

Eleventh
National Convention
Socialist Labor Party

July 2-8, 1904

Minutes, Reports, Resolutions, Etc.



Transcribed and edited by Robert Bills

Published online November 2012
Socialist Labor Party
P.O. Box 218
Mountain View, CA 94042-0218

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, N.Y.,
Saturday, July 2, 1904.

At the hour of 10.00 a.m. the convention was called to order by the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, with the following remarks:

On behalf and in the name of the National Executive Committee, I herewith call to order the Eleventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

It is a few weeks more than four years since the Socialist Labor Party has met in national convention. The four years that have just passed have been eventful in many ways. Owing to a combination of general industrial conditions and special conditions within the Party, many difficulties had to be overcome; but, that the Socialist Labor Party did overcome those difficulties is proof of its soundness. That the Socialist Labor Party to-day is what it is proves conclusively that the Socialist Labor Party will be in the future what it has been in the past.

I shall not waste your time with a long speech, and will now call upon you to make your nominations for temporary chairman.

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

Delegate William W. Cox, of Illinois, was chosen temporary chairman by unanimous vote, and, on taking the platform, spoke as follows:

Comrade Secretary and Delegates of the Socialist Labor Party: I thank you for the honor conferred upon me. This having been my first attendance at a national convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and not expecting to be pressed to the front like this, I necessarily feel somewhat embarrassed to begin with. Yet it has been my desire and ambition ever since becoming a member of the Socialist Labor Party to be a willing tool to be used by

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

that organization for the furtherance of it. I, like the comrade secretary, do not feel like wasting your time with a long speech.

There is before us at this assembly a work to be performed, that of setting forth the position of this the most wonderful organization of the United States, a position to work from now on, so I deem it more wise to defer making speeches and get right down to business; therefore, if you will excuse me from making a speech I shall call upon the convention to proceed with its work. The first thing in order is the election of a temporary secretary.

Delegate Charles H. Chase, of Colorado, was unanimously elected temporary secretary.

On motion a Committee on Credentials, consisting of three members was elected, and Comrades Charles H. Corregan of New York, Michael T. Berry of Massachusetts, and Hugh R. Richards of Indiana were elected by acclamation as such committee.

On motion a recess of thirty minutes was taken to allow the Credentials Committee time to make its report.

At the end of the recess the meeting was called to order by the chairman and a large bouquet of flowers presented to the convention by the wife of Comrade Kemp of Toronto, Canada. The bouquet was received with applause, and on motion was accepted with thanks.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

Michael T. Berry, on behalf of the Committee on Credentials, then made the following report:

“Your committee, after an examination of credentials presented, reports as follows:

COLORADO: Charles H. Chase.

CONNECTICUT: Meyer Stodel.

ILLINOIS: William W. Cox and Olive M. Johnson.

INDIANA: Hugh R. Richards.

KENTUCKY: Jasper Doyle.

MARYLAND: Robert W. Stevens.

MASSACHUSETTS: Michael T. Berry, T.F. Brennan, J.A. Bresnahan, M.E. Ruther and John Sweeny.

MICHIGAN: Frank A. Bohn, Peter Friesema, Jr., Meiko Meyer and Herman Richter.

MINNESOTA: Charles W. Brandborg.

MISSOURI: William Bilsbarrow (E.C. Dieckman, alternate).

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

NEW JERSEY: A.J. Boland and George P. Herrschaft.

NEW YORK: Lawrence A. Boland, Charles H. Corregan, Daniel De Leon, R.W. Gaffney, P.E. DeLee, J.J. Kinneally, A. Metzler, F.E. Passanno, Boris Reinstein and C.A. Luedecke.

OHIO: Paul Dinger and John Goerke.

PENNSYLVANIA: D. Rehder.

RHODE ISLAND: J.J. Duffy.

TEXAS: Frank Leitner.

VIRGINIA: H. Mueller.

WISCONSIN: F.R. Wilke.

SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE: Samuel J. French and A. Olsen (O. Bartel and E. Aiazzone, alternates.)

CANADA: C.A.V. Kemp, fraternal delegate, Toronto.

F. Brauckman, a regularly elected delegate from New York, is here without credentials, and has satisfied your committee of his right to sit in this convention, and we recommend that he be seated.

Eighteen states represented by thirty-seven delegates and one alternate.

S.T. and L.A. represented by two delegates and two alternates.

Canada represented by one fraternal delegate.

We recommend that these delegates be seated, and that the alternates and fraternal delegates be given seat and voice in the convention.”

Motion was made and seconded that the report of the Credentials Committee be accepted and the delegates seated.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: Has a suspended member a right to be a delegate to this convention?

CHAIRMAN: No; provided the charges are sustained by the organization.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: Then, that being the case, how could the Credentials Committee report as a delegate L.A. Boland, who has been regularly suspended by a section?

CHAIRMAN: Was there any contest before the Credentials Committee?

DELEGATE BERRY: No.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: Has the secretary of the Party received a communication saying that L.A. Boland has been suspended?

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

SECRETARY KUHN: A communication has been received.

