

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

OFFICIAL BULLETIN

Issued Monthly by the National Committee at the National Headquarters, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Volume IV

CHICAGO, MARCH, 1908

Number 7

Correspondence of National Executive Committee During March

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., March 28, 1908. To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:—Two propositions are herewith submitted for your consideration and action.

Proposition of the Workers' Publishing Society (Chicago Daily Socialist): "That the secretary tender the National Office the top (fourth floor) of the building, 180 Washington street, for \$100 per month, possession at once if desired, without cost to May 1. Heat and janitor service to be provided free."

The floor space offered is about twice the size of the quarters now occupied. The location from a business section viewpoint is about as favorable as the present. The rent is the same. In any event, larger quarters must be secured. The question is, Shall the offer of the "Workers' Publishing Society" be accepted?

Data has been collected relating to primary laws in the several states and their effect on the political activity of the Socialist Party. One of the most obnoxious laws is found in the state of Louisiana, involving a filing fee of \$250 for a candidate for congress, and the entering of a completed ticket for party offices would entail an expense of several thousand dollars. As yet this law does not affect our party, since it is applicable only to parties polling ten per cent of the total vote.

The Iowa law is extremely exacting in the matter of primaries, conventions, certificates and unwieldy political machinery, but involves no direct monetary offering.

The law in Minnesota provides a filing fee of from \$5 to \$20 for each candidate at the primary election, and from \$5 to \$50 at the general election, and will involve an expense of probably \$2,000 to place a full state ticket in the field.

The South Dakota law is extremely obnoxious in that it requires about \$600 to put a state ticket in the field, and a completed ticket, including candidates for county offices, involves a cash bonus of about \$5,000.

In the past objectionable primary laws have been successfully fought by a number of our state organizations, notably in Illinois, Nebraska, North Dakota and Washington. A previous primary law was also defeated by the Minnesota organization.

None of the laws heretofore have involved any such heavy financial penalties as the ones now brought to your attention in Minnesota and South Dakota.

The alternative is presented of gathering a large fund to defeat the laws or pay a larger amount for the privilege of voting. If permitted to stand these laws will be taken as precedents by other state legislatures, and menace the franchise of the whole working class.

With the importance of the subject the question arises whether the National organization should not assist these states in the contest.

The question is therefore submitted: "Shall the National Secretary circularize the locals, asking a direct contribution to assist Minnesota and South Dakota; provided that any sum received in excess of the amount required shall be used, under the direction of the National Executive Committee, for contests relating to free speech and the right of public assemblage?"

It is understood that the states mentioned shall continue to raise all the funds they can, and that the entire expense is not to be borne by the National organization.

Regarding the proviso, legal opinions and decisions are on file in the National office upon the question of free speech and free assemblage, which would indicate that there is a possibility, by taking this question to the Supreme Court of the United States, of settling the matter once and for all.

Chicago, Ill., March 30, 1908.

To the National Executive Committee. Dear Comrades: Herewith is submitted a letter to Local Honolulu, Hawaii, with explanations and a question relating to representation in the National convention.

COPY OF LETTER.

Chicago, Ill., March 30, 1908. J. Rosenstein, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Dear Comrade: Received your letter of March 11th, in which you refer to my letter of Feb. 15th dealing with the question of representation in the National convention from unorganized States; informing me of the nomination of your local of a candidate for delegates—practically the election—and inquiring "whether the National Treasury will bear the expense for

steamship travel between Honolulu and San Francisco."

My letter of Feb. 15th, besides containing 40 special mileage assessment stamps and an explanation relating thereto, also contained the following paragraph in point upon the question of delegates:

"Your State being in the unorganized columns, and having less than two hundred members, will be entitled to one representative at large. In the near future a call for nominations for said delegate will reach you. Following the nominations, a State referendum will be conducted by this office for the election of the delegate. Only locals in good standing at the time of the submission of the referendum will be entitled to participate."

The National Committee motion upon the subject, adopted Dec. 10, 1907, follows:

"I move that the dues paid to the National office for the months of December, 1907, and January and February, 1908, be used to determine the membership entitled to be represented by delegates in the National convention of 1908."

The following is quoted from the report of the apportionment issued March 2, 1908:

"The following unorganized States are entitled to one delegate each: Delaware, Georgia, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina and Virginia, making 210 delegates from organized States, 8 from unorganized States, total 218."

Both of these documents I presume you have received, being on the mailing list.

RULES OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—RULE 13.

"If, when the ballots for any motion are sent out, any State shall be three months or more in arrears in its reports or dues, the committeemen from that State shall not be entitled to vote on such motion."

No remittance for dues from your locals was received between the dates of Nov. 12, 1907, and March 21, 1908. I do not quote Rule 13 because it is specifically applicable, but to show the general trend in the absence of specific law.

The National office has no means of knowing when a State or local is in good standing except to be guided by the remittances within stated periods. It is conceded that every member in a local or State may be paid to date or in advance yet be denied a vote or representation because of irregular remittances, and such may be the facts in your case.

However, in view of the foregoing, I had considered your local not entitled to a delegate, and therefore did not send you the regular circular letter mailed March 12th, to all locals in good standing in unorganized States, the purport of which is found in the first paragraph as follows:

"In accordance with previous notice that a delegate from your State, to the National convention, would be elected by a referendum conducted by this office, the call for said nominations is hereby issued."

The equity of the claim may turn upon the actual number of members in good standing. The wisdom of incurring the large expense to the National organization is a proposition aside, but worthy of your consideration.

However, since the issue is raised I refer the matter to the National Executive Committee for settlement. I enclose a copy of the letter of submission that you may be fully informed.

Fraternally yours, (Signed) J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

While this may be viewed as a question of the interpretation of law only, I deem it advisable to inform you upon all the facts.

Local Honolulu is the only local in Hawaii; it was organized with twelve members September, 1907; paid \$1.20 dues at the time, and \$4.00 Nov. 13, 1907, a total of 52 dues stamps; also purchased 20 stamps (\$2.00) March 21, 1908. We have no means of knowing how many members have been added since the date of organization, or among how many the stamps have been distributed. Fifty-two stamps would pay for ten members for the months of October, November, December, January and February. Five members in good standing are required to validate a charter and qualify a local. Honolulu is 2,418 miles from San Francisco.

The following question is submitted: Shall Honolulu be apportioned a delegate to the National convention? Fraternal submitted, J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

FINANCIAL REPORT

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL REPORT FOR MONTH OF MARCH, 1908.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1908.

RECEIPTS.

National Dues from State Committees—

Alabama	10.50
Arkansas	40.00
California	110.00
Colorado	40.00
Connecticut	15.00
Florida	9.00
Idaho	47.10
Illinois	115.50
Indiana	61.50
Iowa	100.00
Kansas	86.00
Kentucky	10.00
Louisiana	30.00
Maine	11.00
Maryland	12.50
Massachusetts	94.35
Michigan	46.30
Minnesota	35.40
Missouri	100.00
Montana	20.75
New Hampshire	16.00
New Jersey	50.00
New York	150.00
North Dakota	7.85
Ohio	103.00
Oklahoma	160.00
Oregon	81.50
Pennsylvania	159.50
Rhode Island	8.00
South Dakota	19.50
Tennessee	6.00
Texas	73.60
Utah	20.00
Washington	61.85
West Virginia	10.00
Wisconsin	118.10
Wyoming	26.70
Total	\$2,060.50

Unorganized States—	
Alaska	3.40
Delaware	10.00
Georgia	2.00
Hawaii	4.00
Nebraska	31.50
Nevada	19.30
New Mexico	12.45
North Carolina	18.10
Virginia	.80
Members at large	13.50
Total for dues	\$2,175.55

Supplies	243.08
Literature	70.15
Buttons	50.50
Campaign fund	16.50
Convention assessment	1,042.90
Subs., Daily Socialist	35.00
Miscellaneous	16.55
Total receipts	\$3,650.23

EXPENDITURES.

Exchange	3.55
General expense	3.00
Express and Freight	35.66
Postage	190.10
Telegrams and telephone	14.88
Wages—	
J. Mahlon Barnes	\$120.00
W. W. Rihl	72.00
F. H. Slick	72.00
H. E. Allen	72.00
C. J. Wright	72.00
A. L. Benedict	60.00
M. Flaherty	48.00
J. A. Garvin	48.00
M. H. Hudson	12.00
J. Oravainen	4.50
Total	\$680.50

Printing Bulletin	244.00
Printing literature and supplies	413.30
Literature	18.56
Office equipment	69.60
Speakers—	
G. Bertelli	\$30.00
S. J. Clark	113.00
J. Collins	5.00
M. Glumac	60.00
M. A. Smith	46.70
M. W. Wilkins	50.00
J. M. Work	100.00
Total	\$404.70

Daily sub. cards	60.86
Mimeo. supplies	62.30
Mailing cards	25.00
Lighting	9.24
Rent, March	100.00
Press clippings	8.00
Stationery	13.00
Mailing tubes	3.90
Party buttons	43.20
Plate matter	27.00
Total expenditures	\$2,330.35

SUMMARY.

