# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL BULLETIN

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Monthly

# National Committee Referendums

### Result of Vote Upon Motions Nos. 6 and 7— Motions 8, 9 and 10 Submitted

The vote of the National Committee lating the National constitution has upon Motions 6 and 7 resulted as fol-been made, such a motion is out of or-

Referendum 7, Motion No. 7. By Lamb, of Michigan:

"I move to lay Motion 6 on the

Yes—Healey, Fla.; McAllister, Kan.; Fox, Me.; Lamb, Mich.; Holman, Minn.; Hoehn, Mo.; Behrens, Mo.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Maschke, Okla.; Ramp, Ore.; Lovett, S. D.; Arvidson, Vt.; Thompson, Wis.; Hastings, Wyo. Total, 14.

No-Andrus, Ala.; Richardson, Cal.; Floaten, Col.; Woodside, Col.; White, Conn.; Carter, Idaho; Berlyn, Ill.; Work, Ia.; Towner, Ky.; McHugh, Mont.; Ray, Neb.; O'Neill, N. H.; Kearns, N. J.; Bandlow, Ohio; Floyd, R. I.; Gilbert, Utah; Smith, Wash. Total. 17. Total, 17

Not Voting—Barnette, Ariz.; Lowry, Ark.; Reynolds, Ind.; Jacobs, Ia.; Putnam, La.; Gibbs, Mass.; Lampman, N. D.; Trautmann, Ohio; Farmer, Tex.; Burgess, Wash.; Zimmerman, W. Va.; Berger, Wis. Total, 12.

The motion is therefore defeated by a vote of 17 to 14. The ballot of Headley, of New Jersey, was received too late to be counted.

#### Comment

Andrus (Ala.)—"This question of jurisdiction should be settled. The sooner the better. Now is as good a time as later. Let's settle it and save further controversy."

Richardson (Cal.)—"I have already voted on No. 6 and that vote stands.

I am astounded by the position assumed by Comrades Lamb and Berger. "Their attention should be called to the fact that a state holds its charter by authority of the Socialist Party of the United States, and by that author-ity only. Therefore, the National party is directly responsible for any failure to discipline any organization that ex-ists under authority of that charter. "If a charter from the Socialist

Party as now organized permits a state or a local, for any reason known to gods or men, to refrain from making a nom-ination where such nomination can be made, then it is high time that our

party were reorganized.
""Milwaukee stands to-day a self-confessed sinner, a violator of our National constitution. If we are to be guided by Comrade Berger's statement, the comrades there declined to nominate because of their desire to defeat one capitalist candidate by helping to elect another. They acquiesced in the capi-talistic cry as old as elections—a 'bad man' must be beaten to elect a 'better

A similar fight is now on in my own town over the mayoralty. We put up in an illegal, unconstitutional manner. our best man and are in the fight all over. We don't get tired.

Trautmann does not, and cannot, hold

"Milwankee has no excuse for her violation of the most sacred principle of our organization, because no circumstance nor combination of circumstances could possibly constitute an

Berlyn (Ill.)-"I vote No on motion to table Comrade Trautmann's motion, because I think that every question brought before the National Committee should be voted on directly, for or against. The motion to lay on the table is only to be used in meeting to save time. The National Committee as at present constituted can be trusted to vote according to their best judgment, being entirely uninfluenced and each committeeman has the right to express his views directly on the ques-tion raised."

Reynolds (Ind.) - "Comrade Berger's request to defer vote is sufficient. Record me as not voting."

Fox (Me.)-"Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7, I vote "Yes," inasmuch as Comrade Berger has placed the evithe National Committee for consideration. Comrade Traut-mann's motion is unnecessary."

Gibbs (Mass.)-"On Motion No. 7 by Comrade Lamb, I decline to vote, for the reason that I have already voted No on the Motion No. 6, to which it

"I believe that a negative vote is the quickest and most effective way of

disposing of No. 6."

Holman (Minn.)—"I heartily second Comrade Lamb's motion to lay Motion 6 on the table, and endorse his reasons

for so doing. "The National Committee cannot with dignity constitute itself a referee between comrades who have personal differences, and it seems to me that the who are familiar with the situation will readily discover a motive not altogether free from personality embodied in Comrade Trautmann's mo-

der, and Comrade Berger's explanation makes it clear that no violation was

attempted.
"Further, if there was any collusion with capitalist parties consummated or even attempted, the protest should come from some member or local within the state, and if there are no comrades in the state of Wisconsin of sufficient intelligence to discover and protest against any attempt at compromise or political trading, we may as well give

political trading, we may as well give up in despair.

"The vote in the city of Milwaukee last fall showed that those who voted our ticket were clearer on the question of uncompromising socialism than the voters of any other city in the country, as the vote for local candidates was

closer to the vote for Comrade Debs.

"Instead of trying to discredit the comrades of Milwaukee, it would be much better for us all and for the movement if we would emulate their tactics and learn from their splendid organiza-

Hohn (Mo.)—"I vote in favor of Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7, that Trautmann's motion (No. 6), concern-ing the Milwaukee comrades, be

tabled. Here are my reasons:
"1. If there is any suspicion that the comrades in any city or state have not followed the right tactics, or that they advocate a policy which is a violation of the tactics and policy of our National organization, it becomes our duty as Socialists not to inaugurate a campaign of "heresy hunting" on the old De Leonite lines, but to take the matter up in our Socialist press and discuss the question pro and con, as our comrades in other countries have done in the past and are doing at present. Here is a case where a Socialist paper made certain comment on the local po-litical situation, pointing out to the Socialist voters in that locality what they should or should not do. Whether the editorial advice given in that paper was right or wrong can only be ascer-tained by an open and sincere discus-sion in our meetings and in the columns of our press. The editorials of the Milwankee Socialist papers are no secrets. We have them before us—black on white. What is the object of an inves-

white. What is the object of an investigation when we have the whole matter plainly before us?

'2. I challenge the membership of Trautmann in the Socialist Party. I claim that Trautmann does not hold a membership card in the Socialist Party since our National Convention held in Chicago in May, 1904. If he does he must have secured said membership cards under false pretenses or bership cards under false pretenses or the Cineinnati local must have issued a new membership card to Trautmann membership card in the Socialist

Party, I wish to say:
"Mr. Trautmann tore up his Social ist Party membership card during the National Socialist Party Convention in May, 1904, in the lobby of the Revere House in the city of Chicago, intimating that this act (of tearing up the card) would sever his connection with the So-cialist Party. There were a number of comrades present who witnessed Trautmann's severing process from the Socialist Party, and in order to do the "brave work" more demonstratively and effectively, Mr. Trautmann hande me the dozen or more pieces of his torn-up membership card with the re-mark: 'Here, Hoehn, this is for you!' This was done while I was engaged in a friendly conversation with a number of old-time Chicago comrades, including Comrade Mrs. Sherilie Woodman. We did not know what to say. When recovering from the shock of surprise I gathered all the pieces of Trautmann's Socialist Party membership card to-gether, placed them in an envelope, envelope carefully in my pocket, and to-day the torn-to pieces Socialist Party membership card of Mr. Trautmann of Cincinnati is safely deposited in the steel safe at the Socialist Party Headquarters in St. Louis, Mo. This is for the information of the comrades throughout the country. I have not mentioned this publicly before, but since systematic attempts are now being made to once more "deleonize" the labor and Socialist movement of this country, I consider it my duty to bring this to the attention of the comrades throughout the country."

McHugh (Mont.)-"A motion to lay on the table might be ruled 'not de-batable.' I voted on Referendum No. 6 before receiving this.''

O'Neil (N. H.)-"I have voted No on Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7, as I believe that it will do no harm to have the State Committee of Wisconsin investigate, and if they find that the comrades of Milwaukee have not vio-

lated the National Constitution, then there is no harm done."

Kearns (N. J.)-"I most emphatically oppose the motion of the commit-teeman from Michigan, for the reason that Motion No. 6 does not deal with mere heresy, but is based on specific statement, act and advice to violate Article 12, Section 3, of the Constitu-tion. The difference between Carpen-ter and Wallber is in degree, not in kind. Having 'renounced the devil and all his works' we are enjoined from dalliance with any of his emissaries, whether the name be 'Adams,' 'Doug-lass,' 'Carpenter' or 'Wallber.''

Hillquit (N. Y.)—"In voting for the motion of Comrade Lamb to table the motion of Comrade Trautmann, and in voting against the said motion of Trautmann, I wish to make a few remarks to explain my vote.

"I have carefully read the editorials of Comrade Berger in the 'Wahrheit' and 'Vorwaerts,' and I believe that Comrade Berger made a serious mistake in taking the attitude he did on the pending election of a probate judge in the city of Milwaukee. I use the expression 'mistake' advisedly, for I do not for a moment believe in a 'collusion' or 'secret or open understanding between the state organization of Wis consin, the city organization of Mil-waukee, or Comrade Berger individually with any capitalist parties or candi-dates of such parties. I also do not feel called upon to criticise the decision feel called upon to criticise the decision of our Milwaukee comrades to refrain from nominating candidates for the pending judicial elections in Milwaukee. The principal significance of political campaigns for our party is the opportunity afforded by them for the propaganda of Solialism, and while, as

a rule, it certainly is good policy for our party to participate in all elections, national, state, or local, it cannot by any means be said that there are no ex-ceptions to this rule. The reasons given by the Milwaukee comrades, for abstaining from participation: in the pending elections, seem to be quite weighty, and besides the Milwaukee comrades are the best judges of the situation and requirements of their local movement. I believe, however, the proper and consistent thing to do for the Socialists in Milwaukee, would have been to take no sides for or against any candidates in the field, and to keep away from the polls on election day. Comrade Berger's justification for favoring Mr. Wallber as against Judge Carpenter is the fact that Carpenter has shown himself aggressively hostile to Socialism, and has abused his office for the purpose of making converts to the Roman Catholic Church, while Mr. Wallber has shown himself on previous staining from participation in the Wallber has shown himself on previous occasions to be fair to the labor movement, and is generally a liberal minded man. Comrade 'Berger's stand also rests on the assumption that the judicial elections in Milwaukee are nonpartisan. Both reasons, it seems to me, are entirely untenable. The attitude of the Socialist party and its individual members and voters ought to be one of invariable hostility, and in the best case, indifference to all parties of the capitalist class and their candidates, and our party and its spokesmen should in no case endorse, support or merely prefer any candidate of a capitalist party for his personal qualities, or op-pose one merely on the ground of his personal unfitness. What - little advantage we may gain by the more honest or efficient administration of an officer elected on a capitalist ticket, we will lose hundredfold through the laxity of discipline and class consciousness in our own ranks. If our members and

arates our party from the old political parties, and it is bound to produce a certain demoralization in our ranks. Furthermore, the phrase of 'non-par-tisan politics' may have its sense as tisan politics' may have its sense as between the old political parties, but it has no justification whatsoever as between the Socialist Party and the political parties of the capitalist cla To us all elections are partisan elec-tions. The conflict between capital and labor finds its expression in the city as well as in the state or country at large and in the event of a conflict between capital and labor, the local executive, courts or police are bound to take sides just as well as the state or federal government. "It is for these reasons that I consider Comrade Berger's attitude an erroneous one from the point of view of sound Socialist tacties. But from that it does not follow by any means that Comrade Berger, and still less the organization of Wisconsin or the local organization of Milwaukee, are guilty of any offense. The precise question has never been authoritatively passed upon by the party, and may be a good subject for the next National Commit-ted meeting, or the next National Convention to deal with. In the mean-while if Comrade Trautmann believes that the articles of Comrade Berger in volve a violation of the express provisions of our constitution, the proper way for him to proceed is, as suggested by Comrade Berger, to prefer charges

voters are once encouraged to vote for

a capitalist candidate in a local elec

tion in which we have made no nomi-

nations, the effect will inevitably be a relaxation of the rigid line which sep-

# National Executive Committee

### Seventh Member Elected—Minutes of Meeting Held April 20-22

The sixth ballot of the National Committee for the election of the National Executive Committee, resulted as fol-

