

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY  
476 5TH AVE.  
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.  
INDM.

MAY 26 1913

New



Nov 29-2

1913

# THE PARTY BUILDER

No. 29

CHICAGO, MAY 21, 1913

25 Cents Per Year

Published every Wednesday by the Socialist Party National Office, 111 North Market Street, Chicago.  
Entered as second-class matter, November 20, 1912, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE NEW YORK  
PUBLIC LIBRARY  
644533

644533

## IMPORTANT!

The National Committee has directed that the Monthly Bulletin and the Party Builder be merged, inasmuch as the Party Builder has the second-class mailing rate. The matter hitherto published in the Monthly Bulletin will therefore be published in the Party Builder. It ceases to be the special organ of the Lyceum department and becomes the publication of the entire National Office, giving the announcements of all departments, as well as the official proceedings of the National Committee and the Executive Committee.

It will be mailed direct to each subscriber, instead of being sent in bundles to the local and branch secretaries, as has been the case with the Monthly Bulletin, account of not having the second-class mailing rate.

Subscription price is 25c per year for single subscriptions, or 20c per year for clubs of five or more. Local and branch secretaries, and the comrades everywhere, should rush in their subscriptions, so that they will not miss anything that they ought have. It would be well for local and branch secretaries to take the subscription of all the members and send them in to the National Office. Address The Party Builder, 111 North Market street, Chicago. Subscription blank elsewhere in this issue.

The paid subscribers of the Weekly Bulletin will be transferred to the mailing list of the Party Builder.

As for the party officials, state secretaries, national committeemen, etc., who have been receiving the Weekly Bulletin, if in charge, it will be necessary for them to subscribe for the Party Builder, as the office does not permit a permanent free subscription.

## NOTICE.

The National Committee has appointed a committee to investigate the merits of various cities as location for the national headquarters.

The committee requests that the locals in the cities desiring to present their case do so in as much detail as possible.

Such data to Walter Lanfersiek, Chairman, 111 North Market street, Chicago.

State Secretary Robert B. Ringler of Pennsylvania reports that Local Allegheny County has expelled Fred H. Merrick, editor of "Justice," and both the Wilkesburg and Thirteenth Ward branches, for conduct unbecoming Socialists.

The Nebraska State Executive Committee has elected Ethel J. Shafer, Room 3 Rohrbough Block, Omaha, woman's correspondent for that state.

The meetings of the National Executive Committee, the National Committee and the Woman's National Committee have accumulated an enormous amount of official matter to be published in the Party Builder. It will be published as fast as it can be reached. The publication of the most important matter will be postponed until the locals, branches and comrades have had time to rush in their subscriptions.

Under the national constitution of the party, the terms "National Secretary" and "National Executive Committee" will go out of existence the 1st of June, and the terms "Executive Secretary" and "Executive Committee" will come in.

On that date Walter Lanfersiek will become Executive Secretary. Mail intended for the Executive Secretary, reaching the National Office on or after June 1, should therefore be addressed to Walter Lanfersiek, 111 North Market street, Chicago.

The new Executive Committee, consisting of Victor L. Berger, Adolf Germer, George H. Goebel, James H. Maurer and J. Stitt Wilson, will hold its first meeting in Chicago, June 2, at 2 o'clock p. m.

Locals and branches everywhere should hold protest meetings and adopt resolutions against the inhuman and unconstitutional actions of the capitalist hirelings in West Virginia, and send such resolutions to the president of the United States, to the governor of West Virginia, and to their local congressmen and senators.

Two members of the committee appointed by the National Committee to investigate the West Virginia situation—Adolph Germer and Eugene V. Debs, have gone to West Virginia. They are accompanied by L. L. Engdahl as press representative. Victor L. Berger will follow. After making an investigation, they will proceed to Washington to lay the matter before the president.

In purchasing literature, patronize your National Office. Send for catalogue.

## Proposed Lyceum Offer.

The following letter has just been sent by the Lyceum Department to those locals that had the Lyceum course last season.

The offer contained in it is as yet tentative. It must be approved by the Executive Committee before it can be made definite. The Executive Committee meets on June 2. It is to discover the sentiment of the locals before the committee meets, to serve as a basis for their action, that this letter is sent out.

- Please note the tentative offer:
1. A minimum of 600 locals is required.
  2. If between 600 and 1,000 courses are engaged, each Lyceum course will consist of **three** numbers.
  3. If over 1,000 courses are engaged, each course will consist of four numbers.
  4. In either case the requirement is to be \$100, WITH subscriptions, or \$50 WITHOUT subscriptions.

Please take the appended blank to your next meeting and secure action.  
Let's do this work RIGHT this year.

To the Locals:  
Comrades: The question of continuing the Lyceum is now up to YOU.  
At the National Committee meeting the Lyceum was considered for hours by two committees working independently of each other. Both came to the same conclusion—that IT IS WORTH WHILE. It was then

discussed for many hours by the entire National Committee, and approved by an almost unanimous vote, with the provision that at least 600 locals must take up the work.

This splendid indorsement should secure the immediate co-operation of the required number of locals. We shall spend no money this year on advance organizers, nor expensive advertising circulars. You comrades know what the Lyceum work means, and this plain announcement should be enough.

The proposition for next season, as I shall submit it to the Executive Committee for its approval when it meets here on June 2, is as follows:

You can get the lectures either with or without subscriptions, and you can charge whatever admission you like, or throw the doors open to the public.

You agree to sell \$100 worth of \$1, 50c, or 25c Lyceum certificates, or pay \$50 without subscriptions.

You get a lecture course of three numbers if 600 Lyceum courses are engaged. If 1,000 courses or more are wanted, each course will consist of four numbers.

You get 40 per cent commission on all subs. that you sell above the \$100 requirement. You also get all collections and other receipts at the meetings, and half the literature profits.

The season is to be November 15 to March 15. Your course will run between those dates. Speakers will not be engaged till after we have the 600 locals, and you are not to pay anything till later.

Nearly every local that made good this season can handle several lecture courses on the proposed basis. Locals in large cities can take one course for each ward branch. Locals in smaller places can cover the surrounding country towns.

Buffalo, N. Y., expects to take eight courses; Rupert, Idaho, has spoken for five; Bemidji, Minn., wants four Lyceum courses.

Let's get those 600 Lyceum courses spoken for by the 335 locals that had the course this year. Consider what you can do, and fire your answer in AT ONCE, so that I can submit it to the Executive Committee when they meet here June 2. Fill in and return the enclosed blank.

Yours in the revolution,  
L. E. KATTERFELD,  
Manager Lyceum Department.

Please fill in and return one of these blanks by June 2, when the Executive Committee meets:

Socialist Party Lyceum Department,  
111 N. Market St., Chicago.  
L. E. Katterfeld, Manager.

Under the tentative offer of a Lyceum Course for \$100 worth of literature subscriptions, or \$50 without literature, our local will take ..... Lyceum Courses.

Signed .....,  
Secretary Local .....

Address:  
Street .....,  
City ..... State .....

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

April 1, 1913.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades:—It is desirable at this time to decide whether or not a stenographic report, or minutes only, of your meeting in May is to be taken. If it is to be taken, we need to know, in order to make the necessary arrangements.

Basing the estimate upon the supposition that the meeting will last as long as the national convention of 1912, the amount to be paid to the shorthand reporters for taking and transcribing the proceedings would be something over five hundred dollars. The printing of them, including editing and office labor, would cost five hundred to a thousand dollars, according to the number and quality. If desired, they could be published so as to yield an income.

