed upon by the National Executive Committee, this Committee does not consider that it has any jurisdiction in the matter and can only recommend that these delegates who have presented proper credentials be seated.

We further recommend that the National Executive Committee be called upon to take up the matter at once and report its findings and recommendations to the national convention.

* * *

The Chairman: If there is no objection we will take up the report of the Credentials Committee seriatim.

Del. Reilly (N. J.): I am a member of that Committee, and have a minority report. A minority of the committee desires to make a minority report. I have placed in the hands of your secretary a copy of the minority report which I wish to have read to this convention.

The Secretary: There are two minority reports.

Del. Reilly: This is the minority report on the Washington contest. This minority agrees with the committee in all its recommendations, except one particular phase of the Washington contest. I will read the report and it will make our disagreements clear to you.

The minority report was read, differing from the majority report in that it did not favor referring to National Executive Committee.

(This last paragraph shows Editor Work's work, by omitting a report favorable to Washington. We would like to hear what the minority actually said.—Ed.)

* * *

The Chairman: You have heard the majority and minority reports relating to the State of Washington. The question comes upon the majority to substitute the minority report for the majority.

WORK SHOWS HAND

Del. Work (Iowa): I am a member of the "despotic" National Executive Committee, and I know that we cannot take up this matter and discuss it before the convention adjourns. The members of the National Executive Committee, with the exception of one, are delegates to the convention and we have convention business and convention committees to attend. This matter will take a lot of time. I think the two members of the Credentials Committee who signed the minority report have the right idea of the subject,—but I feel sorry that the delegates take their seats in the convention and let the matter be disposed of after the convention, after the Washington comrades have sent in their report in the proper manner for a referendum vote in that State.

GOEBEL HOT

Del. Goebel (N. J.): Now, Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I think I have an intelligent reason for opposing this motion. As a national organizer I have been twice to the State of Washington. I have no interest whatever in either side of this controversy, but I, like the rest of you, have a great interest in the Socialist cause and the spread of Socialist principles. I stand here—and I know what will be the consequences of standing here, in my work as organizer, from those whom I oppose, and yet I stand here and put on record my candid judgment that the Socialist movement in Washington has been paralyzed by the action of those who call themselves Socialists. I stand here and say that as organizer I found my work interfered with repeatedly by those who were supposed to be the organization. I worked like a dog to overcome the consequences of the action of those who called themselves Socialists. The State Committee arranged my route, and three days later I saw letters written by those same people knocking me and urging that they insist that I be taken out of the state. Under such circumstances, something is wrong. Why should we not deal with the matter now? I know the obstructionists up there, and their one purpose is delay. Let us deal with the matter right now and get the Socialist movement in Washington in shape to go forward in this presidential campaign. Let us put the "leaders" on both sides in the hole, and get down to the rank and file. Why should we defer? Right here in Chicago we have the representatives of both sides. On the one side we have the ablest men they have, with the exception of Titus. They can state their side; the committee can hear them. On the other hand we have Hutcheson, the leader on the other side, a man that has sacrificed a great deal for the Socialist movement—he can talk for that side.

If you leave it to the National Executive Committee to deal with after the convention, there will be a mass of correspondence and a great deal of necessary delay. The next thing you know the presidential campaign is upon us, and matters not being settled our work will not go forward in Washington as it ought. Let rank and file on both sides feel that both sides ought to agree to immediate action. We don't know which side is right, but we do know there is wrong on both sides. I suggest, therefore, that being the case, that we declare Washington unorganized, so that the national secretary can ask of the rank and file of Washington to say who they really want, whether it is the Titus crowd or the other crowd, and let it be decided so that in one month or six weeks at the latest we will have everything going along in a straight line.

Del. Gaylord (Wis.): There is a very logical reason why as a member of the credentials committee I support this recommendation of the committee: Comrade Hutcheson came before the committee; we said, "What evidence have you?" He said, "The evidence is in the national office." We asked why they had not got it, and the answer was that it was addressed to the National Executive Committee. It was understood that the National Executive Committee would hold its session previous to the session of the convention. They voted not to do so. Their vote not to hold their meeting previous to the convention was taken at a time after this material was addressed to them. Consequently it was not competent for us to receive mail addressed to the National Executive Committee. At any rate we did not feel that we had any authority to call for it and take the matter out of their hands. Now then, the comrades are here from both sides. We feel that the time to attend to this is now, while they are all here. The matter is of national importance, and the comrades are all here. I, for one, believe do not feel that it is their business to decide a matter which the constitution says shall be handled by the National Executive Committee. We therefore ask that they take it up, address themselves to it at once and report to this convention.

SENT TO N. E. C.

Del. Clark (Texas): It is true that there are merits on both sides. To go away from this convention without considering the contesting delegations I believe would be a crime against the Socialist Party of Washington. Any organization that will come up here and make a Gethsemane here in the effort to do something to harmonize the differences that now exist in Washington and demand that it be threshed out in this convention, certainly have some strong reason for making this effort. Now, comrades, if I had been with the National Executive Committee I was going to turn down the consideration of this question I never would have decided as I did. It was the object of our recommendation that this question should be settled by the National Executive Committee. We can run this convention without them while they settle this important question. Let them bring their evidence back here to this convention and report it; and, for God's sake, let us have another Nebraska question.

Del. Osborne (Cal.): I move a substitution for the whole, that the delegates from Washington be seated in full in this convention. (Seconded; lost.)

Minority report rejected. Majority report adopted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Morning Session, Tuesday, May 12. Slayton, of Pennsylvania, Chairman.)

Del. Cowan Ohio: I move that we have the report of the Executive Committee on the Washington affair.

The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT ON WASHINGTON CASE.

The National Executive Committee then made the following report:

Del. Work (Iowa): The committee met last evening to pass upon this matter. We have a report to present, and in order to make the report clear I would like to read the amendment to the national constitution adopted last November, which was sought to be invoked in this case. The amendment is as follows:

"In case of controversy in any State as to the validity of the title of its officers and the question of recognition by the national organization, a referendum of the membership of the state to determine the question may be taken in the following manner: A call signed by not less than one-third of the total membership of the state in good standing at the time the controversy arose, asking the National Executive Committee to take a referendum of the said state membership for the election of officers for the positions in dispute, shall be filed with the National Secretary. Upon receiving such call the National Executive Committee shall take a referendum of the membership of said state for the election of officers for the positions in dispute. All locals appearing on the state list at national headquarters in good standing at the time the controversy arose shall be privileged to make nominations, and all members in good standing at that time shall be entitled to vote."

The National Executive Committee decided that this amendment is not retroactive. It was adopted in November, 1907. I will now read the report:

"The National Executive Committee reports that it met and considered the Washington case, gave each side a hearing and took the following action:

"We reject the protest against the seating of the Washington delegates and the petition for a referendum in the State of Washington, on the ground, first, that since the enactment of the amendment to the national constitution in November, 1907, no controversy has arisen in the State of Washington; second, that the state organization of the Socialist Party in Washington against which the protest is made, is the duly, regularly constituted committee of the party in Washington. We recommend that the national organization offer its good services to the state committee of Washington in an effort to bring about unity between the contending sides."

Del. Work: I would like to say further, that, as I understand it, this report does not contemplate that this convention shall decide upon the details as to how we shall offer our good services, but shall leave that to the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee in conference with the State Secretary and the State Committee of Washington after this convention is over. (Applause.)

Del. Lewis (Ill.): I move the adoption of that report. (Seconded.)

The Chairman: It has been moved and seconded that the report be adopted. Any remarks?

GOEBEL STILL HOT

Del. Goebel (N. J.): I have no desire to stir up controversy, but because I have no desire to stir up controversy I believe in meeting this thing right here and now. Seven members of the National Executive Committee that could have given us something positive one way or the other, have come in here with a beautifully worded program and everybody gets the glad hand. It does not amount to shucks in Washington. I have been in Washington and I tell you that all that this national or the National Executive Committee does is simply to say that a fight is going on. I stand here to-day, and no matter what you do, I stand here to make a prophecy that if this controversy adjourns without taking positive action one way or the other in the case of Washington, then inside of a month you will read in the papers of another row in Washington. We have got to deal with this situation. I have already been notified by one who had been up there as National Organizer for what I said; and that they have got my record from New Jersey. Well, I have faced the capitalists, and I am not afraid of a few Socialists that try those tricks. I challenge any National Organizer that has been in the State of Washington—

Del. A. M. Simons: I rise to a point of order. I do not think Del. Goebel has been criticised, and there is no use wasting time on that.

Del. Goebel: I knew you would raise that point.

The Chairman: If a speaker wishes to waste his time let him waste it. Proceed.

Del. Simons: Then I appeal from the decision of the chair, because such a ruling would wipe out all regularity.