For Bandlow—Andrus, Ala.; Floaten, Colo.; Woodside, Colo.; White, Conn.; Carter, Ida.; Berlyn, Ill.; Reynolds, Ind.; Jacobs, Ia.; Work, Ia.; Towner, Ky.; Fox, Me.; Gibbs, Mass.; Lamb, Mich.; Holman, Minn.; Hochn, Mo.; Behrens, Mo.; Kearns, N. J.; Floyd, R. I.; Lovett, S. D.; Gilbert, Utah; Thompson, Wis.; Berger, Wis. Total, 24.

For Kerrigan—Lowry, Ark.; Bichardson, Cal.; Healey, Fla.; Putnam, La.; McHugh, Mont.; O'Neil, N. H.; Headley, N. J.; Trautmann, Ohio; Ramp, Ore.; Farmer, Tex.; Arvidson, Vt.; Hastings, Wyo. Total 12.

Not Voting—Barnette, Ariz.; Lampman, N. D.; Bandlow, Ohio; Maschke, Okla.; Zimmerman, W. Va. Total, 5.
Total number of votes cast, 36. Nec-

essary to choice, 19. The ballot of Ray of Nebraska, for Bandlow, was received too late to be counted. Bandlow having received a majority of the votes cast is therefore elected the seventh member of the National Executive Commit-

tee, and completing the Committee.

In accordance with decision by its members the National Executive Committee held its first meeting at the National Headquarters, beginning April 20 and ending April 22. The Committee had previously selected by corre-spondence S. M. Reynolds and Charles H. Kerr auditors, and they met on April 18-19 to prepare their report.

### Minutes of Meeting.

Chicago, Ill., April 20th, 1905.

The National Executive Committee met at National Headquarters Thursday, April 20th, at 8:45 P. M. Secretary Barnes called the meeting to order

with the following present:

Berger, Berlyn, Mailly, Reynolds, Slobodin and Work. 'Absent, Bandlow, who had informed the National Secretary by letter that he would be present at the morning session.

Comrades B. Berlyn and James Oneal were elected Chairman and Secretary respectively.

At the suggestion of the Chairman Article 6 of the National Constitution regarding prerogatives of the Executive Committee was read.

Motion by Berger: That a committee of two on rules and order of business be elected and that the old rules serve until the committee reports. Carried. Mailly and Slobodin elected Committee on Rules. National Secretary then gave a re-

view of the conditions of the movement in each state. In the course of this review the question arose as to the membership of Thomas J. Hagerty.

Motion by Slobodin: That owing to the inquiries received, the National Sec-J. Hagerty of what local he is a member.

National Secretary Barnes then prea resume of the matters that would be presented to the Executive Committee during its sessions.

Comrade Reynolds for the Auditing Committee submitted a report. Report accepted with the provision that totals of items be included in the

On motion the session adjourned to meet at 9:30 A. M. Friday, April 21st.

### Morning Session, April 21.

Comrade Berlyn called the session to Members present:

Bandlow, Berger, Berlyn, Mailly, Rey-nolds, Slobodin and Work. Minutes of previous session were read and approved.

Comrade Reynolds elected Chairman Comrade Mailly, for the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, reported that their report was being typewritten. National Secretary Barnes read com-

munication from State Secretary James S. Smith of Illinois requesting privilege to present in person a plan for econom and uniform distribution of propa ganda leaflets.

Motion by Bandlow: That Comrade Smith be requested to appear at the even-ing session at 8:30 P. M. Carried. Review of the states was again

Correspondence between former Na tional Secretary and State Secretary Cramton of Colorado was read regarding request of the latter that the liance of the Rockies' be taken be taken from the mailing list of the National Office Correspondence stated the editor was under charges for advocating dual or-ganization. Mailly stated he had no power to comply with the request. Let-ters were read from Locals Hotchkiss and Englewood protesting that State Quorum had declined to recognize an appeal in the case of Southworth, editor of the "Alliance."

tion 4, Article 12, of the National Constitution, the National Committee has no jurisdiction and the question at issue must be settled by the locals of Colorade themselves. Adopted.

Sesolution by Serlyn: Resolved by the National Executive Committee that the party bulletins will be furnished to any publications that desire them, with the view of obtaining the greatest publicity to party affairs. Adopted.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business submitted their report, which, after two amendments, was adopted as

### Rules of Order for National Executive

1. Five members of the National Excutive Committee shall be a quorum. 2. The time of adjournment and the time of opening of the next session shall be determined at each session.

3. Each session shall be called to order by the National Secretary. 4. A chairman shall be elected at each

5. The Executive Committee may

elect the secretary of each meeting. 6. Order of Business:

A. Election of Chairman, B. Election of Secretary.

C. Reading of Minutes.
The National Secretary shall report upon the following subjects, including under the head of "miscellaneous," such matters as may not come under the other specified heads. After the National Secretary has reported, the Ex-ecutive Committee shall act upon the

A. National Secretary's Report. B. On State Organizations.

C. On Unorganized States.

D. On Finances.
E. Organization and Agitation.

F. Literature Department. G. Miscellaneous.

### Special Meetings.

1. Special meetings may be called by the National Secretary whenever he may deem necessary or at the request of any three members of the Executive

2. Every member of the National Ex-ecutive Committee must be given notice in the call of the object of the meeting. 3. Only such business may be tran-sacted at the Special Meeting as is specified in the call.

HENRY L. SLOBODIN, WILLIAM MAILLY,

National Secretary Barnes read communication from State Secretary Coon-rod of Idaho declaring National Committeeman Carter's seat vacant. tional Secretary's reply that a vacancy could not be announced because no referendum was provided, conflicting with Section 2 of Article 4, was ap-

Comrade Reynolds called attention to the primary laws being enacted in Indiana and other states with the view of making difficult the activity of a working class party.

Motion by Mailly: That a committee of two be elected to draft a statement relating to the importance of these measures for the membership of the Socialist Party. Adopted. Reynolds and Berlyn elected the committee.

On motion the session adjourned to . reassemble at 2 P. M.

### Afternoon Session

Called to order by Secretary Barnes. Comrade Bandlow elected Chairman. Minutes of previous session read and pproved.

National Secretary called attention to conditions under which M. W. Wilkins began work in Massachusetts and read correspondence with him regarding it.

Motion by Work: That the National office assume deficit of Wilkins in Massa-chusetts up to December 1, 1984. Car-

Letter from Wilkins was read reviewing his work in Massachusetts and proposing work in the New England states. Motion by Mailly: That Wilkins be as-igned to New England states for April, fay and June. Carried.

Special committee to draft statement to membership on the importance of primary laws, submitted report as fol-

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America calls the attention of the comrades to the apparent intention of the capitalist interests of the United States to put upon the statute books of the various states socalled Primary Election Laws, the os called Primary Election Laws, the os-tensible and pretentions purpose of said laws being declared to be "The puri-fication of politics." The real object of said laws, however, being to stifle the rising voice of protest of the Social-ist Party and to make it expensive and in many cases impossible for a Working Class Party to designate candidates for the ballot without paying money for each candidate whose name is to appear

upon the ballot. Comrade Reynolds of Indiana reported that a primary elec-tion law was passed at the last session of the Legislature of Indiana requiring a payment of \$10.00 to \$25.00 for each candidate whose name appears upon the ballot. The law applying to all minor parties polling 10 per cent, of the entire county vote.

Comrades are warned against this insidious attempt to deprive the workers of their suffrage unless cast for the candidate of one or the other of the dominant parties of capitalism, who, of course, provide the entry fee for can-didates in those parties entering the horse race of politics. The Socialist Press of the country is also requested to thoroughly investigate, publish and expose these laws to the comrades, to the end that the subject may be fully freely discussed, and its effects thwarted wherever possible. No better propaganda can be used than this apparent design to ultimately limit the suffrage to "best men," "good citi-zens" and "property owners." Submitted by

S. M. REYNOLDS, B. BERLYN.

Sub-Committee of Executive Committee in Session April 20, 1905.

Motion by Reynolds: To adopt. Carried.

Report of State Secretary of North Dakota to the State Committee of that state regarding members of Local Pargo signing petitions of non-Socialist can didates for School Board was read.

Motion by Mailly: That the National Secretary be instructed to inquire of the State Committee, through the State Secretary of North Dakota, as to whether the State Committee has acted or is acting upon the matter of certain members of Local Fargo having endorsed certain independent candidates, not Socialists, in Fargo, the local having exonerated these members. The National Secretary shall report the result of such inquiry to the National Committee. Carried.

Berger requests being recorded "No."

Berger requests being recorded "No," holding action conflicts with Article 4, Section 12.

National Secretary Barnes reported receiving correspondence from Okla-homa and Indian Territory stating advisability of forming one organization due to the probable amalgamation of both territories into one state.

Motion by Berlyn: That in view of the fact that Indian Territory is unorganized and under the control of the National Organization, that the Secretary be instructed to ask the consent of the territorial organization of Oklahoma to consent to hold a joint convention under the rules as provided by the National Committee for the formation of a State Organization. Adopted.

Correspondence with former State

Correspondence with former State Secretary Axelson of Oregon protesting that he had been illegally deposed was

Motion by Work: That Executive Com-mittee inform Comrade Axelson it had no jurisdiction. Adopted.

National Secretary reported neglect of work by late State Secretary of Pennsylvania, and having sent ballots to Local for recording vote on a refer-endum for the removal of seat of State Committee. Action approved.

