

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY

## OFFICIAL BULLETIN

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

Number 8

CHICAGO, APRIL, 1905

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 upon Motions 6 and 7 resulted as follows:

##### Referendum 7, Motion No. 7.

By Lamb, of Michigan:

"I move to lay Motion 6 on the table."

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, Cal.; 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.

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 authority only. Therefore, the National party is directly responsible for any failure to discipline any organization that exists 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 nomination 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 capitalistic cry as old as elections—a 'bad man' must be beaten to elect a 'better man.'"

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

"Milwaukee 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 excuse."

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 question 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 evidence before the National Committee for consideration. Comrade Trautmann'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 refers."

"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 those who are familiar with the situation will readily discover a motive not altogether free from personality embodied in Comrade Trautmann's motion."

"Again, as no specific charge of vio-

lating the National constitution has been made, such a motion is out of order, 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 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 organization."

Hoehn (Mo.)—"I vote in favor of Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7, that Trautmann's motion (No. 6), concerning 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 Leon line, 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 political 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 ascertained by an open and sincere discussion in our meetings and in the columns of our press. The editorials of the Milwaukee Socialist papers are no secrets. We have them before us—black on 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 the Cincinnati local must have issued a new membership card to Trautmann in an illegal, unconstitutional manner."

"To substantiate my assertion that Trautmann does not, and cannot, hold a membership card in the Socialist Party, I wish to say:

"Mr. Trautmann tore up his Socialist 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 Socialist 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 handed me the dozen or more pieces of his torn-up membership card with the remark: '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. Sherillie 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 together, placed them in an envelope, 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 debatable.' I voted on Referendum No. 6 before receiving this."

O'Neill (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 committeeman 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 Constitution. The difference between Carpenter 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,' 'Douglass,' '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 Wisconsin, the city organization of Milwaukee, or Comrade Berger individually with any capitalist parties or candidates of such parties. I also do not feel called upon to criticize 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 Socialism, 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 exceptions 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 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 non-partisan. 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 oppose 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 voters are once encouraged to vote for a capitalist candidate in a local election in which we have made no nominations, the effect will inevitably be a relaxation of the rigid line which separates our party from the old political parties, and it is bound to produce a certain demoralization in our ranks. Furthermore, the phrase of 'non-partisan 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 class. To us all elections are partisan elections. 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 tactics. 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 Committee meeting, or the next National Convention to deal with. In the meanwhile if Comrade Trautmann believes that the articles of Comrade Berger involve 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

(Continued on page three.)

### 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 follows:

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.; Hoehn, Mo.; Behrens, Mo.; Kearns, N. J.; Floyd, R. I.; Lovett, S. D.; Gilbert, Utah; Thompson, Wis.; Berger, Wis. Total, 24.

For Kerrigan—Lowry, Ark.; Richardson, Cal.; Healey, Fla.; Putnam, La.; McHugh, Mont.; O'Neill, 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. Necessary 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 Committee, 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 correspondence 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, Mally, 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. Mally and Slobodin elected Committee on Rules.

National Secretary then gave a review 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 Secretary be instructed to inquire of Thomas J. Hagerty of what local he is a member. Carried.

National Secretary Barnes then presented a 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 report.

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 order. Members present:

Bandlow, Berger, Berlyn, Mally, Reynolds, Slobodin and Work.

Minutes of previous session were read and approved.

Comrade Reynolds elected Chairman. Comrade Mally, for the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, reported that their report was being typewritten.

National Secretary Barnes read communication from State Secretary James S. Smith of Illinois requesting privilege to present in person a plan for economical and uniform distribution of propaganda leaflets.

**Motion by Bandlow:** That Comrade Smith be requested to appear at the evening session at 8:30 P. M. Carried.

Review of the states was again taken up.

Correspondence between former National Secretary and State Secretary Cramton of Colorado was read regarding request of the latter that the "Alliance of the Rockies" be taken from the mailing list of the National Office.

Correspondence stated the editor was under charges for advocating dual organization. Mally stated he had no power to comply with the request. Letters 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."

**Motion by Slobodin:** That Local Hotchkiss be informed that according to Sec-

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 Colorado themselves. Adopted.

**Resolution by Berlyn:** 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 follows:

##### Rules of Order for National Executive Committee.

1. Five members of the National Executive 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 session.
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 Executive Committee shall act upon the subjects seriatim.