Balance on hand March 1st	\$1,232.33
Receipts for month	3,650.23
Total	\$4,882.56
Expenditures for month	2,330.35
Total	\$2,552.21

Balance on hand April 1st, \$2,552.21. Fraternal submitted, J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

Report of Action by National Committee on Motions Nos. 13-14-15—Motions Nos. 16-17-18-19

Submitted

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., March 4, 1908. To the National Committee.

Comrades: Herewith is submitted the report of action on National Committee Referendum No. 6, Motion No. 13, by W. McDevitt of California:

MOTION NO. 13.

"In order that the American Socialist movement may fittingly commemorate the life, labor and death of Karl Marx, I move that March 14, 1908, be designated as a memorial day to our departed comrade, and that all locals of the Socialist Party be urged to hold memorial meetings upon that date, commemorating the growth of Marxian Socialism and the development of the Socialist movement since the death of the greatest economist known to the modern world."

VOTING YES.

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Gallentine
Arkansas	Le Fevre
California	Richardson
Colorado	McDevitt
Florida	Miller
Illinois	Buie
Indiana	Pettigrew
Iowa	Stedman
Kansas	Berlyn
Kentucky	Collins
Louisiana	Morse
Maine	Work
Massachusetts	Shank
Michigan	Willits
Minnesota	Dobbs
Missouri	Van Brook
Montana	Hunter
New Hampshire	Carey
New Jersey	Konikow
New York	King
North Dakota	Williams
Ohio	Peach
Oklahoma	Behrens
Oregon	Schenkel
Pennsylvania	Kearns
Rhode Island	Walker
South Dakota	Arland
Tennessee	Lee
Texas	Vander Porten
Utah	Lampman
Veront	Devine
West Virginia	Ross
Wisconsin	Hagel
Wyoming	Axelton
Total	48.

VOTING NO.

Montana	Mabie
Washington	Burgess
Wisconsin	Herman
Total	4.

NOT VOTING.

California	Cole
Connecticut	Applegate
Idaho	Rigg
Illinois	Simons
Kansas	McAllister
Maryland	Culp
Michigan	Wilten
New Hampshire	Drew
Ohio	Rodgers
Rhode Island	Carpenter
Wisconsin	Berger
Total	11.

Motion is therefore adopted. The vote of Comrade Berger was received too late to be counted.

COMMENT.

WISCONSIN (BERGER)—"No. We need no saints in the Socialist movement. When we feel the need of any we will adopt some of the saints from the Roman Catholic calendar. They have some to spare."

WISCONSIN (HEATH)—"Is this the time to have our minds on canonizing saints when there is a great national battle to be fought at the ballot box? Our immediate duty is to set ourselves to winning the confidence of the masses for Socialism and its immediate program. We must begin to realize the tremendous opportunities before us in this country for Socialistic campaigning. If we cling to sectarian and freakish tactics we will continue to be dwarfed where we ought to be gigantic, considering the almost amazing willingness of the people of this country to support a sane, constructive, Socialist program. And if we can organize the Socialism that is in the air we will truly honor the spirit of Karl Marx."

PROPOSED NATIONAL COMMITTEE MOTION RULED OUT OF ORDER.

Elizabeth, N. J., March 11, 1908. J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary. Dear Comrade: By instructions of the State Committee of New Jersey, held on March 8, 1908, I was instructed to submit the following motion: "I move that the National Secretary be and is hereby directed to apportion the payment of mileage of delegates to the National Convention from the several States and Territories on the basis

of payment into the National Treasury of the special assessment by the respective States and Territories and that delegates be considered in arrears and not entitled to a seat in the convention or to participate in the work of the convention as accredited delegates for whom per capita assessment has not been paid. Fraternaly,

"WILLIAM WALKER, Nat'l Committeeman, New Jersey. COMMENT.

"We are directed by our State Committee to offer this motion, and we are in hearty accord with our instructions, for the reason that New Jersey has nothing to lose or fear by the passage of such motion.

"While New Jersey feels that she is honestly entitled to seven delegates, she bows to the decision of the National office and will send six, or that number for which she collects per capita assessment, providing the above motion is carried. If New Jersey finds, for financial reasons, she can collect the special assessment from but six hundred members, she would not feel justified in exacting any sum from the National treasury in excess of such payment, and if in the final test the collection of the per capita assessment she can show a membership of but six hundred, she would feel in honor bound to limit her delegation to that number or pay the excess out of her own treasury. Fraternaly,

"WILLIAM WALKER, H. R. KEARNS, Nat'l Committee, New Jersey."

The Constitution, Section 4, Art. X, upon the subject of representation in the National convention, reads as follows:

"Each State and Territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing."

It is therefore held that the purpose sought by the above motion involves a constitutional change. The motion should properly appear in the form of an amendment to the Constitution, and follow the regular course in such cases.

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., March 11, 1908. To the National Committee.

Comrades: Herewith is submitted report of National Committee Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 14, by J. Van Brook, National Committee member of Louisiana:

MOTION NO. 14.

"I move you that the Socialist Party stand firmly against any compromise of principles or fusion or alliance with any other party at present or in the future, and ignore the fact that members of other parties are or may be called Socialists; but that the Socialist Party gladly invite all those who believe in its principles to become affiliated members."

VOTING YES.

Alabama	Baldwin
Arizona	Gallentine
California	Richardson
Colorado	Buie
Idaho	Rigg
Illinois	Stedman
Indiana	Berlyn
Iowa	Simons
Kansas	Collins
Kentucky	Morse
Louisiana	Shank
Maine	Work
Massachusetts	Willits
Michigan	Van Brook
Minnesota	Culp
Missouri	Behrens
Montana	Mabie
New Hampshire	Drew
New Jersey	Walker
New York	Arland
Ohio	Devine
Oklahoma	Loudermilk
Oregon	Hagel
Pennsylvania	Axelton
Rhode Island	Maurer
South Dakota	Schwartz
Tennessee	Moore
Texas	Carpenter
Utah	Knowles
Veront	Voss
West Virginia	Clark
Wisconsin	Syphers
Wyoming	Dunbar
Total	36.

VOTING NO.

Arkansas	Le Fevre
California	Miller
Colorado	Konikow
Connecticut	King
Florida	Stirton
Total	6.

NOT VOTING.

California	McDevitt
Connecticut	Cole
Florida	Applegate
Total	3.

- Kansas McAllister
Kentucky Dobbs
Maine Hunter
Massachusetts Carey
Minnesota Williams
Missouri Peach
New Jersey Kearns
New York Vander Porten
North Dakota Lampman
Ohio Rodgers
Oklahoma Ross
Oregon Barzee
Texas Payne
Washington Herman
Wisconsin Berger
Wisconsin Heath
Wisconsin Thompson
Total, 22.
Motion is therefore adopted.

COMMENT.

CALIFORNIA (M'DEVIIT)—"This motion is a lovely illustration of the divisible or telescopic or air-tight-compartment motion. It contains at least four distinct propositions. An 'aye' vote for the motion means an assent to each and every one of the propositions, while 'no' means dissent to all of them. Comrade Lee's last motion was a fearful example of a motion that was not single, simple, straight, unequivocal; it allowed no distinguishing between a committee's actions and a committee's attitude. It gave no chance to approve of the committee's views, while disapproving of their method of expressing their views."

"Hereafter, I propose to divide motions such as these 'squinny' or telescopic motions into their 'least common factor' and vote on each separately. For instance, here is my vote on the various divisible portions of Motion No. 14: 'I move you that the Socialist Party stand firmly against any compromise of principles.'—Yes."

"Or fusion."—Yes. "Or alliance with any other party at present." If this means the S. L. P.—No. If it means 'any other party at present'—Yes. (If alliance with the S. L. P. is the nearest thing to unity that we can get I might, in some circumstances, favor it.)

"Or in the future."—"God knows." I suspect there's going to be a lot of 'future,' and some of it will happen after I'm dead. "Ignore the fact that members of other parties are or may be called Socialists."—I believe in unity with the Socialist Party, if only on the basis of the fact that we are all workers. Certainly the S. L. P. is a Socialist party—that's about all I can say for it. No member of any political party can be a 'Socialist,' if his party is not a Socialist party.

KENTUCKY (DOBBS)—"I believe the motion is out of order in the first place, since it is not offered as a substitute of, or amendatory to, the Lee motion upon which it is obviously based. In the second place, the party has already declared explicitly its position regarding fusion or alliance with other parties and the present motion is therefore purely supererogative. As a general proposition it is highly desirable that there should not be two Socialist parties in this country and the Lee motion, in my judgment, opens the way for the elimination from the field of the S. L. P. It is true that the S. L. P., in the slow process of events, would probably disappear, but it is a familiar fact that the party which can make the terms. Certainly the S. L. P. is a Socialist party—that's about all I can say for it. No member of any political party can be a 'Socialist,' if his party is not a Socialist party."

