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To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

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FACTS ABOUT MODERN MEXICO

By a Mexican Peon

Editor's Note.—The writer of these "True Facts" is a genuine Peon. His English is such as he has been able to acquire in a year. We have left it as he wrote it, only correcting the spelling, and occasionally the grammatical construction. It is the "True Facts" that count. One such "Peon," showing such a grasp of economic events, is more significant of the future than Presidents Diaz and Taft at the Mexican border.

There has been much talk about "Modern Mexico" in all its phases during the past few years, here in the United States, by almost all kinds of publications.

The capitalist periodicals exaggerate the "prosperity" of the country under the rule of the present government, and people who have never been there and read these lies wonder and plan to go and settle there.

In the way these publications are writing, they are right. They call it prosperity when a very few wealthy American and Mexican monkeys own the mines, railroads, factories and farms, and pay to the workers from 25c to 30c on the farms. At the mines, railroads and factories they pay from 37c to 50c, 75c to \$1.50 for skilled laborers respectively, and where the wages are a little higher, the cost of living is such that it is equivalent to the same 25c worth.

I read some time ago in one magazine that the government of Mexico, in one year, had spent millions of dollars to establish schools all over the country. This is a great lie. Of course, I can not deny that there, as here in the United States, are a good many institutions, especially the military school of the City of Mexico, where many youths of rich Americans are sent in order to become good trained murderers.

But in all the high schools that exist all over the country, I can say that there is not one son of the members of the working class. And this is what the capitalist press calls "millions of dollars spent in one year to establish schools all over the country." (?)

I left my birthplace, a hacienda, tired of working for 25c, anxious to go to some city and enter school. I decided to go to Guadalajara in 1900.

As I was then an adult of 20 years it was hard for me to enter any school except at night-time, as I did. Through the efforts of my teacher, a very highly educated professor, of pure Indian blood, I learned something and a trade, too, so I remained in the city for a few years after.

Reading and studying books, I found out economic questions by some one's authors, which interested me. In January, 1905, a school companion of mine, Ramon Morales, together with me, decided to organize a workingmen's club under the auspices of economic ideas. At the same time a student of law, Roque Estrada, gave publicity to a paper called "Aurora Social," and we were holding our meetings for the workers in order to introduce them with Socialist ideas, but Estrada was sent to jail and I, as a leader of the club, too, so the paper never appeared any more. In May of the same year R. Morales took the place of Estrada and started the second paper, the "El Obrero Socialista."

This lasted longer. The governor of the city and many other officers thought that we were crazy, and never would succeed with our paper. The paper was read all over the big cities and the workers started to organize. As will be remembered, there were strikes in Rio Blanco, Orizaba, and one of the most historical at Cananea, Sonora. And this is the first time in the history of Socialism in Mexico that the workers heard the word Unionism in news items concerning a good many strikes then happening in the mining districts of Colorado. So our little paper was published every month for twenty-one months! One wonders how this paper, which was dreaming of liberty and raising its voice in the middle of slavery, and an autocratic power where there is no freedom of press, could live so long. "God knows."

As a matter of fact, our paper was progressing so fast that a very high officer, the Minister of the Public Instruction of the City of Mexico took steps to crush down the idea of Socialism. The paper disappeared and its editor was sent to jail for three months, and after his release he had to flee from that city. Where he is now, "God knows."

Finally I decided to come to the United States, but before reaching here I spent some time through the northern states of Mexico, working in the smelters, railroads and wherever

I could get my living. In the meantime I had to cross through several haciendas—very large farms owned by the same fellows who possess the powers of the government, seeing and examining the awful and sad situation of my fellow "peons." I have seen in many haciendas from 50 to 300 children, and they have no schooling at all. Why? Because they have no wages at all. They are slaves, and the master knows very well that if he gives them schools, by and by, time would come when these children would rise, throwing off the chains of their slavery, and then they would send their masters to work the land.

Now, suppose that one of those landlords of Mexico who comes in here to the States, to idle and loaf in the cafes, to spend the money his slaves worked for, would say to me: "You ought to be ashamed to talk such things in this country. I am landlord

in Mexico, and I pay to my peons from 50c and up, according to his ability; you are not right to talk that nonsense." Well, I don't want to suppose that this master pays 50c. No, I want to suppose that he pays them \$1.00 a day, and this sum we must divide in two parts, one for shelter and another for food; but we have to explain all this. Workers at least have families—his wife and two children, makes four members in each family, so that the 50c divided into four parts makes about 12c to each person, and they are to have four meals a day, costing 4c the meal! The rest of the sum there is no question at all; any blind or selfish fellow can see that it is impossible to dress up a family with \$12 a month.

Again, who is that fair-minded reader who can figure up and say (I mean those who are opposed to Socialism) that a man or a woman can be able to raise a child eating a 4c meal? Who is it? "God knows!"

This is a picture of the "well-being" of my people of old and "modern Mexico." I will continue my facts in the

next issue of the Seattle Socialist.

Yours for Socialism.

BLAS LARA.

II.
Believing that a good many Americans are not well acquainted with the state of the Mexican peonage (but not those who read the Socialist literature, but the selfish who never touch a paper), I want to finish the picture of Mexico.

I as a "peon," I am not afraid nor ashamed to talk in the press about what I have suffered, what I have seen, the way of rule and treatment of the "peon" class.

The word "peon" in its grammatical meaning is the title of a "very low workman fellow." But we must bear in mind that these peons (my companions) are those who work at the industrial field of the factories, mines and so on, and our labor is rated at a very low price, and that is what is the matter with us that we cannot lift ourselves to the level of some other people. If we tried to organize labor unions, and at a time of strike, the union is destroyed and the leaders shot to death, because the soldiers who kill

them were educated in the schools on which "in only one year our Diaz government spent millions of dollars."

For the same reason we know nothing about our social conditions. We, the peons, are the ones who form the lines of soldiers, sent to the barracks by the mere whim of our masters, kept locked up, training with a firearm, so that in time of conflict between the capitalists, they will send us to fight you (free American workers), in order to defend a country that belongs neither to you nor to us.