DELEGATE DE LEON: That they have raised no objection before the Committee on Credentials is evidence that they have no objections, as any contest should be thrashed out in the Committee on Credentials; but in order to investigate the matter, I move that the credentials of L.A. Boland of New York be referred back to the Committee on Credentials.

Motion seconded and carried.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Does the report state the number of delegates that each state is entitled to? I think it would be proper to report the number of delegates each state is entitled to and the number of delegates actually present representing each state.

DELEGATE BERRY: In answer to that question, in the absence of the official vote from the states, we could not know how many delegates the respective states are entitled to.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that we take a recess for a time long enough to allow the Credentials Committee to give the desired information as to how many delegates each state is entitled to and by how many each is here represented. It would be a good thing to know how many states are represented and how many delegates they are entitled to. If the Credentials Committee has not that to report to us now it would be a good thing to give them time.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE BERRY: I don't see the need of prolonging the work. We are simply delaying the work of the convention. Of course it is right to know, but I don't see the necessity of taking a recess.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: Delegates keep coming stringing in here and such a report could not be complete, even if made at the time. If this statistical report be included in the final report, we need not delay the work of the convention.

Delegate Corregan moved as an amendment that the report of the Committee on Credentials be accepted, and that the delegates and alternates, with the exception of L.A. Boland of New York, be seated. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: The question is whether we are all delegates. Do we wish to establish a precedent? How long will it proba-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

bly be before Republican and Democratic politicians will come into our conventions? You take men upon their word. You will find out that you will make a mistake. Michigan is represented with four delegates. We come here determined to do what we are entitled to do as members of the Socialist Labor Party. There may be talk afterwards; there was a kind of an idea that Michigan has more delegates than they are entitled to. We want it investigated.

DELEGATE BERRY: I cannot see any necessity for wasting the time of the convention. Every delegate is costing something to keep here. These statistics as to the proper number of delegates that each state should have cannot be gotten this side of the Daily People headquarters. I presume that the secretary of each state committee was instructed by the National Secretary. I cannot at this time see any practical reason for attempting to pack this convention. If there was a question, there might be some necessity of this absolute accuracy. But as to that information, I will give it to you so that it may go into your record.

Thereupon vote was taken and Corregan amendment carried.

The temporary chairman announced that the first {next?} order of business would be the election of permanent officers.

Delegate Frank R. Wilke, of Wisconsin, was elected chairman, and upon taking the chair spoke as follows:

Comrade Secretary and Delegates: I do not believe it proper to thank any exponent of the principles of the Socialist Labor Party for favors conferred upon me; every member, knowing his duty, should fulfill it to the best of his ability. Comrades, we are now about to begin sessions of the Eleventh National Convention. I shall endeavor to be impartial in my rulings, and if I do that, I think I have done my duty. Now comrades get to work and make a record that will go down in the history of the Party showing that this is one of the most important conventions ever held by the Socialist Labor Party; that its actions will be looked upon and recognized as a class movement, such as are all in its history up to this time. The first {next?} order of business is election of a vice-chairman.

Frank A. Bohn, of Michigan, was elected vice-chairman, and Charles H. Chase was elected permanent secretary of the convention.

On motion the convention decided to elect a sergeant-at-arms and page from among the Party members who were not delegates or alternates in the convention. Samuel Winauer, of New York, was unanimously elected to the office.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

A delegate moved that a Committee on Rules and Regulations, consisting of five members, be elected. (Seconded and carried.)

The following were elected as such committee: Boris Reinstein, New York; Frank Passanno, New York; Herman Richter, Michigan; George B. Herrschaft, New Jersey, and J.A. Bresnahan, Massachusetts.

A motion was made, seconded and carried that the convention defer hearing the report of the National Executive Committee until the afternoon session.

Moved that the convention proceed to the election of committees. (Seconded and carried.)

Moved that the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions be composed of five members. (Carried.)

William W. Cox, Illinois; William Bilsbarrow, Missouri; Meiko Meyer, Michigan; Paul Dinger, Ohio, and Boris Reinstein, New York, were unanimously elected as such committee.

On motion the following were elected a committee of five on Platform: Daniel De Leon, New York; John Sweeny, Massachusetts; Olive M. Johnson, Illinois; Peter Friesema, Jr., Michigan, and R.W. Gaffney, New York.

Moved that a committee of three be elected on Attitude toward Trades Unions. (Carried.)

The following nominations were made: Charles H. Corregan, New York; Michael T. Berry, Massachusetts, and William W. Cox, Illinois.

A delegate moved that the nominations be closed, and these three be declared the unanimous choice of the convention. (Carried.)

On motion a committee of three on Appeals and Grievances were elected, as follows: Robert W. Stevens, Maryland; A.J. Boland, New Jersey; Jas. Doyle, Kentucky.

A delegate moved that the convention elect the Committee on Party Press, to consist of seven members. (Seconded.)

An amendment was offered, that the election of the Committee on Party Press be deferred until after the hearing of the reports of the National Executive Committee, and the Editor of The People. (Amendment carried.)

The following were elected the Auditing Committee: Frank Leitner, Texas; Peter Friesema, Michigan; P.E. De Lee, New York.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Moved that the convention elect a reporter to the *Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*. (Carried.) M.E. Ruther was elected as such reporter.