WASHINGTON (BURGESS)—"In reference to Motion No. 14 I want to say, that I have voted in the affirmative on this motion, but it looks childish to me to keep offering such motions. Our position must be known. If it is ignored or violated, I shall do all in my power to bring about the amalgamation of the Socialist Party and the S. L. P."

WASHINGTON (HERMAN)—"I refuse to vote on Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 14. The motion is ambiguous and yet it is plain that it is aimed at the S. L. P. I do not believe in compromise or fusion with the enemies of the working class, but I do believe in a unity of forces. I shall do all in my power to bring about the amalgamation of the Socialist Party and the S. L. P."

WYOMING (HASTINGS)—"I see no necessity for such a motion being presented if the Socialist Party is willing to abide by its own laws. If it is not, the motion will suffer along with the constitution. I vote 'Yes,' because I believe in 'No Compromise' and wish to emphasize my protest at every opportunity. Whether it impresses any one or not, I do not stand for 'No Compromise' for public approbation. I am devoted to the principle because it is absolutely correct and a party tenet. I am not only loyal to the party, I am law abiding as well; and I have had unlimited confidence in the party being what it proclaimed itself to be until recently. The Socialist Party is no dream; it is an absolute reality, and must prove itself beyond all temptation and its success is assured; otherwise it will be a dismal failure."

very of the past towards the other comrades, whose mistakes have caused so much trouble in the Socialist movement of America. We, the successful ones, can afford to be magnanimous. Let us enter into the psychology of the members of the S. L. P. It would be too humiliating to request them to join our party as single members. There are a good many of them who, by years of hard, sincere work for Socialism, have deserved our respect. For their sake and with their help, we will have to overcome the difficulties of a union with some of their influential members against whom it is impossible for many of us to overcome freely of distrust. When a party of Socialists are ready to join us, then our party, that has always stood by the cause of tolerance of true comradeship, cannot refuse, but must extend a glad hand of welcome."

MICHIGAN (KING)—"In voting 'No' on Motion No. 14 I do so, not because I desire or believe in compromise, but because we are present do not know and cannot possibly prophesy as to what the future will bring forth. 'I can see that, perhaps, the Louisiana comrade may have become somewhat embittered by the tactics of Hall, Smith and the I. W. W. crowd, but to my mind one Socialist ticket in the field will be well worth the effort and the discomfort of having to be obliged to say 'comrade' to some who have bitterly fought us in the past."

MICHIGAN (STIRTON)—"I should vote 'No' on this motion, if for no other reason than that its hazy and indirect language is evidently calculated to avoid a plain statement of the issue. It makes too much of the old party political methods. 'I vote 'No' for a second reason, that I am heartily in favor of organic union with the S. L. P., and believe it can be effected, not only without compromising our principles, but also, and it is a great means of clarifying them and strengthening them."

OHIO (RODGERS)—"There are in my opinion, too many foolish motions placed before the National Committee, and the only way to show disapproval is to not vote upon them. You will, therefore, please record me as 'not voting' upon Referendum No. 6, Motion No. 13, and Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 14."

OREGON (BARZEE)—"On Motion No. 14 I find no good purpose in registering my vote, as this seems to me one of those ambiguous motions that lend credence to reform possibilities, which our National party pledge positively forestalls. 'I like Webster in his oration on the perpetuity of the Union, do not wish to hang over the precipice of disunion, but I do not even in that direction. But rather to steer our craft out in the deep water where navigation is not liable to capitalist shoals and reefs, abide our time for the complete overthrow of the profit system, and begin our building on what the Socialist society with have constructed and have in operation at that time. It belittles our dignity as a party to be considering such motions."

ALABAMA (BALDWIN)—"I believe that the formulation of the position of the party on this question should now be left to the National Convention, which will meet within two months after the adoption or defeat of this motion. That much delay will do no harm and the convention can speak with much more authority than our committee. 'I might call attention to the fact that this seems to me to be clearly a 'motion declaratory of the policy of the party' within the meaning of Rule 7, of the National Committee, and therefore, not properly submitted to vote unless seconded by one-sixth of the members. However, I do not care to insist on this point."

OKLAHOMA (HAGEL)—"On Referendum No. 8, Motion No. 15, I refrain from voting. I do not think that the National Committee should decide this question at the present time. The National Convention, two months hence, will undoubtedly take up the question and settle the same."

PENNSYLVANIA (MAURER)—"I wish to be recorded as opposed to Motion No. 15, made by Ira Culp. 'Emigration and Immigration: The Socialist Party is from its nature and very inception an international party. It makes its appeal to the workers of all lands, of every color, race and creed. It calls upon the proletarians of the world to unite, for one common aim, that is the abolition of the capitalist system of production, that strips the worker of every vestige of property and compels him to wander over the globe in search of a means of livelihood, and thus brings about the world's most stupendous migration of people known in history. Every attempt on the part of the workers of one nation to check this international movement must prove futile and abortive the same as the early attempt of the working class to prevent the coming of capitalism by wrecking the machinery of production. 'So long as the bulk of the working class votes into power the very class who own and control the means of production, who alone are benefited by the substitution of cheaper workers, and who seize upon every opportunity to foster petty race and national differences and thus embroil the nations in war, it is the duty of the Socialist Party to exert all its powers through propaganda and every means of enlightenment to wipe out these barriers that can serve no one but the class who exploit the workers of all lands. 'If during the coming campaign the question of emigration and immigration, which has been an age-long question, and to which has been due the growth of this nation, should become a question of such importance as to engross the attention of the Socialist Party, then it will become our duty to place the responsibility for the immigration of the so-called inferior races from the Orient upon those who are responsible for it—the capitalist class. 'To endorse such a motion as National Committeeman Ira Culp proposes would placard the Socialists of America, and hold our movement up to the ridicule of our comrades of all other lands. 'It was not a question of mere sentiment that prompted Marx and Engels in their great historical document, the Communist Manifesto, to call upon the workers of all lands to 'unite.' On the contrary, they based their deductions upon the searching and scientific analysis of capitalist society, and thereby demonstrated the inevitable introduction of the capitalist mode of production in every habitable part of the globe, which in its turn divorces the worker from the means of production and like a wandering Ahasuerus, forces him to migrate in search of employment. 'Socialists ought to, by virtue of their superior insight into the causes underlying emigration and immigration, oppose every attempt on the part of capitalist politicians and their dupes, the less educated sections of the working class, to engender and magnify the geographical differences that separate the workers, and help to lead them into hostile opposition. Such tactics on the part of Socialists would stand in the way of solidifying the workers and would promote the struggle within the working class on national lines."

from Oriental countries, or others backward in economic development, where the workers of such countries have shown themselves, as a body, to be unapproachable with the philosophy of Socialism."

VOTING YES.

- Arizona Gallentine
California McDevitt
California Richardson
Colorado Buie
Florida Pettigrew
Idaho Rigg
Indiana Morse
Iowa Shank
Louisiana Van Brook
Maine Hunter
Maryland Culp
Minnesota Peach
Missouri Behrens
Missouri Schenkel
New Hampshire Drew
New York Arland
Ohio Rodgers
Oklahoma Ross
Oregon Axelson
Pennsylvania Schwartz
Texas Payne
Utah Syphers
Washington Burgess
West Virginia Gillespie
Wisconsin Berger
Wyoming Hastings
Total, 26.

VOTING NO.

- Arkansas Le Fevre
Connecticut Applegate
Illinois Beryn
Massachusetts Konikow
Minnesota Williams
New Jersey Walker
New York Lee
Ohio Devine
Pennsylvania Maurer
Rhode Island Carpenter
Washington Herman
Total, 11.

NOT VOTING.

- Alabama Baldwin
California Cole
Colorado Miller
Illinois Collins
Illinois Simons
Illinois Stedman
Iowa Work
Kansas McAllister
Kansas Willits
Kentucky Dobbs
Massachusetts Carey
Michigan King
Michigan Stirton
Montana Mabie
New Jersey Kearns
New York Vander Porten
North Dakota Lampman
Oklahoma Hagel
Oklahoma Loudermilk
Oregon Barzee
Pennsylvania Moore
South Dakota Knowles
Tennessee Voss
Texas Clark
Vermont Dunbar
Wisconsin Heath
Wisconsin Thompson
Total, 27.
Motion is therefore adopted.

COMMENT.

NEW YORK (LEE)—"I believe that the formulation of the position of the party on this question should now be left to the National Convention, which will meet within two months after the adoption or defeat of this motion. That much delay will do no harm and the convention can speak with much more authority than our committee. 'I might call attention to the fact that this seems to me to be clearly a 'motion declaratory of the policy of the party' within the meaning of Rule 7, of the National Committee, and therefore, not properly submitted to vote unless seconded by one-sixth of the members. However, I do not care to insist on this point."

