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# Present Party Officialdom Overwhelmingly Repudiated by National Referendum.

(A Tabulation of the 1919 Socialist Party Election).

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The Socialist Party national referendum for the election of international delegates and international secretary has overwhelmingly repudiated the present bureaucratic officialdom of the party. Study the table of votes by states which appears below. This is a history-making tabulation for it shows that the Socialist Party of this country has faced forward and refuses longer to give ear to the siren songs of our stand-patters.

The members of the party want a new deal. They demand a party that is up to the minute in proletarian socialist thought and deeds. While the world has witnessed tremendous changes, both capitalist-ward and socialist-ward, as a result of the war, the Socialist Party in this country has been slipping backwards, or at best has been only marking time.

The party membership must have action which will place it in alignment with the kind of socialism which the lessons of the war have taught us to be the only kind that ensures victory. The party membership has enough of resolutions which straddle the question of affiliation as between the Berne-Scheidemann International and the Moscow-Lenin International. That the party membership does demand a clearing of the decks and an honest expression endorsing the Communist International is proven by the vote below, which elects comrades as international delegates who are Left Wing Socialists.

In the vote the only states with a large vote that are missing are Illinois and New York. The State Secretaries of these states refused to send the *Ohio Socialist* their returns. For Illinois we can say that we are almost certain that the Left Wing candidates won out by large majorities. We challenge New York to publish its vote. We prophesy that despite the fact that the reactionaries in New York City expelled nearly half the membership, constituting the Left Wing faction, in order to be able to throw out the Left Wing vote upon this referendum, that Right Wing stand-pat candidates in New York received only slight majorities, if they received majorities at all.

The votes from the states not included in the tabulation below will not change results. The Left Wing candidates elected have too great a lead over the stand-pat candidates. Victor Berger polled the largest vote among the candidates of moderate socialism and he got less than half as many as the lowest winning Left Wing candidate.

A thorough study of the tabulation constitutes a revelation to the party membership. John M. Work, Seymour Stedman, A.I. Shiplacoff, James Oneal, who together with National Secretary Germer attempted to suppress this vote, to keep it secret, to hold it up — in fact, the charge is made that their real purpose was to steal the election — these five candidates, the first four of whom are also members of the National Executive Committee which voted to suppress this referendum — these five candidates were so thoroughly beaten, so overwhelmingly repudiated by the party membership that their standing as party officials, yes, and as party members, is now nil.

Germer, the National Secretary of the party, who ought to have the respect and confidence of the entire membership, is so little thought of that he can only poll 3,846 votes. James Oneal, whom the National Executive Committee honored by sending him to Europe to study socialist progress, only mustered 1,726 votes. Shiplacoff, who has thrown his lot in with the Right Wing reactionaries, got 2,042 votes. Seymour Stedman, who has been the party's attorney in all large court cases growing out of the espionage law, and who might have made a name for himself in the party, only has the confidence of the membership to the extent of 3,754 votes. John M. Work, an editorial writer upon Berger's paper, received 2,313 votes.

The Left Wing candidates, because the membership knew them to be in accord with Lenin and Liebknecht Socialism, received what can be considered an ovation from the rank and file. John Reed, a strong supporter of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic, received 16,074 votes. Louis C. Fraina, editor of *The Revolutionary Age*, which paper leads in the advocacy of Left Wing Socialism in this

country, received 13,447 votes. Alfred Wagenknecht, whom those defeated by this referendum discharged from the National Office because he was a Left Wing Socialist, received 10,385 votes, and C.E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of Local Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), which local adopted the Left Wing program at a recent mass meeting, received 10,067 votes.

The real character of the action of the seven members of the National Executive Committee (four of whom are

candidates upon the ballot below) becomes apparent when this vote is examined. The results of the referendum stamp the expulsion of the Socialist Party of Michigan, the suspension of seven Foreign Federations, the refusal to tabulate the vote, and the attempt to place the party property beyond reach of the party membership, as the last desperate acts of a pitiful minority, overwhelmingly and definitely repudiated by the party membership.