The cost of taking the minutes of the convention was \$52.00, being wages of the secretary of the convention and the assistant secretary for thirteen days at \$4 per day. Of course, the minutes will have to be taken in any event, no matter whether a stenographic report is taken or not.

Kindly send in your opinion on this subject on the enclosed voting card. The question submitted is: "Shall a stenographic report of the meeting of the National Committee be taken?"

The vote will close April 22.

After consulting the resident members of the committee and other comrades, the club room of the Briggs House has been engaged for the meeting. The hall is hardly large enough to admit of tables for the members. It was the consensus of opinion that it was more important that they be able to hear each other, as there has been difficulty in that respect at previous national meetings.

The rate at the Briggs House, European plan, is from \$1 per day up. Other hotels within a reasonable distance are the Bismarck, the New Gault, the La Salle, the New Brevoort, and the Morrison. Their rates are the same as the Briggs, with the exception of the New Brevoort, which is \$1.50 up, and the La Salle, which is \$2 up. Reservations can be made, if desired, by writing direct to them.

The chances are that not sufficient funds can be accumulated previous to the meetings to pay all the expense. You are requested to come prepared to pay your own railroad fare and expenses, if necessary, and be reimbursed later.

In the absence of constitutional provisions or instructions from any source, I have requested the heads of the Information department, the Woman's department, and the Lyceum department, and each of the translator-secretaries of the Foreign-Speaking Federations, to prepare reports to be presented at the meeting.

As per the national constitution, the meeting will begin Sunday, May 11.

April 1, 1913.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith is submitted report on vote on National Committee motion No. 2, by Lee of New York:

### Motion No. 2.

"That the National Secretary be instructed to send at once \$100 to the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau as a contribution to the fund for the assistance of the Socialist parties of Bulgaria and Serbia, and that he be further instructed to issue a call to members and subdivisions of the party for additional funds for the same purpose."

**Voting Yes**—Alabama, Hutchisson; Arizona, Bradford; Arkansas, Callery; California, Williams, Wilson, Wolfe; Colorado, Martin; Connecticut, Hunter; Florida, Allen; Idaho, Motley; Illinois, Germer, Huggins, Rodriguez; Indiana, Reynolds; Iowa, Wiltse; Kansas, Stallard; Kentucky,

Lanfersiek; Louisiana, Dietz; Maine, Irish; Maryland, Develin; Michigan, Hoogerhyde; Minnesota, Latimer; Montana, Kruse, Rector; Nevada, Taylor; New Jersey, Goebel; New Mexico, Goddard; New York, Lee, Strebel, Wright; North Dakota, Le Sueur; Oklahoma, Ameringer; Oregon, Ramp; Pennsylvania, Maurer; Washington, Dolge, Laury, Patterson; West Virginia, Brown; Wisconsin, Berger; Wyoming, Carlson. Total, 40.

**Voting No**—Colorado, Geffs; Indiana, Fenimore; North Dakota, Grant; Ohio, Bessemer, Clifford; Pennsylvania, Fuller. Total, 6.

**Not Voting**—Delaware, Houck; District of Columbia, Kopelin; Georgia, Mulcay; Illinois, Ball; Massachusetts, Roewer, Sawyer; Michigan, Aaltonen; Minnesota, Kaplan; Mississippi, Lipscomb; Missouri, Garver; Nebraska, Olmsted; New Hampshire, Nichols; New Jersey, Reilly; New York, Merrill, Slobodin; North Carolina, Smothers; Ohio, Eby, Patterson; Oklahoma, Branstetter, Owen; Pennsylvania, Foley, Kennedy, McKeown, Parker; Rhode Island, Reid; South Carolina, Royal; South Dakota, Douglas; Tennessee, Weatherall; Texas, Hickey, Noble; Utah, Burlison; Vermont, Spargo; Virginia, Hauser; Wisconsin, Thomas. Total, 34.

The motion is therefore adopted.

### Comment on National Committee Motion No. 2—1913.

Wolfe (California)—"I am voting yes on motion No. 2, to send funds to our comrades in Bulgaria and Serbia. I regret the appropriation is not larger, and hope the response to the appeal for contributions will be prompt and liberal."

Geffs (Colorado)—"My vote on Motion No. 2 is no. If it had been divided into two motions, one to send the \$100 and the other to issue the call to the party membership, I would have voted yes on the first, and no on the second. Because, from my knowledge of the financial condition of the party membership, traveling as I am among them every day, I know they are not prepared to respond to any more calls for funds. Some seem to regard the party membership as a regular gold mine where they can go to chip off a nugget any old time they want one. But the truth of the matter is they have all the load they can carry. We have no right to be continually harrassing and embarrassing and discouraging our party membership with calls for funds."

Fenimore (Indiana)—"I vote no on Motion No. 2 because I do not believe we should send out a call for funds to be sent out of the country while our National Office is facing a big deficit."

Lee (New York)—"The Socialist party of the United States owes a great debt to the international movement, and has never properly showed its sense of that obligation. It did not seem practicable for us to take part in the recent international demonstration against war, but we can at least give financial aid to keep the movement in the Balkan countries from being crushed. Our party is the richest in the world, with the sole exception of that of Germany. We should act accordingly. Moreover, in view of the large and increasing immigration from southeastern Europe, we have a direct interest in the maintenance of the movement in that region."

Clifford (Ohio)—"I am voting no on Motion No. 2. I am opposed to the National Office sending money to foreign countries except to alleviate dire distress among the workers. The National Office needs every cent of its revenue for organization work in the United States, and it seems to me the height of folly to deplete our national treasury by appropriations of this character."

Fuller (Pennsylvania)—"I believe we should be just before generous. We were not able to keep our obligations to congressional districts on account of deficit. We need a home for our office. We can do

more in the end to help others if we get on a solid economic foundation at home."

April 1, 1913.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades:—The signers of the following communication request that it be forwarded to you:

"To the Members of the National Committee:

"Dear Comrades:—The present national headquarters are costing the Socialist party \$2,400 per year, and are still quite inadequate.

"Meanwhile, the work of the National Office is constantly and rapidly increasing, thus requiring larger and larger office facilities. A new department was added this winter, the Information Department; an additional foreign translator appointed in the fall, and a German translator more recently, and more will undoubtedly be added as the party grows.

"The rent we are paying for the present quarters would pay interest on a sum large enough to build an ample, adequate and convenient headquarters for the party. We believe that for such a sum of money the party could buy a site and build a modern, convenient, well-lighted and sanitary building of its own, thus ultimately saving the money now spent for rent instead of feeding capitalist landlords.

"The Finnish Socialists alone in the United States already own sixty-five buildings which they have erected for the use of their various headquarters, papers and schools, and we feel that the whole American Socialist party should easily be able to erect at least one central building for its headquarters.

"In view of these facts, we, the undersigned individual members and organizations of the Socialist party, beg leave to urge upon you, the members of the National Committee, that steps be taken at your next meeting in May towards the erection of a suitable building for the party's national headquarters. We would suggest that your National Committee appoint a sub-committee, which shall work out a plan for the building of such a building, and also a suitable plan for the financing of the same. The plan should be submitted to the National Committee in time for adoption or rejection as early in 1913 as possible, so that if the decision should be to build, the building should be ready by the time of the expiration of the lease on the present quarters, May 1st, 1914.

"Respectfully,

"N. Juel Christensen, Translator-Secretary Scandinavian Socialist Federation.

"L. E. Katterfeld, Manager Lyceum Department.

"Armin Loewy, Translator-Secretary Hungarian Socialist Federation.

