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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
 of Capital to Vote Their
 Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 403

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SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZATION "SELF-CONCEITED COMRADES"

Martin, Chas R.
 Box 389
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This week's issue of "The Socialist" is devoted mainly to the practical side of Socialism as exemplified in its political organization, particularly in the State of Washington.

One reason for the prominence given to Washington is that "The Socialist" is published in this state.

Another reason is that the Socialist Party of Washington is one of the largest and most successful state organizations in America, paying dues on nearly Two Thousand members, yet being, in point of population, one of the smaller states in the Union, ranking 33rd out of 45.

A third reason is the new departure taken in this state at the last convention and confirmed by Referendum, so amending the constitution as to provide a permanent Organization Fund, putting the work of Party Development on a safe basis. This step is comparable to that which has proved so successful in practice for several years in Washington, which puts aside a proportion of all dues into a "Delegate Fund," to cover traveling expenses of Local Delegates to the annual convention of the Party.

Still another reason for emphasizing the Party Organization in Washington is the fact of the state's prominence at the last National Convention and throughout the membership by reason of the internal Party strife during the past few years. Here, as nowhere else in the United States in so marked a degree, have the Revolutionary Principles and Tactics clashed with the Reform Tactics. There has been an open fight in which Revolutionary Socialism has been uniformly successful, though against strenuous opposition. The Washington state organization, therefore, is in a peculiar manner on trial because it will be taken as representative of straight Proletarian Socialism.

There is one final reason why "The Socialist" emphasizes organization at this time. It is that the Socialist Party is now becoming worth while. The Capitalist Class recognizes it as a formidable antagonist, in fact, the only political antagonist of Capital. Unless the Socialist Party can be rent and scattered, there will be only one Capitalist Party in the future worth mentioning.

Consequently the aim of Capital will be to prevent the complete union of the forces of Labor by breaking up this Proletarian Political Organization, which in eight short years has grown to represent at least a million voters.

Since the aim of Capital will be to break up, our aim must be to solidify, our organization. For this reason "The Socialist" will pay more and more attention to Tactics, to the forms and details of organization. Every member of the Party should study politics for himself. The Party Constitutions, the methods of electing Executive Committees, Parliamentary Rules, the control of speakers, literature and the press, the relation of State organizations to the National body, the systematic canvassing of the voters, obedience of individuals to Party decisions and authorities, the practice of class Loyalty even at the expense of personal preferences, the rigid exclusion of all anti-proletarian elements, these and many other practical matters in our Political organization must be thought out and threshed out and worked out.

To be an intelligent and valuable member of the Socialist Party means a thousand times more than membership in any other organization whatsoever.

Take, for example, our present method of choosing a National Executive Committee. It assumes on the part of individual members almost divine omniscience. Last year 133 candidates were nominated and accepted, from whom only seven were to be chosen. These hundred and thirty odd comrades were resident in all states from Maine to Texas and California. No biographies accompanied the ballot. The comrade in Colorado was supposed to be acquainted with the comrade nominated by his Local in Rockville, New Hampshire. Smith of Florida, must know Jones of Oregon, in order to vote intelligently by our present method.

This illustration is used as an extreme. In fact, it assumes the impossible. The real force of the example lies in its being a "horrible example." It shows how little some of the comrades have studied organization. Organization, to be effective, must be practicable, not ideal. In the name of the ideal, Pure Democracy, many sincere and rigidly "logical" members of the Socialist Party, insist that the above described impossible method of electing our National Executive must be retained. The fact that so many comrades do thus insist is one of the strongest proofs that the Study of Party Organization is a Party Necessity.

There is considerable drudgery in Party Politics. The Work of Detail and System is no fun. But Socialists must buckle down to it if they are to be saved from Party Disintegration.

Not that we lose sight of the Great Tactics, the Proletarian Basis, the Scientific Education. But we must learn to exercise ourselves together in freedom and efficiency.

A true basis, a proper education, a workable organization—all are essential.

PRACTICAL SOCIALIST WORK

State Secretary, Krueger, of Washington, Gives Details of Organizing Work. Directions to County Committees. Conclusions Drawn From Recent Campaign.

To The Members Of County Committees,

Comrades: The excitement of the campaign is over and we must now act, controlled by calm judgement. The lessons learned during the campaign and from the result of the election should be of lasting benefit to us. Over enthusiasm is probably as bad as no enthusiasm at all. Some without giving due consideration to the many adverse conditions which confront us, were led to believe that we would have a million or more Socialist votes. They were disappointed and to meet with disappointment is never good, and in this case indirectly may hurt the cause. Disappointment breeds discouragement, and that breeds failure. From every viewpoint considered, the Socialist vote in this state was a satisfactory one, the increase being fully 50 per cent from that of the vote four years ago and excluding the sympathetic vote of that year, the vote this year without that sympathetic vote is fully 100 per cent more.

Not Socialist Voters Merely.

If no other lesson from the campaign just closed, is to remain, there is one we should never forget and profit by for all time to come; it is, that we must make Socialists and not only Socialist voters. But Socialists are not made in a few hours, days or months. Before you can depend upon any workingman's vote, in-

cluding that of the farmer, he must be completely convinced that there is no choice between the Republican and the Democratic party, and no amount of argument during a political campaign will create that conviction. We must educate the voters, we must convince them that Socialism is their one and only hope. We cannot do that during the excitement of a political campaign. We can do that now before either one of the old political parties even has a thought of the next campaign of 1912.

How To Do It.

To make a man a Socialist we must first make him a thinker. An energetic literature campaign is to be extended to the most obscure corner of your county.

How this campaign can successfully be carried on must be a matter of your earnest consideration. The benefits to be derived from a literature campaign are of incalculable value, first in that the voter will come to be a thinker and subsequently a Socialist; and second, in that it will also get you ready for the next campaign.

A thorough and complete canvass of every county in the state must be undertaken, the names and addresses of all Socialists members and non members, should be systematically compiled in one book, and the names and addresses of sympathizers in another with the wards and precincts they live in, and other useful information with regard to Socialist papers they may be subscribers to already, or may be induced to subscribe for by the precinct canvassers. A blank form for such a book to be used for the purpose is now on file in the state office, which with a sufficient demand for same may be secured in sufficient quantities to supply all local and Members at Large.

Just as soon as a sufficient amount of this useful information has been secured from any one county, at a glance then can it be determined what localities are most ripe for organization, and with a small loss of time and moderate expenditures the various state and district organizers can be successfully set to work.

tion, and with a small loss of time and moderate expenditures the various state and district organizers can be successfully set to work.

Aggressive Work Needed.

If we want Socialism, we must work for it. In point of numbers we have now a strong organization. That we must make effective by training it to united and concerted action. Every bit of our work should be in that direction. The field for aggressive work in every county is wide open and thereby the question of what are the duties of the various county committees is answered. If these will direct all their efforts to do this work in their respective counties, all their time will be taken up and besides in no instance will this kind of work be in conflict with the work which otherwise is the work of the State Committee.