OKLAHOMA (HAGEL)—"On Referendum No. 8, Motion No. 15, I refrain from voting. I do not think that the National Committee should decide this question at the present time. The National Convention, two months hence, will undoubtedly take up the question and settle the same."

PENNSYLVANIA (MAURER)—"I wish to be recorded as opposed to Motion No. 15, made by Ira Culp. 'Emigration and Immigration: The Socialist Party is from its nature and very inception an international party. It makes its appeal to the workers of all lands, of every color, race and creed. It calls upon the proletarians of the world to unite, for one common aim, that is the abolition of the capitalist system of production, that strips the worker of every vestige of property and compels him to wander over the globe in search of a means of livelihood, and thus brings about the world's most stupendous migration of people known in history. Every attempt on the part of the workers of one nation to check this international movement must prove futile and abortive the same as the early attempt of the working class to prevent the coming of capitalism by wrecking the machinery of production. 'So long as the bulk of the working class votes into power the very class who own and control the means of production, who alone are benefited by the substitution of cheaper workers, and who seize upon every opportunity to foster petty race and national differences and thus embroil the nations in war, it is the duty of the Socialist Party to exert all its powers through propaganda and every means of enlightenment to wipe out these barriers that can serve no one but the class who exploit the workers of all lands. 'If during the coming campaign the question of emigration and immigration, which has been an age-long question, and to which has been due the growth of this nation, should become a question of such importance as to engross the attention of the Socialist Party, then it will become our duty to place the responsibility for the immigration of the so-called inferior races from the Orient upon those who are responsible for it—the capitalist class. 'To endorse such a motion as National Committeeman Ira Culp proposes would placard the Socialists of America, and hold our movement up to the ridicule of our comrades of all other lands. 'It was not a question of mere sentiment that prompted Marx and Engels in their great historical document, the Communist Manifesto, to call upon the workers of all lands to 'unite.' On the contrary, they based their deductions upon the searching and scientific analysis of capitalist society, and thereby demonstrated the inevitable introduction of the capitalist mode of production in every habitable part of the globe, which in its turn divorces the worker from the means of production and like a wandering Ahasuerus, forces him to migrate in search of employment. 'Socialists ought to, by virtue of their superior insight into the causes underlying emigration and immigration, oppose every attempt on the part of capitalist politicians and their dupes, the less educated sections of the working class, to engender and magnify the geographical differences that separate the workers, and help to lead them into hostile opposition. Such tactics on the part of Socialists would stand in the way of solidifying the workers and would promote the struggle within the working class on national lines."

"While we recognize the truth of the position taken by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, that the struggle of the workers assumes at first a national scope in form only, but not in substance, we place ourselves upon record as being opposed to any action which would be contrary to the basic and ultimate principles of international Socialism. 'Workers of all lands unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and you have a world to gain.'"

Chicago, Ill., March 17, 1908.

To the National Committee.

Comrades: Herewith is submitted National Committee Referendum No. 9, Motion No. 16, by J. F. Mabie, National Committee member of Montana:

MOTION NO. 16.

"I move that the National Secretary be instructed to have prepared a leaflet showing injunctions and court decisions against organized labor during the past two years."

COMMENT.

"The recent outrageous decisions of the courts have set members of organized labor to thinking as nothing has ever done before, and it seems to me that the time is ripe for systematic agitation on this line."

Vote will close April 7th, 1908.

Chicago, Ill., March 21, 1908.

To the National Committee.

Comrades:—In accordance with the Constitution, Art. 5, and National Committee Motion No. 36, 1907, you are called upon to elect a sub-committee of three to arrange the rules and order of business for the National Convention, to be held in the city of Chicago, May 10, 1908. The following are the candidates. Place an X before the names of your choice. Vote will close April 7, 1908.

VOTE FOR THREE.

- Wm. W. Arland, Corning, N. Y.
Stanley J. Clark, Grand Saline, Tex.
John Collins, Chicago, Ill.
Ira Culp, Vale Summit, Md.
Charles Dobbs, Louisville, Ky.
Vernon F. King, Holland, Mich.
F. L. Rodgers, Dayton, Ohio.
Fred L. Schwartz, Allegheny, Pa.
Seymour Stedman, Chicago, Ill.
Carl D. Thompson, Milwaukee, Wis.
John M. Work, Des Moines, Ia.
Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1908.

To the National Committee.

Comrades: Herewith is submitted National Committee Referendum No. 10, Motions Nos. 17, 18 and 19:

MOTION NO. 17, BY VERNON F. KING OF MICHIGAN.

"That it is the sense of the National Committee that the National Secretary be instructed to report to the National convention the platform adopted at the convention of 1904 for re-adoption."

COMMENT.

"To my mind the present platform, while not ideal, can be re-adopted without any friction or loss of support either from us impossibilists or from the so-called practicalists. We can remember the fight that preceded the adoption of the present platform. How many of the comrades dropped out of the fight and a large number withdrew from the movement. The Work platform, to my mind, is a pretty poor document. The Hillquit majority report much better, but neither up to the standard of our present platform, and neither can be adopted without a fight just at the wrong time, when we should bend every energy to the campaign. Put our shoulder to the wheel and all push together. Frankly I don't believe this motion will carry. There are not over 12 men on this committee that would go two paces out of the way for the sake of any kind of unity of action. The greater share of the members on the National Committee have a chip on their shoulder and are looking to see who can knock it off. The National office should have this platform off its hands before the end of next month, and it will save much time in the National convention."

MOTION NO. 18, BY STANLEY J. CLARK OF TEXAS.

"I move that in addition to the thirty-five cents (per capita) assessment already levied that each State Secretary be instructed to call for a public collection to be taken by each local in their respective States, the same to be used to pay the mileage expenses of the delegates to the National convention."

Judge Wood says: "Orchard's death would serve no purpose except to satisfy those against whom he testified." This should be compared with the statement made by Attorney Darrow for the defense at the time of the trial, "That if no other voice was raised to save Orchard's life his would be heard if needed."

CERTAINLY THERE WAS NO PROMISE OF IMMUNITY. THIS ASSURANCE IS AGAIN GIVEN BY ME- PARTLAND, THE JUDGE, AND GOVERNOR GOODING. TAFT AND ROOSEVELT ARE YET TO BE HEARD FROM ON THIS POINT.

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COMMENT. "I make this motion because it has been called to our minds by the National Secretary that the assessment of thirty-five cents per member would not be sufficient to meet the expenses of the delegates, unless we do something to relieve the condition we will be compelled to suffer embarrassment for lack of funds."

MOTION NO. 19, BY C. S. VANDER PORTEN OF NEW YORK.

"I move that the National Secretary is hereby instructed to have printed the entire history of the Nebraska controversy and supply each member of the National convention with a copy of the same."

COMMENT.

"This motion hardly requires comment, it speaks for itself. That some of the time of the convention will be taken up with this matter, there can be no doubt, and a printed history of the case in the hands of the delegates will aid them in their deliberations." Vote will close April 21, 1908.

Fraternally submitted,

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

UTAH TO THE FORE.

National Organizer, John M. Work, has just finished nine weeks' work in Utah and reports as follows:

"We have organized thirty-one locals with three hundred and forty-nine members; added twenty-six members to existing locals; secured twelve members at large; made thirty-seven propaganda speeches; sold one hundred and seventy-one subscription cards; sold five hundred and sixteen books, and secured numerous names of Socialists in places not visited."

"Quite a number of the places organized once had locals before, but they were entirely dead. Such places are often harder to organize than virgin soil. 'A large proportion of the work done by any organizer will necessarily go to pieces unless it is properly followed up by the State organization. The State Secretary and State Committee of Utah realize that fact. They propose to follow up my work energetically. In fact, they are doing so right now. I therefore believe my work will have permanent value."

"State Secretary Joseph MacLachlan—'Little Mac,' as he is affectionately known among the Utah comrades—co-operated with me with untiring activity and efficiency. The State Committee and a lot of other Socialist heroes and heroines lent me their cordial assistance. The Socialist papers kindly gave us the use of their subscription lists. 'Utah is a fruitful field. Of the twenty-seven counties in the State, there are half a dozen which we are able to carry next fall. I predict a steady growth for the State movement."

CAPITALISM TAKES CARE OF ITS OWN. The conspiracy to murder the officials of the Western Federation of Miners and others connected with the kidnaping of Comrades Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has been exposed.

Harry Orchard, the self-confessed swindler of farmers, sheep thief, kidnaper of children, guilty of arson and murderer of nineteen men, and who attempted, but failed, to murder hundreds of others, has been sentenced to death. Judge Wood, who also presided at all the previous trials, in passing sentence, credits all of Orchard's testimony and recommends the commutation of his sentence to imprisonment, which under the Idaho law, does not mean life imprisonment, and observes that Orchard's testimony may be needed later in Colorado.