"Joseph Corti, Italian Translator-Secretary.

"J. W. Sarlund, Finnish Translator-Secretary.

"Carl D. Thompson, Manager Information Department.

"Executive Committee and Secretary of Jewish Socialist Federation, per J. B. Salutsky.

"Winnie E. Branstetter, General Correspondent Woman's National Committee.

"Josef Novak, Bohemian Translator-Secretary.

"Alex. Susnar, South-Slavic Translator-Secretary.

"Hipolit Gluski, Polish Translator-Secretary.

"A. Dreifuss, German Translator-Secretary."

April 23, 1913.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith is submitted report of vote on National Secretary Question, submitted to your committee April 1:

### Question.

"Shall a stenographic report of the meeting of the National Committee be taken?"

**Voting Yes**—Arizona, Bradford; Califor-

nia, Wilson; Idaho, Motley; Illinois, Germer; Indiana, Fenimore; Kansas, Stallard; Massachusetts, Roewer; Michigan, Aaltonen; Missouri, Garver; Montana, Duncan; Nebraska, Chase; New Mexico, Goddard; Pennsylvania, Slayton; Texas, Noble; Washington, Patterson. Total 15.

**Voting No**—Alabama, Hutchisson; Delaware, Houck; District of Columbia, Kopeilin; Illinois, Ball, Huggins; Indiana, Reynolds; Iowa, Wiltse; Louisiana, Dietz; Maine, Irish; Minnesota, Latimer; Nevada, Taylor; New Jersey, Reilly; New York, Ball, Solomon; Ohio, Clifford; Oklahoma, Nagle; Pennsylvania, Cohen, Maturer, Ringler; Vermont, Spargo; Washington, Laury; West Virginia, Brown; Wyoming, Carlson. Total, 23.

**Not Voting**—Arkansas, Callery; California, Williams, Wolfe; Colorado, Geffs, Martin; Connecticut, Hunter; Florida, Allen; Georgia, Mulcay; Illinois, Rodriguez; Kentucky, Lanfersiek; Maryland, Develin; Michigan, Hoogerhyde; Minnesota, Kaplan; Mississippi, Lipscomb; New Hampshire, Nichols; New Jersey, Goebel; New York, Hillquit, Strebel; North Carolina, Smothers; North Dakota, Le Sueur; Ohio, Bessemer, Eby, Patterson; Oklahoma, Ameringer; Oregon, Ramp; Pennsylvania, Fuller; Rhode Island, Reid; South Dakota, Douglas; Tennessee, Weatherall; Texas, Hickey; Utah, Burlison; Virginia, Hauser; Washington, Dolge; Wisconsin, Berger, Thomas. Total, 35.

The question is therefore decided in the negative.

#### Comment on National Secretary Question to National Committee.

Bradford (Arizona)—“On account of the expense involved, I would be in favor of keeping only minutes of the National Committee meeting in May, were it not for the fact that in this very critical period in the history of the American movement some self-appointed ‘leaders’ of the party are so given to outright lying about utterances and occurrences in order to serve their particular purposes and views. The only insurance the party can have from this pernicious practice is the actual record of its servants in session. It seems to me not unlikely that this record may save the party from worse hardship than its expense alone would entail.”

Wilson (California)—“I hesitate to vote for the expenditure of so large a sum of money to preserve the record of the next National Committee meeting. But I am hoping that the meeting will prove of far-reaching significance to our movement. Besides, I believe that a little careful business can make the record pay for itself.”

Motley (Idaho)—“By all means, we should have a complete stenographic report of the National Committee meeting. Should be published and neatly bound. I believe enough would soon be sold to reimburse the treasury and have something over.”

Wiltse (Iowa)—“On National Secretary Question in regard to having a stenographic report, I have voted no; but if circumstances arise at the convention that would lead me to believe it was necessary to have the report made, I would change my vote to that effect.”

Aaltonen (Michigan)—“Please record me as voting yes on the question relative to taking a stenographic report at the meeting of the National Committee, submitted by you. As a comment for my vote I wish to state, that, inasmuch as the National Committee is answerable to the rank and file of the organization in their respective states, the rank and file is entitled to know exactly what its representatives are doing in an important meeting of this kind. Though it will involve a great deal of expense, I think it will be offset by the fact that there will be less talk about the ‘machine rule,’ ‘steam rolling,’ etc., afterwards in the party, where there is so much of that

kind during these days of much factional

play” (Nevada)—“Commenting upon the National Secretary Question, my ballot accompanying this, I wish to say that I believe in making every dollar of Socialist money count for one hundred cents to the party in real value. I do not consider that the stenographic report of the mere verbiage spilled by the members of our bunch of most fluent talkers would be real value. I vote for minutes only.”

Clifford (Ohio)—“I am voting no on the proposition to take a stenographic report of the proceedings of the meeting of the National Committee, not that I do not consider a verbatim report necessary and of great subsequent value, but because retrenchment must be practiced in the expenditures of the National Office, or it will soon become bankrupt. The funds have become depleted because of the inconsiderate voting of money to this, that or the other thing, instead of conserving the same for organization purposes. The National Committee has just voted \$100 to the Bulgarian Socialists, and in the same mail announcing the vote comes a statement from the National Secretary that there will probably be no funds available to meet the expenses of the meeting of the National Committee in May. It is this thoughtless, I may say senseless, extravagance of the national organization that is militating against effective propaganda. Many members of the National Committee will doubtless be deterred from attending the meeting because of the handicap imposed by the necessity of borrowing money to meet their expenses, with no prospect of the liquidation of their obligations to repay in the near future. I have continually opposed this deflection of party funds to the detriment of the national movement. It ought to be stopped.”

Ringler (Pennsylvania)—“I vote no on proposition to have a stenographic report of the National Committee meeting. Experience at many conventions has taught me that much of the discussion indulged in is not worthy of being recorded, and I believe that fifteen hundred dollars of the party's money could be used to much better advantage than expending it on a stenographic report of the National Committee meeting. It seems to me that the minutes of the meeting would be all that would be necessary, as information to the membership concerning work that was done and all practical purposes be as fully secured by the publication of the minutes as would be by a stenographic report. In the present state of the party's finances I believe it absolutely imperative to begin to limit the expenditures, and for that reason I am opposed to spending fifteen hundred dollars, or anything near that sum, for a stenographic report of the National Committee meeting.”

Carlson (Wyoming)—“The meeting of the National Committee is not for the purpose of ‘talking in the record’ but to accomplish useful work in the interest of Socialism, and if we can save a thousand dollars by not having a stenographic report I think we will do well in omitting the same. Some papers reporting the proceedings of the meeting may give the wrong coloring to some of the proceedings, but they did that in the convention a year ago, and it is not any easier to correct such impressions with a stenographic report than without.”

May 2, 1913.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Though all the receipts could be used to pay outstanding obligations, we have been endeavoring to accumulate funds to meet the expense of the meeting of the committee. During the past few days the receipts have been especially good, and I am now able to say, that, while those who can wait for the money should do so, yet in cases where lack of advance payment would prevent attendance the money can be

advanced if you will let me know by wire. State the amount of single fare unless a reduction can be secured by buying a round-trip ticket.

While it is not probable that we can accumulate enough to pay the entire expense before the close of the meeting, it is safe to say that all those who could not otherwise attend can be paid. Therefore, no one should stay away on this account. It is, of course, very desirable that there should be a full attendance. Fraternally yours,  
JOHN M. WORK,  
National Secretary.

#### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

April 3, 1913.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith is transmitted a communication from Joe M. Wiggins, C. W. W. Koontz and J. F. Lewis, committee of Local Charleston, W. Va., regarding the situation in that state.

April 5, 1913.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith is submitted motion by Hillquit, as follows:

“I move that a meeting of the National Executive Committee be held on Saturday, May 10, at 10 a. m., for the purpose of making arrangements for the meeting of the National Committee and for the transaction of all other business that may be brought before the committee.”

April 9, 1913.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith is transmitted a communication from State Secretary James Oneal of Indiana regarding interpretation of Article X, Section 9, of the national constitution.

April 10, 1913.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith are transmitted copies of letters received from State Secretary Schawe of Ohio, the relief committee of Local Dayton, Ohio, and Local Hamilton, Ohio, regarding relief for Ohio flood victims.

April 16, 1913.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith are transmitted copies of resolutions adopted by Local Cook County, Ill., regarding the Belgian general strike.

April 18, 1913.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—The vote on the Hillquit motion to hold a meeting of the National Executive Committee on Saturday, May 10, at 10 a. m., resulted as follows: Voting yes—Berger, Harriman, Hillquit, O'Hare and Spargo. Not voting—Irvine. The motion is therefore adopted.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN M. WORK,  
National Secretary.

#### STENOGRAPHIC MINUTES

Of Meeting of National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America.

Held at the Briggs House, Chicago, Ill., on Saturday, May 10, 1913.

#### MORNING SESSION.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in the club room of the Briggs House.

Present—Committeemen Hillquit, Spargo and O'Hare, and National Secretary Work. Com. Spargo was elected chairman.

The subject of place for the coming meeting of the National Committee was discussed, and it was decided to use the club

room of the Briggs House, unless different action should be taken hereafter.

#### Discussions.

The Chair ruled that substantial remarks of members should be reported in full, and that side remarks should be omitted from the stenographic report. There being no objections, it was so ordered.

#### Finances.

The National Secretary presented the financial report for April, 1913.

SEC. WORK: The amount on hand today, after deducting the pay roll, is \$2,997.56.

THE CHAIRMAN: How much is the National Committee meeting going to cost?

SEC. WORK: I have estimated the cost of the meeting of the National Committee and National Executive Committee and Woman's National Committee, as follows: Seventy-one National Committee fares, at \$50 each, \$3,550; 710 per diems, being 71 members at 10 days each, \$1,775; printing, hall rent and miscellaneous, \$675; National Executive Committee meeting, \$500; Woman's National Committee meeting, \$500; total \$7,000. Amount paid to date, \$477.65; estimated balance to be paid, \$6,522.35. That may be \$500 too high. I tried to make a liberal estimate. There is another question in this connection, as to the Executive Committee and the Woman's National Committee, and that is whether we are going to pay them as we have heretofore, or whether they will be on the same basis as the National Committee. The constitution provides that the members of the National Committee shall receive their railroad fares and \$2.50 per day to cover expenses. Heretofore we have paid the Woman's National Committee and National Executive Committee railroad fares, expense and per diem. I should know about that, so as to know how to instruct the bookkeeper in settling with them.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suppose it is a fair assumption that the members of the Woman's Committee have come with the understanding that they would be paid as heretofore.

COM. HILLQUIT: As far as the present rate of compensation is concerned, it seems to me we cannot make new rules now. But as far as the future rate of compensation is concerned, I think it is within the sphere of our competency. The National Committee, conceivably, might make such rules, but I believe it is within the scope of the constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair will rule that the committee has no power to change the compensation of members of the Woman's National Committee and National Executive Committee. If there is no objection, that so stands.

COM. GOEBEL: Isn't there something in the last paragraph at the top of page 14?

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair is informed that it does not apply.

SEC. WORK: I believe it does.

THE CHAIRMAN: "Railway fares and expenses of members of the Woman's National Committee shall be paid by the National Office on the same basis as fares and expenses of the members of the National Committee." It is covered. That applies to the Woman's National Committee.

#### Quorum.

SEC. WORK: Now, do you want to take up matters concerning the National Committee meeting, or other business?

THE CHAIRMAN: Aren't there matters which, as heretofore, will have to be relegated to a sub-committee to report and recommend action? It is a question whether it is right and proper for us to go on without a quorum. We can take those matters up when we have Com. Berger or some other comrade to make a quorum.

COM. HILLQUIT: I suggest that we proceed with matters pertaining to the meeting of the National Committee, subject, of course, to the ratification of the ad-

ditional members of the National Executive Committee when they arrive.

THE CHAIRMAN: Com. O'Hare, is that satisfactory?

COM. O'HARE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right; no objection.

#### Report of National Secretary.

National Secretary Work then presented and read his report as National Secretary to the National Committee.

#### Rules for National Committee.

The subject of rules to be recommended for adoption by the National Committee was then taken up, and the following rules were adopted, and ordered to be presented to the National Committee:

1. The first order of business of the meeting shall be the election of a temporary chairman.

2. The second order of business shall be the election of a temporary secretary.

3. The next order of business shall be a roll-call.

4. A committee of three shall be appointed to decide upon contested seats.

5. A presiding officer and vice-chairman shall be elected at the beginning of each day's session.

6. A permanent secretary and one assistant, who may be chosen from outside the body of members, shall be elected for the entire meeting of the committee.

7. A reading clerk shall be appointed by the secretary and he may appoint one or more assistants.

8. A permanent sergeant-at-arms, who may be chosen from outside the body of members and who may appoint assistants, shall be appointed by the presiding officer.

9. Four permanent tellers to count all ballots shall be elected, who shall be authorized to appoint such assistants as they need.

10. The National Executive Committee recommends the employment of a stenographer to take down the proceedings of the meeting.

11. The election of committees, viz.:

(a) A Committee on Constitution of five members.

(b) A Committee on Resolutions of five members.

(c) A Committee on Reports of National Officers of five members.

(d) A Committee on International Relations of five members.

(e) A Committee on Party Headquarters of five members.

(f) A Committee on Young People's Organizations of five members.

(g) A Committee on Permanent Rules of the National Committee of five members.

12. Discussion shall be limited to 10 minutes for each speaker. Chairmen of committees shall have 20 minutes to report. No member shall speak a second time until all desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak.

13. The sessions of the meeting shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 1:00 p. m., and from 2:30 to 5:30 p. m. Night sessions as ordered.

14. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question has been called, one member on each side may speak for five minutes; also, that the previous question may be called for by a majority vote.

15. During the sessions, no smoking or chewing of tobacco shall be allowed.

16. Such members of the National Executive Committee who are not members of the National Committee, and the National Secretary shall have a voice and no vote in the meeting. This provision also applies to members of the Woman's National Committee.

17. Neither contesting or contested members shall vote upon any question in relation to their rights to be seated.

18. A roll-call shall be had when demanded by at least 15 members.

19. All resolutions offered from the floor of the meeting shall be referred by the presiding officer to the proper committee without discussion.

20. At 5 o'clock on each day the presiding officer shall suspend the business then pending before the meeting and accept and dispose of resolutions offered by members.

21. Acceptances and declinations shall be called for after the nominations for all committees of the meeting shall have been concluded, and no member shall accept the nomination for more than one committee of the meeting.

22. The rules may be suspended at any time by a two-thirds majority of the members voting.

23. On Tuesday morning at 10:30 all business shall be suspended, and the meeting shall proceed to the nomination and election of:

1. Permanent Chairman of the Committee.

2. Executive Secretary.

3. Executive Committee.

4. General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee.

5. Woman's National Committee.

24. An absolute majority of members present and voting shall be required for the election of the above new officers and committees.