Motion by Berger: That the National Secretary request that South Dakota fur-nish a financial statement. Slobodin amends that a list of locals with ad-dresses be supplied.

Bandlow left the chair. Mailly in the

Substitute by Bandlow: That the National Secretary request state organizations not complying with Article 12 Section 5, to comply with the same.

General discussion participated in by Slobodin, Bandlow, Berger, Berlyn and Mailly. Substitute carried.

Motion by Blobodin: That state organizations that have not furnished the National Office with a full list of their locals and Secretares be called upon to do so at once, such lists and Secretaries not to be given out or published by the National Office without the consent of the respective State Committees. Carried.

National Secretary Barnes brought up matter regarding J. W. Carroll and certain charges which were made against him and proved untrue.

National Secretary was ordered to communicate to J. W. Carroll that files containing judicial decisions and cor-respondence vindicating him were at service.

Adjourned to meet at 8 P. M.

### Evening Session.

Session called to order by National Secretary Barnes. Mailly elected Chair-

Minutes of previous meeting read and

Comrade James S. Smith was given the floor to present a plan for free distribution of literature by the National Committee, the object being to use what surplus the National Office has, to secure cheap educational leaflets and thus have uniform propaganda in all states. Consideration of Smith's suggestions were laid over to be taken up in their order.

Motion by Berlyn: That a committee of two be elected to draft a call for a propaganda fund and act as a Committee on Finance. Carried.

Mailly and Slobodin elected the com-

Comrade Martin of the National Ofwas extended the floor to present a plan of receipt coupon books for col-lection of propaganda funds for the Local, State and National organizations.

Motion by Slobodin: That Martin's suggestions be referred to the Finance Committee. Carried.

Comrade Martin also offered a card system adapted for classifying voters for counties, wards, precincts, etc., and also form for monthly reports from locals to states and states to the National organization.

General discussion followed and par-

ticipated in by Martin, Slobodin and Bandlow.

Motion by Slobodin: That Martin's suggestions and one proposed by Comrade Headley of New Jersey, be referred to the Committee on Literature. Carried. Berlyn and Bandlow elected com-

The National Secretary brought up the question of placing speakers in the field. National Secretary reported Teofilo Petriella complained of having written to the National Office twice regarding his work and received no reply. Such letters were not received. Discussion by Bandlow and Mailly.

Motion by Slobodin: That at his dis-cretion the National Secretary use Pe-triella's services when possible. Carried. Adjourned to meet Saturday morning at 9 o'clock.

Morning Session, April 22.

Session called to order by National Secretary Barnes. Work elected Chair-man. Minutes of previous session ap-

proved after one correction.

National Secretary read correspondence from International Secretary regarding relations of the Socialist Party with the International Bureau.

Motion by Slobodin: That we pay to the International Socialist Bureau ar-rearages on the basis of 400 francs per year from the time of its organization. Carried.

Motion by Slobodin: That the National Secretary send \$100 to the International Socialist Bureau by May 15th. Carried. National Secretary Barnes read the following letter from Comrade Bandlow regarding his vote on Referendum 6.

#### Bandlow Letter.

J. Mahlon Barnes,
National Secretary, S. P.,
Chicago, Ill.
Dear Comrade: Receiving report on
Referendum No. 6, I find myself reported
as voting "No" on proposition. I am
positive that my vote originally was recorded "Yes," and on investigation I find
that two cards marked 6 were sent out. corded "Yes," and on investigation I find that two cards marked 6 were sent out. This occurred during the time that I was taken sick. I must have confounded the second call with that on Lamb's proposition, on which I voted "No." Not having changed my view as to the necessity of inquiring into the reason why our Milwaukee comrades should have made themselves liable to such misleading action as apparently favoring working into the hands of one of the capitalist candidates, I request that, if possible, my vote be counted as cast on first call by Referendum No. 6. Fraternally yours,

ROBERT BANDLOW,
National Committeeman of Ohio.

Motion by Mailly: That the National Secretary be instructed to inform the National Committee that Bandlow's request to correct his vote was granted and that it results in carrying the Trautmann motion. Carried.

Resolutions from Local Crestline, Ohio, as follows were read:

CRESTLINE RESOLUTIONS.

CRESTLINE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, Wis., be removed as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for advocating the election of a Republican candidate for public office. The act having been admitted and well proven.

Resolved, That the Social Democratic Party of the state of Wisconsin be delarred from all participation in national affairs of the Socialist Party until such time as they apply for and accept a charter such as all other states have accepted, and that they comply with the same conditions as all other states.

Resolved, That these resolutions be sent to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, and to the Socialist Press, with request that the two propositions above noted be submitted to a referendum of the entire party membership in good standing, to be voted for "Yes" or "No," and thus give the rank and file a chance to express their opinion.

The above resolutions were adopted.

The above resolutions were adopted by Local Crestline, State of Ohio, in regular session on April 20th, 1905.

N. J. BEERY, Secretary. WM. LONG, Chairman of Session.

Slobodin states that he would favor action being taken on the resolutions but by the adoption of the Trautmann motion action has been taken by the National Committee.

Motion by Mailly: That the Crestline resolutions take the usual course pro-vided in Article 11, Section 1.

Slobodin questions whether resolutions can be carried out. Mailly replies that the National referendum being superior to the National Committee, the membership has the right to remove any Executive Committeeman. Work, Berlyn, Bandlow and Berger participated in discussion. Motion adopted.

Literature Committee submitted par-tial report, which follows:

LITERATURE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Your Sub-Committee on Literature respectfully recommends that a plan be adopted under which contributions may be solicited from the party membership with the view of securing material for leaflets for propaganda purposes, to-

First: That the National Committee issue an invitation to the members of the Socialist Party asking them to sub-mit drafts for leaflets bearing upon subjects as may be suggested by the National Executive Committee.

Second: That the National Committee offer a prize of fifty dollars as compensation to the writer submitting the best draft upon each of these subjects, same to be determined by the National

Committee. Third: That these drafts be printed in leaslet form in quantities of one million each, but not more than one leaflet on such subject shall be so printed during any one month.

Fourth: That these leaflets shall be sold to the State-Organizations at the rate of one-half of cost price, per thou-sand, not including cost of shipment.

Fifth: That the State Organizations shall be required to supply their re-spective local organizations with these leaflets for a sum not exceeding actual

cost price per thousand:
Sixth: That a similar prize be offered
for a leaflet which shall deal with a new subject every three months and disposed of in a like manner, and shall take the place of such leaflets that may not have proved an effective propaganda means.

That fifteen days after the report of the National Executive Committee has been submitted to the National Committee the National Secretary shall call for the submission of contributions on National Committee has rendered its decision on the writer of the same, the leastet receiving first prize shall be pub-

lished and distributed. Members wishing to enter the con-test are requested to send their manuscript to the National Secretary on or before the time limited for the acceptis requested to sign his article with a nom de plume, and address at the same time in a sealed envelope, not to be opened until after the award and marked with the assumed name, his real

name and address

The decision shall be made in the following manner: All articles sub-mitted shall be printed in a sufficient number of copies and forwarded to the National Committeemen, they to determine their choice under the preferential plan, designating their choice one, two, three, etc. The contribution receiving the largest number of votes as first choice shall be awarded first prize, and the other contributions shall in like manner he adjudged. Seven prizes to be offered for each contest.

The prizes offered shall be as follows: First prize, \$15.00; second, \$10.00, and five prizes, \$5.00 each. Contributions not to exceed fifteen hundred words.

Motion by Beynolds: To adopt report. Carried.

Committee submitted the following subjects for leaflets: 1. " The Socialist Party and Its

Aims."
2. "The Necessity of Discipline in the Socialist Party."

the Socialist Party."

3. "The Socialist Party and Its Conception of Municipal Ownership."
First subject adopted. Second, adopted with Berger voting "No."
Third also adopted. Berger offered "Socialism and Beligion" as a subject. Bandlow opposed, General discussion by Mailly and Berger. Berger withdraws subject.

withdraws subject.
Further report of the committee on reports as follows was adopted:

INDEX CARD SYSTEM.

Relative to the card system, we recommend that the plans be submitted to the membership through the bulletin with the view of bringing to their at-tention the necessity of adopting some system of uniformity in reporting on membership and so forth.

Amended. That National Secretary inform State Secretaries of prices of for reports.

Mailly spoke of the importance of assistance to Ohio in their coming state and city elections.

Motion by Mailly: That the National Secretary be empowered to arrange agitation tours for John M. Work, John C. Chase, John Collins, Dan A. White, John Spargo, James F. Carey, John W. Brown, George E. Bigelow, Joseph Wanhope, Charles G. Towner, Ben Hanford, John W. Slayton, S. M. Reynolds, Guy E. Miller and such other capable speakers as may be available. Carried.

Motion by Bearolds: That Butus W.

Motion by Reynolds: That Rufus W. Weeks and Philip Rappaport's manuscripts be referred to Literature Committee. Carried.

Complete report of the Auditing Committee was presented.

AUDITOR'S REPORT. We, Charles H. Kerr and S. M. Reynolds, auditors selected by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America, do certify that we have carefully examined the books of National Secretary William Mailly for the year ending December 31, 1904; have examined also with like care, vouchers, re-ceipts, stubs, cash book, bank books, ledger cards and other records of the business methods of the National Office, and find the same orderly and simple; the books clean, correct and very simple; every contribution, large or small, and every source of revenue being entered in separate columns oppo-site the comrades names or other persons; expenditures in the same manner. We examined also the bank book of Secretary Mailly, showing amount kept with the Metropolitan Trust and Savings Bank.

CHARLES H KERR S. M. REYNOLDS.

Auditors chosen by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of

Work done April 18 and 19, 1905.

#### AUDITORS' SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

We, Charles H. Kerr and S. M. Reynolds, make same report and in words and terms contained in our report spread upon page 489, cash book No. 1, having executed said work to the beginning of the second day of February, 1905, being the day of the retirement was filed and the reply of National Secretary of the second se from the office of National Secretary of the Socialist Party of Comrade William Mailly and the day of the entrance upon the duties of the said office of Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes.

CHARLES H. KERR, S. M. REYNOLDS,

Auditors chosen by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America Work done April 18 and 19, 1905. Re-

port signed April 19, 1905.

Total Receipts and Expenditures from Jan. 1, 1904, to Feb. 1, 1905, Inclusive.