Moved that the convention elect a Committee on Mileage to handle the mileage fund for the payment of the fares of the delegates. (Carried.)

Frank A. Bohn, Michigan; Charles W. Brandborg, Minnesota, and H. Mueller, Virginia, were unanimously elected as the Committee on Mileage.

Following the election of the committees, messages of congratulations were read from the 16th Assembly District, New York, the Men's and Ladies' Branch of the Progressive Socialist Club, New York; Adam Marx, New London, Conn.

The Committee on Credentials made a supplementary report, recommending the seating of P.C. Christiansen as alternate delegate from Ohio. On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Thereupon the Committee on Credentials submitted the following report as to L.A. Boland:

"In the matter of the credentials of L.A. Boland, it is moved and seconded that the delegate be not seated, on the ground that he was officially suspended for one year by Section Rensselaer County of which he was a member, thereby losing his constitutional right to sit in the convention, but,

"Whereas, it is reported to this committee that Boland's suspension and the circumstances relating thereto will be brought up later in another form, therefore we recommend, if this occurs, that Boland be given the floor of the convention to state his position."

A delegate moved to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

DELEGATE DE LEON: What other matter will bring up the question again?

DELEGATE BERRY: On behalf of the committee, I will answer that. Just what form this will take the committee does not know, but it was stated to the committee that it would be brought up. There seems to be some contention between the Bolandites and the anti-Bolandites, if I may use the words, and therefore your committee made this recommendation.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I wish to amend to the effect that the recommendation of the committee in so far as it relates to refusing

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Boland a seat be concurred in; and that part as to his right to speak here be stricken out.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The Credentials Committee has stated that Boland has been suspended by the section. He has an appeal pending, but did not have time since the suspension occurred to bring it before the Party. In view of the fact that the Committee on Credentials, having sat there for over an hour, comes here and says that that matter will come up in some way or another, it does seem that it may as well come up here and now that we may hear what there is of it. I don't know what has happened there and you don't know; we might be all agreed that he should be left out, and yet we are in doubt. In view of that I cannot vote for the motion of the delegate from Rhode Island. I move to amend the motion, that the floor be given Delegate Boland here to state his case within ten minutes, so that when we are through with it we may be through with it for good. We don't want this to arise more than once.

DELEGATE GOERKE: The case was presented to the committee, and the delegate was found to have been properly suspended by the section. Now the committee anticipates something. If there is something to be done, there are the proper courses of appeal where it is to come up. Why should the Socialist Labor Party go out of its way to allow him to overrun this convention now?

DELEGATE BERRY: For the Credentials Committee I wish to say this—for myself at least on that committee I wanted to get the facts, but the truth is you cannot get the facts. I hope that the original report of the committee will be concurred in. Up in that section where all of this took place there is evidently a great deal of bad feeling, and I should have stated before that since the time of his suspension, he did not have time to take further action. We could not override the constitutional rights of that section; but, if there is any "work" going on up there, that is wrong. Boland says that it is due to the fight he has made, that he finds this body in opposition to him.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: Comrade Boland was nominated as a delegate to the national convention in a constitutional way, the members of New York have gone through the proper form, and Comrade Boland was one of those elected. What I want to know before I vote on depriving Comrade Boland of representation of the state of New York is, on what grounds was he suspended?

DELEGATE CORREGAN: The constitutional right of Lawrence A. Boland in this convention ends upon his suspension.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE DE LEON: It is established by civilization that a legislative body is the authority upon the propriety of the credentials of its members.

DELEGATE MEYER: It is simply a precedent that when a delegate is elected by the state the state should be represented as well as the section.

DELEGATE CHASE: It is very plain that if a member of the S.L.P. is tried upon charges and upon final judgment being rendered he is suspended or expelled, he would have none of the rights or privileges of membership in the Party, and could not sit as a delegate in this convention. However, there is nothing in our constitution that interferes with the rights of members while they are simply under charges or in process of trial. Now, as it plainly appears that Comrade Boland will appeal his case, and would have appealed it already but for the fact that no meeting of the S.E.C. {state executive committee} has been held since his suspension by Section Troy, he is not actually suspended from the Party, but his case is in process of determination, and he is entitled to a seat in the convention.

A delegate moved that this body go into a committee of the whole to consider the case of Comrade Boland. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-Chairman Frank A. Bohn took the chair as chairman of the Committee of the Whole.

Moved to adjourn until 2.30 p.m. (Carried.)

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2.30 p.m.

Telegram of congratulations was read from the Excelsior Literary Society.

DELEGATE BERRY: This morning, the convention passed a motion that the first order of business for the afternoon's session should be the reading of the Report of the National Executive Committee. They also passed a motion to go into the Committee of the Whole and investigate the credentials of L.A. Boland.

The Credentials Committee desires to report favorably upon the credentials of Alfred C. Kihn and Timothy Walsh of New York. (Upon motion the delegates were seated.)

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

DELEGATE DE LEON: It was made a special order to take up the Report of the National Executive Committee the first thing after recess; the circumstance that we just went into Committee of the Whole does not affect things at all,—it would have been the same thing if we had made it a special order to take it up at 12 o'clock.