Duties Defined.

Whenever under any conditions a general demand for certain things arises, it may safely be assumed that this demand is a just one. And so in this instance where in various counties the locals therein have decided to have their respective county committees remain in action as standing committees. However, with respect to their duties many comrades differ.

Sec. 12 of Art. V. provides as follows: "Counties that so desire may elect a county committee to call conventions, conduct campaigns, and perform such other business as may be required of them."

"Such other business as may be required of them," clearly is not such business as is required of the State Committee by the provisions of the State Constitution, i. e. routing speakers and organizing locals.

However, if the various county committees will do the work outlined in this circular, they will also greatly assist the State Committee in the work required of that committee by the constitution and will in no way interfere and possibly block the work of the state committee.

No work should be done independently. Interdependence, always having the best interest of the party organization in view in all our undertakings, must and alone will assure success. All private schemes must be nipped in the bud.

Before the campaign and in the hurry, in some instances probably weak county committees have been elected. To remedy this evil should be our first effort.

Sentimentality has no place in the Socialist Party organization and only comrades best fitted for the position should be elected to fill the same.

Fraternally yours,

R. KRUEGER,
 State Secretary.

WASHINGTON.

Summary of Secretary-Treasurer's Financial Report for the Month of Nov., '08.

Receipts from all sources.	\$370.90
Expenditures during month.	332.50
Cash on hand Dec. 1st.	538.30
In Funds as Follows:	
Delegate Expense Fund.	140.06
Organization Fund.	237.30
Literature Fund.	102.91
General Fund.	57.03

Fraternally submitted,

R. KRUEGER,
 Secretary-Treasurer.

EFFECT OF HIGHER DUES

Better Organization Made Possible.

The New Departure Welcomed All Along the Line. Secretary Krueger, of Washington, Outlines Future Work. Example for Other States.

Seattle, Wash. Dec. 5th, 1908.

To the Party Members.

Comrades: It is gratifying to note the alacrity with which the membership generally has responded to the call which since September increased the dues from 15 cents to 25 cents and from 25 cents to 40 cents respectively. So far only one local in the state has entered a protest. However, many erroneous views with regard to the increased dues and the benefit derived therefrom, are still prevalent, and with a view of dispelling these this circular letter is directed to you.

Why have the dues been raised? It is plain that with the enlargement of the scope of party work our former dues of 15 cents are not suf-

ficient, for we must remember that only 8 cents from every 15 cents paid is available for current expenses, 5 cents the National office receives for dues and 2 cents is set apart for the delegate expense fund.

For years past party officials everywhere have been busy and a great deal of their time has been consumed in an effort to raise extra funds as occasion demanded; in fact, state offices and secretaries have been maintained with just enough funds at their command to pay current expenses, largely only for the purpose of collecting these insufficient dues, and whenever one or the other attempted to branch out into different channels, a large part of his time had to be taken up first to collect funds for the purpose.

During 1907-8 probably \$700.00 had been expended in Washington, collected through special efforts, for organization purposes and for the purpose of culminating our fight for free speech in the city of Seattle. Pounds of ink and paper were used, not to mention the postage for mailing and the time consumed in this work.

True, this labor has not been all wasted. Besides, from the benefits of the educational feature the same afforded, large practicable results have been achieved, thanks to the noble and ready response from comrades to every appeal made for extra funds.

However, in nearly every appeal that has been issued, it was every time the same locals or M. A. L. that responded while it was the same locals that have been left untouched by every appeal for funds. Every financial report has told the same story.

Who Always Respond.

A referendum vote issued to the state membership in July of this year and your vote thereon has changed the former condition. However, again the vote of the same membership upon the provision raising the monthly dues told the same story. It was again the same locals who formerly voted to support the state organization with extra and voluntary financial support that voted in the referendum almost as one man, to increase the former insufficient dues. The striking coal miners, after having been on strike for nearly a year, the single-weavers and long-shoremen working at reduced wages and only a small part of their time, the loggers with their wages reduced 50 per cent, and the millmen with their \$1.50 per day, it was these comrades who almost to a man voted for the increase of monthly dues.

Higher Dues Make Good.

To inaugurate higher dues, we in Washington were not the first. Local Portland, in Oregon, for years struggled on with dues of 25 cents a month. The membership of that local was made up from nearly all classes in society and had a dues paying membership of over a hundred, when the dues were raised to 50 cents a month about a year ago. That local did probably not solve all its problems, and whether or not some of the problems were solved by increasing their monthly dues, you may judge. Local Portland with the higher dues has lost a large part of its former membership; all the professionals, intellectuals and businessmen have ceased to pay dues and are no longer members of the party, but the local's membership has increased from its former paltry hundred to something over 400; wageworkers, proletarians.

Double Purpose of Extra Dues.

The delegates to the last state convention in Washington, as well as the state membership subsequently voting upon the referendum increasing the monthly dues, sought to serve a double purpose. On the one hand 10 cents was voted for organization purposes, and 10 cents more as a payment for subscription to a Party Press. It was proposed to make, the Seattle "Socialist" the Party paper in conjunction with the membership of Oregon and Idaho.

You Must Get Busy.

We have now an organization fund of something over \$237.00. Both comrades Herman and Wagenknecht are in the field. Some new locals already are the first visible result. How much we can accomplish in the future will depend upon each and everyone of us. It is not enough that you give us your 10 cents every month, and then sit idly by expecting wonderful results. You must also get busy in your immediate neighborhood, among your intimates, on the streets and everywhere. Take the names of Socialists without the red membership and of sympathizers, make notes of all useful information and through your local secretary let the

state office have a copy of the same. M. A. L. should do the same, and thus will be formed the nucleus around which soon a new local will crystallize. At every meeting of your local bring up the subject of party organization for discussion, solve the problem of how to reach the non-Socialists, how best to make them Socialists.

Party Press Action Incomplete.

In the matter relating to the Party Press for which also 10 cents a month as a subscription to the paper were voted, things are the same as they were in September. Neither in Oregon nor in Idaho has the party taken a step in that direction, and is not likely to this year. It is for this reason, although you have voted a monthly dues of 35 cents and 50 cents respectively, that the state committee in September instructed the State Secretary not to collect the 10 cents for subscription to paper, but to collect the 10 cents for organization purposes, and that therefore the monthly dues to be collected are 25 cents from local members and 40 cents from Members at Large. This does not mean that the latter pay higher dues than the members of a local, who must pay an additional dues to their locals, besides the 25 cents to the State.

Some locals however, whether under a misapprehension or not, seem to insist upon having the dues they have voted for, and the new State Committee has instructed the State Secretary to apply this excess in dues for the purpose for which it apparently is remitted and to send these locals the Seattle "Socialist."

Fraternally yours,
 R. KRUEGER,
 State Secretary.
 P. O. Address, Box 52.