### RECEIPTS.

į	Literature 4,205.73
ì	Propaganda and campaign fund 11,024.09
g	Buttons 1,344.21
ij	Lithographs 758.50
H	Lecture Bureau 102.70
	Debs and Hanford, campaign
	account 1,167.53
	Miscellaneous 268.52
	Total\$34,286.39
	EXPENDITURES .
	Exchange \$ 42,50
	Expense 711.67
	Freight and express 1,820.76
	Organization and agitation 5,282.02
	Office equipment 405.28
9	Office help 2,323.00
	Printing 8,522.22

Salary
Telegrams
Quorum
Merchandise, literature and 573.56 buttons
Lecture Bureau, old debt.
Office rent
Milwaukee special speakers
National Committee, 1962
Miscellaneous 1.198.99 Total .....\$34,237,27

SUMMARY. receipts ......  January 1, 1904, and ending at close of Organization and declined to pay furbusiness February 1, 1905.

Examined, certified, this 20th day of April, 1905.

Motion by Bandlow: That the Na-

S. M. REYNOLDS. CHARLES H. KERR,

Auditors selected by National Executive Committee.

Motion by Slobodin: That final report of Auditing Committee be accepted and a copy of the same be spread on the books. Adopted.

On motion adjournment was taken to meet at 1:30 P. M.

Afternoon Session, April 22. Session called to order by National

Secretary Barnes. Slobodin elected Chairman. Minutes of previous session read and approved.

Bandlow continued report of Litera-ture Committee. Bandlow favored adoption of Weeks' article. Berlyn dissent-

Motion by Bandlow: That Weeks' article be accepted and published by the National Committee. National Secretary read copy of letter to Weeks and reply to the same. Motion carried.

Motion by Bandlow: That Rappaport's lecture be accepted and published by the National Committee. General discussion followed.

followed.

Bandlow withdrew motion.

Motion by Bandlow: That the National Secretary inform Comrade Rappaport that owing to lack of funds at present it was not deemed advisable to publish his article, but requests that the Executive Committee be permitted to hold the same with the view of using it later on. Carried.

National Secretary presented com-munications from Bandlow and Maschke advising a number of constitutional

Motion by Mailly: That the suggested amendments be made a part of the min-utes of the Executive Committee for the information of the National Committee. Bandlow demanded roll call. Yes-Bandlow, Mailly, Slobodin, 3. No—Berger, Berlyn, Reynolds, Work, 4. Motion defeated.

Reynolds requested that he be re-corded as voting against the motion, as the action would conflict with Article 11 and its sections.

Communication from Morris Hillquit was read suggesting rules governing submission of referendums to the National Committee.

Motion by Bandlow: That Hillquit's suggestions are a matter for the consideration of the National Committee. Carried.

A communication from Local Springfield was read relating to the supposed endorsement of a capitalist candidate or his appearance upon the ballot in the Socialist Column in the election held December last. Local reported that it had not endorsed the candidate in any way, but that in the primaries of all parties, which are held at the same time, this candidate for City Clerk had received one vote as a Socialist from some unknown person and this one vote gave him a place on the ballot in the Socialist column. The local organization was unable to prevent his name appearing in that manner. The local had requested the candidate to decline the nomination received through the one vote in the joint primaries, but he refused to do so. The local was, therefore, helpless and could take no further action in the matter as the State law protected the can-didate in his claim for a place in the Socialist column.

Motion by Reynolds: That correspondence be placed on file. Carried.

Motion by Work: That copies of the Springfield correspondence be forwarded to the State Committee of Massachusetts. Carried.

Correspondence with the State Secretary of Washington regarding the selection of a temporary National Com-mitteeman by the State Committee was read. Former National Secretary Mailly held that he could not recognize the action.

Motion by Berlyn: That the correspondence be filed and reply of National Secretary be endorsed. Carried.

A lengthy communication from Levin T. Jones of Baltimore was read requesting that the National Office adjust some retary endorsed.

Correspondence with Local Albuquerque, N. M., requesting payment of a bill of expenses incurred in arranging a meeting for a speaker who failed to appear was read.

Position of the National Secretary that the bill could not be allowed, as every effort was made to fill the date, endorsed.

National Secretary stated that another order would have to be placed for books for locals.

Motion by Reynolds: That the Na tional Secretary be given discretion in the purchase of account books. Carried. National Secretary called attention to W. J. Ghent's tabulation of the Socialist vote and the same was accepted as authoritative by the Executive Committee.

Correspondence of J. H. Bearrup of Albuquerque, N. M., suggesting a plan of co-operation between his company and the National Office was read. Same was placed on file.

Letters from Ella Reeve Cohen, John W. Bennett and Luella R. Kraybill relating to acting as organizers, was by consent allowed to take the usual course provided for such applications.

Communication was read from State Secretary of Wyoming referring to a letter from W. Bonham of Local Sheridan and both suggesting Robert Randall of that state for state organizer.

Motion by Berlyn: That the qualifica-tions urged in favor of Randall are not sufficient to secure appointment as or-ganizer. Carried.

Correspondence with Comrade Jen nings of Austin, Pa., was read regarding plate matter for the Socialist National Secretary had replied that the apparent demands for this service and penditure of time and funds did not bring the results anticipated.

Motion by Berlyn: That correspondence be filed. Carried. Communication was read from State

Motion by Bandlow: That the National Secretary inform Bohemian Committee that Local Neffs had withdrawn from State Organizaton and be asked to comply with agreement to affiliate with the State Organization. Carried.

Motion by Mailly: That expulsions or defalcations should not be published by the National Office unless coming through the State Committees. Carried.

Correspondence with alleged Territorial Agitation Committee of Indian Territory was read, the formation of the same meeting with the disapproval of the National Secretary, as the Na-tional Office was not consulted and the rules governing the appointment of Na-tional speakers and organizers was vio-

Motion by Mailly: That action of Na-tional Secretary be approved. Carried. National Secretary called attention to the difficulty in apportioning monthly bulletins and lateness of its distribution each month occasioned by reshipment from State Secretary's office.

A general discussion followed. Motion by Bandlow: That a subscription price of 25 cents per annum shall be charged for the official Bulletin.

National Secretary reported a letter from Tulare, Cal., on legal aspects of the party in connection with the primary

Motion by Work: That the letter from Local Tulare be referred to the State Committee of California. Carried.

Motion by Mailly: That National Secretary appropriate \$100.00 to stock the literature department with standard works on Socialism. Carried.

The question of the number of National Convention Proceedings on hand arose and Comrade Mailly stated that he arose and comrade Mainy stated that he attributed it to the lack of notice the Socialist Press gave to it though each paper received a copy and was requested to make mention of it.

Motion by Mailly: That the National Secretary be empowered to advertise the National Convention proceedings. Car-ried.

Berlyn asked that the instructions given speakers and organizers under the direction of the National office be read. Motion by Berlyn: That Executive Committee add to instructions to speak-ers and organizers as follows:

ers and organizers as follows:

That the National Secretary add to the instructions to National Lecturers and Organizers not to participate in any differences that may arise in the economic organizations of the working class, but strictly adhere to the advocacy of Socialism in conformity with the platform and resolutions of the party adopted at Chicago in May, 1904. Carried.

Slobodin for the committee read the call for an agitation fund.

Motion by Bandlow: That call be adopted as read. Carried. Motion by Berlyn: That the call for an agitation fund be sent to the press and previous contributors in order to get as wide a distribution as possible. Car-

The movement in Indian Territory was considered and after some discussion, and on motion by Mailly, it was decided that special attention be given

that territory.

Correspondence and a report from the International Socialise Bureau datad. March 1st was read regarding the relations of the Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party to the Bureau. and the

Motion by Bandlow: That a record be made of the fact that the Socialist Labor Party had secured representation on the International Socialist Bureau in February. Carried. Committee on Finance submitted their

report, which follows:

report, which follows:

Pirst. We recommend the adoption of the coupon plan proposed, by which the local, state and National organizations can share equally, as a means to collecting an agitation fund.

Second. We recommend also that the National Secretary consider the advisability of using the stamp system for collecting for the agitation fund, the stamps to be handled under the same conditions as the coupon plan, and if practicable the National Secretary shall be empowered to put same into use.

Motion by Work: That the first recom-

Motion by Work: That the first recom-mendation of the Finance Committee be adopted. Carried. Second recommenda-tion defeated.

### RUSSIAN RESOLUTION.

Motion by Mailly: The National Exin session assembled, herewith donates \$50.00 to express its sympathy with the Social Democratic Party of Russia and sends greetings to it in the name of International Socialism, and in behalf of the growing solidarity of the world-wide working class. We also urge the Socialists of America to aid liberally the struggle of the Russian proletariat, and the Socialist Press to give constant and full publicity to their cause. Carried.

Ordered that copies of these resolutions be sent to the International So-cialist Bureau and the contribution to the headquarters of the Russian Social Democratic Party, at Geneva, Switzerland.

On motion the Executive Committee adjourned to meet Thursday, July 13th, at 7 P. M. Adjourned at 6 P. M. (Signed) JAMES ONEAL, Secretary.

#### NATIONAL CONVENTION PRO-CEEDINGS.

The official stenographic report of the proceedings of the National Convention, May 1-6, 1904 makes a book of 337 pages 6x9 inches, which every Socialist should possess. Besides the full report of speeches and debates, the book contains an appendix full of informationfor every student and live Socialist, among which may be mentioned: List of Socialist papers and periodicals in the United States, both in English and foreign languages; list of all delegates, with mail address; report of Committee on State and Municipal Program; Na-tional Platform and Constitution; Socialist vote, etc., with complete index . so that ready reference can be made to remarks of any speaker or subject. In fine red cloth binding the price

is .......\$1.00 Carefully packed and postage paid.
Order from National Secretary, 269
Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

### JEWISH.

"Workingmen, Next!"-by Benjamin Feigenbaum. A Jewish pamphlet, containing Jewish translation of the Secretary of Ohio stating Bohemian National platform, 48 pages. Sing Local Neffs had withdrawn from State copy, 5e; 50 for \$1.75; 100 for \$3.00.

#### NATIONAL COMMITTEE REFERENDUMS.

Result of Vote Upon Motions Nos. 6 and 7—Motions 8, 9 and 10 Submitted.

(Continued from page one.)

against him before the organization of the party in Wisconsin. Should the State organization of Wisconsin en-dorse Comrade Berger's stand, then Comrade Trautmann or any other mem-ber of the National Committee, if he sees fit, may proceed against the said State organization in the manner provided for by the rule adopted by our party at the meeting of the National Committee held in 1903, but I do not think that the National Committee has any warrant or authority to direct the Executive Committee of any state to make an investigation of the conduct of any member of the State organization. I append a copy of the resolution adopted by the National Committee at St. Louis in January, 1903, bearing on the subject."

Gilbert (Utah)—"I vote No on the motion to table Motion No. 6, for the reason that although the admission since made by Comrade Victor L. Berger disposes of the necessity for com-plying with that part of the motion calling for an investigating committee to ascertain facts now disclosed; to table the motion, however, would be to temporarily defcat the main and specific purpose embodied in Comrade Trautmann's motion, to-wit: 'If parties be found guilty of such violation of Socialist party ethics, they to be disciplined through the State Executive Committee, to the extent required by adopted rules of the Socialist Party.'