CERTAINLY THERE WAS NO PROMISE OF IMMUNITY. THIS ASSURANCE IS AGAIN GIVEN BY ME- PARTLAND, THE JUDGE, AND GOVERNOR GOODING. TAFT AND ROOSEVELT ARE YET TO BE HEARD FROM ON THIS POINT. Judge Wood says: "Orchard's death would serve no purpose except to satisfy those against whom he testified." This should be compared with the statement made by Attorney Darrow for the defense at the time of the trial, "That if no other voice was raised to save Orchard's life his would be heard if needed."

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APPORTIONMENT FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., March 2, 1908.

To the National Committee and State Secretaries. Comrades:—The following report of the representation to which each state or territory is entitled in the National Convention, to be held in the city of Chicago, beginning Sunday, 10 a. m., May 10, is submitted, in accordance with provisions of the National Constitution and National Committee Motion No. 22:

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE 10, 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."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MOTION NO. 22, 1907.

"I move that the dues paid to the National Office for the months of December, 1907, and January and February, 1908, be used to determine the membership entitled to be represented by delegates in the National Convention of 1908."

Table with columns: States, Dues Paid, Average No. of Mem., Delegates. Lists states from Alabama to Wyoming with corresponding values.

The following unorganized states are entitled to one delegate each: Delaware, Georgia, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina and Virginia, making 210 delegates from organized states, 8 from unorganized states; total, 218.

During the three months above noted Oklahoma paid \$55.00 in excess of the amount noted. Comrade Branstetter, state secretary, requested that this should not be calculated in the apportionment, as it represented dues for November. A remittance within the specified time of \$30.00 was received from Comrade Reynolds, state secretary of Indiana, and \$50.00 from Comrade Pauls, state secretary of Missouri, with the request that stamps for the said amounts be forwarded at once, but that the remittance should be credited in the March receipts, and not reckoned in the apportionment.

Information is at hand to the effect that some states have been figuring upon a delegate for a fraction or a major fraction of 200 members. The constitution on this point is specific. Besides the delegate-at-large there is only ONE DELEGATE FOR EVERY TWO HUNDRED MEMBERS. A delegate must be a resident of the state he represents.

The number of accredited delegates shown by this apportionment exceeds by 43 the number figured upon in the estimate made October 31, 1907, and upon which the amount of the special assessment (35 cents) was based. In view of this and the further fact that a number of party members are now unemployed, and therefore unable to pay the assessment, unless every member whose financial circumstances will allow of its payment responds to the income for the payment of the railroad fare of delegates will fall far short of the sum necessary.

Respectfully submitted, J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

Whereas, Senate bill 1518, introduced by Senator Penrose, to give the postmaster general the autocratic power of censorship of the press, we consider a flagrant violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens, placing in the hands of the administration through the postoffice department the power to silence and harass any or all periodicals unfavorable to their rule, believing this bill is gotten up for the express purpose of using on the Socialist press; be it therefore

Resolved, That the National Secretary of the Socialist Party should do all in his power to bring this matter to the attention of party members in order that they may offer their protest by writing to the congressmen of their districts in regard to same.

Respectfully, J. C. BURROUGHS, Secretary. WILLIAM GATH, JOE COOPER, Committee.

PROPOSED NATIONAL PARTY REFERENCE.

Paterson, N. J., March 1, 1908. Whereas, the National Committee of the Socialist Party has seen fit to reject the offer of the Socialist Labor Party to elect a committee to meet a like committee of the S. L. P., and

Whereas, we think it to be for the best interest of the Socialist forces in particular and the working class in general to work, vote and fight UNITEDLY against the only foe of the working class, the capitalist class; therefore be it

Resolved, By Local Passaic County, Socialist Party, State of New Jersey, in general meeting assembled, that we demand that the National Committee of the Socialist Party shall elect a committee of seven members of the party to confer with a like committee of the Socialist Labor Party for the purpose of formulating a plan by which the two organizations may be united, and in case a plan be agreed upon, the same shall be presented to the membership of the Party for its final acceptance or rejection.

FRANK HUBSCHMITT, Secretary Pro Tem. RUDOLPH J. ULLMAN, Chairman.

NATIONAL CONVENTION GUEST OF LOCAL COOK CO., ILL.

The Socialist Party, Cook County, Illinois, 163 Randolph St., Chicago, March 16, 1908.

J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St.

Dear Comrade: Your communication of March 2d, inviting Local Cook County of the Socialist Party to take charge of the arrangements for the coming National convention, was received, and the Executive Committee formally accepted the tender. The Central Committee, which met March 15th, ratified the acceptance, and I am instructed to convey to the National organization the appreciation for the honor so conferred.

Local Cook County will leave nothing undone to make the proper arrangements for the event. The hall has been secured. It is the same hall in which the convention of 1904 was held, namely, Brand's hall. A committee of eleven (11) was elected to take complete charge of the arrangements, so that the delegates and comrades throughout the United States can rest assured that their stay in Chicago will be made as pleasant as possible and everything will be done, in the power of Local Cook County, to make the convention a grand success.

Yours for Socialism, (Signed) G. T. FRAENKEL, County Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF LOCAL BILLINGS, MONT.

We of the Socialist local have resolved to send the following resolution to our senators:

That we of the Socialist Party of Billings Local do hereby condemn the proposed amendment (Senate Bill No. 1518) to Section 3893 of the Revised Statutes, known as the Penrose bill.

And furthermore, demand as law-abiding citizens that you, T. H. Carter and J. M. Dixon, our senators, do work and vote against the said bill (1518).

GEO. G. M'DOWELL, L. M. WITHROW, Committee.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL SPOKANE.

Whereas, Local Spokane, after strong opposition, had decided to co-operate with a certain said provisional state secretary, to assist him in ousting our present State Committee; and

Whereas, A petition was circulated for signers to present to our National Secretary, calling for a referendum of the state of Washington to elect a new State Committee; and

Whereas, Said petition was circulated freely without regard to the National constitution or the amendment thereto, under which they were working, and was sent to said provisional state secretary, without being verified to by the local; and

Whereas, The Official Bulletin, published by said provisional State Committee, has been proven beyond all doubt to stray far from the truth, and has been distributed as a party bulletin illegally in the local, and when objection had been taken to this arbitrary method has been mailed to members, without even asking permission of the local; and

Whereas, The charges placed against our present State Committee date back two years before its birth; and

Whereas, Our present provisional State Committee have proven themselves treacherous and disastrous to the Socialist movement by placing candidates in the field in opposition to the Socialist ticket, we, Local Spokane, believe their object is and can only be to further divide the working class; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Spokane protest the counting of all names on above mentioned petition until they are turned over to the local and verified to and all illegal names erased.

And that we cease to further co-operate with our present provisional state secretary and committee; and be it further

Resolved, That we send a copy of this resolution to our National secretary, state secretary and provisional state secretary.

W. P. LUDWIG, Chairman of Session. E. STEPHENS, Corresponding Secretary. C. SUPHENS, Cor. Secy., W. 1801 Boone Avenue, Spokane, Wash.

COMMENT ON COMRADE WORK'S DRAFT OF PLATFORM, BY COMRADE HERMAN, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN OF WASHINGTON.

"I thought Shiden was pointed enough in his criticism of Work's draft. Just by stating facts and pointing out errors should be dubbed 'mud and vituperation' is beyond my comprehension, but then I am only a wage slave and may have drifted outside my sphere when I undertook to criticize a lawyer. However, I can't do a thing but state what I will venture to state as one more criticism. Mr. Work says it is unscientific to hate anybody. By this I take him to mean that we should love our masters. Except for the Socialist enough to hate every one of the master class and every one of their mouthpieces and lackeys. To love them would be unscientific, to my mind. I believe in the law of adaptation and therefore maintain that those will survive who can best adapt themselves to the conditions surrounding them. In order to become a capitalist one must lay aside every speck of conscience, all human feeling, every noble impulse, every high ideal and be ready and willing to lie, cheat, rob and murder. I hate a murderer, I hate a robber and I hate a capitalist. I hate the capitalist class and teach class hatred. The public today is the capitalist class, and if they should publicly own the industries I and my class would support them."

Socialism means collective ownership, not public ownership. It means the collective ownership of all those things which can be used in the exploitation of labor and that includes the land. To teach that the farmer should be allowed to retain his land is simply 'Tommyrot' and is used for no other purpose than a bait with which to catch his vote. The farm laborers and the industrial proletariat far outnumber the farmers, and all the rest of the capitalist class combined, and the Socialist Party does and will make its appeal primarily to the working class.

"Wouldn't convict labor on public works only throw non-convict labor out of work? What's the matter with not allowing the convict to work at all, but instead of using them to reduce the taxes of the capitalist class by doing public work, increase the taxes of the capitalist class and thereby compel them to maintain in lifeless the victims of the system through which they rob the working class?"

LETTER OF STATE SECRETARY COMRADE KRUEGER OF WASHINGTON.