Notwithstanding, in spite of all these oppressions and tyrannies of our despotic government, through a very courageous effort of a political party, we, the peons, knew since 1900, that our economical, political and social condition ought to be changed. This is the cause of the Liberal party of Mexico, whose leaders have been in your American jails since two years ago.

The program of the Liberal party is costing many lives and imprisonments in Mexico and the United States because it is based, in its reality on the enlightenment and economical emancipation of the masses of Mexico's

peons. This program has been well known by (a very few devils), the Socialists of this country, who have been the only ones to defend the victims of the Mexican and American capitalists. I am very thankful to them. Magon, Villareal, Rivera, Saravia, Arango and Encarnacion Diaz de Guerra are the jailed leaders in "Free America!"

They were sentenced because they are opposed to the ignorance, robbery and slaughter upon the peonage by the judges and adventurous capitalists of "Modern Mexico," the empire of Diaz. And so, you enemies of Socialism, you lovers of your constitutional institutions, you who in your national holy days raise in your huts, houses, stores, palaces and everywhere the flag of the Stars and Stripes, what do you think of that?

Do you remember the records of your grandfathers' battles, the revolutionists of '76?

Did you teach in those days to your sons that they must be watching and ready to kick out any stranger or national tyrants who try to commit outrages upon your national constitution?

Or what do you mean with all those demonstrations, anyhow? I do not want to hurt your sentiments of American patriotism. What I want is to appeal to you—do not be so selfish to the Socialist movement. Read their papers so that you can be acquainted with the movement between the class of peons and the master class of Mexico.

The Socialists, they are the ones who, if you would stay with them, financially and morally, they would put free all the leaders of the Liberal party who are in the jails of both countries. They wouldn't allow that the monster chief of the plutocrats of your sister republic would step into United States soil. He is coming very soon to meet and shake hands with President Taft at San Antonio, Tex.

You ought to protest!
Comrades! I will sound one more cry in behalf of the political prisoners. They are the men who stand for those who produce the elements of life, and for the whole working class movement of the world! They are suffering the

Continued on Page Four

ADDRESS TO WASHINGTON SOCIALISTS

By the State Committee of the Socialist Party

Comrades: We, whose names are undersigned, constitute a majority of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington. We were elected by Referendum vote of the Party in 1908. No other committee has been elected since that time. Our State Constitution places upon us the responsibility of maintaining the organization and definitely says: "The State Committee shall represent the Party of this State in its relations to the National organization."

In view of the fact that the National organization, through Secretary Barnes and the Executive Committee, has now entered the State of Washington for the purpose of sustaining a Referendum conducted by W. H. Waynick, who was removed from office by this committee on July 12, 1909, we deem it our duty to set forth the exact situation of Socialist Party affairs in this State, in order that Socialists here and in other States may not be confused or misled. We bespeak your careful consideration of the following facts:

First. No State Convention of the Socialist Party in Washington has any authority unless its acts are confirmed by Referendum of the membership. (See Article VI, Section 16, of State Constitution.)

Therefore the Everett Convention and its acts have no authority until the membership has voted for them.

Therefore, also, your State Committee elected by Referendum in 1908, has entire charge of Party affairs until a new committee is regularly elected by Referendum.

Second. Your State Committee on July 12, 1909, reinstated Richard Krueger as State Secretary-Treasurer, "the official agent of the State Committee," in the words of the Constitution. At the same time we removed W. H. Waynick, by a vote of 8 to 0. This is the same committee who, on April 18, by a vote of 7 to 6, removed Krueger and elected Waynick as "Temporary Secretary-Treasurer."

Waynick disputed the legality of his removal and refused to obey the State Committee's orders. Your committee, therefore, carried the matter to the courts, which decided that Krueger was the legal Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, and ordered Waynick to cease acting as such.

Third. We, your committee, therefore contend that no Referendum put out by Waynick on July 20, eight days after he was removed from office by us on July 12, can possibly be a legal and constitutional Referendum of the Socialist Party of Washington.

The convention did not order Waynick to put out the Referendum. The Constitution provides that the State Secretary-Treasurer shall submit all acts of the convention to a Referendum vote of the entire Party membership. Up to July 12 it was proper for Waynick to prepare for such Referendum. On that date, when Krueger was reinstated, it was Waynick's duty to turn over all Socialist Party matters to Richard Krueger, as ordered by us, your State Committee.

Fourth. The fact that the National office has taken upon itself to interfere in support of Waynick does not alter our responsibility under the State Constitution, nor make Waynick's Referendum legal or regular or constitutional. For the National Constitution expressly prohibits the National officers from interfering with any matters of State organization. The State organization is given "sole jurisdiction" and "sole control" and "the National Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in any matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization or financial affairs within the State." This language is the most sweeping possible. It gives absolute State autonomy. (See Article XI, Section 4.)

Therefore the National Secretary and Executive Committee acted in defiance of the National Constitution when they sent ballots, printed in Chicago, to every Local and member-at-large in Washington, copying Waynick's illegally issued Referendum, and thus supporting Waynick in his disobedience of your committee and his defiance of the State Constitution.

Your committee cannot surrender its responsibility even when placed in this most difficult position. We must maintain the Party organization committed to us, even when attacked by the National officials. We must resist and repel unconstitutional and autocratic methods, whether exercised in Washington or in Chicago. We believe the rank and file of the Party will justify and defend us in this position.

Fifth. We call your particular attention to the regular Referendum regularly called for by six Locals, as provided in our Constitution, and regularly issued by Richard Krueger, as "the official agent of this committee," which Referendum would settle the whole controversy about the Everett Convention. That Referendum puts it up to the rank and file: Shall the Everett Convention be nullified for disregarding the constitutional provision for free debate?

If Waynick had retired when legally removed by this committee on July 12, as Krueger retired when illegally removed on April 18, this Referendum on the issue raised by the bolting delegates at Everett, would have been voted on by the entire Party membership. It was an appeal from the Convention to the Party.

minority of the Party. Yet it is the so-called Krueger faction, represented by the undersigned majority of the State Committee, which has called for and issued a Referendum to find out whether or not the majority of the Party sustains the action of the majority at Everett in suppressing the Free Debate guaranteed by our Constitution.