In view of existing circumstances it is properly within the province of the National organization to determine whether the action on the part of the Milwaukee comrades—as admitted by Comrade Victor L. Berger—constitutes such violation of the National constitution as to call for further action either on the part of the State Execu-tive Board of Wisconsin, or they failing to act, the National Committee."

Thompson (Wis.)—"In comment on my vote on Motions 6 and 7, which are enclosed, I wish to say that on Com-rade Trautmann's motion to call upon the State Executive Board of Wisconsin to investigate the alleged 'collusion' between the Social Democratic-Party and the capitalist parties in the city of Milwaukee, I have voted "No," and on the motion of Comrade Lamb to table Comrade Trautmann's motion, I vote "Yes," for the following reasons:

"In the first place, there is nothing to investigate. Comrade Berger's statement to the members of the National Committee explains fully the whole situation.

"The articles in the Wahrheit referred to were not written 'to advocate to the members not to go into the judicial election,' as Comrade Traut-mann alleges. They were not written until after the referendum of the party had been taken. That is the first point to be kept in mind. And that disposes

of that part of Trautmann's position. "Furthermore, after Comrade Berger had written the articles and before they appeared, the matter was submitted to the City Central Committee of Milwaukee, and by a vote almost unan-

imous, it was supported.

"It is perfectly clear, therefore, that no fault can be laid to Comrade Berger. He acted consistently and at every point in accord with the expressed will of the local party organization. of the local party organization; and acted not before, but after the will of the party had been expressed.

"Furthermore, the City Central Committee of Milwaukee cannot be charged

with any violation of party discipline for the reason that the State Constitution of the Wisconsin S. D. P. is so framed as to make the action taken by the Milwaukee C. C. C. perfectly

constitutional.
"It only remains, therefore, to inquire whether the State Constitution of the S. D. P. of Wisconsin conflicts with the National Constitution. As a mat-ter of fact, it does not. The Wisconsin State Constitution, Section 28, prowides that it shall be a violation of party discipline 'to vote for or sup-port any other party than the Social Democratic Party, whenever it has a ticket in the field.'

"This allows our comrades to vote for other party candidates where our party has no ticket in the field. But the National Constitution does not say that they shall not. It says, 'No State or Local organization shall under any circumstances fuse; combine or com-promise with any other political party or organization or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the can didate of such other organization.' If now, it could be shown that the Mil-waukee comrades had refrained from nominating candidates in order to favor the candidate of the other party—then it would constitute a violation of the National Constitution. But only so. As a matter of fact, as has been distinctly stated over and over again, this was in no sense the reason. reas as which have influenced the Milwantee comrades not to go into the judicial election have been fully stated by Comrade Berger in his communica-tion to the National Committeemen.

"Where, then, is the gross violation of Socialist Party ethics," that Comrade Trautmann makes such a fuss about?

"And, furthermore, in view of the above facts, this motion of Comrade Trautmann's is an unreasoned and It savors so much of the tactics that wrought the ruin of the Socialistic Labor Party that it should receive a prompt rebuke. It seems to me that Comrade Trautmann has a had attack of pseudo DeLeonism. He re-fers to DeLeon as the one 'who repre-

Party State Platform of Wisconsin; his course in his labor union is splitting the trades union movement, and he is working tooth and toe-nail for a movement that we are informed is to State movement and embroil the National Committee in order to do it.

"I want to say, that I have traveled in nearly every state west of Ohio, and that I know the movement in all these states quite intimately, and to my knowledge there is no other State or-ganization so distinctly proletarian, so positively uncompromising, so com-pletely in accord with the established principles of International Socialism, as the Social Democratic Party of Wis consin. And this fact is due more to the influence and effort of Victor L. Berger than to any other single indi-Furthermore, in spite of Comrade Trautmann's slur at the State Platform and insinuation regarding the Wisconsin movement, the party here Wisconsin movement, the party here has actually accomplished more than any other organization in any state in the Union towards the actual organization of a class-conscious workingman's political party.
"We ought not to permit or encour-

we ought not to permit or encourage this sort of thing to be forced upon
the comrades to uselessly hinder and
injure the movement. We ought resolutely and promptly to put an end to
that sort of DeLeonistic tactics. Otherwise our movement will be constantly
embroiled with petty fights and useless wrangles. I therefore vote with Com-rade Lamb to table the motion."

Ramp (Ore.)—"Like Comrade Lamb of Michigan, I am of the opinion it would be well for the National Committee to leave these matters to the State organization.

"I take the Social Democratic Herald and had not heard of the matter before, consequently think it of little importance."

#### RULES FOR PROCEEDING AGAINST FUSION OR COMPROMISE.

Resolution Adopted by the National Committee, in Session at St. Louis, Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 1903.

That any state or territorial organi-zation taking any action violating the Anti-Fusion Resolutions adopted by this Committee at St. Louis, Jan. 31, 1903, or adopting a constitution or platform in conflict with the National Constitu-tion or National Platform, on the neglect or refusal of such State or Terri torial organization to conform or to enforce such conformity on the part of any local or locals or members thereof under its jurisdiction, shall be proceeded against in the following manner:

1. Charges may be made to the National Secretary by any member of the National Committee.

2. When such charges are so made, the National Secretary shall so notify the State Committee and the National Committeeman from the state, furnish ing a copy of charges so made.

3. The National Secretary shall thereupon obtain statements of the facts in the case from both sides with-in thirty days and forthwith sub-mit the same to members of the National Committee.

On the majority vote of members of the National Committee sustaining such charges, such state shall cease to be an integral part or subdivision of the Socialist Party of America; all such decisions, however, shall be submitted to a referendum of the party membership, including the state in question.

### Referendum 6, Motion No. 6.

By Trautmann, of Ohio:

"The National Committee calls upon the State Executive Board of Wisconsin to proceed at once with an investigation as to whether a collusion, secret, or open understanding exists in the organization, or a member or memcapitalist parties and said State Executive Committee be demanded to ascertain whether the endorsement of state candidates running on capitalist party tickets in a Socialist paper has had the sanction and approval of the party members. In either case, if parties be found guilty of such a gross violation of Socialist Party ethics, they to be disciplined, through the State Execue Committee to the extent required adopted rules of the Socialist

Voting Yes-Andrus, Ala.; Barnette, Ark.; Richardson, Cal.; Floaten, Col.; Woodside, Col.; Carter, Ida.; Work, Ia.; Towner, Ky.; McHugh, Mont.; Ia.; Towner, Ky.; McHugh, Mont.; O'Neil, N. H.; Kearns, N. J.; Band-low, Ohio; Trautmann, Ohio; Floyd, R. L.; Kerrigan, Tex.; Gilbert, Utah; Arvidson, Vt.; Smith, Wash. Total, 18.

Voting No-Lowry, Ark.; White, Conn.; Healey, Fla.; Berlyn, Ill.; Reynolds, Ind.; McAllister, Kas.; Putnam, La.; Gibbs, Mass.; Lamb, Mich.; Holman, Minn.; Hoehn, Mo.; Headley, N. J.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Maschke, Okla.; Zimmerman, W. Va.; Thompson, Wis.; Hastings, Wyo. Total, 17.

Not Voting—Jacobs, Ia.; Fox, Me.; Ray, Neb.; Lampman, N. D.; Lovett, S. D.; Berger, Wis. Total, 6.

The motion was therefore carried. Note-This motion was at first reported as defeated by a vote of 18 to 17, but Comrade Bandlow, of Ohio, afterwards discovered that he had been recorded "No." Bandlow's letter appears in the report of the National Executive Committee meeting, held April 20-22, printed elsewhere in this bul-

### Comment.

Alabama (Andrus)—"Let there be light; more light."

"Not for a moment do I doubt Comrade Berger's integrity as a Socialist, nor his honesty of purpose, nor do I question his motive, nor have I any fear of his devotion to the revolutionary program of the Socialist Party. But I fear his zeal in combatting the clerical influence of the Catholic church caused him to go too far in this instance.

"There has been no clearly defined party rule, except that there shall be no fusion by any organization or can-didate of the party with any other party or candidate, and that each of us when joining have agreed to sever all allegiance to any other political party. Each Socialist interprets these party. Each Socialist interprets these to suit himself and we have all shades

of opinions on this subject.

"In Colorado, last year, we had many members of our party that advocated that no state ticket be nominated by the Socialists, in order that the Republican party might be defeated by the Democrats.

"Members in good standing then and now who advocated the election of the Democratic nominee for governor have told me that they considered themselves as good Socialists as anyone in the party, and they have not forgiven me yet for accepting the nomination for governor on the Socialist ticket.

"Then, there is another class that thinks we should vote our ticket when one is in the field, but when we have no ticket, then we are at liberty to help nominate any other, especially if other is called non-partisan.

"There is another class who would deny any Socialist the right to do any of the things I have mentioned, but who claim the privilege of voting for and advocating the election of some other candidate after he is nominated. Here I understand Comrade Berger to take his stand. If his position should be sustained by the National Commit-tee, I shall feel very very sorry, for I can see disaster ahead for the Socialist Party. If this case shall set the precedent, it will mean the destruction of the Socialist Party as a militant party; it will mean fusion, and fusion always destroys the weaker party. This will not be on account of what Comrade Berger has done or will do, but on ac-

count of what others will do. "The man or men who could have prevented the Socialist ticket from going on the ballot in Colorado last year could have gotten money for so doing. could have gotten money for withdrawing in time to have prevented the vacancy being filled and so could one of the candidates for congress. Let us analyze Comrade Berger's position: For the sake of illustrating, we will say that I have considerable influence with the Socialists in Denver, as we know Comrade Berger has in Milwau, kee, and that I am looked to for advice as he admits he is. Prior to a city election I advocate in the newspapers read by the Socialists that we make no nominations and give good reasons.

My views prevail. After the tickets are nominated I suggest that we "down" some particular candidates for good reasons by voting for their opponents. I have the confidence of my fellow-comrades to such an extent that my suggestion is approved by the City organization; then I advocate the election of certain candidates through the newspapers read by the Socialists.

"I want to say, that if the Socialist Party in Denver was strong enough so it held the balance of power between the other tickets, which may go by the names of People's, Taxpayers, Citisuggested, and Comrade Berger could get lots of money for doing just what

he has done.
"While I would accuse myself of taking money for doing such as soon as I would Comrade Berger, we can see how the flood gates of corruption would be opened into our party if his position should be sustained.