Del. Goebel: You need not decide the point, because I will try to keep within the bounds that he seems to want me to keep in. I am trying to make a point. I want to be distinctly understood that I am not favoring either faction, for I have got through absolutely with them. But I believe both sides have made mistakes. I believe both sides are absolutely honest. Both sides simply made the mistake of believing that some power above has ordained them masters to save the Socialist rank and file in Washington from being stolen by some crooked capitalist method. That being the case, both sides have made mistakes and properly having come here and stated that they are unable to settle their factional fights within the state, the controversy is for the national office to step in and adjust. If this convention should give a decision like that in Nebraska, and say, "We make no reflections on either side; we do not know who is wrong; we do not care to mix in this fight, but we do know that Washington is a magnificent state with some of the finest members in the ranks on both sides, and we want all to work together; therefore, in the interest of peace, we, the National Convention, step into Washington; we say to both sides that we are temporarily going to declare that state unorganized; we are going to send this to a vote of the rank and file in Washington to say who they want for state officers, and when that decision has been put on record we are going to stand with the crowd that has got a majority of the referendum." Is there anything wrong about that? My friends claim to be regular. I call your attention to this: read the state constitution of Washington. They think we have a democratic organization. In that state the State Secretary is not nominated by the rank and file. The State Committee is not nominated by the rank and file; it is nominated by a delegate body, a state convention. If I control the State Committee I will say whose delegates shall sit in the State Convention. If I control the State Convention I will nominate the candidates, and when I have nominated them I will say to the rank and file, "Vote for my nominees." That is the situation in Washington. Regular? Of course they are regular, but regular under those circumstances. You can do as you see fit, you are simply putting off the day for this national action, for the National Executive Committee to step in and take sides with either side, but saying to the rank and file who claim they have not been given a chance to say who is regular, that we will settle that; we will have a vote of that rank and file, and then make them stand by that vote of the rank and file. What did they tell us? They told us on this side that they have got 93 locals. If they have, they have got them in a hurry; they didn't have them when I was there. They say, "You have got a grievance." If I have got a grievance I challenge every other National Organizer that has gone to Washington in the last three years to stand up and tell whether my grievance is a personal grievance. They say they have 93 locals with a membership of 1400 or 1500. They claim a dues paying membership of 700. If that is the case, with 1500 on one side and 700 on the other, why don't they let them have a referendum? Nothing at all. That being the case, they themselves should consent to a referendum. Comrades, I know some of their tricks when the national officers were conducting that affair. They simply get together and settle matters direct instead of be direct. They say, "We don't want the stigma of being declared unorganized." We are not here for any stigma; we simply want to do the best we can, and the best way to do it is through the National Committee, so that both sides will feel that they have got a square deal. You take this case and I will show you local after local in Washington whose members are already completely disgusted and say it is no use doing anything. All you have to do is to go to their state constitution and see that settles it. We believe in fair play; let us show it. They say they have 1500. All right; put the 1500 up against the other 700 and get a square count and see whether they have 1500.

Del. Berlyn (Ill.): I am in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee, for I could hardly see from the statement made by our National Executive Committee-member in New York how they could do anything else. Besides, they say, "We have got a constitution." This demand that came to us—which I did not endorse—from the Nebraska case, but I have got serious doubts about its judgment—of reorganizing every state and making threats to the conflicting factions, where will we stop? Let us pass a general resolution and reorganize and we will be up in the air. We have got a wise provision of state autonomy. Even if you confined the controversy to the state where it exists you will prevent the party as a whole from getting mixed in it. In Washington it seems to me there have a fine lot of fish to fry. I do not admire much, either, the way they work it. Some of the people on either side I am perfectly disgusted with, but I feel willing to let that trouble stay in Washington; I do not want any of it in Illinois, and I do not believe anybody wants it settled except in their own State so that they can work harmoniously. I believe the report of the committee ought to be adopted and get over with it.

Now, as regards the National Organizers and their particular privilege about saying what is wanted, I am kind of long in the movement, and I will tell you that the force that tended to the disorganization of the S. L. P. was too much interference by National Organizers in local affairs. (Applause.) I was State Organizer in this State, and when a National Organizer came in he simply set you aside, and he was the boss of the occasion. We want no more of that. Experience has taught us that we want to get away from that kind of game. I believe the report of the committee ought to be accepted as it is made.

DON'T INTERFERE

Del. Josephine R. Cole, (Cal.): If you are going to have a democratic movement and at the same time have a centralized authority which will continually interfere with local affairs, you will have trouble. Comrades, you cannot settle local affairs by interference from national authority. If you settle it once, it will break out again. We are told that the State of Washington has a constitution that is not democratic. Then I want to say to you that if the Socialists of Washington are not capable of taking hold of that situation themselves and framing a constitution that is in accordance with democratic principles, you cannot do one for them. (Applause.) Comrades, we might have the same thing happen to us. We are temporarily in an organizing to interfere with the organization it will tend to provoke a division. The National Committee is offered for the sole purpose of having your National Committee interfere with the organization. Leave the local members to settle it for themselves. If a State has trouble let the State settle it themselves, but do not admit a state into the National organization unless is has a constitution in accordance with Socialist principles. See to it that it is admitted that it has got that it is framed reasonably in accordance with the Socialist program. You cannot settle the affair. You simply throw Washington out. I thank you for your attention.

Del Lewis (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Fraternal Delegates: Comrade Goebel says, "I happen to be in Washington." So have I—longer than Comrade Goebel, and especially in the city of Seattle, which is the scene of this conflict. I am sorry to hear any delegate on this floor denounce either of these sides as a capitalist gang. (Applause.) Such a statement, and the fact that Comrade Goebel uses it, proves my point.

Del. Goebel: I rise to a point of order, that I made no such point; that I purposely said both sides were honest, that they were afraid of a capitalist gang stealing them.

The Chairman: The point is well taken.

Del. Lewis: I stand corrected. I apologize to Comrade Goebel for the misunderstanding. (Applause.)

The Chairman: All right; go ahead.

Del. Lewis: I left the State of Washington to come East, or to go South on my way East, because I could not agree to work with the present delegation, so that I am not prejudiced in their favor. But the first day I arrived in the State of Washington to work as a State lecturer for the regular State Committee, the protestants against the present delegation, before I had been in the State five hours, took me into a caucus and gave me to understand that the only consideration upon which my work would be allowed to proceed at all in the State of Washington was that I should enter into an agreement with these same protestants to clean out the State office. (Applause.) And as a stranger I was not willing to do that; and because I told them I had not come to Washington to enter into any local affairs or to take part in any disturbances, much less attempt to clean out an office, these protestants did all they could to prevent my entering dates through the regular State organization, and more than once they shut me off the streets of Seattle and I had to spend my evenings idle, when I was there for no other purpose than to propagate Socialism on the street corners. Another thing: I noticed in the headquarters at Seattle men who had their faces scratched up. I thought they had been in a cat fight; I thought they had fallen downstairs, or something, and I asked how these men came to have their faces scratched up. I discovered that the man who has traveled all the way from Washington to protest against this delegation, every time he had a dispute in the city headquarters with any member who would not agree to his proposals the next thing he did was to scratch up his opponent's face with his finger nails, and the membership in Seattle state that they took it because they owed this man money and he told them that if they did not accept his motions and agree to his propositions he would demand his loan back and put the organization into bankruptcy. (Laughter.) Now, I only mention these things to give you an idea of the state of affairs in Washington.

Delegate Goebel says that if we do not do this there will be another fight in Washington. No matter what you do or what you do, there will be another fight in Washington (applause), and there will be fighting in Washington for years to come, and the best thing you can do in this convention is to keep your fingers out of it. (Applause.)

1 ROUND OR 49

Del. Miller (Nev.): Comrades, have listened to this debate with a good deal of amusement. I do not really know what to vote on. The question of this question whether anybody had his eyes scratched or not. I do not think the personal element, either the position of Comrade Berlyn or the ideas of Comrade Lewis, amount to anything. There is a fight in the State of Washington and there has got to be one more round. The question is, shall that round be left to the people of Washington to settle, and fourth, fifth, 49 rounds? (A voice, "yes") or shall we have one round under the control of the National organization, and get a final decision? The fact is that a fight is on. There is a certain kind of constitution in Washington which takes the rule of the party in Washington practically out of the hands and control of the local membership of that State, and that is absolutely contrary to every principle of party rule that we believe in. Now, shall we let that thing go on, or shall we say, "You shall take one referendum under the control of our National headquarters and settle it and settle it at once," and those who want to stay out after that are out, and out for keeps so far as the National Socialist Party is concerned." When a State convention arrogates to itself to nominate candidates for State offices and they have got to do something about it they have a right to do as in the State of Washington, some other people in some other State will try to do the same thing, and I believe it is time now, if Comrade Lewis does not want the same condition in Illinois, or if Comrade Cole does not want the same condition in California, to put a quietus upon the proposition right now.

The proposition is for us to decide, there is no question about it. The national party will have a finger in the pie, whether you will or not. We cannot have a question of that kind drag along endlessly, destroying the propaganda and the power of our comrades in Washington. I believe the question can be settled and settled right, and it will be settled right when they bring in a report that will settle every phase of the question. Bin a resolution deciding nothing would have no effect; it does not change the situation at all. That resolution is a good one. It is provided that there shall be a referendum from the National office for the purpose of ending the State difficulty. It is proper in this case. The National office with far less reason declared the State of Nebraska unorganized, and now there is reason to declare Washington unorganized, when the condition is far much worse. I believe this motion of Comrade Lewis should not carry, and the National Executive Committee should forthwith issue a referendum to every locality in the state in Washington and let the question be settled. I do not know why the comrades are so opposed to a referendum vote. What are they afraid of? Don't we believe in it? Let them all vote, and when they have voted once it will come up again in the national convention.

Del. Boomer (Wash.): I want to ask Comrade Miller if he has read the constitution of the State of Washington?

Del. Miller: I have.

Del. Boomer: We deny that it conflicts in any way with the National constitution.

FIELDMAN COPIES MILLER'S ERROR

Del. Fieldman (N. Y.): Comrades, I am an absolute stranger to both sides of this question, and I do not believe I have got to prove that statement. I have come to a certain decision on the basis of the arguments that I have listened to here on this floor. I know very little indeed about the question until I heard the comrades on each side, and I am very much impressed with what the delegate that spoke last stated here. Both sides of the discussion admitted that there was something wrong with the

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We devote almost this entire issue of "The Socialist" to a reproduction of the full debate on the Washington case at the Chicago National Convention, last May (1908). It is pretty late news, we admit. The only reason we have not printed it long ago was, the "Proceedings" were not published earlier. For some unexplained reason, it took nearly nine months to publish these "Proceedings" instead of nine weeks which should have been the extremest limit. (There was no impossibility in getting them out in nine days even). John M. Work is the Editor and must be held responsible.

Late as it is, the book should be read in full by all Party members. We can never have an intelligent conduct of Party affairs until the rank and file acquaint themselves with all the details of Party management. For example the Texas delegation wanted to change the Constitution, just voted on, providing for a most cumbrous, expensive and unintelligible method of electing our National officers, has quite likely carried. If it has, the reason is, the individual members of the Party are so "easy" and ignorant of practical Party politics that they vote for anything anybody proposes.

That is the kind of "Democracy" which politicians of the old type always like. Remember that for "Democracy" read, in order to decoy Democracy. An ignorant rank and file can always be "worked" by demagogic politicians and selfish leaders.

Therein lies one evil of a Big Party, including "all who vote the Socialist ticket." Such a promiscuous unenlightened membership can always be handled by a few unscrupulous conspirators, just as the Republican and Democratic parties are necessarily handled.