The minority at Everett bolted the convention, and their Locals appealed to the Party in the regular way provided for by the Constitution. This Referendum was issued by the only one authorized to issue it, State Secretary Krueger, representing this committee.

If W. H. Waynick and those supporting him had not defied your committee, held on to the position of Temporary Secretary-Treasurer after his legal removal on July 12, and then put out his illegal Referendum on the acts of the Everett Convention, in that case the Party would have freely expressed its will on the Everett Convention issue, as raised by the bolting delegation.

If the majority of the rank and file had decided to sustain the act of that convention in its suppression of Free Debate, then the regular Referendum on the acts of the convention would have been submitted by Secretary Krueger under the direction of your committee.

The present division of the Party into two sections would have been avoided; one section legal and constitutional, as represented by the undersigned majority of the State Committee, and our "official agent," Richard Krueger, and retaining the name "Socialist Party" in Washington; and the other section, illegal and unconstitutional, represented by W. H. Waynick, and sustained against the National Constitution, by the National Secretary and Executive Committee.

Sixth. There remains but one thing for your committee to do under these circumstances: We must maintain our organization in the State of Washington against all attacks from the outside or inside. Legally and constitutionally we occupy an absolutely unassailable position, as acknowledged by Lawyer Hillquit on the N. E. C., who therefore voted in our favor.

We can and will hold the name, "Socialist Party," in this State. The court's decision assures that. The Waynick and Barnes faction will be forced to adopt some other name in this State, like "Social-Democratic," the name they bear in Wisconsin.

We have already a strong organization, capable of the most effective work. We have the State office thoroughly conversant with the economic and political situation in the State. We have a number of trained speakers and organizers. We have a newspaper which commands the confidence of the membership and public by reason of its nine years' steadfast support of Proletarianism. We have both the National Committeemen from Washington, and we have the support of the oldest and clearest Socialists throughout the State. Above all, we have the spirit of organization, which inspires us to do constructive work and to disregard opposition.

Under these conditions, your committee calls upon you all to support us in our resolution to maintain the integrity of our organization and to be faithful to the trust you committed to us until such time as you, the rank and file, shall in a regular and constitutional way, relieve us of that trust and commit it to other hands.

Seventh. We have reserved to the last the statement of our main and strongest claim on your attention and loyalty. While our legal and constitutional position is impregnable, we might not fight for that alone, if we did not feel certain that we represent the Revolutionary Proletariat, while our opponents represent the Reactionary Bourgeois.

This contest is of many years' standing in the State of Washington. It is at least seven years since there has been a so-called "Mills faction" and "Titus faction" opposed to each other in Seattle and the entire State. It is not at all a mere question of persons. Every one knows that Mills stands for what is known as "Reform Socialism" and Titus stands for what is called "Revolutionary Socialism." Two years ago Mills established here in Washington a newspaper of great promise, for the avowed purpose of defeating the "narrow" tactics advocated in "The Socialist." All the Reform and middle-class "Socialists" in this State and other States, rallied to the support of the "Saturday Evening Tribune." But Mills defeated himself by advocating fusion tactics in Victoria, for which the Washington Party expelled him. Those in Seattle who were expelled along with Mills sought readmission to the Local in 1908. The present division in the Party in Washington is directly traceable to the refusal of Local Seattle to readmit the supporters of Mills. Brown, Parks and others made their fight on this issue. Krueger, Titus, Callahan, Jensen and the other "Revolutionaries" have made their fight against the readmission of the Mills contingent.

At the present moment every Middle-class Socialist in Washington supports Waynick. Some Proletarians also, mostly of the "impossibilist" variety, are lined up with them. On the other hand, those represented by your committee are, practically without exception, clearly in favor of a Party made up of Wage Workers and controlled by Wage Workers.

This we believe to be the vital issue: Shall the Socialist Party

become an instrument of Middle-class relief or of Wage-class emancipation?

To our mind, there are unmistakable indications that the National organization of the Socialist Party in the United States is now under the dominant influence of Middle Class Opportunism. The composition of the National Executive Committee is one indication. It does not include a single genuine Wage Worker. The unbiased testimony of National organizers who have visited many Locals in many states, is to the same effect. The pending amendment to the National Party "Principles" is another indication which strikes out the proposition for Collective Ownership of the Instruments of Production in favor of a vote-getting proposition guaranteeing small farmers the possession of their lands.

The persistent attacks by the National organization on the regular Party in this State, which has been always conspicuous for its Proletarianism, is the very strongest indication of all. In the National Convention of 1908, Victor Berger did not hesitate to express his disappointment that the Washington Party was so strong and capable and numerous that it was impossible for the N. E. C. to declare it disorganized. He said the S. P. in Washington was stronger and cast more votes than the entire Socialist Labor Party in the United States. Yet he, the leader of Reform Socialism in this country, was sorry he could not recognize the Mills faction as represented at the Chicago Convention by A. Hutchison. Why? Because Mills and Hutchison stood for what Berger stood for. It is only necessary to remind you that Walter Thomas Mills has been readmitted to the Party in Milwaukee, in spite of protests from other states that he has never disowned his Fusion tactics in B. C.

We wish it also remembered that last December the N. E. C. passed a resolution, in response to communications from the Mills faction in Washington, that no more National Organizers should be sent into this state, a gratuitous fling, as we had not asked for any assistance. Remember too that in their April meeting, in response to letters from Parks and others, the N. E. C. passed another resolution, in which they declare in so many words, "the Committee heartily disapproves of the methods employed and the conditions existing in Washington." This resolution was prepared by Berger and Hunter and closes with the statement that the National Executive Committee can only interfere in two contingencies, (1) when the State Membership falls below 150 for 6 months and (2) upon referendum request of members themselves.

Now at their July meeting and subsequently the N. E. C. has found a third method, not provided for in the Constitution, because their Middle Class desire to break down the Proletarian Party in Washington, has overcome their inclination to observe the National or State Constitution.