"Now, in regards to jurisdiction of the National Committee, to which Comrade Berger demurs, I desire to say that the National Constitution pro '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 a candidate of such

organization. "If Comrade Berger's acts are in violation of this section then the City Central Committee has violated the National Constitution by endorsing said acts, as Comrade Berger says was done by "the votes of all except five of about seventy present. Endorsement is fusion. If the National Committee has not the right to investigate alleged violations of the National Constitution, who has? Again, Comrade Berger is a member of the National Committee and I hold that the National Committee has jurisdiction over its members the same as any other elective body, to the extent of inquir-ing into their conduct, to discipline or even expel from its membership any member who violates the rules govern-ing our party. State autonomy which gives to the state organization sole jurisdiction of its members cannot be interpreted to take away from the No interpreted to take away from the National Committee jurisdiction of its own members. Understand, I do not claim that the National Committee can deprive anyone of membership in his fers to DeLeon as the one 'who represents genuine Socialist measures and principles'; he is given page after page in DeLeon's paper, 'The People'; he slurs at the Social Democratic ple'; he slurs at the Soc

been in the Socialist movement long besplitfore I knew what Socialism was; but
and I must do my duty as 1 see it.

for a
''I have read Comrade Berger's ediis to torials and also his defense or demurrer to Comrade Trautmann's motion,

tacrer to Comrade Trautmann's motion,

position is that after I have joined the

Massachusetts (Gibbs)—"In regard ties of the old Socialist Trades and submitted to the National Committee, Socialist Party and agreed to sever all Labor Alliance—and now he wants to discredit and disrupt the Wisconsin State movement. "I realize that there is a wide range of opinions amongst Socialists on this if I under any circumstances advocate very point, and it is a question on the election of any candidate on any which we honestly disagree. the election of any candidate on any ticket, except the Socialist ticket.

"From the standpoint of a political Socialist, there is no such thing as a non-partisan candidate for any politi-cal office. The object and mission of the Socialist Party in politics is to do away with capitalism and inaugurate Socialism. All who take a position that a Socialist cannot take, or who stand as a representative of those who favor capitalism, are partisans and opponents of the Socialist Party, just as much as the political Socialist is a partisan. I must, therefore, overrule Comrade Berger's demurrer and support Com-Trautmann's motion to investigate, so this point may be settled."

Connecticut (White)-"Since every thing Trautmann alleges seems to be acknowledged by Berger or sustained by the evidence in the quotations from "Warheit," I do not think we should proceed in the manner of Trautmann's motion, so I vote against it. The case seems to me to deserve severe discipline and should not be laid on the table or whitewashed over."

Idaho (Carter)-f'It seems to me, after carefully reviewing the state-ment of Comrade Victor L. Berger, that there has been a plain violation of that part of the National Constitution, Article 12, Section 3, that says, 'Or refrain from making nominations in order to favor the candidate of such organizations.' While I will admit there may be some extenuating circumstances in the matter, I think it very poor tactics from a Socialist point of view, in the absence of Socialist nominees, to advocate the election or defeat of any capitalist candidate. Better maintain a policy of silence to reasoning from that standpoint. I can see no reason for my receding from the original stand I took in the matter, that of voting in favor of Comrade Trautmann's motion."

Illinois (Berlyn)-"I yote No because I cannot endorse the insinuations contained in the motion of National Committeeman Trautmann. I would not in any way reflect on the integrity of National Committeeman Berger, yet I desire to record my dissent from the position taken by the editor of the 'Wahrheit' and 'Vorwaerts.' I believe it the duty of the party wherever organized to oppose the capitalist par-ties at every election if it is possible. Our party is the party of the working class against the capitalist class and if the Catholic Church is not friendly to the Socialists in Milwaukee I would like to hear where it is friendly to our cause, and for that matter is there any religious organization that is friendly to our cause? In my judgment, it is poor policy to fight any particular creed when they are all equally opposed to us. We cannot afford to go on record as being anti-Catholic. We have many good comrades who call have many good comrades who call themselves Catholics, but that is their concern, not ours. "Experience in other countries teaches us that we must fight capital-

ism as a whole, not favor one part as against another. The miserable results of Millerandism in France and more recently in Italy induced the last International Congress at Amsterdam to de-clare itself on that sort of policy. The situation sums itself up in this state of fact that the state of Wisconsin holds no charter from the party, having refused to accept one because it contained a revocation clause. The state of Wisconsin is the only state that holds no charter and is represented on the National Committee. Therefore, I hold we have no jurisdiction no matnames of People's, Taxpayers, Citi-zens or non-partisan, I could get lots of money for doing just what I have subordinate organization of that state. The state of Wisconsin has always refused the National office such informagiven by tion as has been cheerfully every other State organization. The comrades will readily see that we have no jurisdiction in Wisconsin, and there-fore I vote No."

Indiana (Reynolds)-"I vote No. Comrade Berger's statement takes the matter entirely out of the inhibitions of Article 12, Section 3, of Constitution. I do not approve of voting or advising Socialists to vote for any capitalist candidate because he is better than some men are who have attacked We are fighting for Socialism, and will never gain substantially by giving our suffrages according to our likes or prejudices. What better is Adams dethroned than McDonald enthroned or Peabody out? We should and the requirements of their use our ballots for Socialism, not to hit movement. Their vote shows the its enemies. I have faith in Comrade letarian and class-conscions character of Berger, but do not like his editorial, their organization. Since in these re-He never colluded with anyone and no doubt justifies his editorial and he as well as all comrades everywhere will come soon to know that our ballots are priceless when polled for Socialism and only injurious when east for any candidate. however upright personally many of them are. I would not vote for or against any capitalist candidate if he were my dearest friend or most intense enemy. We cannot prudently so advise our comrades. Let those who maintain the present system of society have the responsibility, the rewards and the shame. We shall surely grow stronger in this position and weaker in the other."

Kentucky (Towner)-"In regard to Motion 6, I think a great mistake has been made by some members of the National Committee ascribing personal motives in regard to this question. I

to Motion No. 6, now pending, I desire to say that my vote is already recorded condition precedent to joining, I canin the negative, and I wish it to so
not remain a member in good standing
stand. Since voting, however, new inif I under any circumstances advocate
the election of any candidate on any
terially alters the comments I made. desire therefore to substitute these in place of the comments which accompanied my ballot on Motion No. 6.

"I vote No because the motion calls for an investigation of facts which are now fully known. There is therefore nothing to be investigated. The acknowledged facts are these: First, that the Milwaukee comrades by referendum vote decided not to nominate a judiciary ticket; second, that after this decision had been reached Comrade Berger expressed a preference for one of the old party candidates as against another. The only question involved therefore is the right or wrong of these acts on the part of the Mil-waukee comrades and Victor Berger, in the light of Socialist tactics, of National and State rules governing the same.

"The right to nominate or not tainly belongs to the locals, and the Milwaukee comrades were well within their prerogatives in deciding not to do so. There is no rule, State or National, which imposes the obligation to nomi-nate a ticket. Failure to nominate for the express purpose of aiding the elec-tion of capitalist candidates may be accepted as evidence of collusion, v. is condemned by a National Constitution.

"Whether the reasons given by the Milwaukee comrades for their failure to nominate are valid or not may be a debatable question. Certain it is, how-ever, that no ulterior purpose and no collusion whatever can be charged to them. They acted in good faith and well within their rights.

"The other question involved is the right of a comrade, in case there are no Socialist candidates, to express a preference for one of the other candidates, either editorially or at the ballot box. Personally I believe that it is best to avoid even the suspicion of compro-mise, and I therefore refrain from voting for candidates or even for meas ures which are not specifically endorsed by the Socialist Party. In the absence of any rule, however, covering this point, I recognize that there may be an honest difference of opinion without violation of party law. If the statement issued by the Milwaukee comrades is correct, the provocation was great, and the International precegreat, and the International prece-dents are on Comrade Berger's side. "The most that can be charged on

either of these questions, therefore, is an error of judgment the seriousness of which is a proper subject for calm and deliberate discussion. The hasty and histerical denunciation, the insinuation of treason and collusion, the loud and lurid calls for discipline and expulsion, are a far more threatening danger to our movement than any possible mis-take on the part of Victor Berger and

the Milwaukee comrades.
"Nor can the animus of all this denunciation be divorced from the motion itself. The attempt to belittle and discredit the Wisconsin movement is not new, neither are the bull-in-the-China-shop tactics of the individuals who are back of it, as is evidenced by the Turner and Futvoye letters, as well as by this latest outbreak. Those of us who have known the

mental characteristics of the individual longer than others can assure our comrades of other states that it is a good time to put lurid editorial denuncia-tions in the waste basket and go slow. "If we must choose between con-demning the possible mistake of our Milwaukee comrades on the one hand, and a renaissance of DeLeonism minus DeLeon's tact and brains on the other, wisdom and justice alike demand that we choose the former."

Michigan (Lamb)-"In on Comrade Trautmann's motion, I am influenced by these considerations:

"1. No specific or definite charges, are made. The effect of adoption of Motion 6 would be to set the National Committee to looking up something on which to base charges.

"2. This is an inquisitorial method of proceeding.

"3. The course of proceeding and tactics of the Milwaukee organization is in accord with the established practice in Germany and other countries.

"4. Any action taken in the premises should be taken or instituted in the Wisconsin organization by Wisconsin Socialists.

"5. The Milwaukee comrades are the best judges of their local situation movement. Their vote shows the prospects the Milwaukee comrades have for several campaigns made a better record than any other city in the United States, a proper modesty would suggest that they be let alone. straight Socialist vote indicates that no 'discipline' is needed in their case."