Before beginning the N.E.C.'s report, the National Secretary announced that the hall had been hired for five days, from the 2nd to the 6th, inclusive, from 8.30 a.m. until 6 p.m., and that the sessions of the convention will have to be limited to those hours. In case night sessions become necessary, the convention will have to make special arrangements.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTORY.

When, in the year 1900, the report of the National Executive Committee was written, it could truly be said that the history of the Socialist Labor Party of the preceding four years had centered around its trade union policy, the working out of its uncompromising, revolutionary position, which scorned temporary advantage at the sacrifice of principle, and which, finally, culminated in the Kangaroo rebellion in 1899. That event clarified the atmosphere. The opportunist and the revolutionist parted company; the former to pursue the apparently easy road to mushroom growth, at the end of which lie demoralization and destruction, the latter content to travel the stormy, thorny and narrow path a truly militant movement is bound to pursue, preaching the class struggle in all its purity, encountering and overcoming difficulties undreamed of and, all the while, in the face of a storm of vilification and abuse, added to by internal disturbances, holding steadfastly to the line of action the S.L.P. had mapped out for itself.

In order to clearly comprehend the full scope of these difficulties, one must bear in mind that the industrial conditions in this country, during the main portion of the period covered by this report, made against rather than aided a movement such as ours. The Spanish-American war, with its resultant acquisition of Porto Rico and of the Philippine Islands, had given a great stimulus to American industry; American capitalism entered the field of international competition in a most formidable way, so that the "American

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

invasion” became a standing topic in the press of every European country and a cause of fearful apprehension to every capitalist nation on the face of the globe. The outlet thus afforded to American products in the world’s market went far to stimulate industry at home. The baneful effects of the capitalist system were softened, temporarily, the working class were more steadily employed, and, although increases of wages were on the whole more than offset by an increased cost of living all along the line, the general effect of such a condition of affairs was to blunt the edge of the revolutionary impulses of the great body of the working class and render them prone to acquiescence in a condition which they considered tolerable.

But to-day, in the year 1904, this condition of “unparalleled prosperity,” to quote the language of the capitalist press, has come to an end and what we are now facing, and in fact are in the midst of, is an industrial depression the extent, duration, and general effects of which are apt to be in keeping with the high development of (the) industrial capitalism of our day, and bid fair to out-do all we have experienced before. Thus, if during such a period of industrial activity ours was up-hill work, it should logically follow that under conditions the working class of the country are now facing, they will be more ready to receive and conceive the great truths the S.L.P. has to convey, albeit such a state of affairs imposes upon us new duties, greater effort and ever more earnest endeavor.

THE PARTY PRESS.

If, as has been said, the history of the S.L.P. for the four years preceding the national convention of 1900, centered around the Party’s policy, it can with equal truth be said that its history of the four years just passed centers around its press. In the year 1900(,) on July 1, the Party had launched the Daily People, a most momentous undertaking, in the lap of which lay concealed struggles, trials and tribulations undreamed of by most, if not all, who were present at the paper’s birth. So closely interwoven is that paper with all the Party has been since and is to-day, that the bulk of the space in this report must be given to set forth matters and events which, at first blush, may seem to belong under other heads, yet upon closer scrutiny will be found to have flown from the fact that we had a daily paper such as it is, and such as it could and had to be under the conditions prevailing.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The convention of 1900, held less than a month prior to the launching of the Daily People, had to deal with the form of administration to be given to the paper. It did so under the shadow of the legal complications then existing, which had resulted in an injunction against the members of the N.E.C., obtained by the Volkszeitung corporation. This state of affairs made it desirable to free the N.E.C. from any direct connection with the publication of the paper, lest it be drawn into the troubles the N.E.C. were involved in. A separate administrative body, designated as the Board of Trustees and composed of three members, was created. These men were Hugo Vogt, Peter Fiebiger and Joseph H. Sauter. The starting of an S.L.P. daily paper necessarily had to be much of a leap in the dark. No one could tell to what extent the field was ripe for such a paper, nor could anyone foretell the exact nature of the opposition that was to be encountered, all of which made it impossible to determine beforehand the scope on which it was best to start. It was soon found that the ripeness of the field had been entirely overestimated; that the opposition to the paper manifested itself in ways unforeseen, Labor Fakirs, Capitalist politicians and Kangaroo newsdealers uniting to keep it off the newsstands, prevent the getting of advertising, or working for the withdrawal of such as had been secured; that, therefore, we could not hope to have either the circulation or the income hoped for at the beginning, and that to continue along the lines the paper had been planned was impossible. We had then eight pages daily and sixteen pages on Sunday, which implied a correspondingly large force in both the editorial and mechanical departments. We had also, for a time, full returns granted to the news companies for the purpose of introducing the paper and that cost heavily.

This state of affairs was continued up to the election of 1900, and when the polls had closed and the vote had been counted, the question arose: what was to be done with the paper? The Board of Trustees called a conference of a number of members and submitted a plan of cutting the daily to four and the Sunday to eight pages, as well as abolishing all returns, thereby making possible the continuation of the paper. The proposition was agreed to and was carried out.