It is in view of this manifest tendency of the Socialist Party in the United States to become an instrument of Middle Class Relief instead of Wage Class Emancipation that we, who represent the Wage Class in the State of Washington, feel it imperative upon us to maintain our organization intact, even when assailed by the National organization itself. We feel confident that the Proletariat in other states will rally to our support and that the National Party will either be delivered from its present Middle Class tendencies and control or a new Socialist Party will arise to represent the Revolutionary Socialist doctrine.

Your Committee now sends out this statement and appeal to all Wage Workers who understand Socialist Economics and recognize the Class Struggle underlying present Capitalist Society.

We represent the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. We shall undertake to organize the Wage Class of this State under our banner. We make no appeal to the Middle Class. What immediate measures we advocate will be for the Wage Class, not for the Middle Class. We ask the support of every Wage Worker in this State. We have issued a call for a State Conference consisting of this Committee and representatives of the loyal Locals and M. A. L. in the state where a plan for complete reorganization can be prepared and submitted to a Referendum vote of the entire Party. This Conference will be held at Seattle, Sunday, September 19, at 10 a. m.

Forward, Comrades! Educate. Organize. Stand together, all Proletarians. So only shall we achieve our own emancipation.

Yours for the Wage Class Capture of Government and the appropriation of Capitalist Property by the Wage Class.

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

State Committee Socialist Party of Washington.
R. KRUEGER, State Secretary, Box 52, Seattle, Wash.
Seattle, August 29, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

What It Stands For

Platform of the Socialist Party of Washington

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

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.

5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society, is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletariat Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but abolish all other classes as well.

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

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletariat Class and to use political power to that end.

8. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executives, legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

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

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

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:
 - (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
 - (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
 - (c) Abolition of Court Injunctions in Labor disputes.
 - (d) Abolition of all Oriental Immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor Immigration.
 - (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
 - (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
 - (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
 - (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
 - (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
 - (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Statement of Principles of the National Party

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

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

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the

nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of work- ing people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and before the American people.

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

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

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

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

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

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

Socialist Party and Trades Unions

The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist National Convention:

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours, and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working

people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist Party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

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

CONFRONTED BY GREAT CRISIS.

"Organized labor is today confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power, and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class under taken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workers; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under a pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

DANBURY MATTERS CASE.

"In the Danbury matters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott' decision of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasury, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be

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a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

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

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

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SIMONS EXPOSED BY HERMAN

Review of "Last Half Dozen Years"

HILLQUIT AND SIMONS
National Headquarters Socialist Party,
Chicago, Ill., August 21, 1909.

To the National Executive Committee,
Dear Comrades: I herewith report
action taken on questions submitted
under date of August 17th:

"First, Shall the locals and members
at large of the State of Washington
be requested to return duplicate re-
ports of votes on both of these refer-
endums (National Referendum "B,"
1909, and National State Referendum
"D," 1909, sent out by Comrade Way-
nick) directly to the National Office
on or before September 7th.

"Second, Shall the results of the
Washington State (Everett Con-
vention) Referendum be announced in ac-
cordance with the reports so re-
ceived?"

Voting in the affirmative on both
questions, Comrades Berger, Floaten,
Hunter, Simons, Spargo, Work; vot-
ing in the negative on both questions,
Comrade Hillquit. Affirmative action
has, therefore, been taken. Letters of
the members are herewith transmit-
ted:

Letter of Comrade Hillquit, Dated Au-
gust 19th.
"Confirming my telegram of even
date, I ask you to record me as vot-
ing in the negative on the two ques-
tions submitted by you under date of
August 17th. My negative vote on
both propositions is based upon two
considerations:

"1st. I notice from a statement is-
sued by Comrade Waynick, under date
of August 13th, 1909, that the state
committee represented by him con-
tinues conducting the referendum is-
sued by the Everett State Convention,
notwithstanding the injunction order,
and that it intends to receive and an-
nounce the vote. There seems to me
therefore to be no reason for inter-
ference in the matter on the part of
the National Executive Committee.

"2nd. I know of no provision in
our constitution which would author-
ize the National Executive Committee
to take the steps suggested in your
letter of August 17th. I have fol-
lowed the recent events in the State
of Washington with close attention,
and am inclined to believe that while
the faction represented by Krueger is
quite regular in form and unassailable
from a legal or technical point of
view, it is all wrong in substance and
on the true merits of the case. It
has started out with the cry of saving
the minority from oppression by the
majority, and it seems to me it is
now clearly engaged in a scheme by
which the majority of the members of
the Washington organization are to
be suppressed by a minority. (Edit-
or's Note: How did Hillquit discover
that those who appealed to a Party
Referendum to annul the Gag Con-
vention were "engaged in a scheme"
to suppress the majority?) If I
thought that the National Executive
Committee had the power to do so, I
would unhesitatingly vote in favor of
recognizing the Wayne faction, but
I am convinced that our committee
has no such powers. This creates a
somewhat embarrassing and unpleas-
ant situation, and reveals a glaring
defect in our constitution, but I believe
the only way to remedy it is by amend-
ing the constitution and not by violat-
ing it."

Letter of Comrade Simons, Dated Au-
gust 17th.

"I vote 'Yes' on both of the ques-
tions submitted in your communica-
tion to the National Executive Com-
mittee concerning the Washington
situation. It seems that the National
Executive Committee made a mistake
in assuming that the faction headed
by Titus and Krueger really desired
a peaceable settlement of the ques-
tion or were willing to abide by the

decision of the National Executive
Committee, as the communications
from them seemed to indicate.

The National Executive Committee,
acting on the supposition that both
sides desired the success of Socialism
in the State of Washington, suggest-
ed a method by which the will of the
rank and file could make itself felt.
Now that the bolting faction has re-
fused to permit such a decision and
has appealed to the capitalist courts
for an injunction, they are no longer
entitled to any consideration.

Their action in regard to the con-
vention stamped them as entering up
on a "rule or ruin" policy. Perhaps
it would be more nearly correct to say
that it was a continuation of that
policy which they have pursued for
several years. There is not the slight-
est ground for their complaint of il-
legality in the convention. The ac-
tion of that convention in adopting as
one of its rules of order a provision
for the previous question by majority
rule might possibly be open to ques-
tion on grounds of policy, although
when a body is confronted by obstruc-
tionists it is often obliged to take such
steps in self-defense, but there can be
no question of its perfect right to do
this if it wished. (In spite of the con-
stitution forbidding it.—Ed.) To make
the adoption of such a rule a ground
for bolting the convention is simply a
renunciation of all orderly methods
of doing business and the assumption
of a wrecking policy.