25. No action of the committee shall be reconsidered on the last day of the meeting unless on a two-thirds vote of all the members present and voting.

#### Order of Business.

The order of business for each day of the meeting shall be as follows:

1. The meeting shall be called to order by the presiding officer of the preceding day.

2. Roll-call of members, unless dispensed with upon motion.

3. Reading of minutes of preceding day, unless dispensed with upon motion.

4. Communications.

5. Unfinished business of the previous day.

6. Reports of committees in the order above enumerated.

7. New business.

8. Adjournment.

#### Colorado Contest.

The National Secretary presented and read communications in reference to the controversy in Colorado, where there is a contest or difference of opinion as to who is State Secretary at the present time. The communications read were from A. H. Floaten and Emma Langdon, also a letter received the preceding day from the State Executive Committee of Colorado.

COM. HILLQUIT: What is the question before us?

SEC. WORK: To whom to sell due stamps.

THE CHAIRMAN: And to be recognized as State Secretary. Appoint a sub-committee to report to the full committee.

COM. HILLQUIT: We have held distinctly, haven't we, that a duly elected state committee is the sole and exclusive authority in such matters, as far as we are concerned?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we have held differently.

COM. HILLQUIT: Where?

THE CHAIRMAN: Where the state constitution has provided contrary to the action of the state committee.

COM. HILLQUIT: No, we have not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, I think we did in the Missouri case.

COM. HILLQUIT: No, I think not.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think so.

COM. HILLQUIT: There the question of who had been elected was a question of procedure. It turned on the result of the election.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand the constitution, it specifically provides that the officer shall hold until his successor qualifies, and there is no provision giving

the state committee any power to appoint.

COM. HILLQUIT: No, he claims the right by virtue of hold-over, which may be a very good right if nothing else intervenes. But when the state committee and its existence is not contested—the legality of its existence. He claims under a different section of the constitution to have suspended Floaten.

THE CHAIRMAN: Has it the right to suspend, according to the constitution? We have the constitution here, and I think we should examine it.

COM. HILLQUIT: They have gone according to the constitution, but not perfectly. It would not make any difference whether they assumed powers; we cannot review the action of a state committee duly constituted. If the legality of the state committee itself had been in question, and there had been two rival state committees, we might consider it. But there being only one generally recognized state committee, I do not think we have the power to revise their action if it should be wrong or if they should exceed their powers.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is applicable here, by reason of the fact that the majority has elected a state secretary, and both sides admit that Emma Langdon is state secretary.

COM. HILLQUIT: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, there is a very short interim of two weeks or so, and it seems to me it would be perfectly impossible for this Executive Committee to determine, and instruct the National Secretary that he should hold the order for stamps until the duly elected state secretary assumed office. That would not work a great hardship on the state at all.

COM. HILLQUIT: No; but we do not know how long she will hold it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The letter says she will be ready to take office on June 1.

COM. HILLQUIT: The precedent of the thing is what I do not like. You see, we proceed or do not proceed on the assumption that Emma Langdon is secretary. On the contrary, they both recognize that Floaten is secretary by virtue of hold-over. Both sides recognize him, but while recognizing him as secretary de facto they suspend him.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there a way of getting around and over it?

COM. HILLQUIT: I think we have no right to examine into that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we have.

COM. HILLQUIT: We have never exercised any such right, and we have always construed this section of the constitution—Section 4 of Article X: "In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organizations shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory"—we have always held that that means and was interpreted to mean that the National Executive Committee has no power to interfere in the state organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your pleasure?

COM. HILLQUIT: I move that the secretary be instructed to recognize the secretary designated by the state committee of the state of Colorado.

The motion was put and carried.

#### Affiliation of Slovak Section.

The National Secretary presented and read an application from the Slovak Section for affiliation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have they complied with the requirements of the constitution?

SEC. WORK: Yes. Com. Fred Jurish was to be present at the meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN: If they have fulfilled all the requirements, it goes as a mat-

ter of course, I suppose. If there is no objection the application will be granted. Hearing none, it is granted.

#### Fraternal Delegate to Lithuanian Federation.

Secretary Work presented and read a communication from the Lithuanian Socialist Federation, concerning a fraternal delegate to their convention to be held at Philadelphia on May 31, 1913.

COM. HILLQUIT: They are not affiliated yet?

SEC. WORK: They are not.

COM. HILLQUIT: The matter came up at the meeting last year, and there was some irregularity.

SEC. WORK: I believe their members were not all members of the party. They did not have enough party members to affiliate.

COM. HILLQUIT: They had enough, but those voting for affiliation were overcome by those on the other side.

SEC. WORK: Yes, they had a lot of members that were not members of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it would be a good thing to send a fraternal delegate.

SEC. WORK: I think we should designate some comrade living in that vicinity.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Goebel does not live far away.

COM. GOEBEL: I think Lee is the best man.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think Goebel could go there from Newark easily enough.

COM. GOEBEL: Lee is a better man. He has had experience with several conventions.

THE CHAIRMAN: But you know all about it. Shall we send a fraternal delegate, and if so, whom shall we send?

COM. O'HARE: I nominate Comrade Goebel.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Goebel, will you accept?

COM. GOEBEL: I would accept, but I still think Lee is the best man.

The motion was then put, and Comrade Geo. H. Goebel was elected fraternal delegate.

#### Secretary for Colored Race.

Secretary Work read a communication from George W. Slater, Jr., concerning the election of a secretary for the colored race.

THE CHAIRMAN: Referred to the new National Executive Committee.

COM. O'HARE: Can't you just refer him to the conditions existing?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is a problem that the new National Executive Committee ought to handle. I do not think we can devote the time to it now, and we should not initiate a thing and throw the responsibility on the new National Committee.

COM. HILLQUIT: I move that the communication be filed without action.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion, that it be filed without any action taken.

COM. O'HARE: What answer?

COM. HILLQUIT: Just an answer giving the committee's action. But I am against the proposition. There is no reason why we should not do the same thing with a Jewish secretary, to be in touch at all times with the Jewish population, and so all along the line, with all races. We do not recognize such distinctions, and we make our appeal broadly to the working class generally.

COM. GOEBEL: But you cannot deny that it is an issue with the people down South.

COM. HILLQUIT: That is entirely different from establishing a colored department in the office.

COM. O'HARE: I do not know as I would advise establishing a colored department in the office, but I would not approve sending an answer simply saying that the

communication was filed and no action taken. I would at least express some idea of willingness to co-operate in the propaganda among the colored race, or work out a plan and come back with something definite, or some other satisfactory action. It is a problem that we have to meet.

COM. HILLQUIT: Yes.

COM. O'HARE: And you cannot get away from it.

COM. HILLQUIT: But it makes here a definite proposition. Now, it is a race problem, and we have the negro problem, and as we all know, we have had it up a number of times. But here is a man that makes a proposition. I do not know the man, and I do not know who else knows him. Probably he has in view the appointment. But the proposition as he puts it is entirely too raw and impracticable, and therefore we are only bound to answer his letter. We are not bound on this occasion to go into the intricacies of the negro problem. We can bring it up at any time. But here is a specific communication from one individual which we have to meet, but we have no business to recognize the colored race.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion to file?

COM. HILLQUIT: I vote aye.

COM. SPARGO: No.

COM. O'HARE: I vote no.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is still before you.

COM. HILLQUIT: You do not want it filed. Now, what are you going to do about it?