"Tacoma, Wash., Feb. 28, 1908. Dear Comrade: There is a general awakening all along the coast in this state. While on one hand probably a dozen middle-class locals have affiliated with some of the expelled members of former local Seattle in an effort to organize a party less revolutionary than the Socialist Party of Washington, on the other hand, one which by fusion, compromise or any other means might elect some petty official, they have by their action in leaving the Socialist Party placed that party upon a pedestal which commands the respect of the working class. The membership during January and February clearly demonstrated their contentment. In this short space of time six charters were granted to locals, three locals were reinstated and five applications for charter are now on file. During the past thirty-eight months at large were admitted with the applications on file. The members admitted by the various locals give us a total approximate increase of something over 500 members in two months."

A so-called provisional committee, every member of the party and every member of the party and every member of the party, they were expelled from the party by a referendum vote of the state membership; the locals which have seen fit to affiliate with them did take part in the referendum. They also had declared their intention to abide by the result of the referendum. However, instead they have advanced for organizers and anyone applying is acceptable to them. These bogus organizers were fitted out with supplies, such as membership books, application cards, applications for charter and bogus stamps and on the strength of this material in their possession, and with the help of some letters from the National Secretary, which they flourish before an unsuspecting audience, they represent themselves as organizers of the Socialist Party of Washington.

In this way they have succeeded in deceiving the workers and well-meaning comrades, who were willing and qualified to become members of the party, and thus it was comparatively easy to organize a few locals. However, two of these are now an integral part of the Socialist Party of Washington, the Local Baker, demanded that their application for charter together with five dollars, which they had sent to one Ira Wolfe, who is acting as the secretary for this committee, be returned to them and demand was made over two weeks ago, and to the best of my knowledge so far the request has not been heeded.

Agents are also sent out by this bogus committee to solicit signatures to a petition to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in respect of party affiliation on the part of signers. "So far the Socialist Party of Washington has not taken any action in this matter, other than to warn the comrades in the state and request them to be alert to the fact that certain individuals are claiming to be organizers for the Socialist Party. It is with this same end in view that I request that the above facts be given space in the Party Bulletin."

LETTER OF COMRADE BERLYN, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN OF ILLINOIS.

"Chicago, Ill., March 5, 1908. Comrade Hillquit and Comrade Work have recently been elected to the Socialist Party in presenting some proposition which they call declarations of principles and platform to be submitted to the coming National Convention. I agree with Comrade Hillquit that the criticism heretofore launched against Comrade Work's draft which I may have been to a degree justified, is altogether too harsh in spirit, and I will attempt in a modest way to indulge in a gentle criticism of Comrade Hillquit's formulation. The declaration of principles should be concise, pertinent and to the point. Short, clear statements, defining where we stand, and the reason why. For an example, a Socialist Platform should affirm that labor is the creator of all values, further recognize the evolution of things, state that production has been the social in its character, and that, as a matter of principle from the point of view of class interest, that labor creating all values, that those who labor should enjoy and control the value thus created.

Comrade Hillquit's criticism of Comrade Work's platform is that the entire draft is to the full value of their labor is rather of a hairsplitting character. Individual production has long since ceased in civilized communities. Social production has taken its place, and it is the Socialist's purpose to secure to those who labor the social value which they create. This does not mean to give to each man each day the alleged social value he creates, but this social value is given in the rearing of the young, the education and development of the best that is in a person, and security in old age for all, and this must be done by the industrial state when established through the triumph of the worker. The industrial state will succeed the political state, which at present represents the capitalist class, and which is based on the right of property. Now, in a declaration of principles Comrade Hillquit's analysis of the present industrial crisis would not find a place. In fact his analysis is not agreed to by all Socialists.

"That at different times may have been caused by over-production, but the Socialists would make a sad mistake if they were to affirm in a so-called platform that the present panic is the result of over-production. It would give much space here to argue this question at length, but we Socialists who are evolutionists must recognize that each and every panic that has occurred has not the same basis, and when the present crisis arose, and the industrial depression epidemic, and security in old age for all, presented itself. The organization of the trusts has nullified the statement made by the Socialists of the planlessness of capitalist production, through which markets were glutted with commodities, the supply exceed-

ing the demand, and time for the destruction and consumption of the same had to elapse before a rebound could take place. The organization of the trusts has practically put an end to that phase of industrial crisis. We have developed from anarchy in production to despotism in production. No longer does the supply seek for the demand, but through the trust organization the demand precedes the supply in many lines of production. To the worker who is out of work that he may be all the same. He is without a job; but who is the agitator? He tells him that there are too many of the commodities that he has produced in the market, and he notes the empty shelves and the empty yards and closed steel works, etc., etc., he will wonder when the agitator is talking about it. It is our duty as Socialists to meet this change which has occurred apparent to the workman, and explain its significance, and show what Engels has prophesied long ago, that the capitalist system will come to an end when it becomes a hamper on production. I will say in conclusion that the platform made at the coming convention must be epigrammatic if it is to be read. The workers have no time to read long essays. The declaration of principles tersely stated, and the platform for the immediate propaganda, voicing the necessities as developed by the working class themselves, and in harmony with the spirit of collectivism which is the basis of our movement, definitely stated, we will get along, and leave it to the agitators to take the same and the lecturers on the platform to amplify and to deliver at length, and our literature can also do something in that line."

LETTER OF COMRADE WORK, MEMBER OF NATIONAL PLATFORM COMMITTEE.

"Mammoth, Utah, March 7, 1908. Dear Comrade: Replying to Comrade Hillquit, let me say that my platform does not state that the precise value of each individual's labor is to be figured out. That would be impossible. My language on that point is collective. Neither do I mean that it is not well taken. But it is, of course, true that a Socialist State has large duties toward the aged, etc. If my draft is not worded broadly enough to be accurate on that point, it should be amended. I am a stickler for accuracy."

"Comrade Hillquit's platform suffers from inaccuracy in several respects. Productivity and wealth have not increased just a hundred fold. A more elastic term should be used. The capitalists do not own all the means of transportation and communication. Neither do they own all the wealth and resources. In the farming industry, the present system is not rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production. Neither are the wage-workers assuming the direction and operation of the farming industry. It is the parties of the capitalist class, rather than the proletariat, that are the cause of the present poverty and property. There are some of the inaccuracies appearing in the Hillquit Platform."

"Comrade Hillquit says I have affected a primary style. Well, that is at least better than the style affected by him. Joking aside, the platform should be written in the most plain and explicit language. I believe Comrade Hillquit has never been a field worker. If he had, he would realize the need of a platform that can be understood. Time and space were asked for a copy of our National Platform, and have had to apologize for its abstruseness and indefiniteness, knowing that it would not convey any definite impression to the reader's mind. Comrade Hillquit's platform, though not so abstruse, suffers from the same indefiniteness."

"His draft leaves it indefinite as to what property we want to make public. We should have a specific expression on that point. Otherwise, people think we want the collective ownership of everything in sight. 'Not all churches are subsidized.' I am not in favor of mentioning the subsidizing of the church unless we go on and state that religion is a personal matter, that we have no right to make against religion, and that Socialism will overthrow all religious institutions from capitalist domination along with other institutions. We are already misunderstood by the church people. Some of our anti-religious comrades have not been able to keep their irreligion out of the movement. They are doing us harm. We need to undo that harm instead of adding to it. There are myriads of good-intentioned men and women in the church. We should take pains to win them to us, instead of taking pains to drive them away from us."

"I am not in favor of separating the political platform from the declaration of principles. The fact that a few other countries have done so is no reason why we should. We do not have to change the main body of our platform. We can change the rest, if we do not want to. Let's have the whole thing in a lump, so that we can hand it out and tell the people that that is our platform, instead of having to explain that we have two platforms."

"Comrade Hillquit's platform dodges the former question. We should have a specific declaration of our attitude on that question. The National and State Secretaries send the field men among the farmers about half the time. If we are not going to state our attitude toward them, we should not attempt to make propaganda among them. It is very embarrassing to be asked to state that attitude when there is no authoritative declaration that we can quote. The farmers are justly suspicious of us. We have allowed them to get the impression that we are going to condemn the results of their excruciating toil. The Hillquit platform continues that suspicion. We want a specific statement which will allay it."

"My platform does not cater to the middle class. It simply states the fact very briefly that it is to the interest of the smaller business and professional men to ally themselves with the working class. The Hillquit platform states the same thing, only less definitely. Comrade Hillquit goes farther than I do. He states that Socialism will free the capitalist himself. I have no quarrel with him for that so-called catering. I simply want it understood that he goes farther in that line than I do. When I cater to the farmers, I am not catering to the middle class. The farmers belong to the working class."

"These are some of my objections to Comrade Hillquit's platform. His platform has a number of good features, but on the whole it appears to me that his usual brilliant pen has deserted him in this instance. There are, of course, many things in his platform with which I agree. But I object to its indefiniteness and to its incompleteness. I am glad indeed that he has presented his draft. I hope Simmons will follow suit. The more the merrier."