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

HENRY L. SLOBODIN,  
WILLIAM MALLY,  
Committee.

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

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 Mally:** 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 approved.

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 Massachusetts up to December 1, 1904. Carried.

Letter from Wilkins was read reviewing his work in Massachusetts and proposing work in the New England states.

**Motion by Mally:** That Wilkins be assigned to New England states for April, May and June. Carried.

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

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 so-called Primary Election Laws, the ostensible and pretentious purpose of said laws being declared to be "The purification of politics." The real object of said laws, however, being to stifle the rising voice of protest of the Socialist 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



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 endorse Comrade Berger's stand, then Comrade Trautmann or any other member 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 complying 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 defeat 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 Executive 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 Comrade 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 Trautmann 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 unanimous, 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; 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 matter of fact, it does not. The Wisconsin State Constitution, Section 28, provides that it shall be a violation of party discipline 'to vote for or support 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 compromise with any other political party or organization or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the candidate of such other organization.' If, now, it could be shown that the Milwaukee 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. The reasons which have influenced the Milwaukee comrades not to go into the judicial election have been fully stated by Comrade Berger in his communication to the National Committeemen.

"Where, then, is the 'gross violation of Socialist Party ethics,' that Comrade Trautmann makes such a fuss about? There is none.

"And, furthermore, in view of the above facts, this motion of Comrade Trautmann's is an unreasoned and wanton attack. It savors so much of the tactics that wrought the ruin of the Socialist Labor Party that it should receive a prompt rebuke. It seems to me that Comrade Trautmann has a had attack of pseudo DeLeonism. He refers 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

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 endorse the Socialist Labor Party tactics of the old Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance—and now he wants to discredit and disrupt the Wisconsin 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 organization so distinctly proletarian, so positively uncompromising, so completely in accord with the established principles of International Socialism, as the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin. And this fact is due more to the influence and effort of Victor L. Berger than to any other single individual. Furthermore, in spite of Comrade Trautmann's slur at the State Platform and insinuation regarding the 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 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 Comrade 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 organization 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 Constitution or National Platform, on the neglect or refusal of such State or Territorial 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, furnishing a copy of charges so made.

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

4. 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, or secret, or open understanding exists in the organization, or a member or members thereof, and representatives of capitalist 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 Executive Committee to the extent required by adopted rules of the Socialist Party."

Voting Yes—Andrus, Ala.; Barnette, Ark.; Richardson, Cal.; Floaten, Col.; Woodside, Cal.; Carter, Ida.; Work, Ia.; Towner, Ky.; McHugh, Mont.; O'Neil, N. H.; Kearns, N. J.; Bandlow, Ohio; Trautmann, Ohio; Floyd, R. I.; 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 bulletin.

Comment.

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

Colorado (Floaten)—"I would like to leave this for others to decide. It seems almost presumptuous to sit in judgment on the acts of one who has

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

"I have read Comrade Berger's editorials and also his defense or demurrer to Comrade Trautmann's motion, submitted to the National Committee, and I must say that I cannot agree with him.

"I realize that there is a wide range of opinions amongst Socialists on this very point, and it is a question on which we honestly disagree.

"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 candidate 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 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 that 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 Committee, 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 account 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. I 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 Milwaukee, 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, Citizens or non-partisan, I could get lots of money for doing just what I have suggested, 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 provides that, '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 own members the same as any other elective body, to the extent of inquiring into their conduct, to discipline or even expel from its membership any member who violates the rules governing our party. State autonomy which gives to the state organization sole jurisdiction of its members cannot be 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 State organization, no matter what his conduct may be, but I hold that the National Committee can deprive anyone of membership on the Committee, the same as a National Convention can

for misconduct. On this question of jurisdiction I know we also differ the same as we do on the point involved in Comrade Trautmann's motion. On the subject matter of the motion my position is that after I have joined the Socialist Party and agreed to sever all my allegiance to all other parties as a condition precedent to joining, I cannot remain a member in good standing if I under any circumstances advocate 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 political 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 Comrade Trautmann's motion to investigate, so this point may be settled."

Connecticut (White)—"Since everything Trautmann alleges seems to be acknowledged by Berger or sustained by the evidence in the quotations from 'Wahrheit,' 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)—"It seems to me, after carefully reviewing the statement 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 vote 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 parties 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 themselves Catholics, but that is their concern, not ours.