It must here be stated because of the importance given to the circumstance by later developments, that, when the paper was started, the compensation of the Party members employed in two of the three departments of the paper, as well as the number of

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

men employed, was fixed by the Board of Trustees in keeping with the high expectations then entertained and utterly out of keeping with what the paper could afford to pay. During the period from Jul 1 to November, 1900, the expenses of the paper so far exceeded its income, that the wages thus fixed could not be paid except for a very short time, and thus accumulated the wage claims which later on became so potent a weapon against the Party in the hands of men who had become its enemies—the very men who had created the situation that made for the accumulation of these claims. At the time the size of the paper was reduced, the enmity these men now harbor against the Party had not yet developed and had a suggestion made at that time been acted upon, many subsequent difficulties might have been saved the Party. The suggestion was that a meeting be called of all who had claims, that some take the lead and propose to relinquish these claims and take receipt from the Daily People for the amounts technically due as donations to the Party. The Secretary of the Board of Trustees and self-appointed manager of the paper, Hugo Vogt, to whom this suggestion was made, did not act upon it, except in a few instances and in these he secured relinquishments in such a form that enabled him, afterwards, to induce the very men who had released to place into his hands suits against the Party for the payment of these alleged claims.

In the course of time, it became ever more evident that the Board of Trustees was an institution whose efficiency as an administrative body left much to be wished for. This was emphasized by its selection of Hugo Vogt as the manager of the paper and secretary of the Board. Whatever services he might have been able to render as the secretary of the Board, as manager of the paper he was an unmitigated failure. Unable to manage a large working force and permitting a reign of drunkenness and debauchery in the mechanical department and himself becoming tainted with that atmosphere, he moreover, made no effort to extend the business done, to enlist the co-operation of the Party organization, or to seek other means of providing an income. What was done under his regime in the direction of stirring up the Party organization to help build up circulation, had to be fairly forced upon him by men not on the Board, whose suggestions he would often meet with a shrug of the shoulders, saying that the membership knew as well as he could tell them that we needed circulation and that being so there was no need of telling them.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Thus conditions grew from bad to worse. The paper was run with a heavy deficit made up by means of loans, collections, festivals and the like, by which means thousands of dollars were gathered, very little of which could, however, be applied to payments on the machinery, but was mostly swallowed up to meet current expenses.

THE HICKEY AFFAIR.

Among the men on the editorial staff, when the Daily People was started, there was one Thomas A. Hickey. He had prior to that time, been employed as an organizer at various times by the N.E.C., as well as by several state committees. While out on the road, the Kangaroo papers used to refer to him as a drunkard, but in the absence of any complaints on that line from our own people, little attention was paid to that. But, when we had him here, constantly under our eyes, it soon began to be known that he had been judged quite correctly by his present "comrades," the Kangaroos, and that our own men, for some reason had not kept us informed. Intoxicated with great frequency, too indolent to do the work he was engaged for, loud-mouthed, empty-headed and overbearing, he finally had to be dismissed by the Editor. While engaged on a tour for the Pennsylvania State Committee, early in 1900, Hickey had obtained from the Labor News Company, and had sold on the road, books on which he owed something over \$45. The Labor News Company had often tried to collect, but had failed, Hickey claiming that the Pennsylvania State Committee had not settled with him and that he would pay as fast as he could collect from them. This matter had dragged along until the beginning of 1901, when the manager of the Labor News Company learned that Hickey had drawn from the Pennsylvania State Committee all but \$18 of the \$80 and odd that had been due, but still had not made an attempt to square his bill with the Labor News Company. He ignored renewed demands for payment and charges were finally brought before Section New York. Hickey, persisting in an attitude of insolent effrontery, was finally expelled by the section and then began a series of maneuvers on the part of his friends, foremost among whom was Hugo Vogt, which made what has become known as the "Hickey case" an affair of such magnitude in the history of the Party that it grew away beyond the rather insignificant personality of him who was the prime cause. A regular conspiracy was formed,

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

and the methods resorted to by the set of men who had clubbed together to humiliate Section New York and ram Hickey down the Party's throat, would have put the most case-hardened ward heeler to the blush. They set up the cry, "Hickey must have a trial"—the very thing Hickey did not want—and endeavored to give him that trial before the New York State Committee, on which body they had a clear majority. In order to get the case before this tribunal of their own, they had to overcome the provision of the constitution calling for a general vote of the section's membership as the first instance of appeal in a subdivided section. They sought to accomplish this by endeavoring to have the N.E.C. give a ruling to the effect that this provision of the constitution was not mandatory, but optional, of which the appellant might or might not avail himself, according to his pleasure. Twice did they come to the N.E.C. and twice the N.E.C. refused to so rule.