The rank and file of these parties, with or without Primary Laws, are helpless, precisely because those organizations are so loose and unorganized. Their conventions are cut and dried, registering the will of the few, accepting Platform and candidates previously agreed upon, followed by 70 minutes of manufactured applause, a hideous nightmare of Democracy.

The Opportunist ideal of a Socialist Party, loosely hung together, no dues paying, free for all, no "discipline," no quarrels, no hard and fast rules of any kind, no "red tape," no "Constitutional" technicalities, no free-lancing, all individuals enjoying "Liberty," this ideal would result in the same undemocratic control by the scheming few as exists in the Capitalist parties.

Our only salvation is a rank and file which thinks, studies, becomes intimately acquainted with Party tactics, a membership in fact of trained Socialist politicians. That is why Union men make good Socialists. They have learned what Organization means. They know the ropes. They cannot be fooled with Democratic tricks.

So we say, let every Party member "get next" to such proceedings and discussions as are found in this issue of "The Socialist." This paper's first aim is now, as always, to educate the membership of the Socialist Party in those principles and tactics which will consolidate an invincible political organization, knowing exactly what it is after and able to act as one man to seize what it is after.

The same fight on a smaller scale is on now in Washington against the Proletarian organization, which was constructed so long by Hutcheson. Only now a new emissary, Parks, spends all his time and energies to create dissension and prejudice exactly as Hatcheson did for so many years. It will be noticed that Hutcheson's plea to the National Convention given below might well find its place in Brown's "Suppressed Facts." The two are as like as two peas in the same pod.

We believe much of the vigor and growth of the Washington Socialist Party is due to the repeated struggles it has undergone to prevent the management from passing into the hands of the Reformists. If the Party in Illinois, for example, had put up the same Proletarian fight as we have in Washington, it would now be as conspicuous in organization and votes as Washington is, instead of having to explain its deterioration. Chicago and Illinois are led by Opportunists just as Seattle and Washington are led by Revolutionists. There everything is peaceful. Here everything is militant. But the Proletarian fighters will get there, as they always will when they fight intelligently. And the Middle Class peacemakers and "Christians" go the way of their class—to Oblivion.

situation in the State of Washington, and they both admitted, or claimed, rather, that what was wrong with the situation of the Socialist Party in the State of Washington is that a certain number of comrades or some member of a committee, or commission, if you please, has the power to determine the methods and manner in which questions are to be decided or voted upon or determined in that State. That is to say—

Del. Brown (Wash.) A point of order. No member from Washington has presented his case, and those are not the facts; there is no such power in the State of Washington.

WANTS "THE LAW"

Del. Fieldman: It was stated on this floor that some sort of a committee had control of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. It does seem to me that those who have come here with that charge should have armed themselves with their detailed facts. What is the law? I am anxious to hear that law, and on the basis of that it seems to me we ought to act. If it be true that the Socialist Party of the State of Washington the membership has no power to control the acts of the whole party, that they cannot submit questions to a referendum vote whenever they see fit to do so, then it is up to us to settle that question. If it is possible for any number of members that are in minority to absolutely control the will of the majority, or rather defeat the will of the majority in the State of Washington, then it is impossible to settle that fight in Washington unless the National organization takes charge of the question and submits the proposition to a referendum in that State under its control and thereby learns the opinion, the will and the desire of every member in the State of Washington of the Socialist Party. (Applause.) I submit, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that it is necessary that the opinion and desire of every member of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington be known before it is possible to settle this proposition. Now, if there be any one person here that has the law that is referred to, that it is claimed makes it impossible for the membership to govern the Socialist party in the State of Washington, I demand that that law be read here.

Del. Brown: We have it.

Del. Davies (Pa.): Let us hear the law of Washington.

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DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON STEWART, Physician and Surgeon—Residence 925 Twelfth Avenue S., Beacon Hill. Office 634-635 Pioneer Block, Pioneer Place, Seattle, Wash.

A Delegate: A question of personal privilege. Can't we have this read so as to save time?

Del. Hoehn (Mo.): Mr. Chairman—

The Chairman: Comrade Hoehn has the floor.

Del. A. M. Simons (Ill.) A question of information. Will not Del. Hoehn permit this section of the law to be sent up to the secretary and read? I ask that it be sent up and read, so as to avoid the chance of any conceivable mistaken.

Del. Hoehn: Very well.

The Chairman: I think that is fair. A sheet containing the State constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington was sent to the secretary, and it was decided that the secretary should read it.

Del. Spargo (N. Y.): I rise to move that the protestants be asked to read the passages, to point out the passages to which they object. There is absolutely no sense in asking a man who is absolutely unfamiliar with the constitution and the law to pick it out at a moment's notice. He either must read the whole thing and depend upon our picking out the passages as he reads, or we do not have any assurance that his selection will be the wise one. Now, the protestants make certain statements and charges. They contend that they have in that document a justification for their charges. It seems to me that the only logical thing is to call upon them to read the passages which they charge sustain their objection. Therefore I move that they be called upon to read the passages to which they make objections. (Seconded.)

GOEBEL AND MILLER CHALLENGED

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.): I move to amend, that Delegate Goebel of New Jersey be requested to point them out. He is the one who made the charge here, and Delegate Miller of Nevada, and it is up to them to point out the passages in the constitution and not to ask outsiders.

Del. Spargo: We accept that amendment.

The Chairman: It is accepted as the original motion. It is moved and seconded that Comrades Miller and Goebel point out the passages which they want read.

Del. Goebel: Is this debatable?

The Chairman: It is debatable.

Del. Goebel: Then I want to suggest that those who ask me to do that know perfectly well that I can't do it right now, and that is why they ask me to, unless I am very much mistaken. Now, I want to make a fair proposition, as I see it. I have made a statement and I challenge those that I have named on the Washington State delegation to deny it. Inside of twenty-four hours I have referred this very passage of the constitution to Comrade Boomer and Comrade Brown, and they have both admitted that I was right about the matter about the election of State officers, and both confessed they thought it was wrong. Both confessed to me it was wrong. Therefore they confess that what I have said is true. Even though I do not have a copy of the State constitution of Washington in my hand, I make this proposition. We have no interest in either side. We want to act for the best interests of the National Socialist Party. I suggest that instead of having further debate from Miller, myself or anybody, we let the Washington delegates to name somebody to take ten minutes for them to put before you their side, and then allow the other side ten minutes, and having heard both sides, then settle it.

GOEBEL STUMPED

Del. Hillquit: I do not think we ought to take this position offered by Comrade Goebel. Delegate Goebel says he cannot point out the objectionable portion. I say that any delegate who is prepared to make a charge in open convention ought to be ready to point it out. (Applause.)

Del. A. M. Simons: There is only one section there, and it will only take half a minute and it will be over with.

The Chairman: There is a motion before the house, and your chairman can do nothing but put it.

Del. Stedman: I ask now that that section be read as a point of information by the reading clerk. You also have a right to information before you vote.

The Chairman: That is correct. Your motion is to read?

Del. Stedman: I am not making a motion. I am asking for a point of information. A section has been referred to. I ask that the section referred to be read.

The Chairman: The motion is to read it. All in favor of reading say aye. Contrary. The ayes have it.

Del. Miller (Nev.): This platform is in detached pieces, but I have it marked and I am going to read it. (Reading.) "Section 8. The State committee shall elect a chairman, a secretary-treasurer and such other officers and assistants necessary to carry on the work of the State and translate the proceedings of the State organization into foreign languages if necessary. It shall employ such as it thinks advisable . . . . and call upon the membership, ... lecturers in organized States."

Section 17 refers to the same thing, the same offices.

A Delegate: Read it.

Del. Miller (reading): "The State Secretary-treasurer, Organizer or other assistants elected by the State Committee shall, for cause other than party treason, be removed by said committee from office, subject to the same procedure." These two things are all I can find.

Del. Herman (Wash.): What is the procedure?

Del. Miller: The same as in case of troubles and—

Del. Herman: All right, we want to know what that is.

Del. Miller: Wait till I find it.

Del. Krafft (N. J.): A point of information. Our delegates would like to know how the State Committee is elected.

Del. Hoehn (Mo.): I am in favor of the adoption of this report. I believe that the report is a splendid document and I also believe it is the duty of the National organization to build a fence as high as the Rocky Mountains around the State of Washington until they are through with their fighting.

BERGER'S "ANGEL WINGS"

Del. Berger (Wis.): My voice is not in very good condition and you will do me a great favor by giving close attention. I am not going to keep you very long.

Under the present constitution the National Executive Committee could not make any different decision. It is queer also that those who opposed State autonomy so bitterly seven years ago are so very much in favor of it now. But since I am one of the originators of State autonomy that is rather flattering to me. It seems to me as we have it and it is working so well it ought to be kept un even if it will do me a great favor by giving close attention. I am not going to keep you very long.

Under the present constitution the National Executive Committee could not make any different decision. It is queer also that those who opposed State autonomy so bitterly seven years ago are so very much in favor of it now. But since I am one of the originators of State autonomy that is rather flattering to me. It seems to me as we have it and it is working so well it ought to be kept un even if it will do me a little injustice in individual cases. And so it does. Here is a case where about 700 Socialists who would like to belong to the organization are kept out—and don't know why. One crowd says the other crowd is bad and then the other crowd says these are bad people. I believe to some extent they are both right. (Laughter.) I mean to say that they are both good and bad. I don't see any angel wings flapping on the delegation, when they rise as they have done. I could not help laughing my neighbor Hillquit that they knew the ropes, and when I heard the other man yesterday—he is a cooper by trade and a good union man, and so forth—he has not learned the art of politics in any way, shape or manner. I thought if such a thing should happen in Chicago or New York it would be done on a different scale entirely.

A Delegate: Or even in Milwaukee.

Del. Berger: It seems to me that this is all we can do. It is all that we can do under the conditions. This case is different from the case in Nebraska. In Nebraska there was not any party there; there was one man with whiskers, and one man with a mustache, and one with nothing. That was about all there was left of the party in Nebraska. They did not pay any dues or anything. On the other hand, those three men kept out about 150 Socialists. Of course we could not do anything else but declare the State disorganized, because it was a fact. The State had been disorganized. But there we have a strong organization—whatever you may say about that crowd, they know how. They have an organization of about 1500 members—

Del. Brown (Wash.): Two thousand.