"Experience in other countries teaches us that we must fight capitalism as a whole, not favor one part against another. The miserable results of Millerandism in France and more recently in Italy induced the last International Congress at Amsterdam to declare 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 matter what is done by that state or any subordinate organization of that state. The state of Wisconsin has always refused the National office such information as has been cheerfully given by every other State organization. The comrades will readily see that we have no jurisdiction in Wisconsin, and therefore 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 Socialism. 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 use our ballots for Socialism, not to hit its enemies. I have faith in Comrade Berger, but do not like his editorial. 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 cast 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 vote on motion from the question of constitutionality. The constitution is plain on this point and if the Wisconsin movement refrain from nominating in order to educate the new voters, and

if this is the kind of lessons they are to be taught, then it is time for the National Committee to act; therefore, record me as voting in favor of motion."

Massachusetts (Gibbs)—"In regard to Motion No. 6, now pending, I desire to say that my vote is already recorded in the negative, and I wish it to so stand. Since voting, however, new information has come to me which materially alters the comments I made. I 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 Milwaukee comrades and Victor Berger, in the light of Socialist tactics, of National and State rules governing the same.

"The right to nominate or not certainly 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 nominate a ticket. Failure to nominate, for the express purpose of aiding the election of capitalist candidates may be accepted as evidence of collusion, which 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, however, 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 compromise, and I therefore refrain from voting for candidates or even for measures 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 precedents 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 hysterical 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 mistake 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-Chin-shop tactics of the individuals who are back of it, as is evidenced by the Turner and Futvoje 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 denunciations in the waste basket and go slow.

"If we must choose between condemning the possible mistake of our Milwaukee comrades on the one hand, and a renascence of DeLeonism minus DeLeon's tact and brains on the other, wisdom and justice alike demand that we choose the former."

Michigan (Lamb)—"In voting No 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 and the requirements of their local movement. Their vote shows the proletarian and class-conscious character of their organization. Since in these respects 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. Their 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 indicate treason ten thousand times more dangerous than open fusion with capitalist parties. Blurring the line of the class struggle, or of the gulf 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 Wisconsin can stand for this thing in Milwaukee, the Socialist Party cannot stand for the Wisconsin movement."

New Jersey (Headley)—“As the motion to lay on the table is lost, I suppose 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 Wisconsin 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 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 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 excited, 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 Article 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 furnish 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 a few of the other comrades at the head of the movement in Wisconsin have begun to believe that the rank and file throughout the land have no right whatever to criticize their work and actions, not even when we know that such words and actions have a tendency to make the task of converting our fellow men harder than ever.

“We have a right to criticize, 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 National 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’ on the motion submitted by me, I wish to emphasize these few points, as in the answers of several comrades they have been overlooked as if of smaller importance. In the motion it is alleged 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’ such was advised and urged in editorials of the same paper, ‘Die Wahrheit,’ without telling them, however, that later on advice would be given to vote for a candidate on a capitalist party ticket. This gives reason to assume that there was a prearranged understanding, and the very fact that the ‘Wahrheit’ persisted in advising the Socialists to vote for Waller 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 motives underlying others as presented for such a policy. The State Committee of Wisconsin owes a duty to the entire party membership to have its record cleared, and guilty parties disciplined. Not only those who have already pleaded guilty to part of charges made, but those also who might be found as having been in such a collusion with a candidate known to be a Republican, who run on a so-called non-partisan ticket.

“So much as I desire to respond to Mr. Berger’s personal abuses, and to follow the character assassination tactics employed in the last editions of ‘Wahrheit’ and ‘Social Democratic Herald,’ 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 United Brewery Workers to demand of said board to send to every brewery worker of America a circular letter, which was done, and which tended to blackmail me before these members and

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 exposing 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 organization of which I am a member had sustained me, a man is ejected and subjected to the most appalling mental tortures by people of whom two of Milwaukee get their instructions from 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 degree as I was, for merely espousing the uncompromising, revolutionary principles 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 Workers.