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is still before you, the motion having been voted down, what action will you take?

COM. O'HARE: I am willing to refer it to the incoming Executive Committee. I so move.

The motion was carried.

#### The Situation in West Virginia.

SEC. WORK: I have communications from a number of locals—Sedalia, Mo.; Denver, Colo.; Dowagiac, Mich.; Northumberland County, Pa.; Low Gap, Wash.; State Committee of Oklahoma; Great Falls, Mont.; Independence, Kan.; Joplin, Mo., and from the Workers' Defense League at Pittsburgh, Pa., and D. L. Smith, Martinsburg, Pa.—in regard to sending speakers or taking some action in reference to West Virginia and Mother Jones. Also a communication from Comrade Maynard Shipley, asking to be sent there, and a letter and telegram from John W. Brown.

COM. HILLQUIT: I suggest that the correspondence be turned over to the Committee on Resolutions of the National Committee.

Secretary Work read the telegram from John W. Brown.

The motion to refer was carried.

#### Increase of Wages.

SEC. WORK: I have a request from the translator-secretary of the Polish Alliance of the Socialist party, asking that they be allowed \$30 per week for wages because of having combined their two organizations. They have two men in the office. Also a letter from the Finnish translator-secretary asking that his wages be increased from \$21 to \$25 a week. That general question of wages will come up before the National Committee. There will be a communication from all of the translators, as I understand. The Polish members want to be heard before the committee. They are not here.

THE CHAIRMAN: Shall we defer action on that? If the question is to come up before the National Committee in that form, I do not think it would be worth while anticipating action in the National Committee.

On motion of Comrade Hillquit action was deferred for the present.

### Cleveland "Citizen."

Secretary Work presented a communication from Local Cleveland, Ohio, concerning the Cleveland "Citizen," dated in November, 1912, and a resolution adopted by the City Central Local Committee of Cleveland, charging that the "Citizen" had published what amounted to an endorsement of non-Socialist candidates for public office.

COM. HILLQUIT: Is that incriminating evidence here?

SEC. WORK: Yes. (Reading extract from Cleveland "Citizen.")

COM. GOEBEL: Didn't Local Cleveland have a referendum trying Max Hayes, and the referendum was in favor of suspending Hayes?

THE CHAIRMAN: This does not endorse any man. It says that all of the other men, by their past performances, have proved themselves incompetent.

COM. GOEBEL: It comes pretty close to it.

COM. HILLQUIT: I move that the editor of the "Citizen" be supplied with a copy of the communication and asked for a statement of his side, and that the entire matter be then submitted to the incoming Executive Committee for action.

Motion carried.

### Hardie-Vaillant Peace Resolution.

SEC. WORK: You will remember that at the last meeting, in August, the matter of the Hardie-Vaillant resolution came up, and we sent a circular letter to the following unions:

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, Electrical Workers of America, International Union of Steam Engineers, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, International Longshoremen's Association, International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers, United Mine Workers of America, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, Patternmakers' League of North America, United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America, Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Order of Railway Conductors of America. I have received very few replies.

Secretary Work read a communication from the International Association of Machinists; also from the Switchmen's Union; also from the United Mine Workers; also an extract from Carl Legien's International Notes.

On motion of Comrade Hillquit, the matter was referred to the Committee on International Relations, to be elected by the National Committee.

### Local Juneau, Alaska.

Secretary Work read a petition from Local Juneau, Alaska, in reference to Comrade Greene.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the nature of the report that came to the office?

SEC. WORK: I replied and told him that there were no charges pending against Comrade Greene, but he insisted on my bringing the matter to the attention of the committee.

COM. GOEBEL: Has Greene been suspended?

SEC. WORK: No.

COM. GOEBEL: I have been in various parts of Alaska, and I think it would be well if there was some way to look into the entire Alaska situation, and not only this matter. I agree that the man picked out ought to be one we could depend on, so that the capitalist politicians do not work their tricks and sidetrack the voters. That was the reason we were beaten. I believe there could have been a Socialist elected to office if there had not been sculdugery somewhere.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no charge against him.

COM. GOEBEL: But they take exceptions to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: They say there is a report sent to the National Office against Greene, and their petition is against the report. Comrade Work says no such report has been received against him.

SEC. WORK: Greene was provisional territorial secretary at the time he opposed the Socialist party candidate for delegate to Congress.

COM. GOEBEL: Who set him aside after he had been appointed?

SEC. WORK: He resigned. I also wrote him that his services as territorial secretary were ended. I kept my fingers out of it as much as possible. The candidate for Congress had not been a member of the party a sufficient length of time, and he asked my opinion about it, and I told him that they should live up to the national constitution.

COM. GOEBEL: There should be some way. Some part of the party should take up the Alaska matter, and the matter of the nomination of a candidate for Congress should be taken up along with this. A committee should investigate and see how he was nominated—whether the locals were consulted in that nomination—and the organizers should be called before the committee.

SEC. WORK: They will all be here. Lena Morrow Lewis will be here Tuesday or Wednesday. Chase will be here soon.

THE CHAIRMAN: To get it before the Alaska comrades, what you would have to do would be to frame a set of questions to be submitted to the Alaska locals or to the territorial organization.

COM. GOEBEL: The election is ancient history. The nomination of the candidate is ancient history. Is there anything in the organization now that calls for action?

SEC. WORK: No, I do not think so. I think we should drop this and do anything that we want to do for the future in Alaska.

COM. GOEBEL: It seems to me if there is no report on which this rests it would naturally fall.

SEC. WORK: Yes, that was my reply.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection we will pass it over with no action taken.

### Resolution on Immigration.

Secretary Work presented and read resolutions adopted by the Central Committee of Local New York County, and a communication from the Down Town Jewish Branch, New York City, concerning the Dillingham immigration bill.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

### Adult Suffrage or Adult Enfranchisement.

The secretary read a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of Local New York County of the Socialist party in reference to the enfranchisement of all adults.

THE CHAIRMAN: Has it been published in the National Bulletin?

SEC. WORK: No, it has not been published.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any action on that?

COM. HILLQUIT: It does not seem to require any except its publication. It is not submitted to the National Committee for adoption—simply to take notice.

THE CHAIRMAN: And to be published in the National Bulletin.

COM. HILLQUIT: That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ordered published in the National Bulletin.

SEC. WORK: Com. Solomon says in his letter that he has been instructed to have the matter submitted to the National Executive Committee for consideration and action.

THE CHAIRMAN: Referred to the new committee.

COM. HILLQUIT: I am ready to vote against it. If you want to bring it up in the National Committee, let the National Committee vote on it first. It refers to the enfranchisement of all immigrants who have resided in the country one year. They had it six months before, but lately became more conservative and made it one year. That is rather contrary to the adopted policy of the Socialist movement. The restriction that exists, which makes a minimum of two years after the citizen has the first papers, is not unreasonable, but I think the Socialist party would be the first to suffer from the passage of any such law.

COM. O'HARE: Yes, I think so, too. The other parties have a better organization for taking care of them. That is really where they strike for. The parties in the big cities get the immigrants before they have had a chance to acclimatize themselves or join the organization and become class-conscious, just at the time when they are easiest gotten and used against us. It is my recollection that the convention voted that down.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any action beyond publishing in the Bulletin?

COM. HILLQUIT: I move that it be published.

SEC. WORK: Do you mean the Weekly Bulletin?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

COM. HILLQUIT: Weekly or Monthly.

The motion was carried.