Montana (McHugh)-"I vote Yes with all my soul. The editorials as translated from "Wahrheit" would in-dicate treason ten thousand times more dangerous than open fusion with capi-Blurring the line of talistic parties. the class struggle, or of the class struggle, or of the guir that separates the working class from the capitalist class; teaching the green turners that they can mend their condition by electing a "red turner" or "blue turner" or any other kind of a "non-partisan good man" on a bourgeois ticket, is the hidden treachery within. Outside we are invulnerable. Berger's explanation does not justify the offense. If the movement in WisNew Jersey (Headley)—"As the mo-tion to lay on the table is lost, I sup-pose it is now in order to vote on the

original motion.
"I vote No on Motion No. 6, because I do not think it necessary to call upon the State Executive Board of Wiscon-sin to investigate something with which we must all be, by this time, very well acquainted. We have the evidence, let us consider it in a calm and brotherly manner as comrades who not only preach the 'Brotherhood of Man' but

who believe what they preach.
"When Comrade Berger construes
Section 3, in Article 12, of the National
Constitution to mean, 'that whenever Constitution to mean, 'that whenever and wherever the Socialist Party has and wherever the Socialist Party has no ticket in the field, any member individually has a right to vote or not to vote just as he pleases,' he makes a very dangerous mistake, for if such a construction should ever become general, we would have to bid good-bye to the organized Socialist movement, in the organized Socialist movement, in this country at least, for many years to come. A very serious mistake has been made. Many mistakes have been made in the past. Many more will be made in the future, as Socialists are not infallible. Let us not get too ex-cited, and if the language of our Constitution is not plain enough to express properly the will of the majority, let us proceed at once to make it so plain that it will be impossible for any class-conscious Socialist to misconstrue it in the future. I may be wrong, but I am inclined to believe that the state autonomy clause in our Constitution has more to do with the present trouble than the wording of Section 3, in Ar-ticle 12. Comrade Berger claims that because of state autonomy the National Committee has no jurisdiction over the organization in his state, and what he says appears to be true, for the State organization of Wisconsin refused to accept the charter issued by the National Committee, and no steps have as yet been taken to compel that body to recognize the authority of the National organization. It has refused to fur-nish the National office with a list of its locals, it has also refused to use the due stamps furnished by the National headquarters and accepted by other states as the best means whereby to collect the National dues. Is there any wonder then that Comrade Berger and few of the other comrades at the a few of the other comrades at head of the movement in Wisconsin have begun to believe that the rank and file throughout the land have no right whatever to criticise their work and actions, not even when we know that such words and actions have a tendency to make the task of convert-ing our fellow men harder than ever.
"We have a right to criticise, and it

is our duty, as members of the Socialist Party, to protect our National organization whenever danger threatens it. The Socialist Party of Wisconsin is to-day without a charter, its leaders have refused to accept one. Such being the case, Comrade Berger has no constitutional right to act as a member of the National Executive Committee. Let the National Committee demand of Comrade Berger and his associates that they be guided by the rules of our Na-tional Constitution; if they are willing to do this all will be well, and they will soon see the great movement which they have worked so hard to build, greater than ever. If they refuse, the National Committee must do its duty and declare vacant the place now held by Comrade Berger on the National Executive Committee. If there is danger in this, it is far better to meet it now than later on. I do not think that such action, if forced upon us, will disrupt the movement in Wisconsin, for we can rest assured that the great majority of those comrades who have so bravely fought their capitalist masters will refuse to allow any man or set of men to wreck the Socialist movement in their state by continuing to ignore their National organization."

New York (Hillquit)-"Comment sent out with report on referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7."

Ohio (Trautmann)—"In voting 'yes' been Mr. Hoehn of St. Louis who had cannot posse committed by me, I wish made such assertions, and the very fact to guard the property of the railway to emphasize flees few points, as in that he, while serving on the committed by me, I wish that he will serving on the committed by the terretain that he will serve the terretain that he will serve the terretain that a certain the answers of several comrades they have been overlooked as if of smaller importance. In the motion it is al-leged that a 'collusion or secret or open understanding' might exist. This is so far evident from the fact that prior to the party members of Milwaukee having taken a vote 'not to nominate' this fact caused several comrades, in such was advised and urged in editori- the spur of the moment, to tear their als of the same paper, 'Die Wahrheit,' without telling them, however, that later on advices would be given to vote however, that for a candidate on a capitalist party ticket. This gives reason to assume that there was a prearranged under-standing, and the very fact that the 'Wahrheit' persisted in advising the Socialists to vote for Wallber in the issues of March 25 and April 1, is proof positive of the grossest violation of Socialist Party tactics and principles. There certainly must be reasons and who pose as exponents of 'genuine motives underlying others as presented trade unionism, yet never knew what a for such a policy. The State Committee of Wisconsin owes a duty to the entire party membership to have its it was when hunger is staring the record cleansed, and guilty parties disciplined. Not only those who have already pleaded guilty to part of charges made, but those also who might master class; and who declined to admissible found as having bear in master class; and who declined to admissible found as having bear in master class; and who declined to admissible found as having bear in master class; and who declined to adcharges made, but those also who might master class; and who declined to adbe found as having been in such a collusion with a candidate known to be a partisan ticket.

"So much as I defest to respond to are arrayed in pitched battle against Mr. Berger's personal abuses, and to the master class, unaware of this fact follow the character assassination tae that the labor lieutenant of capital is tics employed in the last editions of warring as inuch an enemy of organized and un"Wahrheit' and 'Social Democratic Heradd,' yet the Socialists of America ought to know that Mr. Berger does not desire to stop at that point. I know now through incontrovertible evidence, that Mr. Berger was instrumental in inducing a Milwaukee member of the International Executive Board of travel to Europe. Yet there he voted United Brewery Worker to desire the contributed the money to let him the contributed the contributed the money to let him the contributed the contributed and the contributed the contributed and the contributed International Executive Board of travel to Europe. Yet there he voted in the propertied classes.

United Brewery Workers to demand of said board to send to every brewery congresses, the same people by whose worker of America a circular letter, money he was enabled to be a delegate. Which was done, and which tended to Beturning from Europe he was soon blackmail me before these members and ientreated to leave Chicago forever.

influence them in their vote on the question of ousting me as editor of their journal. If a proletarian as I am must meet such vengeance for ex posing trickery and betrayal of the working class at the hands of people who proclaim to be Socialists, and when, as it was done yesterday, in spite of a referendum vote by which the membership of the labor organiza-tion of which I am a member had sustion of which I am a member had sus-tained me, a man is ejected and sub-jected to the most appalling mental tortures by people of whom two of Mi-waukee get their instructions of Mr. Berger of Milwaukee, which can be proven, then it is time to know whether the Socialist Party believes in boss rule of old capitalist parties custom, and if a man can be punished to such a de-gree as I was, for merely espousing the uncompromising, revolutionary princi-ples of Socialism and for insisting on this being done by all who are in the Socialist political and economic movement of this land. Serious is the charge, but brutal and more serious was the cause of it. Berger has made an impersonal affair a personal one, and applied the boss rule and whip which to certain extent he also holds over the International Union of United Brewery Work-

"I note in the comments to Referendum No. 7 some accusations of Hoehr of St. Louis, and he winds it up with saying that he had to expose me personally since attempts are being r to 'DeLeonize' the labor and Socialist movement. Mr. Hoehn's exposure is well taken, and well lie also the pieces of one of my membership cards in his safety vault. 'Poor terrible ghost of dead Dan DeLeon, how he is haunting the minds of the living ones a corpse predicted rottened years, years ago, is being revived by the appalling visions of men with bad conscience.' Since Hoehn has made a startling revelation, I have a right to come in with a rejoinder. True, the card was torn up at the Chicago Convention; and in the manner, as depicted by Hoehn, thrown to him. But as an expression of contempt for an element that had saddled itself upon the working class movement, political as well as eco-

nomic. Hoehn has given one chapter of big story, I'll write chapter 2, 3 and 4. The working class movement will learn from this story great object lessons. To begin with, I was not a delegate to the Chicago Convention of the Socialist Party; only with other com-rades a keen observer on the gallery. On the day when the Trade Union attitude of the party came up for dis-cussion, I watched attentively and noted at once that it was Mr. Hoehn who had cunningly duped several of the delegates from the west, who were on the Trade Union Committee with him, by his double-faced game. Local Cincinnati S. P. had adopted with but one dissenting vote an industrial union resolution as instructions for the delegate Bickett. He failed, for reasons later explained by him, to submit same to the Chicago Convention, and so three comrades, not delegates, prevailed upon delegate William Ott of Wyoming to present said now well known resolution, which failed of adoption by the convention because it was never debated on its merits. In the evening of that day when the Trade Union question had been disposed of, while standing in conversation with several comrades of Chicago and discussing the various phases of that question in animated manner, one comrade from the east interceded by saying, 'Well, it is admit-ted by one member of the committee on Trade Union that the resolution as now adopted by the Socialist Party has for its sole purpose the prevention of the A. L. U. from eneroaching on the field of the American Federation of Labor in the east.' We stood aghast, because several bystanders had been at the convention of the Western Labor Union where Comrade Eugene V. Debs had advocated the expanding policy of the A. L. U. and its sound and sane principles. We ascertained that it had been Mr. Hoehn of St. Louis who had tee together with members of the Western Federation of Miners, had as-sured them of his own friendly attitude towards that organization, proved con-clusively his deceitful and double-sided disposition in this matter, and the anger arising from the realization of

party cards to pieces and I followed it up by walking in where Mr. Hoehn was sitting and by hand-ing over the remains of the card It hereby expressed my justified con-tempt for such scheming and trick-ery. Therefore well may the pieces of that card lie in Mr. Hoehn's safety vault, yet this would not suffice to ex-plain this sudden expression of contempt for such element in the party alone; it expressed it also against those battle upon the economic field meant. never were in a strike, never knew what Republican, who run on a so-called non- at night times with the employers of labor, while the producers of all wealth

Evidence of these facts are in the hands of people in Chicago and New York. Stick a pin to this. "This reminded me of another sim-

ilar case. Mr. Hoehn was once in St. Louis, a member of the local of the Socialist Labor Party, at a time when the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was formed. The Brewery Work-ers' organization, of which I was a member then, working in the east, had through personal quarrels of the Na-tional officers engaged itself in a fight against a certain Ernest Boehm, an expelled member and officer of the U. B. W., then serving as general secretary of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. It was to the advantage of the Brewery Workers' officers, then members of the Socialist Labor Party, to prevent the endorsement of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance by the Socialist Labor Party Convention. St. Louis was headquarters of the U. B. W. Local St. Louis S. L. P. decided to send two delegates to the New York Convention of the S. L. P., Sanderson and Mr. Hoehn were elected. Both were instructed to vote and work against endorsement of the S. T. & L. L' 10 make their manhood assert itself, and their determination firmer, each of them was given \$40 by the general secretary of the U. B. W. They went to New York and Mr. Hoehn, contrary to distinct instructions, voted for the endorsement of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. Returning home, Mr. Hoehn was severely reprimanded, and he soon chose to leave the S. L. P. for the sole reason that he had been in favor of 'DeLeonizing' the political and economic movement of the working class, contrary to expressed will of those who paid him. I, as member of the U. B. W., was indirectly taxed to pay this fine game of Mr. Hoehn, and raised objection then. Stick another

pin in this chapter.