Any referendum taken by persons
who had thus defied (upheld—Ed.)
regular methods of procedure cannot
be looked upon with suspicion and
especially in view of the course of
events under the direction of these
same persons during the last half-
dozen years, as described by them-
selves in their various publications
and communications. (This is Simons'
real reason. He wants to down the
Washington sort of Socialism. It has
been too successful.—Ed.) To make
as far as any regular organization
in Washington exists it is composed
of those who accept the action of a
regular state convention, and it is
through the line of descent from that
convention that the official state or-
ganization must be sought. That the
bolters happened to have a majority
of an old state committee in their pos-
session signifies little when that com-
mittee is used to overthrow the will
of the party. If technicalities are to
be urged it might be pointed out that
according to the Washington constitu-
tion it was the first duty of the State
Secretary and committee to send out
a referendum for the election of a new
committee and secretary, as provid-
ed for by that constitution. Yet be-
fore this duty was done a demand for
a new referendum was secured hav-
ing as its purpose the maintenance in
office of a secretary and committee
who, according to the letter and spirit
of the constitution, should be replaced
by those to be elected at the referen-
dum from the convention nominees.
(Was not the Nullification Referen-
dum perfectly constitutional? And
who but Krueger had any right to is-
sue any Referendum? Simons here
admits the State Committee was with
Krueger. But he, like Hillquit, knows
the will of the party is against Krue-
ger—before the Party has voted.—Ed.)
This very cheap attempt at a "pal-
ace revolution" for the benefit of of-
fice-holders cannot be endorsed by the
National Executive Committee.

Personally I wish to be recorded as
denouncing the demagoguery which
has sought to hide the personal ambi-
tion of a small clique behind an al-
leged question of principle. The bol-
ters have raised a great amount of dust
about this being a conflict between
"revolutionists" and "reformers." If
it were true that such a conflict ex-
isted it would not justify the methods

that have been used. But the fact is
that when their personal interests de-
mand such action the bolters have
gone further in compromising Social-
ist principles by concessions to bour-
geois ideas and personal campaigns
than any other division of the Social-
ist Party. Nowhere else in the United
States have such bare-faced appeals to
the small property interests been
made in a campaign as was made in
Seattle by the leader of the bolting
faction when he was himself seeking
for votes, and in few other places have
such direct appeals been made for per-
sonal support, regardless of the re-
mainder of the Socialist ticket. (These
allegations are simply false—as all
readers of "The Socialist" can prove
from their files.)

It is time that these facts were re-
cognized and I am in favor of going as
far as the constitution will permit in
securing a real democratic, proletarian
Socialist Party organization in the
State of Washington.

In accordance with the above re-
ported vote, the said request was
transmitted to the locals and members
at large in Washington under date of
August 19th. Fraternally submitted,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
National Secretary.

standing shall take no part in the of-
ficial proceedings of the party." So
you see you are very much mistaken
when you say "There is not the slight-
est ground for their complaint of il-
legality in the convention."

As to your statement in paragraph
two: "They are no longer entitled to
any consideration", I am inclined to
think that the wish is father of the
thought. You cannot escape responsi-
bility for your action by refusing to
consider vital questions and I think
you have intelligence enough to know
it, but are simply juggling with words
in order to confuse the party mem-
bership.

Who Defied Regular Methods?
In paragraph 4 you say: "Any refer-
endum taken by persons who had
thus defied regular methods of proce-
dure cannot but be looked upon with
suspicion."

The fact of the matter is the Sec-
retary-Treasurer of the S. P. of Wash-
ington is Richard Krueger, and inas-
much as he is the agent of the State
Committee elected by the member-
ship, he is the only one who can regu-
larly conduct a referendum in this
State. If you are not aware of this
fact you should read our Constitution.
To cover this particular question I
refer you to section 8, Article II: "The
State Committee shall elect a chair-
man, a secretary-treasurer, and such
other officers and assistants necessary
to carry on the work of the State," and
sections 11-15 of Article VI: "All State
Committee referendums must be is-
sued and received by the State Sec-
retary-Treasurer," and "All acts of the
State convention shall be properly ar-
ranged, paragraph by paragraph, by
the State Secretary-Treasurer, and
submitted within fifteen days from ad-
journment of said convention, to a
referendum vote of the entire Party
membership, who shall vote 'No' or
'Yes' on each paragraph of said acts."

Half Dozen Years.

In the same paragraph you also say,
"and especially in view of the course
of events under the direction of these
same persons during the last half-dozen
years." It is true that we have
played quite a prominent part in shap-
ing the policy of the Party in this
State, and you cannot deny the fact
that up to the time that the disrupters
with whom you have cast your lot got
some considerable strength on our
State Committee we had the best and
strongest organization of any State
in the United States.

In 1903 we found it necessary to re-
voke the charter of Local Northport
for fusing with the business element
of the town against the Smelter Trust.
Did we do right? Most of those who
were lined up with you and who were
members of the Party at the time say
we did wrong.

In the same year we found it neces-
sary to revoke the charter of Local
Spokane for refusing to accept the re-
signations of Judge W. J. Richardson,
who had been elected on the Populist
ticket, and M. M. Haines, bailiff to
his court, after having been instructed
to do so by the State Convention of
1902. Was this action in harmony
with revolutionary Socialist tactics or
was it not? The same people referred
to above contended at that time that
Richardson and Haines could be val-
uable members of the S. P., and still
serve the capitalist class through the
Populist party. Again in 1903, Thos.
Neil, of Colfax, was expelled from the
S. P. for allowing himself to be elected
as prosecuting attorney of that city
on a citizens' ticket. He maintained
as he does now, that he acted in
perfect accord with Socialist prin-
ciples. We contended that it was a
traitorous act to the S. P. and of
the wage-class. Were we correct or were
we not? All these actions were ac-
complished by referendum vote of the
membership.