Del. Berger: Be careful, Brown, you only pay dues for 1500. They have an organization of 1500 and that has to be respected. In war and politics, as on the economic field, it is the strength of that country; nothing else counts. If they had only five or ten members we could have made very short work of it; but they are 1500 and you cannot do that. On the other hand, it would be a disgrace and a shame to the party if lying 1500 of them they could not have sense enough and justice enough after they cooled off a little to take in the other 700.

Why, comrades, as one of the members of the Executive Committee remarked, that is a good deal more than the entire Socialist Labor Party—larger than the entire Socialist Labor Party in the entire country. (Applause.) Give me all your affection and save your applause until I am through. There they have about 700 men fully as good Socialists as the others, and they are kept out—I don't know why. It is not like them, it is not like Kreuger, it is not like Brown although he is a lawyer, and as a rule I don't like lawyers, but they are all good fellows, but it seems to me they ought not to keep out so many hundreds of Socialists. If there is any possible way let us get them in. And that is why the National Executive Committee offered its good services to unite them. Of course I would not make a very good angel of peace. I am not supposed to be a very peaceful man as a rule. I never heard my own wings flapping very hard, but we can find some suitable man to go out there and unite them. Goebel is very much of my own make-up. He is a good effective organizer, but he has decided in his opinions on a good many subjects, just the same as I am. So let us have somebody else, somebody who can unite both forces, both sides, into one strong body, so that instead of having 1500, you will have have not merely 2200, because the 700 will bring 2,000 more.

I move that you accept the report of the committee, but I consider that if so, in justice to both sides I would ask the comrades to hear the representative of the contestants. He has no horns and no hoofs. I have looked all over him. He has as good looking a face as I have seen anywhere, although I am not a judge of affection. Let him have a chance to be heard for ten minutes, and then the other side for ten minutes, and it will not hurt any body. I say accept the report of the committee, that is, without any change.

The Chairman: Would not our friends form Washington agree to that proposition to allow the representative from the one side to talk and then allow Washington to close the debate? Will they not consent to that? I ask the question of the delegation through Comrade Brown.

Del. Brown: I ask permission to confer with the Washington delegation.

The Chairman: That is a sensible proposition if they agree to it. All in favor of permitting a conference of the Washington delegation say aye. The ayes have it and the permission is given.

Del. Strickland: I move that the previous question be ordered after the Washington comrades have presented their case.

A Delegate: I second the motion.

The Chairman: You have heard the motion. Shall the previous question be put at that time? All in favor will say aye. The ayes have it and it is agreed to. You will understand that the two sides are to speak and then the previous question will be ordered and then there will be four speeches to bring the debate to a close.

Del. Brown (Wash.): I submit, Mr. Chairman, and delegates of this convention, that Washington has been hearing its affairs discussed, and Washington has not opened its mouth in its own defense. In justice to myself, in justice to the Socialist movement in Washington in its relation with the Socialist movement throughout the world, I now ask that Washington be given an opportunity before this convention to wash its own linen, and after your minds have been disillusioned of the charges that have been made, you can give us your cool solid judgment, and Washington will always yield to the decisions of the Socialists Party. But we want an opportunity to be heard in our own defense, and we ask that we be not shut off until we have had that full opportunity.

Del. Krueger (Wash.): I second the motion.

Del. Morgan (Ill.): I move that the Washington delegation, this being a trouble in their own state, to place their whole case before the convention.

The Chairman: How much time?

A Delegate: Ten minutes.

Del. Morgan: I think they ought to have as much time as they deem necessary to place the facts before the convention.

Del. Strickland: I move to amend by making it twenty minutes for each side.

A Delegate: I second the motion.

The Secretary: It is moved that the Washington delegation have twenty minutes and that the other side have twenty minutes also. All in favor of the amendment will say aye. Those opposed, no. The amendment is carried. All in favor of the motion as amended will say aye. Those opposed, no. It is agreed to. The protracted side starts off. Who speaks for the other side?

Comrade Hutcheson: I wish to speak on that side.

Del. Brown: Mr. Chairman, a point of information. While Comrade Hutcheson is taking the platform I wish to ask if the Washington delegation will have twenty minutes and our accusers twenty minutes and then after the question has been put there will be two five minute speeches on each side?

The Chairman: That is correct.

TITUS DID IT

Comrade Hutcheson: In the state of Washington there has been a controversy going on for a good many years. That controversy first started when Dr. Herman F. Titus entered the Socialist Party. It has been going on ever since, but not so bitterly during the time that he left and took his power from there and went to Utah well; but after he came back again the old bitter fight was taken up and it is on now. There are certain things that we comrades who are on the outside of the party deem illegal there, and we think that we are illegally deprived of our rights to be members of the Socialist Party.

Comrade Herman last night stated before the National Executive Committee that I was an undesirable, and should not be a member of the Socialist Party, and they did not want me as a member of the Socialist Party, and others he named there who are with us.

Now I want to state a few facts here to show why there is a contention that there is an illegality there in the State of Washington.

In 1906, about June or July, the unions and some others held a convention. It was called a labor union convention. A great many of our boys were anxious to see what the rank and file would do in a political convention. They went to the Temple. When they got there they found they could not enter, as an individual was standing there handing them cards on which was written "I, the undersigned, pledge myself to support the candidate or nominee, nominated at this convention," then giving the name, address, occupation and date. Well, they were stumped, but some of the boys said "Pshaw, we will come back here four years from now. If we are not then in the party, fighting to get in again." (Applause.)

LET WASHINGTON ALONE

Del. Brown (Wash.): I do not see why any men, or set of men who have fought themselves out of the Socialist Party should not be able in the same manner to fight their way back into the Socialist Party. (Applause.)

Now, gentlemen, with your kind attention—give your applause afterwards—every incident that Comrade Hutcheson has related to you happened before the national Constitution was amended so that the national body could step into the State of Washington and declare our state unorganized.

What are the facts there? He has talked about Titus. Titus is the one man in the State of Washington who has given his all, his health and everything, to the Socialist movement. I am not a friend of Titus, but I am a Socialist.

Now listen, comrades. The matters concerning Wagenknecht, and what he has done in Washington. What was the condition of the Socialist party then? The Socialist party had something like 500 or 600 members. What was the condition then? Could anyone get in then? I say no and I live there. What is the condition of the Socialist party now? We have 1,500 members accounted for, dues-paying members. We have the widest organization, and the largest membership as compared to population of any state in the union.

What Comrade Herman said of what the National Executive Committee did you can hear from them. They are here. You have not heard the evidence. You have heard declarations by the man interested in the final determination of this question. The charges against the comrades were treason. We rendered a verdict that they had not committed treason. The only two votes against that were those of Comrades Callahan and Wagenknecht. Comrade Wagenknecht was the chairman of the local quorum. That is made up of five members of the state committee. And Comrade Wagenknecht took the decision up from the local to the local quorum, and there they had a resolution to revoke the charter of Local Seattle, and the state committee revoked the charter of Local Seattle by a vote of something like nine to six. There are fifteen members.

Prior to the revocation of the charter of Local Seattle Comrade Wagenknecht was a member of Local Seattle. He took a transfer of his membership from membership in Local Seattle, which was under charges, to membership at large. Two members of the local quorum denied him that right. Two members gave him that right; so there was a tie, and he as chairman voted himself a membership at large and thereby retained himself as a member of the Socialist Party, giving himself the right as judge and jury to decide our fate. Now, there was nothing in the state constitution that deprived us of the rights of voting, and nothing in the national constitution, but there are passages there that state that any member in good standing shall have the right to vote on referendum.

They did not deny Local Spokane—when they revoked the charter of Local Spokane—the right to vote whether they should be put out, but when it came to Local Seattle, Local Seattle that had 388 members in good standing and some 500 or 600 more that would have been in good standing, they denied us the right to vote on whether or not the state committee should be sustained in revoking the charter.

They refused to send ballots to us. We received a telegram sent out asking that question of the rank and file, and the rank and file decided that there ought to be deprived of that right. Another referendum was called as to whether or not Comrade Wagenknecht should hold the chairmanship of the Local Quorum, and transfer it to membership at large, and that they voted down, voting "No." There was another referendum as to whether or not Comrade Wagenknecht's action in the Local Quorum could be sustained or not; and it was not sustained.

Now, during this time some members of Local Seattle who were on the other side, comrades Callahan and others, not Comrade Wagenknecht, because he was a member at large, but the Local Quorum, which was in Seattle, pending the time when the rank and file should decide whether or not our charter was revoked or not. Two members of the Local Quorum gave them the right, and two voted against it, and Comrade Wagenknecht as chairman, and an interested party, gave them the charter. Then he transferred the membership to membership at large and he was a member in good standing as judge and jury in our case.

At the 1906 convention a resolution was passed stating that in the opinion of this convention all acts of the Local Quorum and of the State Committee where Wagenknecht voted and where his vote was a decided factor, were illegal and void. That was passed by a unanimous vote. I think they have it over there.

Now, when this question came up the decision of the convention could be granted to a local, a referendum was called on that and the rank and file decided it could not. Therefore, there did not exist in second Seattle the city of Seattle, but this referendum was counted the evening before the state convention. The next morning at nine o'clock the state convention convened.

Some time after the counting of these referendum votes, between ten and eleven o'clock or possibly near twelve o'clock in the morning, after one member, J. C. Robbins, had left the Local Quorum, Comrade Wagenknecht and some others re-granted the charter to a few that were there and had by a resolution ratified the delegates that the organization had elected previously as the delegates to the state convention.

The next day at the state convention, they, with the rest of the members at large, had a majority in the convention so that these members at large had full power there, and by that they organized the convention, elected their own credentials committee, seated themselves, and went to work to fix up the situation and everything there to suit themselves.