COMMENT ON WORK'S PLATFORM.

"Portland, Ore., March 6, 1908. Comrade: We beg to apologize to the National Executive Committee for allowing this to take the form of a public discussion and would refrain but for the possible benefit that may be derived therefrom."

"We certainly made it clear in our comment on the proposed platform by Comrade Work, that reform measures and immediate relief should and would come from reform parties, and that we should appreciate their efforts for their real benefits (if they truly be benefits), regardless of from what party they came, knowing their true source to be the public sentiment created by Socialist agitators and social or economic evolution. Let the Socialist Party be and remain the beacon light."

"He fears that we may not be able to make a re-election of our officials and their possible defeat. By whom, may I ask? May we also answer? By the voters who are only reformers and had no place in the Socialist Party. We must make and have Socialists, not voters."

"The last clause of my critic on office itchy undoubtedly places Comrade Work on the open stage with the curtain raised."

"ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE. This same sentiment is what has given us our senatorial bodies, with their delegated authority to the supreme court, and all the intermediate unnecessary judiciary which has always successfully defeated every representative measure in favor of the worker, and with its injunctions for the slave, and

JUST PUBLISHED

The Constructive Program of Socialism

By CARL D. THOMPSON. Socialist member of the Wisconsin State Legislature.

This book deals with Socialists in action, in City, State and National Legislatures, and answers many questions arising with party success at the polls.

pardons for convicted criminal rich, is the avowed enemy of DEMOCRACY.

"This same argument that the producing class has not the capabilities of immediate self-government, but must employ a parasite class to guard their interest for them, is the legislative foundation of Capitalism."

"Impossible! though I may be, I do not think it impossible for the creators of all the wealth to care for themselves if only we can unload the careful administrative guardian from our backs and give us a chance."

"The retreat for Comrade Work lies in his ample room for difference of opinion regarding immediate measures being in the interest of the working class. This forms a safe retreat and we can slide the whole reform sentiment in the Socialist Party out through this exit, and be the better for it."

"All reform measures enacted in the interest of the worker is by means of capitalist reaction taken indirectly from the efforts of the laboring class; and will so be as long as this profit system remains."

"The force of evolution is what will carry us through, and knowing the cause of our ills, I shall personally strike directly at the cause, regardless of results, either great or small, until the cause no longer remains, and if I find myself in a co-operative government with the profit system abolished I shall not weep because I was not known in the 'Administrative' affairs thereto."

(Signed) "C. W. BARZEE."

LETTER OF COMRADE WORK, NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF IOWA.

"American Fork, Utah, March 11, 1908. Dear Comrade: As it is generally recognized that we will have to do something about our unwieldy National Committee, I wish to suggest the following Constitutional Amendment, which contemplates the entire abolition of the National Committee and certain changes in the National Executive Committee."

"The National Executive Committee shall be composed of eleven members, one to be elected by referendum vote from each of the following Executive districts:

- 1. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut. 2. Connecticut, New York, New Jersey. 3. Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia. 4. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Porto Rico. 5. Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee. 6. Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois. 7. Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska. 8. Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Panama. 9. Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico. 10. Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, Oregon, Alaska. 11. Utah, Nevada, Arizona, California, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands. 12. The referendums shall be conducted by the National Secretary. The call for nominations shall be issued on the tenth day of November in each even numbered year. Each local and branch shall be entitled to nominate one candidate. Only candidates receiving at least five nominations shall go on the ballot. Twenty days shall be allowed for nominations, fifteen for acceptances and declarations, and forty-five for the referendum. If no candidate receives a majority on the first ballot, all candidates except the two highest shall be dropped, and a second ballot taken. The candidate receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be elected. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner. Each Committeeman shall take the position as soon as elected. Only ten locals in any Executive district may initiate a proposition to recall the Committeeman for such district. Upon such initiative being made, the National Secretary shall call for nominations for a new election for Committeeman in such district, and the name of the candidate shall be placed upon the ballot whether nominated or not, unless he declines. The election shall be conducted as above. The candidate receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be elected and shall assume the duties of the office immediately.

"I am not sure that the above comes within a mile of solving the problem, but unless I learn of something better, I shall submit it to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments at the coming National Convention, together with an amendment abolishing the National Committee and making conformatory alterations; also an amendment lengthening the National Secretary's term of office to two years and providing for a second ballot in case no candidate receives a majority on the first."

"For the benefit of members struck by hard times, I also suggest the following amendment:

"Members without income shall not be required to pay dues during such disability. Dues stamps shall be placed in their membership cards without payment. Local Secretaries may make requisition upon State Secretaries for dues stamps needed for such purpose, without payment. In like manner State Secretaries may make requisition upon the National Secretary for dues stamps needed for such purpose, without payment."

LOCAL LOS ANGELES COUNTY, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Headquarters, 649 S. Main St., Los Angeles, Cal., March 9, 1908. Mr. J. Mahlon Barnes.

Dear Comrade:—At the meeting of the County Executive Committee of Local Los Angeles County, Socialist Party, Saturday evening, March 7th, I was instructed to notify you that Mrs. Mamie Shea, 688 Ruth avenue, Los Angeles, is the proper person to send all contributions for the Mexican Defense Fund, and to request that this fact be published in the Bulletin, asking other papers to copy.

Yours for organization, J. B. BARNET, Secretary Pro Tem.

ONLY MEN MAY VOTE, BUT

All—Men, Women and Children—may work for Socialism by singing and selling MOYER'S POPULAR "Songs of Socialism"

THE GREAT NEW SOCIALIST SONG BOOK.

"I hear very favorable comments upon 'Songs of Socialism' by Men, Women and Children. Socialists and Clubs who say that these songs are particularly well adapted to their work in the entertainments given under the direction of the Women's Socialist Union."—J. B. Ross, State Secretary, Neb. With Music—Enlarged Edition—112 Pages. Single copy, only five copies \$2.00 per doz. \$20.00. ORDER TO-DAY. The best time is NOW.

RESOLUTIONS BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF LOCAL ST. LOUIS, MO.

To the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

Comrades:—We, the members of the Executive Board of Local St. Louis Socialist Party, desire to give hearty endorsement to your stand against a committee on unity with the moribund S. L. P.

The merits of the S. L. P. as an almost extinct political sect have been so thoroughly ventilated in our party press that we have believed it to be entirely superfluous to go on record as endorsing the rejection by the National Committee of their proposition, which was born in bad faith and in the circumference of a small clique of a committee under the whip of De Leon.

We wish to point out to the comrades who have any doubt of the wisdom or democracy of our National Committee action that the stand of our N. C. was the expression of a committee composed of from one to four men from nearly every state in the Union. It was a verdict which resulted only after a searching discussion of the proposition by our party papers.

The tactics of our party as followed by the N. C. have resulted in the rapid growth of our membership, and since the rejection of the farcical unity proposal the increase is even greater than ever.

We agree with Comrade Thompson that "unity will not mean strength, but weakness," and therefore protest against any referendum on this question.

REPLY OF COMRADE WORK TO COMRADE HERMAN

Salt Lake, Utah, March 12, 1908.

Dear Comrade:—Replying to Comrade Herman, I do not ask him to leave the capitalists, but I reiterate that it is altogether unscientific to hate a man for being in a position which industrial evolution compels him to be in. Hatred is a foolish waste of energy.

We will not quibble about "collective" and "public" ownership. I use the word public in the platform because most people understand what it means, whereas they do not understand what "collective" means.

I am pleased to see Comrade Herman hedge from Comrade Sladden's position and admit that we only want the collective ownership of those things which can be used for exploitation. That is a great step in advance.

It causes me to hope that with still further reflection he will be able to see that when land is actually titled by its possessor it is not used for exploitation, and therefore need not be publicly owned in order to carry out the object of Socialism.

I not only admit, but I allege, that I am after the farmer's vote. We need it. The farmers constitute one great section of the working class. When manufacturing was carried on individually it was natural and proper for the individual to own his own means of production. As the farming industry is still carried on individually, it is also natural and proper that the farmer should own his own means of production. To attempt the public ownership of them at the present time would be to fly in the face of industrial evolution.

It would be cruelly not to allow convicts to work at all. Their employment on public works would not throw non-convict laborers out of work if public works were carried on to a sufficient extent.

Teach class consciousness, my Pacific coast haters, but there is scarcely a greater mistake you can make than to teach class hatred.

It is also very unscientific to become venomous toward a Comrade with whom you disagree. You should learn from the great ocean by which you dwell and become more pacific toward your comrades in the Socialist Movement. If there is any merit in your

contention, you can only do it harm by your method of presentation.

COMMENT ON WORK'S PLATFORM.