In 1905 three members of Local Se-
attle—John Ley, Ray LeBarre and J.
A. Bailiff—signed pledges promising
to support the candidates of the mun-
icipal ownership party. Charges were
preferred against them and they were
executed by the Local on the ground
that they did not participate in the
convention of that party. The State
Committee revoked the charter. Lo-
cal Seattle appealed from the action
of the committee and the committee
was sustained by a good majority.
Did the State Committee and the
membership of the Party in this State
violate Socialist principles by this ac-
tion? In the fall of 1906 Walter Thos.
Mills entered Washington and trans-
ferred his membership in the S. P.
from Chicago to Seattle. At this time
he went to Victoria and in a lecture
there advocated the election of candi-
dates opposed to and by the S. P. The
Dominion Executive Committee of
Canada, through their Secretary, J. G.
Morgan, preferred charges against
him, the charges were referred to Lo-
cal Seattle, and April 18 set as the
date for trial. The meeting took place,
was packed by Mills and his follow-
ers and adjourned without taking ac-
tion.

The charter of the Local was
again revoked by the State Commit-
tee and the committee sustained by a
referendum vote of the Party mem-
bership.

All of these actions took place "dur-
ing the last half-dozen years" under
the direction of the Socialists whose
"methods of procedure," according to
you, "cannot but be looked upon with
suspicion."

We have been consistent in our loy-
alty to revolutionary principles and
tactics and can proudly say that we
are not ashamed of our actions. Can
you honestly say as much?

Simons, Mind Reader.

In paragraph 5 you say: "That the
bolters happened to have a majority
of an old State Committee in their
possession signifies little when that
committee is used to overthrow the
will of the party." I might ask, how
do you know what the will of the Par-

ty is? Are you a mind reader or do
you consider the will of the conven-
tion, from which one-third of the dele-
gates withdrew, the will of the Party?
If so, why do you vote to canvas a
referendum to ascertain said will and
especially when your action is a flag-
rant violation of our national constitu-
tion? (See section 4, Article XII.)

Ceased to Be Regular.

In the same paragraph you continue:
"If technicalities are to be urged it
might be pointed out that according
to the Washington Constitution it
was the first duty of the State Sec-
retary and committee to send out a re-
ferendum for the election of a new
committee and secretary, as provided
for by that Constitution." The most
charitable view I can take of this
statement is that you seek to mislead
the membership of the S. P. I can-
not believe that a man of your wide
experience is so ignorant of organiza-
tion tactics as to place a convention
above the Party. You know as well
as I do that when the delegates to
that convention violated the Party
Constitution they ceased to be regu-
lar or legal, and if the six Locals who
called for the referendum to annul
the actions of the convention had not
done so it would have been the duty
of the State Committee, who were then
as they are now, the only ones qual-
ified to represent the Party in an of-
ficial capacity, to issue such a referen-
dum.

Billingsgate.

In paragraph 6 you say: "This very
cheap attempt at a palace revolution
for the benefit of office-holders cannot
be endorsed by the National Executive
Committee." All I care to say in an-
swer to this piece of billingsgate is
that it has been my experience that
whenever any one passes upon the
motives of others he generally gives a
pretty clear index of his own make-
up, and it is just possible that you
are no exception to this rule. As for
me, I do not judge people by what I
think they intend to do; I prefer to
judge them by what they have done
and are doing at a given time. I find
this a safer and more correct method
than impugning their motives.

The Real Issue.

As a student of social, economic and
historical questions you ought to know
that nothing happens by chance and
that for every action there must of
necessity be a cause. Now, then,
what is that cause that led up to
the present situation in this State? As
I pointed out above, and as you recog-
nize in your letter, there has been a
fight raging in this State for the last
six years. You can of course make
the statement that the fight is due
to the ambition of some people to hold
office or keep a job, but you know bet-
ter. Fact is, the fight is between
those who want a revolutionary party
with a no-compromise program and
those who want a reform party with
a compromise program.

As I said before, reform Socialists,
or those who could be influenced by
them, including some impossibilists,
succeeded in getting seven members
on our State Committee last year.
They started in on a "rule or ruin
policy" almost immediately, and suc-
ceeded by the most atrocious and some-
times traitorous methods on the State
Executive Committee—of which they
constituted a majority—and by circu-
lating dirty insinuations against tried
and true comrades among the mem-
bership, in creating considerable sen-
timent against Krueger and others. At
the psychological moment and when
Krueger was sick and compelled to
take a vacation to restore his
health, a State Committee meeting
was called to try D. Burgess on the
charge of misappropriation of party
funds, "and to transact such other
business as might properly come be-
fore them."

This meeting was held on April 18,
1909, and in the absence of any charges
or notice of trial, as required by sec-
tion 15, Article IV, and section 5 of
the same article of the State Consti-
tution, Comrade Krueger was removed
from office while he was sick and
therefore unable to appear in his own
defense.

W. H. Waynick was elected as tem-
porary Secretary-Treasurer, and from
that time on the effort to pack the
convention began in earnest. That
they succeeded is proven by subse-
quent events, and was accomplished
by resorting to methods to which no
true Socialist or loyal member of the
wage-class would stoop.

I am not surprised that these people
should take advantage of their tem-
porary majority in the convention to
enter upon a "wrecking policy" when
they found that they could not rule
otherwise, but I am a little surprised
to see some of the members of the N.
E. C. become party to the deal.

A great deal of noise has been made
since the convention about majority
rule by these "rule or ruin" reform
and impossibilist Socialists. I again
ask, were not the fifteen men and wo-
men who compose the State Commit-
tee regularly elected and do they not
hold office until their successors are
elected, and are not eight a majority
of fifteen? If this committee, by a
vote of seven to six, unconstitutionally
remove Krueger on April 18, has not
this same committee, on July 12, by a
vote of eight to nothing, authority to
rescind its action and reinstate Krue-
ger? And, if so, when the other
seven members of that committee re-
fuse to abide by that decision, steal
considerable of the Party property,
continue unconstitutionally and unlaw-
fully to do business in the name of the
S. P., and the N. E. C. declare they
have no power to decide who is State
Secretary-Treasurer, is it not the right
—aye, the duty—of the officials of the
Party in this State to take legal ac-
tion to protect the Party and its prop-
erty against these pretenders?