I will admit, comrades, that we have been easy. It takes a working man a long time to learn some of these things and we have had against us Comrade Titus, one of the slickest parliamentarians, assisted by a few more like himself, that ever came down the pike. When there is a motion put before the house, they can bring up more points of order, more subsidiary resolutions, amendments, and amendments to the amendment, than you ever heard of. And we often didn't know where we were at first. We have learned a good deal. We have graduated from that school. We have got to the point now where we cannot get into this party any more. By their acts, they say, that it is impossible for us to get back into the party. They state that I am undesirable and they don't want to have me in.

When one of the members of the National Executive Committee asked him if there weren't a good many of the seven hundred who were all right, he said he thought that some were, and then when he asked if the make-up of the seven hundred was any different from the makeup of their party, he said he couldn't say that they were.

Those who want an organization in the State of Washington, out of 1,500 but of 4,000 or 5,000, or 6,000, we, who want to work with the Trades Unions and not against them, we are asking admission to the Socialist Party. We want admission to the Socialist Party, and that is what we are going to get. I don't care if it takes two or three or four, or five, or even ten more years.

You can turn us down in this convention, and I will tell you, we will come back here four years from now, if we are not then in the party, fighting to get in again." (Applause.)

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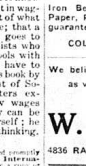

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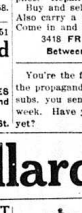

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HERMAN ANSWERS GOEBEL

Del. Herman (Wash.): The charge is made that the organization in Washington is not democratic and that our constitution is autocratic. They have not gone so far as to say that it is in conflict with the national party constitution.

I wish to say first that the constitution of the State of Washington was not drawn up to suit George H. Goebel, or Miller, of Nevada, or any other individual. The constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington was drawn up to suit the Socialist Party membership of the State of Washington. Goebel says that he does not like the state committee of the Socialist Party of Washington, and the state committee of the Socialist Party of Washington does not like George H. Goebel; and there are other members in the State of Washington, outside of the state committee, who do not like George H. Goebel, and the reason is that when George H. Goebel came into the State of Washington he wanted to instruct the state committee on what terms he should tour the state of Washington, and the state committee of the Socialist Party of Washington won out as it always has done.

Del. Goebel (N. J.): If these statements are made about me I shall demand an opportunity to be heard in reply.

Del. Herman: It is not a question of whether we have a perfect organization. We are not looking for a Moses. The wage workers of the State of Washington who are organized in the Socialist Party, and those who are in sympathy with the wage working class who are organized in the Socialist Party of Washington need no Moses to lead them out of the wilderness. We can take care of our own affairs. We do not need Hermon F. Titus, or Walter Thomas Mills, either—but in justice to Titus I want to say this: That no man who has been upon this platform can point out a single instance where Hermon F. Titus has ever been disloyal to the Socialist Party or a traitor to the working class. That is all the distance I want to go in respect to Hermon F. Titus.

WALTER THOS. MILLS

However, we have to fight these people, this reform element, that is inside the Socialist Party, and we have fought them since the time when the Socialist Party was first organized in Washington. We have fought them and beaten them in every instance from 1900 up to 1907. In 1906 they were taken back into the organization, and it was through the influence of that so-called "Little Giant," Walter Thomas Mills, after he had extracted from the Propaganda Club, which was composed of expelled members of Local Seattle about a thousand dollars' worth of property, and then when they got into the Socialist Party the same Tribune Publishing Company, through the same agency, Hutcheson and the Bentemans, sold back the literature which had been collected out of the nickels and dimes of the working class of the City of Seattle, sold back to the party that literature which Mr. Mills got for nothing.

Now, this last time they thought they had somebody who could lead them to victory, but Walter Thomas Mills found that in the Socialist Party of Washington he was to meet his Waterloo, and that he could not introduce his reform ideas; and when he was expelled from Local Seattle, he went out of the organization, and now, instead of fighting from the inside and trying to win there, they work from outside the organization and try to tear down what it has taken eight years to build up.

BOOMER ON REAL ISSUE

Del. Boomer (Wash.): I don't want to take up five minutes, but I do want to state the reason why I have allened myself with the comrades of Washington who are in the state organization. Underneath all these arguments, underneath all these things that pertain to the individuals, if you look closely you will find that there lies underneath the question of fundamentals the question whether it shall be a working class movement or a middle class muddled movement.

I have not lived in Seattle for five years. I have been out of touch with the so-called Titus faction and the so-called Mills faction. I have been trying to run a Socialist newspaper in a strong Republican community. While I lived there we all had our little arguments occasionally, each comrade stating his conviction, yet the reason I stand with the comrades here is because the facts have come to my knowledge that the organization which now controls the party in the State of Washington is by far the safer, by far the more representative of the working class movement, than are the men who are the protestants here, those who represent the other side.

Mr. Hutcheson, who came down through the valley, seeking to organize locals, paper locals, so as to make a protest to the national committee, he came to our town, and in the presence of myself and my wife, who is a member of the local, gave us one of the reasons why he opposed the present organization in the State of Washington that he did not believe a state committee should have the power to revoke the charter of a local, even though that local endorsed the Republican or Democratic ticket; and because of that I will fight utterly to the end any faction, any individual, any so-called Socialist, who stands for one moment for such a proposition.

I have talked with those men on the other side, and I have found that they do not believe in the class struggle, do not believe in drawing the class line, and believe that it was all right, many of them, in case the Socialist Party had no ticket in the field, to vote for some "good man" on the capitalist tickets. Those are the kind of men who are trying to break into the Socialist movement in the State of Washington. We do not deny admittance to any man or any woman, no matter what their profession or trade, if they can prove to the satisfaction of those who have to vote upon them that they are not only Socialists, but understand what Socialism is.

I shall object as long as I have a voice to admitting Comrade Hutcheson or admitting any comrade who refuses to acknowledge the fundamentals laid down by the working class of the world in their conventions, and refuse absolutely to admit men who believe that a Socialist may still have a right to vote a capitalist ticket as it may suit their convenience.

In Prosser, Washington, some time ago we had the necessity forced upon us of crossing off the names of two members of the party because at the last city election at Prosser, despite the fact that every member was to write the word "Socialism" on the ticket, because we had no ticket in the field, two of the members deliberately voted for one of the capitalist candidates, and acknowledged that they had done it. We crossed their names off the local. Comrade Hutcheson protested against such autocratic action on the part of Local Prosser and on the part of the members of the local.

HUTCHESON FAVORS NOTHING FUNDAMENTAL

It is because of these things that I stand where I do in the party organization of the State of Washington. It is a fundamental question, a question whether you want an organization there that stands for the wage worker, for the proletarian movement of the world, or whether you want an organization there that favors nothing that is fundamental, that pays attention to nothing except the matter of getting a large vote regardless of who they are or what they do, provided they boost the movement.

That is the reason I stand with the Socialist organization of the State of Washington, because I believe that they represent the real, true working class expression in the Socialist movement in the State of Washington, and the others do not.

Del. Vandel Porten (N. Y.): I listened with great interest to the arguments on both sides of this question, and I was deeply interested in the statement by Comrade Hutcheson, respecting the position that they occupied in the State of Washington, but I have concluded that the National Executive Committee have done the only thing possible in view of the conditions that exist, and in view of the statement of Comrade Hutcheson that he is going to break into the Socialist Party if it takes him ten years. That position is a mistaken one, for neither Comrade Hutcheson nor Comrade Mills can break into the Socialist Party if we and every member of the National Committee will remember that the time has come when we are not seeking to enhance our strength by all sorts of dickers and combinations, having men pass through the country organizing all the opposing factions, using all their power to destroy our recognized affiliated locals, as has been done in this case and in the case of Comrade Mills in his tour through Canada.

The principle that is involved in this fight is the same principle that caused the expulsion of this comrade; it is the same principle of opportunism where people demand the right irrespective of their view or the limits of the movement of becoming political factors. I say that from what has been said upon this floor today there is nothing left to this convention but to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee and to express most emphatically that we, the Socialist Party of America, stand always for the class struggle, stand always for the Socialist movement, and the men who have given their lives, who have given their health, given everything they have in behalf of Socialism, have not watched it develop to the position ,which it now occupies for the mere purpose of turning it at this late day into a middle class bourgeois institution.

If an emphatic, clear declaration of the position of the Socialist Party is ever required, this is the time, this is the moment; and while we are gaining strength, to all politicans and all aspiring individuals who find the ranks closed against them in the other political parties, whose hopes have been blasted in the corrupt political parties, and who think that the Socialist movement is a good vehicle to land them in the places they aspire to, we say no. The class struggle is the fight that we are making, and individuals count for very little. Dr. Titus may have been a great factor in Washington, Comrade Herman may have been a factor in Washington, but the only real interest we have in this matter is the matter of principle, the matter of policy, whether the Socialist movement is going to be served by allowing them to be brought into the party who should be out of it. Let us recognize clearly that under no condition, whether it be Washington or Wisconsin or New York—under no condition is there any place in the Socialist Party of America for that kind of opportunism; and let it be said further that when this declaration is made we make it in order to give the voters an opportunity to vote upon it if they want to.

Del. Goebel: I wish to speak against the report.

Del. Woodby (Cal.): A point of information. It has been charged that the parties on both sides are not Socialists. I want to know whether the parties in each combination signed the party pledge. I want to know whether they did or not.

The Chairman: We cannot settle that question.

Del. Woodby (Cal.): Unless we know that——

The Chairman: I don't think we can settle that question. These members must sign an application.

Del. Brown: Anybody can sign an application.

Del. Woodby: But, on the other side—I want to know whether both sides signed our application recognizing the class struggle.

The Chairman: I cannot answer that. Delegate Goebel has the floor.

GOEBEL SAYS "I AM BEST"

Del. Goebel (N. J.): I believe in state autonomy, and if you stand by the majority report state autonomy wins the victory, so I win either way; therefore, I am smiling.