“I note in the comments to Referendum No. 7 some accusations of Hoehn of St. Louis, and he winds it up with saying that he had to expose me personally since attempts are being made 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 rotted 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 economic. Hoehn has given one chapter of a 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 comrades a keen observer on the gallery. On the day when the Trade Union attitude of the party came up for discussion, 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 admitted by one member of the committee on Trade Union that the resolution is now adopted by the Socialist Party has for its sole purpose the prevention of the A. L. U. from encroaching 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 made such assertions, and the very fact that he, while serving on the committee together with members of the Western Federation of Miners, had assured them of his own friendly attitude towards that organization, proved conclusively his deceitful and double-sided disposition in this matter, and the anger arising from the realization of this fact caused several comrades, in the spur of the moment, to tear their party cards to pieces and I followed it up by walking in where Mr. Hoehn was sitting and by handing over the remains of the card I thereby expressed my justified contempt for such scheming and trickery. Therefore well may the pieces of that card lie in Mr. Hoehn’s safety vault, yet this would not suffice to explain this sudden expression of contempt for such element in the party alone; it expressed it also against those who pose as exponents of ‘genuine trade unionism, yet never knew what a battle upon the economic field meant, never were in a strike, never knew what it was when hunger is staring the workers in the face while standing in the firing line, or on the picket guard in the industrial warfare against the master class; and who declined to admit that it is a crime when labor leaders walk through the brothel districts at night times with the employers of labor, while the producers of all wealth are arrayed in pitched battle against the master class, unaware of this fact that the labor lieutenant of capital is as much an enemy of organized and unorganized labor as the capitalist himself. And there in Chicago I learned more. Mr. Hoehn was once a delegate to an International Socialistic Congress, in Brussels, elected mostly by an anarchist society of Chicago—at least they contributed the money to let him travel to Europe. Yet there he voted for debarring the anarchists from the congresses, the same people by whose money he was enabled to be a delegate. Returning from Europe he was soon ‘entreated’ to leave Chicago forever.

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 similar 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 Workers’ organization, of which I was a member then, working in the east, had through personal quarrels of the National 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. A. to 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 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. of L. in convention assembled. 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 Brewery 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 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 toilers; 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 he forgetting all that he had said before. 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 lines. 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 to guard the property of the railway magnates with brute force of arms? Small wonder then that a certain Hoehn of St. Louis during the time that Comrade Greenbaum held secretaryship of the party had mailed letters 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 contempt 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 severe reprimand, rightly administered, was the penalty, a new card was taken out. A likewise rebuke was administered 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 class—be it 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 existence. Therefore, I hope Mr. Hoehn will pin these chapters with his attacks and the fragments of my card together and place all in his safety vault as a memento of the past, and how it is judged by men whom the prosecution now carried on by Berger and Hoehn will not make them give up the fight they are engaged in.

“The personal attacks, the vilification as contained in the papers of

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 cowardly 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 shameful calumniation!”

Oklahoma (Maschke)—“Since Motion No. 7 is lost, I vote in the negative 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 reasons 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 out 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 unnecessary in view of the admissions made.

“Having calmly considered the explanation set forth by Comrade Berger, I fail to see wherein he proves that the letter and intent of the National Constitution has not been violated by the Socialist Party in Milwaukee. The first part of Comrade Berger’s statement is a mere technical squibble and irrelevant.

“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 justifiable on that score, nevertheless, it is in no manner permissible for individual members of the party, or minor divisions of the organization, to act upon the grounds of political expediency 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 in 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 Berger to deery 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 logical conclusion. If the membership of the Socialist Party is favorable to this position, let them first change the Constitution.

“The fundamental law of any organization must be enforced irrespective of the ridiculous attitude it may place the organization in by reason of its insufficiency to meet the requirements of the situation.

“Even though the Milwaukee comrades feel hampered in their political work by reason of the limitations placed upon them by the National Constitution, they, nevertheless, are in duty bound to abide by it, and should be held strictly accountable for any violation of its provisions. Urging political 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 New York.

“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 most 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 realization of the insurmountable barriers that separate our party from all political parties of the propertied classes.

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

“1. That all organizations of the Socialist Party should participate in all national, state and local elections where-

ever and whenever possible and nominate candidates for all offices to be filled at such elections.

“2. Should a State or Local organization for any reason be deprived of the right or find itself unable to make nominations of candidates in any election, 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 Executive 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 involved 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 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 defendant 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 Towner 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, I hereby call for nominations for the election of a Secretary to the International Socialist Bureau.

The mode of election will be the same as 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 Ghent’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.