Rupert, Idaho, March 17, 1908.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Chicago, Ill.—Dear Comrade: Please submit the following as comment on the Work Platform:

The objections to Comrade Work's Platform that it is a middle-class document is either no objection, or is founded on a misconception of whom that class is composed. Capitalism divides society into but two classes. The economic interest of the members of one class is exactly opposite to that of the other. If one manages to get more wealth than he creates his economic interests demand the continuance of capitalism, he therefore belongs to the Capitalist class. If one does not get the equivalent of all the wealth he creates, even if some of the wealth he does get is derived from interest, rent or profit, he would have more of his wants gratified under a system which guaranteed him all he produced. This is proof that he is being worsted by this present system. Such an one's interests are with the rest of the workers, or the proletarians, in having all interest, rent and profit abolished, he therefore belongs to the working class.

Some of the capitalists are also workers, but such receive for their work, together with what they fleece off others, more than the equivalent of the wealth they create. Their economic interest demand the continuance of capitalism, they therefore belong to the capitalist class. We cannot economically divide society into classes along any other lines than according to their individual material interests.

Those vulgarly termed middle class must also belong to one or the other of the two great classes. If we mean by middle class, farmers, tradesmen, professionals, any one who is producing more wealth than they are getting, then a workers' program should be middle class as well as proletarian. The interests of those workers who own absolutely no capital are the same as those who do, in that both would have more wealth by having all fleecing abolished. Neither are getting the full product of their toil. The interests of both demand Socialism. Both belong to the working class, and a working class program can be, and should be, attractive to both.

Let us not take anything away from any one who is not getting the full product of their toil, there are others that need our attention more at present. Let us say to the farmer, as well as all who are being fleeced, that Socialism proposes to give to each of the full product of their toil, or wealth equivalent, and until such time they shall remain secure in the possession of such wealth as they may possess. This does not do violence to the principle of eliminating all fleecing, it only makes us scientific, it only makes us begin at the right end, the only end that historical development will permit us to begin at.

Let our program be to eliminate interest, rent and profit from the trust-owned industries first. Let part of this be applied to increase of wages to workers in these industries, and the balance to reduction of prices. At the same time let a rental tax be levied on land the owner of which receives more than an equivalent of the wealth he produces. You will then have a program that will benefit all workers, including the farmers. Those in the collective-owned industries would be benefited most, because of an advance in wages as well as the benefit other workers would receive, namely, the opportunity of buying goods at no more than the wages paid for their production. We will then have a program that will benefit all workers, including the farmers, that will be attractive to every member of the working class.

I am not advocating capitalism or any part of it, but I do want Socialism. If one road to the co-operative commonwealth is attractive to all workers, and all can be induced to travel it, while only part can be persuaded to take the other, let us choose the one all will take, and accomplish the end in view. This will be better than wrangling among ourselves, getting nowhere, and allowing the capitalists to continue fleecing us in the meantime, and a mean time it will be. If we have the cause at heart, if we are interested more in the welfare of the working class than we are in pet hobbies, let us take the road of least resistance, the road we will be forced to take, and be off for the co-operative commonwealth. Socialists, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain.

Yours for Socialism.

F. L. RIGG.

NATIONAL NOTES

It has been definitely announced that THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL will begin publication on the 1st of May. To celebrate the event a "May Day Fair and Congress of Nations" will be held May 1st to 10th, inclusive, at the Labor Temple, 243-247 E. 84th street, New York City. Prize donations for the fair should be sent to the Daily Call Fair Conference, 239 E. 84th street.

The State convention of Kansas will be held in Representative hall, Topeka, beginning April 2d, and continuing the 3d and 4th.

Comrade John M. Ray has resigned as State Secretary of Tennessee, and H. G. Terlisner, 1085 Indiana street, Memphis, has accepted the position for the unexpired term.

The statement issued by Attorneys Harriman and Holston, who are defending the so-called Mexican revolutionists, Magon, Villarreal, Rivera and others, contains the following: At a hearing before Judge Ross at San Francisco, when Magon et al. applied for a writ of habeas corpus, Attorney General Bonaparte wired a request to the District Attorney to resist the application on every possible ground, as these men are wanted in Mexico. This confirms the contention of the victims that regardless of the charges the prosecution is at the instance and request of the Mexican government. The writ of habeas corpus has been denied, and the men have been ordered removed to Arizona for trial for an alleged conspiracy to violate the neutrality laws.

The average number of members for the year 1907 was 29,270. The apportionment just declared and based upon the dues paid during the months of December, January and February, shows a membership of 37,975, an increase of 8,705 members.

A foot note should have appeared with "Table B, Lecturers and Organizers," accompanying the annual report, as follows: As against the salary accounts noted there should be credited \$184.38 to Arthur M. Lewis, \$153.67 to Lena Morrow Lewis and \$36.85 to Gertrude Breslau Hunt, for profits on literature sales turned in to the National office.

By recent referendum, Dan Hogan of Huntington has been elected a member of the National Committee for Arkansas.

Local San Diego, Cal., reports: "Membership Jan. 1, 1908, 138; new members received during January, 58; new members received during February, 38; four members removed from the city. Number of members last day of February, 230."

Local Augusta, Ga., reports: "Received the special assessment stamps a few days ago, and will no doubt dispose of them very easily, as we find that even outsiders are willing to purchase them. Expect to call for more shortly. The coming of the National convention seems to have stirred new life in the comrades here."

The State convention of Maine will be held April 20th, in the city of Lewiston.

Comrade Louis Goaziou of Charleroi, Pa., editor of L'Union Des Travailleurs, will fill a number of lecture dates in New England beginning about the 1st of April. The lectures will be in the French language, and locals desiring dates should file application.

G. Bertelli (Italian) of Chicago, editor of La Parola De Socialisti, beginning April 1st, will fill a number of dates in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. Locals desiring an assignment should file applications at once.

By recent referendum Geo. B. Kline of McMechen, West Virginia, and G. W. Gillespie of Huntington were re-elected State Secretary and member of the National Committee respectively.

The University of Wisconsin makes the announcement that it has secured a rare collection of Socialist and labor literature by acquiring the library of Comrade Hermann Schluter, editor of the New York Volks-Zeitung. The headquarters of the American Association for Labor Legislation has been transferred to Madison, Wis., and is in charge of Prof. John P. Commons of the University of Wisconsin.

The State Committee of Pennsylvania reports that Wm. Manning has been expelled from Local Reading for misappropriation of funds, and G. E. Wantz was expelled from Local Harrisburg for violation of the rule against fusion and compromise with capitalist parties.

A movement is on foot in Holland, Mich., for the establishment of a Socialist paper published in the Holland language; to be entitled "The Volkstem." Correspondence is desired with Holland comrades. Address Arie Van Doesburg, Holland, Mich.

The State convention of Pennsylvania will be held in the city of Philadelphia, beginning April 25th.

Comrade Wm. McDevitt, organizer of Local San Francisco, reports steady progress in membership, meetings and organization work. Four well organized and active branches exist. About

\$400 worth of literature has been sold since the first of the year. Altogether prospects were never better for successful propaganda and campaign work in the metropolis of the Pacific.

The comrades of Maine nominate their political candidate by referendum vote. Curtis A. Perry has been chosen as the candidate for Governor. State Secretary W. E. Pelsey of 198 Lisbon street, Lewiston, has been re-elected.

Comrade Geo. H. Goebel on April 10th will wind up a very successful tour of the New England States at Manchester, Conn. About a month later Comrade Geo. R. Kirkpatrick will start to cover the same territory.

Comrade Sladden, State Secretary of Oregon, reports: "Dues paid for month of February on 1,179 members. Locals reporting, 47. Meetings held—propaganda—23; business, 80. Flooded with work, can't keep my head above water. This is the best I can do."

The State convention of New Hampshire will be held April 23d in the city of Manchester.

Comrade Stanley J. Clark organized a local at Shreveport, La., Feb. 13th, with ten members. Upon a return visit March 7th twenty new members were secured.

The progress made in increased membership and new locals formed in Nevada, Nebraska, North Carolina and New Mexico, if continued, will shortly qualify them for State organizations.

In connection with National Committee Motion No. 4, Comrade Joseph M. Patterson has been requested to collect the desired data and he has accepted the commission. Herewith follows Motion No. 4: "I move that the Executive Committee make provision for securing the data necessary for a campaign handbook for the impending National election."

Charters were granted by the National office to locals in unorganized States as follows: Valdez, Alaska, 15 members; Sioux, Neb., 7 members; Litchfield, 8 members; Lincoln, 5 members; Alamogordo, N. M., 10 members; Avis, 6 members; Cloudercroft, 6 members; Lloyd, 14 members; Tolar, 6 members; Roosevelt, 6 members; Camp, 8 members; Lane, Nevada, 5 members; Empire, 6 members; Arapahoe, N. C., 13 members; Manchester, Va., 8 members.

The entire Pocket Library together with the following fourteen 5-cent pamphlets:

- The Economic Foundations of Art.—Simons.
 - Science of Life.—Ferri.
 - A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller.—Spargo.
 - Socialism. A Reply to the Pope.—Blatchford
 - From Revolution to Revolution.—Herron.
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