I want to say a word or two on this

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matter. So far as I am personally concerned, I am going to say very little. Comrades sitting all over this hall know Goebel, and whether he is simply hitting the high places or low places or fighting. National Secretary Barnes will tell you that I have an explicit understanding with him by which I could outline in some measure the line of work I was to do. I said to Barnes, "I am out to get in new locals. We can get them if you give me a chance." Barnes had the brains to give me the chance. He tried to get the state secretary to work with him. However, I got sixty-three-nothing to my credit—simply Barnes gave me the chance to work and get them in my own way. Two days before election Comrade Burgess, knowing I was coming in the state, although he knew I was coming months in advance, he kept me in suspense and then suddenly, two days before election, when he knew I was exhausted, he wrote me a list of duties which I was broken in voice and body, for the deliberate purpose of making it look as though I could not fill the requirements. He dared not turn down a man who was known all over the country as one of the best, so they had to find a substitute. This I said, "I will do it, I'll be done," and Barnes said I could rest fifteen days, and I wrote back a letter. It was not very sweet—my God, when a man has given the best he has, when he has given his life to the movement, why shouldn't he be nervous and irritable at times? I wrote the letter asking Burgess if there was anything against me personally, and if so, to write back and I would ask Barnes to put me in another state. He wrote back, "No, you are all right. I think you are one of the most effective organizers in this country, but you must know that we have got a scrap on, and we have got to be sure which side you are on; we have got to use caution as to the men sent by the national office, and you must use caution as to whether we ought to have them." I wrote back taking exception to this, and Barnes wrote all cancelled, and it looked then as though I wasn't good enough for Washington, in spite of a letter sent by Hermon F. Titus, addressed to Spokane and received by me, in which he says that he understands that I have no dates, and that if I am free they would be glad to have me tour the State of Washington under the auspices of "The Socialist" of Seattle, soliciting subscriptions for them, and speaking in their interest. You see, I was not good enough to represent the national office, but I was good enough, if I would solicit subscriptions for a sheet that had the gall and nerve to abuse and publish a ridiculous attack upon men like Berger, men who had given their lives to this movement. If these people were capitalists and was a capitalist's politician, and I wanted to reach those people for my purpose, I would say, "I believe in the class struggle; the other fellows are opportunists," and unless they look closely into the substance of it, it would get them.

"Declare State Unorganized"

This is the point I wish to make. It is not a question of Goebel; it is a question of the right thing. Both sides have proved themselves as able politicians as there are in the movement. You cannot deny that. Both of them above shown clearly that they will not stop at any method to win out. One side says, "Mills is the Moses"; the other side says, "Titus is the Moses"; and then you have what in the State of Washington? You have got a lot of Socialists and you have them so absolutely confused and tired out and bewildered by the tactics of the few contending sects of Moseses, two leaders of strong personality, both able men, with able lieutenants surrounding them.

Under all the circumstances I propose that you do not concur in this report, but declare the state unorganized, and thus at once give to these tired Socialists an opportunity to get their hands free from the national office. That is my plan. They are tired of Moseses; they are tired of being saved; give the rank and file of Washington a chance to save themselves.

I know that the national office has no interest in this fight. All they want is to hold up Socialism. Let them keep that state unorganized by taking action along this line, and that will mean that nearly all the Socialist rades will be in the Socialist movement and not engaged in a scrap.

Del. A. M. Simons (Ill.): I wish to speak in favor of the adoption of the report, because of the fact that there is no other possible way out of this muddle in which we are at the present time. We cannot declare a state unorganized that is organized, and these comrades have a live, active, fighting organization in their state, on their side. We must admit that they are keen, shrewd and sharp, and sometimes unscrupulous in their tactics in the party. If they were to use those same methods, that same shrewdness, that same activity, that same keenness that they have shown inside the party in fighting the capitalist class in Washington—they have sometimes, and I have watched these close—if they would use that altogether there, they would make a far more effective organization than they have today. Their organization is effective, and they have been very fortunate in some connections, they have made, I agree with them that it is fortunate that Walter Thomas Mills is outside the Socialist Party. At the same time, because they have been able to do that, because they have had an opportunity to fight there men, they have built up what has become to a large extent a machine, which is used not simply against the capitalist class, but against those who are therefore Socialists. I don't know as to individuals. I don't know Comrade Hutchesson. I know nothing but what I have men told us, and the Executive Committee, that they could not tell any difference between the general rank and file of the organization.

Superior Simons Shows Us How

There is too much tenlency to make soap-box speeches at all times, to appeal at all times and all places and on every question, even on a point of order, to the "fundamentals of the class struggle," in hope that they will get a hand, which sort of thing ultimately becomes pure demagoguery, no matter how sincere it is, and I think that the best thing that this convention can do is to let it go out to the party throughout the country, as it has gone out very plainly from our discussion here, that we believe that these factional contest rales, good fighters, but they are using rather strong methods, and that they would better go back to Washington and try to set things in order themselves, try to recognize as I say that the eyes of the country are on some of these things we are doing, and that they would better get in accord with the rest of the movement. But we have got to keep our hands off officially. We have no business monkeying with that situation. We will do nothing to make it worse and if we try to do something—if we declare it unorganized, we declare a lie in the first place and we would simply make it worse. Defeat. If we make that declaration. So I ask you to support the position of the Executive Committee.

A Delegate: I want to ask a question. In offering its services to one of the factions, are we not recognizing one of the factions?

Del. Simons: May I answer that? We do not offer our services to those who are outside the party. We offer our services to the comrades that are there who have a perfect right to reject them if they do not want them.

Joker Imitates Simons' Tactics

Del. Davies (Pa.): I am opposed to accepting the report of your Executive Committee, or the recommendation of the National Executive Committee, for the reason that should we accept that report we put a gag on progress. There are lots of people who want to come in and further the cause of Socialism, who want to push the movement, not necessarily keeping a clear line perhaps, but on the other hand there is an element here represented by Comrade Goebel of New Jersey, who want to keep the Socialist movement in Washington progressed. On the other hand, there is another element here who want to try and hold the Socialist movement to a clear uncompromising class consciousness.

Del. Berger (Wis.): A point of order: Under our rules, the different sides have to select their representatives, and this comrade, under the pretense of helping the Socialist movement, is playing a shrewd trick. I stand for fair play and this is a trick.

(The fact is, Simons had performed this identical trick. He attacked and maligned the Washington Party while pretending to speak for it, as seen in his speech above.—Ed.)

The Chairman: No one is entitled to the floor, unless he makes clear the side he speaks on.

Del. Berger: I want your decision. I think you stand for fair play.

The Chairman: He is entitled to say his piece in his own way.

Del. Berger: If he is getting the floor by a trick, I say it is pretty rotten tactics.

A Delegate: I want to ask if he opposes the committee's report, and if he will vote against it.

The Chairman: I can't answer that.

Del. Berger: Let him answer.

Del. Davies: I will vote to accept the report of the committee.

Several Delegates: Sit down. Get the place. Sit down. Sit down.

Del. Vander Porten (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order, this comrade has no right to address the body.

The Chairman: I think you are out of order.

Del. Herman: We wanted to debate this along the line of the report. We do not ask for any advantage; we do not want any unfair support. We was somebody who was opposed to the adoption of the report of the committee to get up here and state his position.

Rip Wakes Up

Del. Waldhorst: I am against the acceptance of the report as submitted. It is for this convention to declare that such tactics as have been pursued in the State of Washington during the last two years are not the right way to make good Socialists. It has been known to all the comrades, it has been in all the papers just what has been done here, and I think the National Executive Committee, instead of accepting that report, or making that report as it is, without any recommendation, should not follow out the same methods. I think we should set our feet down on any proposition such as they have in their state constitution, which is not in the spirit of the International or National constitution. If we want to keep democracy, then we ought to carry it out in our own party first before we go and ask anybody else to adopt it. If they don't want to carry out the initiative and referendum, and they have adopted a single thing that the comrade who was on the platform said—the comrade who spoke on the other side did not deny it—

Del. Brown: I deny it now.

Del. Waldhorst: I am perfectly willing to concede that, but he has not denied the accusation that they did pursue the tactics that have been described here and they are guilty of. Both sides are to blame. I say let us do something that will settle once for all any such questions that come up in any state that will make it possible for any machine to be formed in the Socialist Party, because if I despise anything it is a machine in this movement. If you want fair play give the rank and file fair play and you will get it. You won't have to be troubled about anyone else. I think that most of the comrades who have been in the movement as long as I have know very well what a machine is. I have been in it twenty-seven years, and I know what I am talking about. This is not the first time, I speak from personal experience, from what I have seen in the Socialist movement. I say it is about time for this National Convention to step in there and say: "Here, boys, get straight before we will do anything more for you." I am not concerned in either one of them. You know as well as I do to defeat the report as it is. If they amend it so as to make it mandatory on the National Executive Committee to get a referendum of the State of Washington, recognizing all as Socialists who will sign the Socialist plank of the party, I don't care what he is, or who he is, we will get the situation clear. The Nebraska situation would not have arisen if what I wish had been done in that case. So it will be in every state where the question may come up.

If this man, Walter Thomas Mills, goes into another state and gets hold of that state—he is a genius for organizing; he is a slick duck, I know him, I say, let him go into another state, and he will not be in that state very long before you will have the same proposition to face that you have in that State of Washington. So I say, "Settle it now"; settle it so that they cannot do any such thing as that, and then we shall be done with it. I think we have spent enough time on it now, but I think it will be a good thing if we spend a little more and get it right.

(Cries of "Question, question.")

The Chairman: The question before the house is the question of the adoption of the report of the Executive Committee.

A Delegate: I move it be taken by roll call.

Del. Cohen (Pa.): I rise to a question of the highest privilege.

The Chairman: What is the question of privilege by the Delegate from Pennsylvania?

Del. Cohen: The Pennsylvania delegation wish it distinctly understood that we opposed Comrade Davies doing what he did, and condemned him not to do it. We want fair play. And the rest of the Pennsylvania delegation desire to go on record as disavowing any part in the action of Comrade Davies.

Roll Call Ordered

The Chairman: The question is, on the motion that the vote be taken by roll call. Those in favor, say "aye." Those opposed, "no." The "ayes" have it, and the vote will be taken by roll call.