Yours for the revolution,
EMIL M. HERMAN,
Member to the N. C. from Washington.

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BAD CASE OF HYSTERICIS

KRUEGER'S REPLY TO BARNES.

The State Committee, Socialist Party of Washington. Seattle, Wn., Aug. 29, 1909. To the National Executive Committee: Comrades.—With reference to the latest developments in the Washington controversy, which so far has been a state issue, and as we think was settled to our entire satisfaction, it has now become a National issue through a bad case of hystericis on the part of National Secretary Barnes and the bad judgment of the majority of your committee.

Washington. This seems to be the situation at present and is that without our making and the responsibility does not rest with us. As we stated before, the present situation is largely the result of a bad case of hystericis on the part of Secretary Barnes.

Among other things Secretary Barnes in his communication to you has this to say: "On July 31st Comrade Krueger, or some one in his behalf, applied to the courts for an injunction restraining Comrade Waynick from acting in these or other matters for the Socialist Party of Washington."

In reply thereto we have this to say: "First. It is not true that someone applied for this injunction in behalf of Comrade Krueger. He himself applied for the injunction, not for his personal protection, but that of the Socialist Party of Washington, and in no instance has he acted in his own behalf."

Second. It is true the court granted the injunction on the 13th inst. But it is not true, as Secretary Barnes asserts, that the injunction impounds Comrade Waynick's mail and places it in the custody of the courts.

In the next paragraph of this communication our misrepresentations are being insulted, the substance of which is that a fair count of the votes of the membership can not be secured under the espionage of a capitalist court.

Resolved, By this conference, whose sole aim it is to emancipate themselves, and thus the whole of the working class, that we recommend to the State Executive Committee, that we continue to organize the slaves of capital for their own emancipation.

Dear Comrade.—In view of the necessity for the party in this State having a medium of expression of official party news, etc., and in accordance with the representative Socialists and of organized labor in this State, held in Seattle Friday and Saturday evenings of this week, I am authorized by the Board of Trustee Printing Company to make the following offer:

"We will set aside in each issue of 'The Socialist' an amount of space equal to five columns, to be used for the publication of the official matter of the party. In addition we will send the Socialists each week to each of our members at the rate of five cents per month per member.

On the whole the Executive Committee approved plans and programs as well as proposition presented for their consideration, but at the same time realized that it is powerless to execute the same and put them into practical working order.

Motion.—That we call a meeting of the State Committee for Sunday, Sept. 13, at 10 o'clock a.m., place of meeting to be designated later by Secretary. That we request of all loyal Locals in the State that they elect representatives for the purpose of attending this meeting of the State Committee, as an advisory board, and that we extend an invitation to the M. A. L. generally to attend this meeting in the same capacity.

In conclusion allow us to state that in the State of Washington at present there is only one state membership referendum pending. It is also designated State Member of the Everett convention will be as follows: "That the annual convention assembled at Everett, for violating the Constitution of the Party and the suppression of free debate, is hereby declared illegal and all its acts null and void."

Reorganization Begun. The State Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Washington. Seattle, Wn., Aug. 29, 1909. Meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order by the State Secretary. Present were Committee-men Steele, Martin, Longmire and Hendrickson; absent, Comrade Morris.

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Table with 2 columns: Name, Yes. No. Includes Centralia, Silverdale, Roslyn, Aberdeen, Liberty, Seattle 1, Seattle 2, Seattle 3, Westport, M. A. L., Total.

Proposition therefore has failed to carry. With reference to tally sheets submitted by Locals and M. A. L. on National Referendum "B" and the Illegal Referendum "D," issued by Waynick, it was ordered that in view of the facts the State Executive Committee can not consider either of these referendums, because the same have been issued in this State by one not authorized to issue them, one upon the initiative of an individual party member and the other upon the initiative of the National Secretary, submitted by him to an individual member and not the State Secretary for distribution in violation of both National and State Constitutions.

Whereas, The National Executive Committee has seen fit to violate the National Constitution, and have shown their intention of lining up with the reform and impossibilist Socialists of this State, and

Whereas, In order to represent labor on the political field and to ultimately emancipate ourselves from wage slavery, a Socialist party with a no-compromise program based upon the class struggle is absolutely necessary, and

Whereas, A Party of this kind of necessity must have an official organ, and

Resolved, By this conference, whose sole aim it is to emancipate themselves, and thus the whole of the working class, that we recommend to the State Executive Committee, that we continue to organize the slaves of capital for their own emancipation.

Local North Yakima's strong protest against the action of former Temporary State Secretary's action whereby an attempt was shown to withhold credentials for that Local's delegate to the convention, also for actually withholding referendum ballots from that Local, was filed.

Question No. 1. By what authority could the N. E. C. "recognize" in any manner the actions of the Washington State Convention at Everett, July 3d to 5th, in advance of any action by the State membership, either ratifying or rejecting the acts of said convention?

Question No. 2. By what authority could the N. E. C. refuse to recognize the agent of the legally constituted State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington?

Question No. 3. After the N. E. C. having decided that they have no power to act in regard to the conflicting claims of Comrades Krueger and Waynick to the office of State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Washington, by what authority and by what course of reasoning does the National Secretary persist in recognizing Waynick as State Secretary, he (the National Secretary) having full knowledge of the fact that Waynick was duly removed from said office by a majority of the State Committee?

Because the National office at Chicago was besieged with countless letters from expelled members of the Party in Washington, from Oldham to Szako and Parks, Secretary Barnes concluded there was nothing to be said on the side of the regular Party. The regulars have been too busy doing Socialist work. But since Barnes tried to destroy the Socialist Party in Washington, he has heard something different. See the Buckley questions in another column, for example.

The difference between Simons and Hillquit on the "Washington controversy," Simons says, the Krueger crowd are constitutional all right, but they don't agree with Simons, Berger, Hunter, Work, Floaten and Spargo, so damn the Constitution. Hillquit says: Yes, they are constitutional, and I'd like to agree with the rest of you, but I don't think we can amend the Constitution by violating it.