Hickey himself had been a member of the state committee. His expulsion created a vacancy in that body for the filling of which the section had been called upon to make nominations, which, when made, had been duly referred to a general vote of the sections in the state. The conspirators, balked in their efforts to get the case before themselves in the state committee, now became desperate. The general vote electing a successor to Hickey had closed and that vote was to be canvassed and the result announced. The simple duty of the state committee was, at its next meeting, to count the vote and seat the candidate having received the highest number of votes, but at that meeting the Hickey majority revealed to what length(s) they were ready to go to accomplish their purpose. They declared that to send out that vote had been a "mistake"; that Hickey, although expelled by his section, and no longer a member of the Party, was still a member of the state committee until such time as he had been specifically removed by a general vote of the membership in the state. Having a clear majority in the state committee, composed of Hugo Vogt, Max Forker, and Patrick Murphy, as against Alfred C. Kihn and Henry Kuhn, who offered determined resistance, they carried their point and the vote was not counted. Instead, they adopted a resolution to call upon Section New York for a statement of its side of the Hickey case, Hickey to get this statement, answer it, and both to be sent to a general vote. Section New York then took action. At the next meeting of its General Committee, held on August 10, 1901, a resolution was adopted calling upon the N.E.C. to rule on the question, "Whether it was

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

correct or incorrect to hold that a member loses all rights to hold office after his expulsion from the Party.” This resolution came before the N.E.C. on August 17, 1901, and was decided in favor of Section New York, by a vote of five to two. One of the two was Peter Fiebiger, a member and the treasurer of the Board of Trustees, the body of which Hugo Vogt was the secretary and which had made the latter the manager of the Daily People. This ruling of the N.E.C. ended the first phase of the Hickey matter, all the moves having been made that could be made within the organization, and at the next meeting of the state committee the vote was counted and the member who had been elected in Hickey’s place seated.

ABOLITION OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

With the two acting members of the Board of Trustees, Vogt and Fiebiger, engaged in the work of championing the cause of Hickey, the interests of the Daily People, entrusted to their care, did not receive any too much attention. Proper management there never had been, due to the unfitness of Vogt, but with a good portion of his time absorbed by pro-Hickey intrigues, things were growing worse. The mechanical department was conducted in haphazard fashion. The business department reflected the spirit of the manager and, worse yet, all connection between him and the editorial department had been cut by his conduct in the Hickey affair. It finally came to pass, that the Board declared to the N.E.C. that the Daily People could no longer be maintained, and that to carry the paper along to the election of 1901 was the best that could be done. Prior to this declaration, the manager of the “Abendblatt,” the Jewish daily, had made a proposition to consolidate the mechanical departments of the two papers in order to effect savings that would materially reduce the deficit. This proposition the Board opposed unqualifiedly, and, since they were the body in charge, nothing was done, but this did not remove the stress of the situation, and under pressure of that stress, the Board, through Peter Fiebiger, who was also a member of the N.E.C., sprang a proposition to convene a special national convention. That proposition was to be passed upon on November 22, 1901. It was met by a counter-proposition to call for a general vote to so amend the constitution as to abolish the Board of Trustee form of organization, make the “Abendblatt” an official organ, and place the administration of the Party press into the hands of the N.E.C. That proposition was adopted, and the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

draft of the call was ordered to be presented at the following meeting on November 20. The two Hickeyites on the N.E.C., Fiebiger and Keveney, had opposed the proposition and, naturally, also opposed the call for the vote, which was adopted over their votes. A few days later, under date of December 12, they sent a joint letter of resignation from the N.E.C., which resignations were promptly accepted.

The call was sent out and the sections of the Party were asked to submit such amendments to the proposed amendment as they saw fit, all of them to be in on January 8, 1902. Meanwhile, the situation had become one of great intensity and a number of other incidents, closely connected with the events here depicted, contributed to add to the tension. During the summer of 1901, one of the supporters of Vogt, and thereby a supporter of Hickey, one Max Forker, had been sent by the New York State Committee on a tour through the state, ostensibly to raise funds for the Daily People, but really, as was found later on, to work upon the sections in favor of the Hickey intrigue. That tour was later extended to take in cities, outside of the state of New York, among them Cleveland and Pittsburg. The National Secretary, who had stood in the way of the intrigue, in the N.E.C., the S.E.C., as well as in the General Committee of Section New York, was to be killed off by a campaign of slander and Mr. Forker was to do the work. When reports of his work reached headquarters from Pittsburg, he tried to escape the consequences of his doings by sending to the N.E.C. falsified copies of letters exchanged between him and W.J. Eberle of Pittsburg on the subject of the slanderous statements made by him to members of the Party in that city about the National Secretary. The purpose of the falsifications was to make it appear that what he had said at Pittsburg was quite harmless. When found out and exposed, he promptly sent his resignation from the Party to Section New York, but that body deferred action until after the election of 1901, prompted by all sorts of rumors that Vogt, Fiebiger, Forker, Murphy and others were to set up a party of their own; "something was going to drop" it was said, but since nothing did drop, the resignation was finally accepted. Forker had been quite well known in the Party. He was a German speaker, had frequently toured the country, and his defection caused many inquiries to come in from the sections wanting to know "what was the matter." These inquiries, together with the fact that it became necessary to give to the membership full information of the situation in so far as it had devel-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

oped, prompted the N.E.C., when the final vote on the proposed amendment to abolish the Board of Trustees was to be sent out, together with such amendments as had been offered by sections to the proposition of the N.E.C., to accompany the call with a complete statement of all that had happened, for the information hitherto conveyed through the Party press had necessarily been fragmentary. This was done in a 24-page pamphlet, entitled "Statement of the National Executive Committee to the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party," dated January 8, 1902. The vote then proceeded and resulted in the adoption of the original proposition of the N.E.C., all the proposed amendments failing to carry.