The roll call on the adoption of the committee's report was then take as follows:

Yes:—Ala., Freeman; Ark., Hogan; Ariz., Cannon, Morrison; Cal., Bradford, McDevitt, Wheat, Tuck, Cole, Merrill, Osborne, Johns, McKee, Bauer, Starkweather; Colo., Buie, Floaten, Maynard, Miller; Conn., Smith; Del., Henck; Ill., Collins, Bentall, Berlyn, Brower, Fraenckel, Hunt, Knopfnagel, Lewis, Morgan, Kerr, M. W. Simons, A. M. Simons, Carr, Smith; Ind., Strickland, Dunbar, Kunath; Ia., Brown, Work, Shank; Kans., Wilson, Snyder; McAllister; Ky., Seeds; La., Hymes; Me., Levy; Md., Lewis, Toole; Mass., Carey, Hitchcock, Konikow, D. White, E. White, Maloney, Putney, D'Orsay, Cutting, Fenton; Mich., Menton, Hitchman, Hilson; Minn., Peach, Kaplan, Maattala, Thorsett, Nieminen, Ingalls, Williams, Anderson, Mack; Mo., Garver, Hoehn, Brandt, Pope, Callery, Lipscomb; Mont., Graham, Hazlett, Wesleder, Ambrose, Peura, Harvey, Powers; Neb., Porter; N. H., Wilkins, Jeffers; N. J., Killbreck, Reeb; N. Y., Solomon, Wanhope, Hillquit, Lee, Lewis, Slobodin, Paulitsch, Fieldman, Hunter, Hanford, Gerber, Furman, Vander Porten, Pelser, Spargo, Cole, Strebel, Klenke; N. C., Quantz; Ohio, Lampman, Anderson, Chio, Prevey, Coon, Handlow, Vautrin, Ziegler, Farrell, Devine; Okla., Hagel, Branstetter, Ross, Davis, Branstetter, Edwards, Wood, Black, Dunlap, Wills, O'Hara; Ore., Varner, Ryan, Barzee, Crabtree; Penn., Adams, Clark, J. E. Green, H. G. Cohen, Davies, Foley, Maurer, Moore, Ringler, Slayton, Schwartz, Young; R. I., Hurst; Tex., McFadin, Bell, Payne, Buchanan, Rhodes; Utah, Syphers, Leggett; Va., Dennett; Wis., Gaylord, Weber, Thomas, Melins, Berger, Thompson, Tyes, Hoan, Sandburg, Jacobs; Wyo., O'Neill.—164.

No:—Ala., Waldhorst; Ark., Perkins, Penrose, LeFevre, Snow; Cal., Woodbey; Conn., Schleidge; Fla., Pettigrew; Idaho, Untermann, Riggs, Chenoweth; Ind., Reynolds; Ia., Rohrig, Hillis; Kans., Kaiser, Wagner, Lockwood; Nev., Miller; N. J., Goebel, Kearns, Krafft, Strobell; N. Mex., Ryan; N. Y., Smith, Thompson; Wis., Wilson; W. Va., Houston; Wyo., Groesbeck.—27.

Not Voting:—Ark., Jones; Ga., Wilke; Kans., Brewer; N. Y., Fuhrman; Ohio, Jones, Hayes; Okla., Reynolds; S. Dak., Atwood, Knowles; Tex., Holman, Clark; Wash., Washington delegation not voting, being interested in the matted.

Ala., Ross; Mass., Roee; Mo., Behrens; Ore., Ramp; Tenn., Voss.

The Chairman: The vote is overwhelmingly in favor of accepting the committee's report. It is four or five to one. If there is no objection, I will announce now that the motion is carried to adopt the report of the Executive Committee relative to the matters in the State of Washington. Adjourned.

STATE AUTONOMY

(Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 17, Carl D. Thompson, Chairman; many delegates gone home.)

Del. Berger: I wish to move the adoption of the following:

Proposed Amendment

The next section was read:

Section 9. Upon the written statement of five members of the National Committee from three states that they have good grounds for believing the provisions of this constitution to have been violated by any state organization, the National Executive Committee shall fix a date for the hearing of both sides to the controversy. If, after the hearing, a majority of the National Executive Committee believes the charges to be well founded, it shall transmit the statements of both sides to the party press and to the members of the National Committee. Thereupon the charter of a state may be recalled after a majority of the National Committee so decides and such decision has been ratified by a referendum vote of the party initiated for this purpose by the National Committee.

It was moved and seconded to adopt the section.

Del. Berger (Wis.): I want to speak against the adoption of that section.

Del. Stedman (Ill.): So do I.

Del. Berger: For the following reasons: It is absolutely contrary in spirit and in execution to the section. Sec. 4, that you have adopted just above five minutes before. Now, what is the sense and the use of adopting state autonomy in one clause, and then open another door and knock it in the head? If you had had this other in, our party would have been split up about five times during the last six years. State autonomy has kept us from interfering in Washington, and having a cleavage all through the country. State autonomy has prevented getting into trouble in Utah, Nebraska, and in a good many other cases. Why not let the comrades settle it themselves? It is entirely innecessary, and once when you tried to overrule state autonomy in the case of Wisconsin you almost got yourselves into trouble. Leave it to the comrades in the respective states. The constitution and principle of state autonomy has worked well. Please do not try to override it simply by opening new gates and new ways of interference. You will find it will require scientific, uncompromising, clear-cut, revolutionary, and so on—class conscious, I have omitted one—National Committee tactics. You will find it will be the most anything, and you will have troubles continuously. You can find even now they will find fault with everything we have done here. They will find fault with nominations and with the Socialist movement in its tactics, and you will have continuous trouble. We got along so nicely with the principles of the constitution as we had them until now. Don't kill a good thing. I move that this be stricken out.

Del. Stedman: Move to table.

Del. Berger: I move that it be tabled.

Del. Stedman: I second the motion to table.

Del. Slobodin: A point of order. A man can't make a speech and make a motion to table.

The Chairman: Your point of order is well taken.

Del. Stedman: I now move to lay on the table. (Seconded.)

Del. Herman: A point of order. This has to lay the amendment on the table?

Del. Stedman: It means to lay the whole thing on the table.

The Chairman: I will in favor of the motion to lay on the table say aye. Opposed, no.

A division was called for, and a vote being taken by a show of hands, the motion to lay on the table was carried, 73 in favor, 28 against.

Herman Opposes

The next section was read, becoming Section 9, instead of 10, as originally numbered:

Section 9. In case of controversy between a state as to the validity of the title of its officers and the question of recognition by the national organization, a referendum of the membership of said state to determine the question may be taken in the following manner:

A call signed by not less than one-third of the total membership of the state in good standing at the time the controversy arose, asking the National Executive Committee to conduct a referendum of the said state membership for the election of officers for the position in dispute shall be filed with the National Secretary.

Upon receiving such call the National Executive Committee shall conduct a referendum of the membership of said state for the election of officers for the position in dispute. All locals appearing on the state list at the national headquarters in good standing at the time the controversy arose shall be privileged to make nominations, and all members in good standing at that time shall be entitled to vote.

Del. Gaylord: This is the article that was adopted recently by the referendum.

Del. Slobodin: There is a minority report.

Del. Solomon: I move that this be tabled. (Seconded.)

The Chairman: It is moved and seconded that this section be laid on the table.

Del. Waldhorst (Ala.): I want to know whether this article was adopted by a referendum of the party.

The Chairman: Yes.

Del. Waldhorst: Then I want it to stay in there.

The motion to lay on the table was lost.

Del. Ross (Okla.): I move the adoption of the majority report. (Seconded.)

The Chairman: It is moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Are you ready for the question? (Question called for.)

Del. Herman (Wash.): I think Washington at least has a right to be heard on this proposition.

The Chairman: Everybody Has got a right to be heard.

Fraudulent Signatures

Del. Herman: This has afflicted us to some extent. I want to appeal to your common sense. In the State of Washington, under the pretense of getting signatures of members that in good standing at the time the controversy arose, people have gone out in the state in the name of a temporary committee of the Socialist party and have gotten signatures to petitions, and many of these signatures were of people who were not only not members of the party at the time that the controversy began, but were never members of the party, and I have in my pocket at the present time a resolution from a local in Hamilton, Washington, that I want to read in connection with this, to prove my statement. A copy of this is on file in the national office.

"The members of the local of this place desire to call your attention to some important existing facts regarding the facts of some individuals working in the interest of the temporary committee of the Socialist party of Washington, located in Seattle.

"First: That an attempt was made by fraudulent means and trickery to disrupt and disorganize this local with the ultimate purpose of turning it over to said temporary committee.

"Second: That many signatures have been placed petitioning for a referendum vote to remove the present state committee of the Socialist party of Washington, of persons who were not members of the Socialist party or of any local. Likewise, those members of Hamilton local who signed said petitions, having a clearer understanding of the premises, now repudiate and condemn said petition.

"Third: That Bulletin No. 3 for March, sent out by the temporary committee, states that they have a local at this place, which, to our knowledge, has ceased to exist.

"Fourth: The work of the temporary committee has been fraudulent, crooked and unreliable, and contrary to fairness. Place it in not an exemplary effort and if taken as a criterion of other localities, we condemn it from start to finish. Therefore, we, the undersigned members of Hamilton Local present at this meeting, demand that our names be withdrawn from said petition.

"(Signed)

C. W. PIERCE,
Cor. Secretary:
THOMAS W. THOMPSON,
JOHN R. FLICK,
B. W. PIERCE,
W. B. PENN,
J. JOHNSON,
E. O. RICHARDSON,
E. B. FLICK,
THOMAS BOLAN,
A. J. WEAVER,
I. M. JOHNSTON,
R. L. JOHNSTON."

Now, we have gone to other places in State of Washington, where similar conditions prevail, and some of the representatives of this same organization went to Aberdeen, Washington, and got members who were expelled from the party because they had voted for candidates nominated by the Republican and Democratic parties; they were expelled from the party, and those people organized, and I doubt not but what their signatures also appear on the petition. They have accepted the signatures of men and women who were not only members at the time the controversy began, but who were expelled from the party and perhaps never will be if they first understand Socialism.

Therefore, I say that the same conditions which prevail in the state of Washington will also prevail in other state in case you carry this amendment, and allow a certain element to create trouble within your organization. I therefore move, Comrade Chairman, that this portion be stricken out from the constitution (Seconded.)