STICKERS IN WASHINGTON

At shortest notice in this state, the Supreme Court decided the Socialist State ticket could not go on the official ballot.

The state office responded instantly to the Capitalist challenge. It printed and distributed a hundred thousand "stickers," like huge postage stamps, 18 inches long, containing the full Socialist state, county, and legislative tickets. To handle this property it required there should be several thousand distributors at polling places all over the vast territory of this state.

We know how splendidly our comparatively small organization did its work. The official vote for Debs in Washington is between 14,000 and 15,000. The official state printed ballots contained the names of our Presidential Electors.

The vote for Boomer, our candidate for Governor, was excluded from the official ballot, and was recorded solely by means of the Party stickers. Of these, some 5,000 were used and counted. In spite of all obstacles, in spite of the fact that some judges of election refused to count the sticker ballots, in spite of the strangeness of the new method and the actual difficulty of manipulating the sticker, itself, yet Five Thousand Voters in the State of Washington used the Sticker Ballot.

The point we wish now to make is, that the chief reason the other Ten Thousand Socialist votes in the State did not also vote the Stickers is, they could not get them. Our Socialist Party organization does not reach to every voting precinct. If State Secretary Krueger had had on file in the state office the name, occupation, age, temperament and address of every one of the 15,000 men who voted for Debs and Hanford in the State of Washington, he could have then distributed those stickers at every polling place. Before the next election, we must have those addresses. That is the immediate demand of our organization. Instead of 2,000 members, splendid as that is, we should have at least 5,000, with an "M. A. L." (Member at Large) in every precinct.

With such a registered army, the Party could not only provide stickers, but literature, and many important messages, at a day's notice, so covering the state with Socialist announcements and directions, making ourselves completely independent of capitalist newspapers and other misleading agencies.

This is wholly a concern of detail and statistics and work. The first essential of organization is to know your rank and file who are ready to keep step and take orders.

Come on, Volunteers. Forward your and Socialist neighbors' names, addresses, etc., to Richard Krueger, Box 52, Seattle, Wash.

The Socialist, Seattle, Washington.

Comrades: As you have in your issue of 14th. inst., under the caption of "Can you understand it," taken a stand in opposition to the national referendum initiated by Local Tyler, Tex., you will in fairness admit to your columns this reply to same.

Your article is unfair, for it consists of assertions and characterizations which without demonstration become mere opinion. Unsupported opinion may be, and usually is, prejudice.

You dub preferential referendum as "cumbersome" and "impractical," yet your article shows that you have no previous knowledge of it and have taken no pains to analyze its workings. Wherever we have observed the working of preferential balloting we have observed that it is less "cumbersome" and "more practical" than any other form of balloting. We are now conducting annual party referendums in this state and no difficulty has presented itself that would not be more likely to occur in other forms of balloting.

We are inclined to believe that your objection to the referendum is not really because you consider it "incomprehensible and ill stated," but rather because you object to taking the election of National Officers out of the hands of the National Committee. In this you must remember there are several thousand rank and file members whose wishes must be considered and it would not be remarkable if a large number of them possessed wisdom equal to or superior to your own. We have no assurance, further than your statement, that the members of the National Committee are likely to be acquainted with the different candidates nominated all over the country. In fact, they would not nominate candidates "all over the country" but would confine the National Officers within their circumscribed acquaintances and select them in accordance with their preconceived prejudices.

If it is true, as you state, that only a limited few in our party possess the enviable qualification of knowing what we want and what is best for us, and we can not possibly vote intelligently, then we are even now too long delayed in getting our affairs in our own hands so as to learn by experience how to attend our own business: and if it is true that we can not possibly vote intelligently (which I fear we cannot learn) then we demand that you quit fooling us and complete your work of centralization by depriving us of the privilege (?) of foolishly voting for what we think we want in our platforms, our constitutions and all referendums and place these powers in the hands of your select wisecracks permanently and give us to understand finally and positively that our idea of self-government, direct legislation and industrial democracy is a dream never to be realized. You have evidently failed to read the comment of Local Tyler, attending the proposal for referendum which foresees the objections of apologists for centralization and places them where they belong.

You denigrate our proposition to vote for what and whom we want as "Democracy run wild." Our opponents in the convention called it "Democracy gone to seed." Is this the best you can offer as an argument (?) against it?

We have often been amused by the convenient way of dismissing an argument indulged in by self-conceited comrades when they run out of any real argument. They invariably call the other fellow, or his argument a name and gloat in the satisfaction that they have demolished him, when they have in fact, themselves been driven to corner. Calling each other "Opportunists" and "Impossibilists," when both were opportunists and impossibilists or neither, according to the viewpoint he has been witness to, until it has become tiresome. Now you dub our proposition as "Democracy run wild" which indicates that you have run out of argument.

There is nothing confusing in our text of the referendum except as you confuse it by your insertions within the text, and omissions.

"Which of the seven offices they accept" does mean "which of the seven groups he desires his name to appear in," provided of course he receives nomination in the viewpoint he accepts to appear in group "A") is about as intelligent as to ask "Suppose they all want to be National Secretary when nominated for National Executive Committee. The alphabetical letter designates what group they are nominated in and if nominated in more than one group they can take their choice of groups. They can accept in a group in which they are not nominated and as each local will be abundant material for every group. The notification and ballot with instructions sent out by the secretary will easily guide the membership in executing the referendum and confusion is unnecessary.

The virtues of preferential balloting, if you will take the trouble to investigate by comparative analyses, is that it assures election of the exact choice of the membership by a single ballot, which no other system will do even by continued balloting for a majority.

Fraternally yours,
 W. J. BELL,
 State Sec. S. P.

EDITOR'S REPLY.

One hundred and fifty words of comment in "The Socialist," containing not a single word of abuse, calls

forth the above letter from Texas five times as long, and nearly all abuse.

We did not discuss "Preferential Referendum" as a general proposition but the particular proposition submitted by Secretary Bell. That we still think "cumbersome," "impracticable," "incomprehensible," "ill stated" and "Democracy run wild."

A Texas Roast

Comrade Bell now states the National Secretary would make everything clear by his "instructions." Certainly, they would be needed. For instance, the proposed amendment says: "Each candidate, when nominated, must be designated by one of the alphabetical letters, A, B, C, D, E, F, G." We naturally assumed this meant what it says and that "each candidate" might be designated by any one of these seven letters, so that "each candidate" might be designated by the same one of the seven letters. But its author now says he meant "Each candidate must be designated by a different one of the letters." That sentence certainly was so "ill stated" as to be "incomprehensible."

Comrade Bell also now concedes that when he wrote "which of the seven letters they accept," he meant "which of the seven groups they desire their names to appear in." Yet he subsequently implies he does not mean this, when he calls us stupid for asking, "Suppose they all desire to appear in 'Group A?'"