With reference to the charges on file against A. H. Barth and W. J. Smith, which charges were accepted by the State Committee, it was ordered that the charges remain pending for the present and that no further action be taken now in view of the fact that both Locals Tacoma and Everett, of which both the accused are members respectively, had ceased to be an integral part of the S. P. of Washington.

The matter of organization was taken up and thoroughly discussed. The list of the Washington Locals reviewed with reference to their attitude in the pending controversy in so far as expression from them are on file, either by correspondence, remittance of dues or otherwise; the facts revealed no necessity for any alarm for the future. This fact together with others makes the future look bright for a revolutionary proletarian organization.

Secretary was again urged to employ all available forces to work under committee rules. In consideration of Comrade Waynick's present attitude the M. A. L. was organized to declare the office of State Organizer vacant and that temporarily the State Lecturer do that official's work. Carried.

Secretary was instructed to concentrate all future energies in industrial centers; for the present to use stamps on hand in lieu of due stamps. Adjourned to meet with State Committee Sept. 19th, at 10 o'clock a. m. Fraternally submitted, R. KRUEGER, State Secretary.

REFERENDUM ANNUAL GAG CONVENTION. It has been announced that votes on Referendum "D" for or against annulling the Everett convention, will be received up to Sept. 4, though the date originally announced was Aug. 29. On that date, so Secretary Krueger writes, "Votes had been received from seventeen Locals, who practically with the exception of one, Local Lopez, voted unanimously to annul the acts of the convention; 34 M. A. L. voted, with 3 votes sustaining the convention. Total number of votes sustaining the convention, 10. The Finnish comrades

had wanted to receive this Referendum translated by the national translator, who under instructions from the national office, suppressed this Referendum, as well as all other official party matter. The Finnish comrades found out the trick played on them too late to vote, but not too late to call Victor Wtita, the national translator, to account."

More votes may be received later, but the result will not be changed. A practically unanimous vote has been cast in favor of declaring the Gag convention null and void. Meantime, Waynick is conducting his "unconstitutional and illegal referendum on the acts of the same convention. He will be supported by about the same number of Locals and by the N. E. C.

LABOR'S POLITICAL AWAKENING

American Labor seems to be awakening. Comrade Kubaak who is just back from the Tailors' Convention in New York reports that the Socialists showed great strength there. In the Convention of the 10th district of the United Mine Workers of America just closed in this city, the Socialists had practically everything their own way, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the bitter attacks made by visiting national officials of the U. M. W. of A.

And indications are that the spirit of political class action is becoming awakened in the entire organization of the U. M. W. of A. The United Mine Workers' Journal, published in Indianapolis, until a short time ago, practically excluded all political discussions. But lately a change has gradually taken place. Socialist papers are now being freely quoted. In the issue of August 26, we find that the Party controversy in Washington is given over one and a half columns of space.

But perhaps more significant than any of the above mentioned facts is an editorial in the same number of the Journal, in which the editor, who, by the way, is not a Socialist, pays a tribute to the Socialists within the ranks of the organized miners. Below is the editorial quoted in full:

TRADES UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM. Much is being written and said nowadays as to the danger of Socialism and in favor of trades unionism. To us the condemnation of the Socialists, coming as it does from the capitalist press, is a reminder that of the two evils, in their selfish class interest, they prefer the least. They only pretend to like trades unionism now because they have, after years of struggle, been compelled to. The same kind of fight now being put up against Socialism has been the history of trades unionism, and had it not been for the bitterness of the fight put up against reform it might have been that the laboring people would have been content to let them enjoy their unearned increment without attempting to deprive them of it, but this selfish nature persisted in denying the peoples' rights, they were extreme in their violent opposition to them, and this resulted in a desire to "meet fire with fire," so to speak. It is too late in the day now to attempt to destroy this idea. War, bitter war, has been waged upon the interest of the people, and it is now rebounding on those that made it.

It is useless to attempt to divide trades unionism from Socialism. It cannot be done. They all have learned that their interests are common, they know that labor divided will continue to suffer and will hang together before they will allow capital to hang them separately.

Indeed, looking at trades unionism in all its phases and from every angle, we fail to see why Socialism and it should be separated. The man or men in the movement today who are not more or less socialistic in their belief are few and far between and do not know what the principles of unionism are, or what it stands for. We are all more or less socialistic in our belief. Some of us do not go so far as the others, just as in the world there are men who are more radical than others. So in the labor movement.

It can be divided into three sections, or groups—the conservatives, progressives and the radicals. Because some are more energetic and active in pushing the work and go further than the others in advocacy of views, that does not argue they are not one, and have not agreed that wrong is being done and have resolved to right it.

At the present time there is being made an effort to divide labor and this weapon is being used. We are not in sympathy and look with suspicion on all attempts of this kind. Labor has been so often "gulled," and this kind of a weapon was used, that we have become chary when people come around, and tell us that trades unionism is good, but it should have no truck with Socialism. If we get into a fight we know where to find the radical wing Socialists of our army. They are always knee deep in it and support us through thick and thin. The other fellows profess friendship for us to our face, but we do not know what they are doing in their mansions when surrounded by their own class, and its history has been one of opposition to us.

No, we refuse to sanction any division in our ranks. We may, and do, disagree on some points with our Socialist brothers, but we agree with them and they agree with us, that labor does not get what belongs to it, and unionism is necessary to get it, and with that for a platform we have ample standing room for all groups of the labor movement, and together we will solve the problem.

Next week "The Socialist" will publish Tom Sladden's reply to Unter-mann. It will be Sladden's first appearance since his now famous article on "The Proletariat." It is hot stuff—for Unter-mann—and a scientific discussion as well.

J. B. Osborne, now of California, the blind Osborne, is where he belongs, with the impossibilist contingent of the "Independents" in Seattle. He spoke in their Arcade Hall last Sunday night. The Socialist Party of Washington is lucky. It repels both opportunists and impossibilists.

BEAS BARA.

BEAS BARA.

BEAS BARA.

BEAS BARA.

BEAS BARA.

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BEAS BARA.