It was about the middle of March, 1902, when the vote ended, and, at the meeting of the N.E.C., held March 17, the vote was counted and action taken to inform the Board of Trustees of the result. The property was then formally taken over and from that day on began the regime of the N.E.C. over the Party press. No sooner had we taken hold, when there began to appear the first manifestations of what developed within a few weeks into

THE KANGLLET AFFAIR.

The saying that "history repeats itself, first as a tragedy and then as a farce," may, with due reservations, be applied in this instance. The Kangaroo outbreak had back of it deep-going differences as to Party policy and tactics, and it had also the dignity of numbers if it had no other. The Kanglets had neither numbers, nor a perceivable cause, nor even a common purpose. They were a unit in but one thing, namely, that the Daily People must be smashed, but whether that must be looked upon as a means rather than an end is hard to tell. It was a curious conglomeration. The unappreciated, and, therefore, envious would-be intellectual, rubbed elbows with the man who had grown tired of maintaining the rather strenuous attitude of the S.L.P. and who, rather than admitting the fact and getting out, sought to square himself with his conscience or his pride by turning against those who had not grown tired.

But, to maintain the proper chronology of events, we must go back to the time the N.E.C. took over the Party press. We found things in deplorable condition. The debt on the plant, on which payments had been postponed over and over again, amounted to about \$11,000; there were numerous other obligations, among

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

them about \$5,000 loaned from Party members, about \$1,600 payroll debt, and about \$1,800 of current business obligations. The circulation of the Daily People had never been large, but that of the Weekly People had sunk to about 7,000, scarcely any efforts having been made to stimulate the organization to work for its enlargement. The mechanical department had been run in slovenly fashion and was ill equipped to do anything but just turn out the paper.

When it had become evident that the general vote on the abolition of the Board of Trustees would end as it did, the N.E.C. had begun to cast about for a competent manager and had made several unsuccessful attempts in that direction. Finally, the Texas State Committee was written to, and asked what they thought of the qualifications of F.D. Lyon, who had become generally known because of the white-capping he had been subjected to at Beaumont. The answer being favorable, the position was offered to Lyon and he accepted. But when the time drew near for the N.E.C. to take hold, it was found that the trial of the assault cases that had grown out of the Beaumont outrage, would prevent Lyon to come on in time. Then something happened that was destined to greatly influence subsequent events and give shape to the Kangler conspiracy, which, as we know to-day, had already been set on foot. Julian Pierce, hitherto manager of the Labor News Co., came forward to offer himself to the N.E.C. He did so in a letter in which he set forth what he could and would do to conduct the affairs of the Daily People in conjunction with the Labor News Co. No one else being available, the N.E.C. accepted the offer, and Pierce became the manager. He lost no time in working out his real purpose, or the purpose of those behind him, or with him. The N.E.C., to relieve itself of the details of supervising the management, had appointed a committee of five for this work. The new manager convened this committee and at its very first meeting prevailed upon them to adopt a report to the N.E.C., the gist of which was that an examination of the situation (with which he had been familiar all along) "had taken the heart out of him" as to the possibility of continuing the paper, said report to be adopted by the N.E.C. and sent to the Party sections. Needless to say that this report was colored as dark as could be, to meet the secret purposes of the conspirators. The situation, by no means a rosy one, was painted in the most dismal hues, all that spoke in favor of the Daily People being slurred over or suppressed, and all that made against unduly exaggerated. The scheme was to put the N.E.C. in an embarrassing

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

position and either force it to endorse and send out the report, which would have meant the finish of the paper, or to have it bear the odium of wishing to keep the membership in the dark as to the real condition of affairs. Having been successful with the managing committee, Pierce probably thought the rest smooth sailing, but he erred. The N.E.C. took up his report, plucked it to pieces and asked for his resignation. The National Secretary was temporarily placed in charge until the arrival of F.D. Lyon a few weeks later, and when he had come, the resolution to consolidate the management of the Daily People and the Labor News Company, that was on the books of the N.E.C. since Pierce had offered himself, was soon taken up and Pierce dismissed. We then entered upon the work of building up, pulling the plant in shape, devoting to that what funds we could spare, and in other ways sought to increase our income by stimulating advertising and circulation. But we were not long permitted to concentrate our attention upon this work of construction. The conspirators were active. The two streams of enmity to the Party press had met and merged; the Board of Trustees following and the Kanglets proper went hand in hand, despite the erstwhile antagonism of the latter against the former and we then passed through

THE LAMPOONIST PERIOD.