By reading Bell's explanation of what Bell meant to say in his proposed amendment, we begin to comprehend what he should have written, but did not know how to write. But he should understand that a constitution should say what it means and that the Party would be very foolish to adopt any amendment which is so ill stated and incomprehensible as this.

As to the omniscience of the party membership, we refer to our introductory remarks on organization on page 1 of this issue.

"Democracy run wild" means untrained, unprincipled, unregulated, unscientific, nonsensical, Utopian Democracy. "Democracy run wild" is tangled Egyptian grass. Democracy trained and sensible is the Red River Field of billowing wheat.

Talk and froth about Democracy is not Democracy. Who elected our present bourgeois Executive Committee to represent a Proletarian Party? Mock Democracy, Democracy without a common sense method.

Why? Because the membership at large had not the remotest idea who the nominee from Tyler, Texas, was, and therefore voted for the millionaire, Phelps-Stokes, because they had at least heard of him.

Now "The Socialist" favors real Democracy, a method of voting which will represent the Party.

The National Committee is elected by Referendum of the various state organizations. Within a single state, it is usually true that the membership is acquainted with the qualifications of the candidates. Therefore the National Committee of the several states truly represent the rank and file. They are elected for the express purpose of managing the affairs of the National Party. The Executives should be subject to this large and representative committee, both the National Secretary and the National Executive. But if these Executives are chosen by the Party at large, they are practically independent of the National Committee and the latter becomes either inoperative or the source of conflict about authority. The National Committee is composed of men most likely to know the qualifications of various candidates for the Executive positions. They are elected on account of their more general acquaintance with Party affairs. If the Executives are incompetent or rebellious, the Committee can quickly remove them. All considerations point to the method adopted at the last National Convention and which will go into effect for the next election, if not interfered with by some less Democratic mode, like this from Texas or like the substitute now proposed by Local Milwaukee, which seems almost equally ill considered in its phraseology.

As to the practical effect of any method of "Preferential Balloting" in a Party constituted as the Socialist Party is, of two contending factions, neither of whom will vote for the other's candidates, we may rest assured the result will always be the election of men of 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and lower preferences and the defeat of all men of first choices. That is, nobody's first choice would be chosen and men voted for as later choices,

Continued on Page Four

METHOD of ORGANIZATION

National Constitution

ARTICLE I. Name. Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in such states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II. Membership. Section 1. Every person, resident of the United States of the age of eighteen years and upward, without discrimination as to sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, and subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party, including political action, shall be eligible to membership in the Party.

The Revolutionist

This is the title of an article written by Tom Sladden, secretary of the Socialist party of Oregon, that will appear in the December International Socialist Review, ready for mailing December 1st.

He says some startling things in this article, and we wrote asking if he was sure of all his facts. Some of the sentences in his reply are too good to keep and we give them here:

In Portland we have tried and proved by its success that we are on the right track. I have had unlimited opportunity to test my theories. We have 400 paid-up members in a city of 175,000 inhabitants, at 50c a month. Figure it up at the proper ratio and see how Chicago lines up. In New York and Chicago you are howling about things beating your street speakers up and in Portland we have got all the things and beat the other fellow up when he interferes with our meetings. Anytime a Socialist votes for a man who is not a member of his class he throws his vote away. The Socialists will learn that some day.

Don't fail to read Sladden's article. You may not agree with it, but you will be impressed with the fact that he knows what he is talking about.

Remember that Comrade Cohen's Study Course in Socialism started with the November number and continues seven months. Our subscription list has doubled in the last seven weeks. Money is coming in faster than ever before and we are using it to make a better magazine. Send a dollar for a year's subscription, and you will get surprising value for your money.

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PROFESSIONAL CARDS

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DR. TITUS has resumed the practice of medicine. Rooms 313-314 Hensley Block, corner Third Avenue and Pike Street.

MAKER GRANT—Dental Specialist. They do the High Class work that you have been looking for at a price that is reasonable. Office in Pantages Theatre Bldg., Second Avenue and Seneca Street.

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DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON STEWART, Physician and Surgeon—Residence 933 Twelfth Avenue S. Henson Hill. Office 834-635 Pioneer Block, Pioneer Place, Seattle, Wash.

Forced To Quit Business

Store taken away from us and ordered to get out inside of thirty days. Fifty thousand dollars worth of the finest clothing, furnishings and hats in America now being slaughtered for half and about near half price.

The Bell Clothing Store

216 Pike Bet. 2nd and 3rd

of the National Secretary, and to transact all current business of the national office, except such as is by this constitution expressly reserved for the National Committee or the general vote of the party. The National Executive Committee shall also formulate the rules and order of business of the national conventions of the party not otherwise provided for by this constitution, subject to adoption or amendment by the conventions.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee.

Section 3. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

Section 5. The National Executive Committee shall meet whenever it shall deem it necessary to do so. Between sessions all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

ARTICLE VII. National Secretary. Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee and shall hold office for two years. The call for nominations and election shall be conducted at the same time and in the same manner as that of the National Executive Committee. Vacancies shall be filled in a similar manner. The National Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars annually and shall give a bond in a sum fixed by National Executive Committee.

Section 2. The National Secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the National office subject to the directions of the Executive Committee, and the National Committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of the local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the National office, and the work of the lecture bureau, the literature bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office.

Section 3. The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations, in such way as the Executive Committee may direct, monthly bulletins containing a report of the financial affairs of the party, a summary of the conditions and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations, the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party, as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment.

Section 4. The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper transaction of the business of his office.

Section 5. The National Secretary may be recalled at any time by the National Committee or membership.

ARTICLE VIII. The Lecture Bureau. Section 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the National office a Lecture Bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism.

Section 2. The Lecture Bureau shall have the right to make arrangements for the lecturers under its auspices with all state organizations of the party.

Section 3. The National Committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

ARTICLE IX. The Literature Bureau. Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of socialist literature.

Section 2. The Literature Bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others, a stock of socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right, with the approval of the Committee, to publish works on socialism or for the purpose of socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the Bureau to publish any periodical.

Section 3. The profits of the Literature Bureau shall go into the general funds of the party treasury.

ARTICLE X. Conventions. Section 1. The regular national nominating convention of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice President of the United States are to be held.

Section 2. A congress of the party to consider and report upon the program, agitation and organization of the party shall be held in each even numbered year, when there is no national nominating convention. The order of business for the congress shall be prepared by the National Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the congress. The basis of representation shall be one delegate at large and one delegate for every five hundred members. Delegates shall be elected and accredited otherwise as for a nominating convention.

Section 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee.

Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing, provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented.

Section 5. The basis of representation in any national nominating convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large and to one additional delegate for every four hundred members, or majority fraction thereof above the first 400, in good standing; provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented, and shall have been a member of the party for at least two years.

Section 6. Railroad fare of the delegates, going to and coming from the convention and congresses of the party shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.

Section 7. The election of delegates to the National Conventions shall take place not later than sixty days

preceding the National Convention and the respective State Secretaries shall furnish the National Secretary not later than thirty days preceding the convention with a list of the accredited delegates to the convention.