Berger Admits Fraud

Del. Berger: Comrade Herman did not add an iota in favor of striking out this proposition. His experience proves the possibility of protecting a minority and at the same time guaranteeing the right of the majority. He was up before the executive board. All of them were up before the executive board. We investigated the proposition right here last week, and, finding that a number of members there stated to have been impposed upon, set out there under their signatures, and, furthermore, listening to different arguments, we decided that we also prevail in the premises under the same rule. So, why strike out a proposition which works beneficially in your own experience? Comrade Herman is there? They brought over 700 signatures, but not half of them were in the party at the time this happened, and, therefore, we ruled out of order, that is all. On the other hand, there is a possibility of a small crowd, a small crowd of politicians—I believe are politicians—big in the Socialist movement, I find that, and pretty tricky ones.

A Delegate: Berger!

Del. Berger: No, sir. I will say one thing, comrades, that, of course we know that every organization of necessity is a machine. You will never have an organization that is not a machine, but at the same time you ought to save the rights of minorities, especially in cases where there is fanaticism, all will, and so on. We are not angels; I haven't seen any angel's wings cropping out here any place, and, least of all, did I see any angelic in the Washington when they appeared and told their story, and let me tell you it was the story of a crooked element of politicians in Washington a state. Yet they have an organization and they took the part of the organization, and that is all there is to it. Comrade Hutchesson wanted to be safeguarded or we would have conditions arising like they had in Nebraska, when about five men held the entire organization in the state of Nebraska; that was about all. Besides, that has been adopted by a referendum about six months ago, and we have the right to set aside a referendum of the party, a general referendum of the party in this convention this morning, if we wish, however. (Applause.) Therefore, comrades, I ask you to vote against the striking out of this part.

The Christian Tables It

Del. Carr: I do not wish to discuss the question, and as two speeches have been made, and it is perfectly fair to have one on each side, I move that we lay this motion on the table, to strike out. (Seconded.)

Del. Herman: A point of order. According to the rule adopted yesterday the mover of the proposition has the right to speak after the previous question has been ordered.

Del. Carr: This is not the previous question.

The Chairman: No previous question has been called for. It is moved and seconded to lay the motion to strike out on the table. Those in favor say aye. Opposed, no. The ayes have it and the motion is carried.

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

Tabled Again

Del. Williams: (Minn.) Comrade Chairman, I move that this section be amended with these words to follow the end of the last paragraph: "All members in good standing at that time to be entitled to vote, provided, that one or more locals notify the National Secretary within forty-five days that such petition is being circulated protesting against the election of these officers." This will make a condition under which this petition may be filed. We don't want to have to go about a year or six months back, and I think it is best that we make that a rule which make it good. (Amendment seconded.)

It was moved and seconded to lay the motion to amend on the table. Carried.

The Chairman: The question now recurs on the adoption of the report as read. All in favor say aye. Opposed, no. The motion is carried, and the section is adopted.

Editor's Note: Notice that what saved the Washington Socialist Party with the Executive Committee was its splendid organization, its size and efficiency. Berger and Simons and Thompson and Work quite agreed with Hillquit, Berger, Stedman in wanting to declare Washington "unorganized." But it was too glaring a falsehood. As Berger said:

Fifteen Hundred members are too great a power to be ignored.

Notice, too, that Berger knew all the "facts" about talking about "The Seven Hundred" kept out of the party in Washington that many of them were not Socialists at all. His talk about Hutcheson as "a good Union man," etc., was of the same order. He must have known Hutcheson carried no union card and had even bitterly denounced the unions.

The Washington Party plainly won on its merits—and will never expect to win any other way.

ANOTHER FRUITEESS SESSION

State Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Washington.

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 31st, 1909.

Regular meeting of S. E. C. was called to order by Chairman Barth with all members present at 12 o'clock noon at State headquarters.

Minutes of previous meeting were approved as read. Minutes of meeting of Dec. 20, with a protest against the adoption of same, were again considered and the following corrections made, to-wit: "To press this demand Local Tacoma was represented by Paul Turner and Cliff Ackley reiterating," was amended to read, "to urge the passage of said resolution, Paul Turner and Cliff Ackley reiterated." In that of the minutes relating to Local Seattle's affairs the names of Paul Turner and Cliff Ackley were stricken out. E. J. Brown's protest against adoption of minutes failed to receive consideration and the minutes were adopted as corrected. Communications relating to same were filed.

The following comrades were accepted to membership at large: John B. Jonse, M. J. Ludington, William R. Mueller, Johan Johanson, John Kline, John H. Hiles, Peter Anp, A. W. Hansbrard, A. P. Stires, A. Lindstrom, C. A. Olsen and Louis Chapuy.

At this time again voluminous documents were presented by E. J. Brown and D. Burgess. Secretary asked for a ruling to be made as to the proper time when such matter is to be presented, in particular when the same is intended to cast reflection upon the State Secretary. Committee ruled that hereafter all matter intended for consideration at any meeting must reach the State Secretary at least 24 hours before meeting convenes.

Secretary reported result upon his investigation relative to charges by E. J. Brown against merchandised methods outside of the State Committee had been at work to influence the vote of State Committeemen in a referendum vote, in favor of J. C. Whiting and against C. C. Hale. Committee decided the charges by E. J. Brown to be groundless in so far as they refer to anyone else but him; that E. J. Brown is the only one guilty of actions tending to influence in an undernaded manner the vote on a referendum vote and for this action is deserving the severest censure of all true Socialists.

Secretary submitted the form of proposed State Membership referendum, 1909, called for by Locals Arlington, Oroville, Liberty, Prosser, Yelm and Snohomish. Committee concurring.

Motion was made that hereafter all referendums must be paid for by locals demanding the same.

A resolution with reference to Judge Wright's decision condemning the officials of the S. E. C. was adopted and ordered spread on minutes.

Secretary's report on the votes cast on National Executive Committeemen referendum called Secretary was accepted. (Report appended.)

Secretary's report relating to the endorsement by members of the S. E. C. of a former report made regarding the action of the N. E. C. with reference to the Washington State organization. Secretary was instructed to file the same, and ordered to be filed at previous meeting.

A communication from the State Women's Committee thanking the S. E. C. for the loan of $25.00 was filed.

Comrade Wagenknecht's and Herman's reports were filed.

With reference to report of the State Secretary submitted at a former meeting relating to the Lewis meetings in Tacoma, the following motion carried: That we concur in report so far as the report relates to E. J. Lewis in Tacoma; that we do concur in matters relating to Turner and Ackley. Communication relating to same was filed.

E. J. Brown, claiming to be the counsel for over two hundred petitioners, protested against the manner in which State Committee had rendered "C" was submitted, and demanding that another referendum be submitted was filed.

Upon motion S. E. C. declared itself as adopted and declaring that State Committee referendum "C" as submitted by the State Secretary had been submitted in a proper and constitutional manner.

In a communication E. J. Brown requested that his appeal from the decision of Local Seattle be heard.

A motion was made and seconded that we hear the appeal from E. J. Brown. After discussion of some length committee's attention was directed to the fact that so long as former action of committee has not been rescinded no other action can be taken. Motion was decided out of order. Motion was made to rescind the action tabling Brown's appeal. Vote upon this motion resulted in a tie, decided for the negative by the chairman, who, however, ruled Brown's request to be heard at this meeting to be a new appeal and that it was just necessary to rescind the former action. Upon motion then action upon Brown's present request was laid over to next meeting.

D. Burgess' answer to report submitted by the 1907-8 S. E. C. to the 1908-9 State Committee was then considered. On motion it was ordered that Burgess' answer and statement thereto by the old S. E. C. be spread on the minutes.

Secretary pointed out that the cost to carry into effect this motion would be large and that owing to a deficit of $60.00 we now have no funds for such purpose available, and that if this printing is to be done some means with which to do it must be suggested. The advisability of securing enough copies of the "Suppressed Facts," the Brown and Burgess paper, in which the Burgess answer is printed, also that perhaps the linotype used in printing the Burgess matter might be secured for the purpose, was considered and the secretary instructed to pursue the latter course. Upon request from D. Burgess that he be in time be allowed to make a reply to the latest statement of the old S. E. C., on motion it was ordered to submit this statement as soon as possible to him, to be allowed to make a reply (the length of which must not exceed the former) within five days, and that same be also printed.

Request from Paul Turner to be routed west of the mountains, on motion was tabled for the present.

Upon a motion that a committee be elected to investigate the whole Burgess controversy and all the matter pertaining to the same from the documents at hand and report the results at the next S. E. C. Comrades Jensen of Tacoma, Grayhill of Everett, and Schatzel of Silverdale were elected.

Shown before 6 p. m. meeting adjourned to meet on Sunday, February 14th, at 12 o'clock noon.

Fraternally submitted,
J. KRUEGER,

Note: The proprietor of printing establishment in which "Suppressed Facts" have been printed was perfectly willing to furnish the linotype in question mentioned in minutes above; the Typographical Union, however, forbade its use on account of trade interests, in compliance with its rules.

The State Secretary wishes to draw the attention of all comrades to the fact that a day's length is only 24 hours, and requests especially Local secretaries to study the minutes of meetings for the last two months and to get a proper conception of the amount of labor which as the outgrowth of these proceedings has been piled up in the State office, and to bear with their indulgence if perhaps real party work is not attended to as properly as it should.

R. K.

Since our last issue, and almost simultaneously with "Red Sunday" anniversary Rudowitz was set free by order of Secretary Root, thus reversing the infamous decision of Commissioner Foote, of Chicago. Again Charles Darnes achieves successful, backed up by the Socialist press.

Now it is essential to push the case of Pouren to a successful issue. The right of political refugees to an asylum in America must be established.

WELL! We are beginning to hear about our precious stamps—our First born. And right here I want to mention those who have written us encouragingly about them. Thanks, Comrades—we need both the money and the cheer.

There are some Locals which did not get the number of stamps indicated in the letter which accompanied them. A correct account has been kept of the irregularity, however, and those Locals will be held accountable for only as many Stamps as were received.

The Seattle women have a room of their very own, and are as proud as peacocks.

This "peacock" is in the new Headquarters, at 711 Olive Street, and (I hate to say it) is the very nicest room in the whole place. We are open for all kinds of donations in the way of furnishings, and are going to have the coolest place imaginable.