### Vote on International Delegates (*Part One*)

STATE [faction]	Oscar Ameringer [R]	Victor L. Berger [R]	Louis Boudin [LW]	J. Louis Engdahl [R]	Issac E. Ferguson [LW]	Louis C. Fraina [LW]	Adoph Germer [R]	Algernon Lee [R]	James Onal [R]
California	64	166	20	155	10	371	112	43	43
Colorado	12	18	11	8	20	47	15	6	11
Delaware	0	2	1	11	1	9	5	6	2
District of Columbia	8	13	2	9	2	13	10	15	9
Florida	7	19	4	12	4	24	9	2	0
Georgia	13	33	6	4	3	11	20	8	12
Indiana	182	257	120	168	308	350	270	55	162
Iowa	95	77	19	75	29	34	88	15	12
Kentucky	7	16	1	5	63	58	6	6	7
Maine	10	18	0	4	31	39	14	12	16
Massachusetts	165	612	136	259	1502	3090	455	336	661
Michigan	123	268	192	167	484	3290	213	135	58
Minnesota	114	105	43	106	459	551	148	86	33
Missouri	109	118	37	78	6	112	137	41	40
Montana	2	5	4	7	0	8	7	1	3
Nebraska	12	21	14	15	8	13	35	16	27
New Jersey	140	260	46	162	691	1134	150	182	92
New Mexico	7	31	5	10	4	11	34	6	6
Ohio	187	428	179	240	640	1232	433	131	141
Oregon	26	77	20	69	483	534	80	9	16
Pennsylvania	510	560	137	359	910	1575	458	266	186
Rhode Island	12	40	9	23	82	234	21	24	26
Tennessee	3	10	0	2	1	9	10	0	0
Texas	34	45	4	26	4	10	72	17	13
Virginia	3	19	0	10	10	16	7	18	12
Washington	53	129	124	119	30	211	138	30	64
Wisconsin	1050	1145	83	557	375	472	896	160	107
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,948</b>	<b>4,465</b>	<b>1,217</b>	<b>2,653</b>	<b>6,171</b>	<b>13,447</b>	<b>3,843</b>	<b>1,616</b>	<b>1,726</b>
<b>[TRUE SUM] †</b>	<b>[2,948]</b>	<b>[4,492]</b>	<b>[1,217]</b>	<b>[2,660]</b>	<b>[6,160]</b>	<b>[13,458]</b>	<b>[3,843]</b>	<b>[1,626]</b>	<b>[1,759]</b>

† - See footnote on page 3.

**Vote on International Delegates (*continued*)  
and  
Vote on International Secretary.**

STATE [faction]	John	C.E.	A.I.	Seymour	Alfred	John M.	<i>International Secretary</i>	
	Reed [LW]	Ruthenberg [LW]	Shiplacoff [R]	Stedman [R]	Wagenknecht [LW]	Work [R]	Morris Hillquit [R]	Kate R. O'Hare [LW]
California	498	346	33	98	358	91	123	468
Colorado	56	46	6	19	4	14	18	57
Delaware	18	12	5	3	13	3	14	9
District of Columbia	31	8	24	30	4	12	33	13
Florida	31	2	18	5	6	4	17	20
Georgia	28	1	12	25	5	13	21	26
Indiana	510	342	72	292	342	94	308	539
Iowa	87	58	25	116	58	64	117	103
Kentucky	72	10	1	7	64	8	6	74
Maine	49	34	11	11	10	23	20	51
Massachusetts	3255	1231	481	260	1912	173	969	2254
Michigan	3547	3083	76	305	2857	102	507	2918
Minnesota	646	150	54	142	547	118	255	367
Missouri	170	107	37	131	71	75	180	93
Montana	11	12	21	5	4	8	15	6
Nebraska	38	16	30	51	4	20	32	52
New Jersey	1431	802	316	168	764	104	344	891
New Mexico	10	17	8	41	26	20	30	20
Ohio	1525	1793	160	271	935	155	429	978
Oregon	559	18	25	55	531	47	76	534
Pennsylvania	2169	1419	459	420	1032	231	581	1801
Rhode Island	283	163	23	18	247	8	138	84
Tennessee	12	3	0	3	7	4	1	15
Texas	28	18	6	53	13	28	20	72
Virginia	27	9	7	10	12	7	16	26
Washington	274	107	64	103	131	127	120	279
Wisconsin	705	263	89	1112	401	763	1239	596
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16,074</b>	<b>10,067</b>	<b>2,042</b>	<b>3,754</b>	<b>10,358</b>	<b>2,313</b>	<b>3,923</b>	<b>12,352</b>
<b>[TRUE SUM] †</b>	<b>[16,070]</b>	<b>[10,070]</b>	<b>[2,063]</b>	<b>[3,754]</b>	<b>[10,358]</b>	<b>[2,316]</b>	<b>[5,629]</b>	<b>[12,346]</b>

† - Note: As typographical errors were common in *The Ohio Socialist*, the published state figures were checked by computer for reproduction here, bringing to light a number of minor discrepancies. The only substantial error seems to be in the published tally of the vote for Morris Hillquit as International Secretary, which represented a significant undercount of the true sum of his vote. The factional affiliation of each candidate has been added editorially here, with "R" signifying "Regular" and "LW" signifying "Left

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Wing.” J. Louis Engdahl, former editor of the party organ *The American Socialist* and a future member of the Communist Party, was basically a leftist member of the faction loyal to the Central Executive Committee of the party in this period. His personal politics were well to the left of those of Katherine O’Hare for example — despite the fact that she was regarded by the Left Wing Section as its candidate for International Secretary against the loathed symbol of centrist compromise, Morris Hillquit. Indeed, Hillquit’s politics were to O’Hare’s left by any measure...

*Edited with a footnote by Tim Davenport.*  
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