The National Secretary shall prepare a printed roster of the accredited delegates to be sent to each delegate and forwarded to the party press for publication. That such list shall contain the occupation of each delegate and his office or employment in the party. That all official reports required to be presented to the National Convention shall be printed at least fifteen days before the date of the convention and furnished to the party press for publication. At the time place set for the opening of the National Convention the National Secretary shall call the convention to order, and shall call the roll to ascertain the number of accredited delegates, and they shall permanently organize the convention.

The following order of business shall be observed: 1. Election of Chairman for the day. 2. Election of Secretary, Reading Clerk and Sergeant-at-Arms. 3. Nomination of the following Regular Committees: Contested Seats—7 members. Platform—9 members. Constitution—9 members. Resolutions—9 members. Ways and Means—9 members. Reports of National Officers—7 members. International Relations—5 members. After opportunity for declarations the complete list of nominations above provided for shall be printed at once in ballot form.

4. Report of Committee on Rules, appointed by the National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI. Referendum. Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the National Secretary to a referendum of the party membership, upon the request of twenty local organizations, in five or more states or territories, or any smaller number of local organizations in three states having two thousand members in the aggregate; provided, however, that the required number of requests for such a referendum shall all have been made within a period of ninety consecutive days.

Section 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for thirty days, within which time amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of thirty days the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which may have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close fifty days thereafter.

Section 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

ARTICLE XII. State Organizations. Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which may have taken place under the direction of the Executive Committee, and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee.

Section 2. No state or territory may be organized unless it has at least ten locals or an aggregate membership of not less than two hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution. When the membership of any state averages less than 150 per month for any six consecutive months the National Committee may revoke the charter of that state.

Section 3. The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto; and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the candidate of such other organization, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

Section 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the National Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Section 5. The State Committee shall monthly reports to the National Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

Section 6. The State Committee shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

Section 7. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

Section 8. No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the party for candidate unless he is a member of the party, and has been such for at least one year, but this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year.

Section 9. 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 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 positions 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 positions 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.

Section 10. The National Executive Committee may appoint secretaries to reside in the unorganized states, who shall be selected as far as possible from the section in which the state is located. A salary not to exceed \$18.00 per week shall be allowed them, and they shall have complete charge of organization in their respective states. They shall hold office subject to the National Executive Committee, provided that when there are not less than ten (10) locals or two hundred (200) members in good standing in any state, a state organization may be formed, which shall then elect its own officers.

Section 11. The National Executive Committee is authorized to give financial assistance to the national organization to any state organization applying for same, and having a membership of less than 1,200, to enable the Secretary of said state to secure a living wage while giving his entire time to the work of organizing the state.

ARTICLE XIII. Headquarters. Section 1. The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee.

ARTICLE XIV. Section 1. Delegates to the International Congress shall be elected by referendum in the year when the Congress is held; one delegate for every five thousand members, and their expenses shall be paid out of the treasury of the National Party.

ARTICLE XV. Amendments. Section 1. This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided. But all amendments made by a National Convention shall be submitted seriatim to a referendum vote of the party membership.

ARTICLE XVI. Time and Method of Taking Effect. Section 1. This constitution shall take effect and be in force on the first day of January after the time of its approval by national referendum of the party membership.

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Washington State Constitution

ARTICLE I. Name. Section 1. The name of this Party is the Socialist Party of Washington, and it is an integral part of the Socialist Party of the United States.

ARTICLE II. State and National Committeemen and Officers. Section 1. There shall be a State Committee, composed of fifteen members.

Section 2. No two members of the State Committee shall be nominated or elected from the same local.

Section 3. The five members of this committee residing nearest the State headquarters shall constitute the State Executive Committee, one of whom shall reside in the town where State headquarters is located. The State Executive Committee shall make at least two nominations for State headquarters; also at least twice as many nominations for State and National Committeemen as are required to be elected.

Section 4. The State Executive Committee shall transact the business of the State Committee, subject to a referendum of the entire State Committee.

Section 5. Two members of the State Committee may call a referendum of the entire State Committee on any action of the State Executive Committee.

Section 6. The State Executive Committee shall meet at least twice each month.

Section 7. Should any member of the State Executive Committee fail to attend three consecutive regular meetings of said committee, unless giving an excuse acceptable to the rest of said committee, his or her seat shall be declared vacant, and it shall be the duty of the remainder of said committee to call for nominations from locals to fill vacancy.

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 to translate the proceedings of the State Organization into foreign languages, as may be found necessary. It shall employ, when it thinks advisable, and upon call of the membership, Lecturers and Organizers to tour the State.

Section 9. If Local along any proposed route fail to co-operate, the State Committee shall have power to route Lecturers or Organizers through any part of the State; Provided, that the wages and expenses of said Lecturers or Organizers is paid by the State Committee.

Section 10. No employee of the State Committee shall be a member of the State Committee.

Section 11. The books of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be audited every three months by the State Executive Committee. He shall furnish bonds for the amount which shall be fixed by said Committee; the fee to be paid out of Party funds.

Section 12. All official communications must be addressed to the State Secretary-Treasurer, who is the official agent of the State Committee. All official communications, sent out by the Secretary-Treasurer, shall bear the seal of the Socialist Party of Washington.

Section 13. The State Committee shall maintain in the Headquarters of the Party a department for the dissemination of Socialist literature. The Literature Bureau shall keep for sale, to Local Organizations of the Party and others, a stock of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature. The profits from the sale of said literature shall go into a Literature Fund.

Section 14. Every Lecturer or Organizer, sent out by the State Committee, shall, at the end of his or her tour, render an itemized statement to the State Committee, giving the number of meetings held, locals organized, money collected, literature sold, and the expenses of the trip; together with a report of conditions for organizing along the route.

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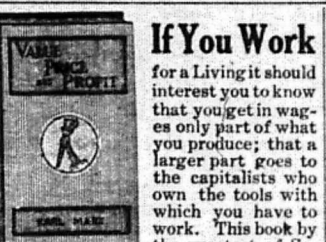
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member signing or depositing a
pledge, promising to support, polit-
ically, any party or faction not
representing Revolutionary Socialism,
or any Local exonerating such
action on the part of its members,
shall, upon sufficient evidence being
presented to the entire State Com-
mittee, be expelled from the Socialist
Party by a majority vote of the
State Committee. Provided, however,
that in case of members violating
the Revolutionary Principles of the
Party, or the tactics set forth in the
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ciples, hereinafter designated as
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be tried by their respective Locals
first; but, if Locals fail to try mem-

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Discipline—Limitations of Members, Locals and Officers.
Section 1. No member shall ac-
cept or retain any office or position,
elective or appointive, at the hands
of any other than the Socialist Party;
except such as may be se-
cured through Competitive Civil Ser-
vice examinations.
Section 2. The Platforms of the So-
cialist Party of the United States,
and of Washington, shall be the su-
preme declarations of the Party, and
all County, Municipal and School
Platforms shall conform thereto; and
no fraction of the State Organization
shall, under any circumstances, fuse,
combine, or compromise with any
other political party, or organization,
or refrain from making nominations
in order to favor the candidates of
such other organizations; nor shall
any candidate of the Socialist Party
accept any nomination or endorse-
ment from any other party or polit-
ical organization.
Section 3. Any member, or Local, ad-
vocating fusion, with any party or
faction not representing Revolu-
tionary Socialism, or any Local ex-
ercising any of its members, or any
member signing or depositing a
pledge, promising to support, polit-
ically, any party or faction not
representing Revolutionary Socialism,
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Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed.

HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; EDWIN B. AULT, Managing Editor; BATTIE W. TITUS, Advertising Manager.

Special Contributors: U. BURGESS, Slave Market Reports; EDWIN B. BROWN, Socialism and the Law.

THE MILLS CASE AGAIN

A Study in National Organization.

The following resolutions adopted by the Washington State Committee present lucidly a pressing subject of interstate policy in the Socialist Party.

If the discipline of one state is to be ignored by another, particularly when it is not a single Local but an entire state by careful referendum which has expelled a member, as in the Mills case, and for so vital an offense as compromise and fusion.

Then no state can be called upon to recognize another state in any way whatever. We might as well be forty-five separate parties, except that we all pay dues to support a central Executive.

Expulsion amounts to nothing except in the state where it occurs. A man may be expelled in Local Portland in Oregon and straightway join Local Seattle in Washington.

We commend a careful reading of these resolutions to all Socialists who are interested in the National organization.

Whereas, Walter Thomas Mills was by referendum vote of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington expelled for supporting an anti-Socialist candidate in British Columbia, and

Whereas, said Walter Thomas Mills was allowed to speak and represent the Socialist Party during the late campaign in the States of Missouri, Wisconsin and Minnesota under authority of the Socialist Party organizations in those states, and

Whereas, in the State of Wisconsin, our candidate for president, Comrade Debs, was forced to appear on the same platform with Mills, thus involving the National organization,

Whereas, the action of the Socialist Party in the State of Washington was thus disregarded, interfered with, nullified and flouted by the State organizations in said three states, and

Whereas, the National Constitution expressly forbids "any member in any state under any pretext from interfering with the regular or organized movement in any other state," and

Whereas, the State organizations of Missouri, Wisconsin and Minnesota by endorsing said Mills, known to be an expelled member from the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, did thereby endorse his fusion and compromise tactics in British Columbia, and

Whereas, the National Constitution expressly declares that "no state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or com-



ED. J. LEWIS, of Penn., who speaks every Sunday night in December at Labo. Temple. No better in America.

PARTY NEWS

LOCAL SEATTLE.

Comrades C. J. Reimers, Jos. Biscay and Christopher Peterson were admitted to membership on last Thursday evening, thus making a total of nine members admitted during November.

The application of Geo. S. Dudley was rejected for the reason that he was a member of the "Independent Socialist" organization.

A reconsideration of the admittance of Henry Dworschack was taken and his application was rejected on the ground that his admittance would prove inimical to the best interests of the Party.

Ninety-five due stamps were sold during November. Now that December is here and the New Year not far distant, don't you think it a good plan to pay your dues for the old year and so be in good shape to make and keep a New Year's resolution regarding keeping your dues paid up?

The business meeting of last Thursday evening, at which Comrades Titus and Kubaski were tried on charges of party treason and several other misdemeanors, was the longest session in the history of Local Seattle, nearly ten hours.

Comrade Titus was acquitted on the following motion: "Moved, that Comrade Titus is not guilty as charged and that if an offense has been committed the Local and the Campaign Committee should bear the responsibility, and that the question be made a special order of business for the first meeting of the Local following the close of the school campaign."

For the reason that no further evidence was submitted against Comrade Kubaski than had been submitted in the Titus case, the charges against him were dismissed.

Comrade E. J. Lewis, who was expected to speak on Sunday, November 22, but did not appear through a misunderstanding regarding the date, arrived on last Saturday and spoke on the street, and later in the Labor Temple. Comrade Lewis is the real proletarian goods and is doing splendid work on the street and also before the labor unions, several of which he has visited in the interest of the school board candidates.

Comrade Wm. D. Haywood is expected in town either December 13th or 20th. Dreamland Rink will probably be secured for this meeting. While the time for advertising is short, the meeting can be made an entire success if all will co-operate to that end.

J. Edw. Morgan, of Denver, Colo., will arrive in Seattle before the holidays and work for Local Seattle for a month.

The Local has requested of the State Executive Committee that State Organizer Wagenknecht be employed in Seattle for a month.

The committee meet December 6th and action will be taken on our request at that time.

There is no doubt but that with the assistance of Comrades Morgan and Wagenknecht for a month Local Seattle will more than double its membership in that time and completely oust from the working class mind in Seattle the pernicious and false accusations which are made against the Socialist Party by the "Independent Socialists."

E. T. A. NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS.

Just Off the Press. Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1908, contains a complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the entire session.

Local Philadelphia reports that literature sales for the five months during the campaign have doubled those of any previous campaigns, the sales for October being \$420, which nearly equals the sales for the entire year of 1905. The sales for the current year will probably reach \$2,000.

The Hungarian Socialist Federation of America, which was organized in the month of April, has submitted a definite proposition looking towards close co-operation or direct affiliation with the National Party Organization. The same will be referred to the National Executive Committee.

State Secretary Geo. F. Weller of Louisiana, reports the official vote in the recent election to be 2,558 as against 995 in the presidential campaign of 1904.

The official report of Florida for the recent election was for the head of the electoral ticket, 3,747 votes as against 2,337 in the presidential campaign of 1904. Mrs. S. F. J. Lynn, Socialist candidate for State Supt. of Public Instruction, ran several hundred votes ahead of the highest electoral vote.

J. W. Slayton reports for Pittsburg, Pa., that the vote this year is 7,311 as against 3,438 four years ago. During the campaign \$1,000 worth of literature was sold. The Pittsburg District has thirty-two branches with about 900 members, seventy per cent of whom are in good standing.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Esq., Nat'l Secretary, Socialist Party, Dear Comrade:

Enclosed find an amendment proposed by Local Milwaukee, to the referendum proposed by Local Tyler, Texas, which please submit to the referendum of the Party as soon as possible.

This amendment was adopted at last night's meeting of the Milwaukee Local, and I was instructed to forward the same to you.

Secretary, County Central Com., Local Milwaukee. Amendment to Referendum Proposed by Local Tyler, Texas, Submitted by Local Milwaukee, Wis.