### Press and Printing Plant.

Secretary Work stated that correspondence had been received from Local Malden, Massachusetts, and P. F. Morse, Lincoln, Me., concerning a party-owned press and printing plant.

THE CHAIRMAN: It may come up at this meeting of the National Committee.

COM. HILLQUIT: It may come up, but it should come up in the regular way, by motion of a member of the National Committee. The locals have their state organizations and their National Committeemen, and we cannot instruct them.

THE CHAIRMAN: I call attention to the fact that it is already before this committee. We elected Com. Arthur Brooks Baker as a committee of one to investigate the matter and make a report.

COM. O'HARE: And he did make a report.

THE CHAIRMAN: His report has been submitted to this committee for action at the next meeting after that submission, which is this present meeting. We have that report before us, and we are morally bound to take some action on that report. I assumed that we would probably not take any definite action on that report other than to refer it to the National Committee or to the incoming National Executive Committee, but some action surely we must take on that report which is before us.

COM. HILLQUIT: As we have to meet again, and Com. Berger is expected at 1 o'clock today to go over our proceedings up to the present and to ratify or not, we might as well meet again.

The committee then, at 1 o'clock, adjourned till 2:30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The committee reconvened at 2:30 p. m. at the same place.

Present: Committeemen Spargo, Berger, Hillquit, O'Hare.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question of a party printing plant is before us. What shall we do with it? We have to make some sort of disposition of Com. Baker's report.

COM. HILLQUIT: Before we proceed to that we have to make provisions for somebody to present these rules on behalf of the National Executive Committee. I move that Com. Spargo, as chairman of the meeting, present them, subject to ratification by Com. Berger.

The action of the National Executive Committee taken at the forenoon session was laid before Com. Berger.

Com. Berger moved to amend the proposed rules so as to reduce the time for discussion from ten minutes to five minutes.

The motion to amend was lost.

On motion the rules as proposed were adopted as a whole, Com. Berger voting no.

The motion to report the rules to the National Committee was then carried.

Press and Printing Plant.

THE CHAIRMAN: We come now to this report on the subject of a printing plant. Here is the report by Com. Arthur Brooks Baker, who was appointed a committee of one to investigate the subject for the Executive Committee. All the members, I suppose, have received the report. Here is a copy of the report, which can be read if you so desire. It will take a long time.

COM. HILLQUIT: I suppose we all recall the report.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have all read the report. Comrade Baker is here.

COM. BERGER: I move that we give Com. Baker the floor to explain or say whatever he has to say in favor of his report.

COM. HILLQUIT: I suppose he has said it in his report, unless he wishes to supplement it.

COM. BERGER: No, he may have something to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: If Com. Baker desires the floor, I suppose there is no objection.

COM. BAKER: I thank Com. Berger and the committee very much for an opportunity to speak on the report, but I do not believe there is anything for me to say. As Com. Hillquit suggests, the report itself is quite complete.

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you intend to do with the report? We elected a committee, and the committee presents a report, and the report is before you. Do you propose to adopt the report, or to vote it up or vote it down, or defer action.

COM. HILLQUIT: I move that the report be received as—

THE CHAIRMAN: As progress.

COM. BERGER: You do not need to do that. It is before us.

COM. HILLQUIT: No, it is not.

COM. BERGER: I have no objection to the motion.

The motion to receive the report was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is now before you for appropriate action.

COM. BERGER: Now, I move you that the report be not concurred in, so as to bring the matter before the house.

COM. HILLQUIT: Do you mean the recommendations?

COM. BERGER: Yes. I move that the recommendations be not concurred in.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion. Does anybody desire the floor?

COM. HILLQUIT: I am inclined to agree with Com. Berger in the substance of his motion, perhaps not fully with the somewhat faulty formulation of it, but I

think in substance he is correct. The report recommends the raising and expenditure of a tremendously large sum of money, which, in itself, I think, would put it beyond the possibility or ability of the National Committee or National Executive Committee to undertake it at this time, in view of the pretty good-sized deficit on the Lecture Lyceum and our general state of unhealthy finances.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does anyone else desire to speak?

COM. BERGER: Do you, Com. O'Hare?

COM. O'HARE: No, I have nothing further to add, only I think, owing to the straitened financial condition of the party, the whole proposition is absolutely impossible at this particular time. The party is not in a position to undertake it.

COM. BERGER: I had the matter looked over by some printers, and we talked the thing over in my office and went into it somewhat in detail, and found out that it would be absolutely or almost impossible to succeed under the present conditions. You see, you would have to send out millions and millions of pamphlets to make the thing do. You would have to put in special machinery. It would prove a bad affair, much worse than the Lecture Bureau ever was. It would bankrupt the party within a few years, absolutely keep us in bankruptcy. You could not dispose of the many millions of pamphlets that you would have to dispose of every month in order to keep it going, or you would have to keep the plant shut down for a large part of the year, and, of course, that is what we do not want to do, and the investment would be dead. For that reason I feel constrained to vote against the recommendations.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question? The motion is that we do not concur in the recommendations.

COM. HILLQUIT: I suggest, before you put it to a vote, that Com. Work or Com. Baker may desire to say something on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you desire the floor, Com. Work or Com. Baker?

COM. BAKER: I would like to say, in answer to Com. Berger's objections, that

there is no large organization for either propaganda or business which has not had up before it at some time or other this question of a private printing plant, and you would be surprised to know the number of big insurance corporations and big business corporations which, having a large product to turn out, have found that they could do it much more economically by owning their own printing machinery, as has been duly pointed out in the report. Now, Berger's view that we would necessarily have to produce an immense quantity in order to reduce the cost, is correct within its limitations; because I have taken pains to show in this report that although a plant of the proper selection and equipment might run only half the time, yet you would still be able to turn out your product for a great deal less than you are now getting it for; conspicuous examples of which are books and pamphlets which now are manufactured at a cost of one cent, and which retail in Socialist audiences at 15 cents, and which could be manufactured in our own printing plant at less than one-half of one cent. Those things have been very fully set out in the report, and it seems to me that with a small original investment it would be possible to purchase a printing plant, a thorough specialty plant, which would justify its existence, and by the saving which it would produce as it goes along, would be able ultimately to pay for itself without any very severe drain on the membership. One plant which I would suggest, and which is probably suggested in this printed report, is the welcome in advance which would be given their books as issued, and it might be possible to finance the entire enterprise without drawing upon the dues funds of the party. If the members of the committee have any leisure time I should like very much, some time next week, to show them some of the specialty plants here in Chicago, so that they would get an ocular demonstration of the way in which a capitalist who has a big proposition to undertake goes at it. I would like to show the automatic machines in operation which are mentioned in the report.

(Continued on page 8.)

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK.

(Cut this out and send in a list of subscriptions to the Party Builder.)

The Party Builder, 111 N. Market St., Chicago.

Dear Comrades: Enclosed find \$....., for which please send the Party Builder one year to the following addresses:

Table with 4 columns: Name, Street No. or Rural Route, City or Town, State. Multiple rows of dotted lines for entries.

Fraternally Yours,

Name ..... Street or Route ..... Place and State .....

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Work, do you want to speak?

SEC. WORK: No, I haven't anything to say about it. Perhaps you understood my report this forenoon to cover that. It does not. What I referred to was publishing literature, not necessarily printing it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would say that when the report was received I went over it very carefully, and got some publishing friends and others in New York to go over it with me; and while I am satisfied for myself that the statement here is too broad; that we could not live up to it, that we could not make the gains that are set forth, nor could we do the work as cheaply as is set forth, I do believe that we might save money. But I do not see that at present the party can undertake the establishment of the plant. On the other hand, I do not think it is quite fair to the proposal, I do not think it is quite fair to Comrade Baker, simply to say that you do not concur in the recommendations and to drop the report. My own view is that we should pass it on as one of the unfinished questions to our heirs and successors, and let them deal with it and let them have that report before them. That is all I have to say about it.