"Mr. Hoehn thence after becomes prominent in a 'take' Federal Labor Union in St. Louis, Mo. He forges to the front, eager to show his ability at A. F. of L. conventions where the labor lieutenants of capital devise the best lieutenants of capital devise the best means how to keep labor divided upon the economic battlefield. Money is needed—without money no travel in this world of monopolized opportunities. He, Mr. Hoehn, writes again to headquarters of the so often deluded Brewery Workers. Boston, Massachusetts, was the place chosen where the cradle of Socialism would be rocked by the A. F. M. L. in convention as the A. F. of L. in convention as sembled. Mr. Hoehn would stand sponsor and carry the paper banner which would lead the sons of toil to complete emancipation by the way of spine and boneless resolutions galore. The Brew-ery Workers Union furnishes Mr. Hoehn the dough—\$100. The fake Federal Labor Union of his had no money and the vote of Mr. Hoehn at the conand the vote of Mr. Hoenn at the convention was to frighten old warrior Sam Gompers into submission. What a task! Passing through Cincinnati, Mr. Hoehn, in presence of witnesses, decries bitterly the crimes perpetrated then by the John Tobin Shoe Makers Union against brutally victimized toilors: he calls Silverman of Rochester. ers; he calls Silverman of Rochester ers; he calls Silverman of Rochester one of the fakirs, as bad as, one walks on earth, and an ally of Tobin; that he, Hoehn, would make the most startling exposures in Boston and cleanse the A. F. of L. But silence reigns supreme. And Mr. Hoehn by his silence on the St. Louis Shoe Makers' outrage saved the world of fakirism, which he had so bitterly denounced himself. And then the spectacle in Chicago at the Socialist Party Convention. Hoehn, arm in arm with the same Silverman, as if they were intimate friends, and as if they were intimate friends, and he forgetting all what he had said be-Bear in mind that it was Hoehn who had denounced Silverman-I personally don't know and don't care to know, the record of the latter on those

Stick the third pin here. "Was it small wonder that I recollected suddenly that during a strike of street railway men in St. Louis, Mr. Hoehn had enlisted as deputy on a so-called "posse commitatus" which was Small wonder then that a certain Hoehn of St. Louis during the time that Comrade Greenbaum held secre taryship of the party had mailed let-ters to me and other Socialists, thinking they would help him in some underhanded work, and will anyone wonder that the incident with my card was an expression of heaped-up indignation over conduct of people and con tempt for an element in the general labor movement which had saddled itself upon the working class as a vulture

on its prey?

"Well lies the fragments of Trautmann's card in Mr. Hoehn's safety vault. I returned to Cincinnati, the local had ascertained my action, a se vere reprimand, rightly administered, he penalty, a new card was taken A likewise rebuke was adminisout. tered to Comrade Bickett, for failing as delegate to the convention the explicit instructions of the constituency Both of us took the medicine, bowed to the mandate of the party, explained things as here submitted, and both are therefore still in the Socialist Party. Greater as individuals, be they Berger, Hoehn, DeLeon or Trautmann, is the working class movement. I realize that as a working man, but I know also that those sentimental, half-hearted or selfish element that is trying to foist itself upon the working cla on the political or economic battlefield

for selfish exploitation purposes, must be fought as bitterly and more yet as the open antagonist, the capitalist class and the system responsible for its ex-istence. Therefore, I hope Mr. Hoenn will pin these chapters with his attacks and the fragments of my card together and place all in his sai-sty vault as a memento of the past, and how it is judged by men whom the prosecution now carried on by Berger and Hoehn

Hoehn's and Berger's certainly will not be answered. They both know I have no public papers to defend myself of the motives of mine. The twenty-seven exhibits in one editorial in the Wahrheit,' the very fact that they think by depriving me of my chances to earn a living will make me weak and submissive, are proofs of a cow-ardly disposition on their part, but again also show that the working class need fewer intellectual leaders but more men of sterling character and of their own environment to beware them of dangers confronting the movement for its complete emancipation from the thralldom of wage slavery. I will not answer to any more of their shameless calumniations!"

Oklahoma (Maschke)—"Since Mo-tion No. 7 is lost, I vote in the nega-tive on Motion No. 6, for the following reasons: First, Comrade Berger's statement in regard to the case makes an investigation superfluous; second, the National Constitution is not violated, in spirit at least; and third, the action of Victor L. Berger since the Milwaukee comrades for sufficient sons have decided not to put a ticket in the field should rather be approved than censured. The church, and the Catholic church in particular, is the strongest prop of capitalism, and the Milwaukee comrades, by voting against a church-ridden candidate, strike a blow at it. The simple defeat of a local judge might not be far reaching, but locally it may bear its fruit. Too many of our comrades seem to have too much regard for the tender feelings of the church, while the church has none for others and the truth. A person should be familiar with the tactics of the Catholic church to judge a case like the one in Milwaukee correctly. Let our party grow to some importance and the first dogs to be turned loose against us will be the clergy and, in fact, they are already turned at us."

South Dakota (Lovett)-"I have voted to lay this motion on the table. Utah (Gilbert)-"I vote Yes on Motion No. 6, for the reason that the facts set forth as reasons on which to base such action on the part of the National organization called for by the motion have virtually been admitted by Comrade Victor L. Berger, National Committeeman for Wisconsin. Further action is therefore necessary in view of the admissions made.
"Having calmly considered the ex-

planation set forth by Comrade Ber-ger, I fail to see wherein he proves that the letter and intent of the National Constitution has not been violated by the Socialist Pary in Milwaukee. The first part of Comrade Berger's state-ment is a mere technical squibble and

"All the reasons set forth by Comrade Berger in justification of the action taken by the party in Milwaukee, as well as his own editorial utterances concerning the same, are merely on the grounds of political expediency, which he urges and defends: While I frankly admit that such action is perfectly jus-tifiable on that score, nevertheless, it is in no manner permissible for indi-vidual members of the party, or minor divisions of the organization, to act upon the grounds of political expedi-ency to the extent of violating the National Constitution. It is the merest sophistry for Comrade Berger to plead state autonomy in justification of any

such procedure.
"As pointed out repeatedly by me the past, if the Socialist Party is to function on the political field while capitalism exists, it can only be by resorting to political expediency like other political parties. But as long as the will of the party, as manifested in its National Constitution, is opposed to such methods, it ill becomes Comrade Parger to deepy and defems those who Berger to decry and defame those who would live up to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and at the same time claim to be a strict disciplinarian

himself. "The action of the Milwaukee comrades in this case simply exhibits the flowering of the opportunist or political philosophy when carried to its log-ical conclusion. If the membership of the Socialist Party is favorable to position, let them first change the Con-

The fundamental law of any organ ization must be enforced irrespective of the ridiculous attitude it may place the organization in by reason of its insuffi-ciency to meet the requirements of the situation.

"Even though the Milwaukee rades feel hampered in their political work by reason of the limitations placed upon them by the National Constitu-tion, they, nevertheless, are in duty bound to abide by it, and should be held strictly accountable for any violation of its provisions. Urging politi-cal expediency is no reasonable justification for violating the letter or spirit of the National Constitution.'

Wisconsin (Thompson) — "Comment sent out with report on Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7."

Referendum 8, Motions 8 and 9.

### Motion No. 8.

By Hillquit, Hanford and Spargo, of "We hereby propose the following resolution:

"Independent political action on strictly Socialist lines without compromise or fusion is the most vital principle of our movement. It offers the nost effective means for the dissemination of the theories of Socialism, it is a logical postulate of our immediate aim-the conquest of all the powers of government by the working class and, above all, it serves to develop in our members and sympathizers the realiza tion of the insurmountable barriers that separate our party from all politi-

cal parties of the propertied classes.

'It is, therefore, the sense of the National Committee:

ever and whenever possible and nomi-nate candidates for all offices to be filled at such elections.

"2. Should a State or Local organ ization for any reason be deprived of the right or find itself unable to make nominations of candidates in any elec-tion, it is the duty of all true Socialists to abstain from participation in such election.

"3. Under no circumstances should any member of the Socialist Party vote for, endorse or support a candidate of any other political party."

#### Motion No. 9.

By Towner, of Kentucky:

"I move that the seat of Victor L. Berger on the National Executive Committee be declared vacant, as he has admitted having advocated through his paper, 'Die Wahrheit,' the support of a capitalist candidate for judge in the municipal election, held in April, an act which unfits him to represent the Socialist Party on the National Execu-

tive Committee.

'My reasons for making this motion are not personal but solely in the interest of the party whose principles of no compromise must be upheld. I have had no personal differences of any kind with Comrade Berger and I agree with him on the trade union question, but this does not affect my attitude toward him when party interests are at stake. I believe I am representing the Socialists of Kentucky when I make this motion."

Vote will close May 15, and votes received after that date cannot be counted.

### Referendum No. 9, Motion 10.

By Gibbs, of Massachusetts:

"I move that the Towner motion (No. 9) be laid on the table."

I make this motion for the following reasons:

1. Under ordinary circumstances I believe that all questions before the Committee should be put to a direct vote. The present circumstances, however, are decidedly extraordinary. We have two motions submitted to us at the same time, one by the New York . comrades calling for an expression of opinion regarding the principles in-volved in the Milwaukee affair, the other by Comrade Towner calling for condemnation of the person involved. These two motions submitted at the same time are confusing. I believe that the Committee should have an opportunity to vote on the principles at stake, entirely apart from the person or persons involved.

2. The Committee has just voted to 2. The Committee has just voted to have the case investigated. Comrade Towner himself voted for this. If we are to condemn the party involved before investigating, the investigation is entirely superfluous. Having voted to put the case into the hands of a jury, he now asks us to condemn the defendance in the state of the state o ant without waiting for a verdict. Under such circumstances the Wisconsin State Committee might justly conclude that the Trautmann motion requesting them to investigate was a farce and decline to proceed further. I do not wish to see the situation thus complicated and rendered more acute by this hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the National Committee. I did not vote for the investigation, but after it has been decided upon, I wish to see it proceed in orderly manner as

called for.
Consistency demands that those who did vote for it should await its results and justice demands that we should not condemn a man without a trial.

3. For the National Committee to adopt the Tower motion or even to vote upon it at the present juncture must prejudice the Wisconsin State Committee either for or against Comrade Berger. We have asked them to investigate. They should be left free to pursue the investigation without prejudice or pressure from us. For these reasons I move that the Towner motion (No. 9) be "laid upon the table."

Vote will close May 19, and votes received after that date cannot be counted.

#### Election of Secretary to the International 'Socialist Bureau.

In accordance with instructions contained in Referendum 2, Motion 2, and Referendum 4, Motion 4, by Comrades Hillquit and Trautmann, also the information received from the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau. hereby call for nominations for election of a Secretary to the International Socialist Bureau.

The mode of election will be the same that adopted in the election of a National Executive Committee.

Nominations will extend from April 14th to May 1st, the election to take place from May 9th to May 27th, closing the latter date.

Members of the National Committee are entitled to nominate one party member. Care should be taken to name town or city and state in which nominees are members. Nominees will be notified immediately after their names are received at the National office; Announcement of the nominations

will be made in the regular weekly bulletins.

Fraternally submitted. J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

The following subjects are omitted for lack of space in this Bulletin: Comrade Glient's table of the official Socialist vote.

The National Secretary's financial report for the month of April.

Correspondence, on the question of representation in the International Socialist Bureau, with International

Secretary Huysmans. Resolutions by Locals on the Wisconsin situation.