That the following be substituted for Section 1 of Art. VI: A National Executive Committee of seven members shall be elected by annual preferential referendum as follows:

The call for nominations shall be issued November 1st. Twenty days shall be allowed for nominations, twenty for acceptance and declarations, and forty-five for the referendum. Each Local or Party member may nominate seven candidates, but no candidate shall be placed on the official ballot unless nominated by at least seven Branches.

The National Secretary has submitted the question to the National Executive Committee as to the advisability of holding a meeting, beginning at 10 a. m., Friday, Dec. 18th.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN WASHINGTON

- Adams Co.: 58 out of 1851; 3 per cent. Asotin Co.: 36 out of 1087; 3 1-3 per cent. Benton Co.: 151 out of 1543; 9 3-4 per cent.

- Chehalis Co.: 712 out of 5183; 14 per cent. Chelan Co.: 160 out of 2745; 6 per cent. Clallam Co.: 187 out of 1574; 12 per cent. Clarke Co.: 335 out of 4107; 8 per cent. Columbia Co.: 25 out of 1545; 1 1-2 per cent.

- Cowlitz Co.: 172 out of 2396; 7 1-3 per cent. Douglass Co.: 191 out of 3720; 5 per cent. Ferry Co.: 115 out of 990; 11 1-2 per cent. Franklin Co.: 56 out of 1241; 4 1-2 per cent.

- Garfield Co.: 40 out of 950; 4 per cent. Island Co.: 99 out of 773; 12 2-3 per cent. Jefferson Co.: 66 out of 1360; 5 per cent. King Co.: 2173 out of 39993; 5 1-2 per cent.

- Kitap Co.: 494 out of 3241; 15 per cent. Kittitas Co.: 314 out of 3116; 10 per cent. Klickitat Co.: 173 out of 2037; 8 1-2 per cent.

- Lewis Co.: 528 out of 5244; 10 per cent. Lincoln Co.: 124 out of 3609; 3 1-2 per cent. Mason Co.: 80 out of 977; 8 1-4 per cent.

aware of the real results of the Socialist vote? Not by any means. We have a good idea, but no proof.

I am not satisfied with 500,000 or 600,000, and I don't pretend to be. The working people are not all mud-heads, and I know between the wage earners and the farmers we got tens of thousands of new Socialist voters.

My answer to the old party men who tackle me is: "Yes, sir! We polled the million, all right, but we'll not know how many your old party officials have stolen from us until the so-called 'official count' is published."

I am not satisfied with 500,000 or 600,000, and I don't pretend to be. The working people are not all mud-heads, and I know between the wage earners and the farmers we got tens of thousands of new Socialist voters.

Unless we are active in this, the old parties will continue to suppress our vote, and we will always have to make excuses as to why we did not poll more.

After meeting the people of eight states in the recent campaign, I believe I can form an intelligent opinion of what they intended to do, and that after discounting much that might have been based on sentimentality and mushroom enthusiasm generated on the spur of the moment.

We are in better condition in the South than ever before, and I have not heard from any one that is discouraged. Our own Local has more than doubled since the election.

Fraternally, SUMNER W. ROSE.

SCHOOL ELECTION

Unions Endorse But Do Not Vote

The Ninth Socialist School Election of the City of Seattle gave about 25 per cent to our candidates. Fiset 553, McCorkle 513, Shorrock 1638, Ronald 1627.

SMALL FARMER NOT EXPLOITED.

Much has been said and written about how the small farmer is exploited. There seems to be no question that the large farmer, instead of being exploited, is an exploiter.

To my mind the small farmer is not exploited. That he exists more like a beast of burden than as a human being no one will gainsay.

This is due, not to exploitation by others, but to the fact that on his small acreage he can use neither scientific methods nor modern machinery, but must confine himself to antiquated methods and primitive tools.

As a result of all this the small farmer requires several times as long to produce a given commodity as it takes to produce it on a modern farm.

The necessary social labor time required to produce a commodity determines its value. The market price of farm products, therefore, conforms to the time required to produce them on the modern farm where up-to-date methods and machinery can be and are used.

This is the small farmer must sell at the market price and that accounts for his poverty, his long hours of toil, the enslavement of his family and their insecurity against want.

His farm guarantees him a job but does not guarantee him and his family a living.

Most of the small farmers of the State of Washington are ex-wage workers who have either left or been driven out of the industrial centers.

They have the psychology of the proletariat and when they use their heads to think with instead of as hat racks, it is only reasonable to expect that they should cast their lot with the class-conscious element of the class from which they sprang.

It is therefore not surprising that the greatest gains in the Socialist Party vote were made in the rural districts. The fact that many farmers did vote the S. P. ticket and are joining the S. P. in ever increasing numbers should be proof sufficient to convince the "constructive" element in the S. P. that we need make no special appeal to the farmer in order to get his support.

The writer has sometimes been accused of wishing to exclude all but wage workers from membership in the S. P. We plead not guilty to the charge. We are willing to open wide the doors of the S. P. and extend the hand of comradeship to any person—regardless of class interest—who will subscribe to and abide by the proletarian program and tactics of the S. P. Let every true Socialist join the party. Let every comrade put his shoulder to the wheel. Time is pressing. Capitalism is rushing on to its doom.

So forward, comrades, to the firing line! that we may lay the foundation and prepare the material for the new economic era—the co-operative commonwealth.

For "The Socialist." EMIL M. HERMAN.

A BRAVE LETTISH EXILE

Juraw Refuses to Betray His Fellow Revolutionists to the Government

(From Chicago "Daily Socialist.")

"Prison-prison; you threaten me with prison? I tell you that I will go to the gallows before I will betray my comrades of the Social-Democratic Labor party of Russia to the czar."

In these dramatic words Martin Juraw, formerly of the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Baltic Provinces, answered the demand of William C. Rigby, counsel for the Russian government in the extradition case of Christian Ansoff Rudowitz, yesterday afternoon.

The declaration came at the end of a highly dramatic scene. Rigby had demanded the name of the man who presided at the meeting of the Mitau council of the provisional government when the Kinzes were condemned to death as spies. Juraw had answered "That is my secret. I am not a spy upon the other members."

Darrow Grills Rigby. Rigby insisted, but Darrow jumped to his feet and protested vigorously. "I must say that this seems extremely small," said Darrow. "It is very small, in court or out of court, to attempt to try a case in this way. If this witness answers this question it will place him in contempt of every honest man, American or Russian. Counsel should not put the court in this position. As an American citizen he ought not to put himself in this pitiable position."

Rigby rose slowly to his feet, coloring to the roots of his hair under Darrow's lashing. He thought a moment and then replied: "However sorry I may be to be placed in this position, I have been retained in this case and I must go forward with my duty. I am compelled to carry out this duty, however distasteful the task proves."

Means Death and Torture. Darrow's retort was instantaneous: "This information placed on the files of this court means death, torture and Siberia, all without trial, for those poor fellows over there in Russia. This court knows it. Mr. Rigby himself knows it; everybody with any sense knows it."

Rigby here interrupted with a reference to the threatening letter he had received, the anonymous letter which he had read in the court at the beginning of the morning session.