The question was then put and the motion carried.

#### Phonograph Records for Propaganda.

Secretary Work presented a communication from A. Heindl, L. Bauer and Charles Egget, of New York City, in regard to the use of phonographic records in propaganda, using the records of speeches of various comrades for propaganda purposes.

On motion the proposition was declined.

#### Assistance for Arkansas.

The National Secretary read a communication from Ida Callery, state secretary of Arkansas, asking help from the national organization, requesting that the nominee for governor be engaged as a national organizer, and stating that the filing of the nomination papers will cost \$37.50.

COM. O'HARE: They do not know who their candidate is going to be yet. We would not want to promise to put him out as a national organizer until we knew who he was.

SEC. WORK: Comrade Callery, who writes the letter, is state secretary, and is also a member of the National Committee, and no doubt will be present at the committee meeting.

COM. HILLQUIT: She has stated the object in the letter, and I do not see that her presence is required. I move, in view of the financial condition of the party at present, that the National Executive Committee decline the request.

COM. BERGER: There is also this additional point: If they are in such a condition that they cannot get \$37.50, even if we should let them have \$37.50 it could not accomplish much.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not only the \$37.50; they ask that we take the candidate and make him a national organizer and keep him on the road at the usual terms.

COM. HILLQUIT: It is a special state election. Of course, we want to utilize that election for propaganda purposes as well as any other election, but there is no particular call why the national organization should take up that special state election.

The motion was carried.

#### Labor's Co-Operative Press Association.

The National Secretary read a communication from Labor's Co-Operative Press Association of Chicago requesting that it be investigated and recommended.

COM. O'HARE: I move that the proposition be declined.

COM. HILLQUIT: With a statement that the National Executive Committee has consistently refused all requests for recommendations of business propositions.

The motion was carried.

#### Local Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

The National Secretary read a communication from Local Fayette County, Pennsylvania, signed by L. S. Mellinger, county chairman, and enclosing a copy of critique. The communication was placed on file.

#### Literature.

The National Secretary submitted a manuscript sent in by State Secretary Oneal of Indiana, written by Joseph Carney of Anderson, Ind., entitled "The Organizer."

Referred to the Editing Committee.

The National Secretary also read a communication from Samuel A. Bloch in regard to the work, "Road to Power."

On motion of Comrade O'Hare, the secretary was instructed to continue correspondence with Comrade Bloch and get a definite offer.

The secretary read a communication from J. F. Wardell of Binghamton, N. Y. Referred to the Editing Committee.

The secretary also read a communication from Theresa Malkiel in regard to the production entitled "Diary of a Shirt Waist Striker." Referred to the Editing Committee.

The secretary read a communication and resolution from Local Watertown, N. Y., to the effect that the National Executive Committee take immediate action for the education of the workers in constructive Socialism, through monthly leaflets issued by and purchased through the National Office by the locals.

Placed on file.

The secretary read a communication from H. C. Harris, Macon, Ga., in reference to the price of literature in large and small lots.

Placed on file.

The secretary read a communication from U. Solomon, state secretary of New York, enclosing resolutions on the subject of the poor and cheap quality of campaign literature and suggesting an improvement in that line.

COM. BERGER: We in Milwaukee make it a point to send out our literature on good paper; of course, not always on the best book paper, with deckle edges, but as far as typographical appearance is concerned our literature looks a great deal better than the literature of the old parties. We always make a point of that, and it pays. I noticed the same tendency in Germany when I happened to be there about four years ago, especially in Leipsig and in Dresden. The typographical appearance of their literature is good, and if you examine the publications of the Vorwaerts and of Dietz you will find the same tendency. I believe the subject deserves consideration.

COM. O'HARE: I think it does.

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me, on the whole, though, that our campaign leaflets were fairly good and fairly free from objections as compared to, say the national proceedings of the Socialist convention. I do not think there is any comparison.

COM. BERGER: In another year or so no one will be able to read it.

SEC. WORK: It was gotten out in accordance with the instructions of the National Executive Committee.

COM. O'HARE: To my mind, the typographical work on the campaign literature and the paper was decidedly poor. The effect was bad. I used lots of the platforms, and they were not very satisfactory, to my mind. I believe that half the number of pieces, costing the same amount of money, would have been more serviceable. I am not a believer in extremely cheap literature.

COM. BERGER: Moreover, it gives the public a wrong idea of what Socialists stand for and how they do business. They are apt to get the idea that we want everything poor and cheap, and that we represent just a class of the population that wants everything as cheap and as poor as possible, while just the contrary is the case. We ought to

make it a point to use good paper, good language, and good literature throughout.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for an instruction to the National Secretary?

COM. HILLQUIT: I do not see the object of the discussion. There is no complaint against the literature usually gotten out by the National Office. That is, I mean our ordinary leaflets and pamphlets are always of good quality, both the paper and typography.

COM. O'HARE: Not always.

COM. HILLQUIT: They are, as a rule. Now, as to the last campaign, we can hardly amend that at the present time; and as to our next national campaign, we will have ample time to take that up.

COM. BERGER: It is a good thing to discuss it and go on record, so that it should not be repeated, that is all. In regard to the convention proceedings, John went to the extreme of cheapness this time.

SEC. WORK: I did it in accordance with your instructions.

COM. BERGER: Not according to my instructions, I want you to understand.

SEC. WORK: "As cheap as possible," that is what the minutes say. I got it out as cheap as possible.

COM. BERGER: It was almost impossible, not possible.

COM. HILLQUIT: What was implied was, consistent with some kind of decent appearance.

COM. BERGER: Of course, nothing can be done but to just kindly answer that in the future we will try to use better paper and better typography. I move that that be done.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved that the secretary reply, assuring the comrades that an effort will be made to avoid ground for such criticism in the future.

The motion was carried.

The secretary read a communication from N. P. Herbst, Brooklyn, N. Y., in reference to Edward Lindgren and propaganda work in New York.

COM. HILLQUIT: What is the date of this letter?

SEC. WORK: April 16.

COM. HILLQUIT: Have you answered it?

SEC. WORK: Yes, I replied offering them certain leaflets free of charge: "The Civic Federation and Labor," "Government by Commission," "Workmen's Compensation," "A Legislative Program" and "Who Are the Peacemakers?" I offered them those because we were overstocked with them. They requested several other leaflets, and requested 5,000 copies of "Boy town Railroad," "Private Property," "Woman, Comrade and Equal," "The Digger in the Earth," "Why Socialists Pay Dues," "Socialists and the Sword" and "The National Platform." I did not feel at liberty to give those good saleable leaflets without bringing it to your attention.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your pleasure? There are two distinct propositions. One is to endorse the scheme and give it the prestige of the party, and another is a request for literature if it can be spared.

COM. BERGER: Of course, the scheme is not new. It is as old as the party itself. The endorsement would have to come from the State Board, not from us.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not necessarily.

COM. BERGER: We have no way to tell whether they are members in good standing or not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, they have the endorsement of their own State Executive Committee.

COM. BERGER: I know. That is where they have to get it from, from the State Executive Committee. As I say, the scheme is not new. As for the literature, I would give all we could spare. I believe the secretary has done so. How many copies did you give?

(To be continued.)