Again Darrow's reply came straight from the shoulder: "Everybody with any sense knows that that letter was an absolute bluff. This must be Mr. Rigby's first case, or he would not have paraded that letter in court. This does not become him either as a lawyer or as a man. Every lawyer gets such letters as this I have thrown thousands of them into my waste basket, which is the only proper place for them."

Puts Life in Jeopardy. "Put that foolishness aside; it does not become Mr. Rigby either as attorney or as a man to ask this question of this witness and to insist upon an answer. Mr. Rigby knows perfectly well what he is asking. He is asking this man who has boldly come forward and placed his own life in jeopardy to save a comrade to betray his comrades over in Russia to torture and to death. I know that Mr. Rigby does not enjoy his work. I know that his better nature revolts at the mere thought of it."

"This man says that he cannot give that other man's name because he is not a spy for the Russian government. I know Mr. Rigby well enough to know that he would say just the same thing if he were on that stand. This witness has refused to answer this question over and over again. It is perfectly futile to ask such questions."

Responsibility on Court. "What can this court do about it? There is only one course this court can take to compel him to answer and I do not believe this court is ready to take the responsibility for that act, because if this man goes to prison for refusing to answer the responsibility for sending him there falls upon the court. With the exception of his refusal to give away his comrades the answers of this man have been straight-forward and convincing and he has bravely taken his life into his own hands when he comes forward to answer the questions which he has answered. I do not think this court should threaten or would threaten him."

At this point there came a terrific clash between Hourakis and Rigby when Hourakis introduced the Juraw case into the proceedings in an attempt to stop the questioning concerning names.

The lawyers shook their fists in one another's faces as they had a moment before over the episode of the letter. The court finally restored order. Then came the momentous ruling on the question.

Rules He Must Answer. Commissioner Foote paused a moment and then said very slowly, as if he deeply realized the significance of what he was doing:

"I think you may instruct the witness that he must answer, as I have already ruled upon this question."

There was a dead silence in the court room. It was broken only by the drumming voices of the lawyers explaining to the interpreter that Juraw was daring the loss of the benefits to his comrades of all his testimony, which might be stricken out if he refused, and that he might go to prison if he refused.

The interpreter turned and the hissing, spitting Lettish was the only sound for a few moments. Gradually as the words became clear to him the witness' face took on a hard look. He straightened up in his chair. As the interpreter finished, he glanced once around the room; then he leaned forward; twice he struck the table with his fists. He was speaking of the prison threat; then he straightened again, turned toward the commissioner, bowed slightly, turned again to the interpreter and said very slowly and solemnly, "They may take me to the gallows, but I will not tell."

Again Refuses to Talk. "Is that final?" came from the Russian counsel.

"Yes, that is final," was the reply. "It is against my conscience to tell because that man is even now active in the Social-Democratic Labor party of Russia and it is one of the principles of that party that they do not betray their members. I will not tell his name."

He followed in rapid succession half a dozen attempts of the Russian counsel to extract other names from Juraw, and in each and every case

the answer was steadily the same, "I will not betray them." The same answer was given when the whereabouts of the men was asked. "They are in Russia, but I will not tell you where in Russia."

"Do you know where in Russia?" Finally the witness seemed to lose his patience. According to one of the Letts standing in the hall, who gave a full interpretation of his words as distinguished from the official interpretation, he leaned forward and said to the official interpreter for the Russian consulate:

"You tell that man that he is wasting his time; that I know many of the members who were at that meeting and that I know their whereabouts, but I will not tell him a single name or give him any satisfaction whatever."

This was officially interpreted: "He says he remembers many of them, but he will not tell their names."

Committee Votes Death. Early in the afternoon Juraw had testified that the Cosack and soldiers had burned down sixteen houses in the neighborhood of Benen and killed four people, among them the village teacher, Czelmis, and that information of a direct kind, coming from one of the dragoons, had established the fact that these burnings and killings were on information furnished by Wilhelmina Kinze and her parents. This fact was reported from the Jagran local to the Mitau provisional council and the following resolution was adopted by the Mitau body:

"Whereas, Wilhelmina Kinze and her father and mother, the Leschinsky, have betrayed a number of people to be shot and several houses to be burned, to-wit:

"Czelmis, the teacher at Benen, who was shot at the school house in the presence of the children and without any trial.

"The farm house outside the village which was burned, likewise without investigation, and several other houses and many people burned and killed through the testimony of Wilhelmina Kinze; therefore, be it

"Ordered, That Wilhelmina Kinze and her parents be shot to death and the houses in which they live burned."

Report Orders Executed. Juraw said that orders were given to the Jagran local to execute the resolutions as set forth. He said that at a later meeting of the Mitau provisional council of the Social-Democratic Labor party two members of the Jagran local reported in person to the council that the order had been executed and that the Kinze woman and her parents had been killed and their houses burned down.

The witness was not sure whether or no Christopher Leschinsky had been condemned by the Mitau council. He was positive about the resolutions, however.

McDEVITT TO OSBORNE. The Editor, "The Socialist," Seattle, Washington.

Dear Comrade: The statement by Comrade Osborne in your issue of Nov. 21, that I endeavored to keep him off the list of state speakers in California is entirely false. While I was in sympathy with the proposition to investigate the charges made by the National Secretary and others against Comrade Osborne's actions, I took no action whatever by way of attempting to keep him off the regular list; and I cannot escape the conviction either that he knows that I did not take such action, or that he is simply making a wild surmise that I must have opposed him when I had a chance because he had certainly opposed me when he had his chance. At any rate, he both MIS-TAKES and MIS-STATES the matter.

I am glad to have an opportunity to express my general satisfaction with "The Socialist" these days. It seems to me one of our most useful papers in some respects, and its sense of proportion, its sense of what news is big for Socialism is, now as always, unerring and illuminating.

Fraternally, W. McDEVITT.

Self-Conceited Comrades

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simply because the method compels you to vote for every last name on the list, would be named for the most important offices in the Socialist Party.

Considering that the Bell amendment allows every member of the Socialist Party, 40,000 of them, to nominate seven candidates apiece, making 280,000 possible nominations, for every one of whom you have got to vote your preference or have your ballot thrown out, the practical results of such a method in securing an efficient executive of seven, would seem hardly problematical. We might as well put our 40,000 names all in the pouch and draw out seven.

We would not have spent so much space on a proposition so absurdly and obviously cumbersome and impracticable, if the "Appeal to Reason" had not gone out of its usual way to endorse it. The "Appeal" has engaged so little in Party affairs that this, its first attempt, betrays the amateur.

Washington Constitution

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within fifteen days from adjournment of said Convention, to a Referendum vote of the entire Party membership, who shall vote "No" or "Yes" on each paragraph of said acts.

Sec. 17. This Constitution may be amended by majority vote of the State membership voting.

Sec. 18. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be authority where they do not conflict with the State Constitution.