The lamponists proceeded from the theory that the Party membership, like a lot of children, could be scared into most any absurdity; that to accomplish what they were after it was necessary to paint the N.E.C., the Editor of *The People*, and the National Secretary in the blackest of colors, charge them with all the crimes on the calendar, and thus stampede the membership into doing what the "Managing Powers" had refused to do, i.e., the destruction of the Party press. It mattered not that the N.E.C. had just been put in charge of that press and could not logically be held responsible for any sins the Board of Trustees may have been guilty of; each and every point which might have been made against the Board, the lamponists hurled against the N.E.C.

The "truthful" and "honest" Julian Pierce was the first to lead off. He issued a twenty-four page "statement" and sent it broadcast throughout the country, using an old mailing list of the *Weekly People*, the list of the Labor Library, such other addresses as he had become possessed of by virtue of his office and in this way sup-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

plied members and non-members, Party organizations and non-Party organizations, with the utmost "impartiality," going even so far as to send copies to Daily People advertisers, which copies had his circulation "statement" marked in blue pencil. Locally, the effect must at first have been startling in many places, but the good sense of the membership soon asserted itself. The methods employed were too transparently dishonest to create aught but indignation in the minds of all decent men and the immediate result was a liberal crop of resolutions coming from all parts of the country, and condemning the treacherous act. To meet this attack the N.E.C. prepared a counter statement, which did much to neutralize the effect of the Pierce lampoon.

THE RHODE ISLAND TREACHERY.

The next effort in that direction, evidently prepared in conjunction with the Pierce clique in New York, proceeded from Rhode Island. Early in April, 1902, there had been received from Section Providence an alleged criticism of the N.E.C. for having issued, together with the call for the vote on the question of abolishing the Board of Trustees, the statement already referred to. This "criticism" the section wanted printed in *The People*. We soon came to entertain some strong suspicions against that quarter and surmised that some dark lantern work was going on from the fact that a state convention was known to have been held in Rhode Island of whose proceedings not a word had been sent to the Party press. At any rate, the demand for publication of matter dealing with internal Party affairs, that had never appeared in the press, but had been sent direct to the sections, was deemed absurd, and publication was denied. Already suspicious of their intentions, this demand made us more so and a reply in guarded terms was decided upon. They were told that if they wanted to bring their "criticism" to the attention of the membership, the thing to do was to do as we had done with our statement, i.e., send it to the Party organizations. Several more letters then went back and forth between Providence and New York and when these were all in the N.E.C., whose erstwhile suspicions as to the malafide intentions of the element at work to stir up trouble had become a settled conviction, now decided to head them off by publishing the entire correspondence in circular form for the information of the Party. Accordingly, the circular "In the Matter of Section Providence" was sent

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

out. The information thus conveyed went far to enable the membership to take the measure of the men behind that move and when on July 1, 1902, another lampoon made its appearance, its effect could not possibly be very startling. This latest effort of the lampoonards bore the presumptuous title of "Statement and Propositions of the Socialist Labor Party of Rhode Island to the Sections and Members of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States"; in the course of time, it came to be designated as the "Curran lampoon." The Pierce lampoon, silly enough on the whole, did show some traces of overdone cleverness of execution; the Curran lampoon was hopelessly stupid in design and execution. Its essential features were that under orders of that mysterious Rhode Island state convention, said to be held on April 27, 1902, a committee composed of Thomas Curran, James Reid and Herman Keiser "stated" that, what they called the "Managing Powers," had failed to "cleave to honesty," had been guilty of "gross blunders," had "distrusted and deceived the membership," had exercised their offices "in an autocratic manner." They proposed the holding of a special national convention "without the formality of a general vote, provided a majority of the sections demand it," said convention to be held at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, "as early as possible" for the purpose of chopping off the "Managing Powers," the Daily People, and incidentally for "the re-organization of the executive body in such a manner that it will be representative of the Party and quickly subordinate to it."

Pierce had succeeded to fluster some people, but Curran fell absolutely flat. He was seen through at once and became harmless as soon as his production was known, but the N.E.C. had by this time become aware of still other attempts along the line of action already pursued by Pierce and Curran, and, in order to cut the ground from under the feet of the conspirators, it was decided to give the Party a chance to stand up and count itself, the best means also of revealing all such as were in sympathy with or were part of the conspiracy. A call for a general vote on the question "Shall the Party hold a special national convention?" was issued, wherein the treason of the Curranites was sufficiently exposed, and the close of that vote was set at September 15, 1902. That vote resulted in a large majority of votes against such a convention and from that time on it was an easy matter to handle the whole disturbance.

It should be added that seven sections in all did vote on the Cur-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

ran call and sent their vote to the N.E.C. These were Providence, Rhode Island, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Fall River, Massachusetts, Taunton, Massachusetts, Holyoke, Massachusetts, Sutersville, Pennsylvania, and Passaic County (Paterson), New Jersey, which reports the N.E.C. filed away amongst the curios of the movement and paid no further attention to them.

CHICAGO AND PITTSBURG.

While the aforesaid general vote was being taken, two more centers of the conspiracy had developed. First to come to the front was Chicago. It is difficult to imagine trouble in the Party without Chicago adding to it; she has that way. While we have reasons to believe that some few men in Chicago were part and parcel of the plot and in touch with their likes in New York and elsewhere, still it seems that with the majority it was a case of simply flying off the handle and nothing else. No sooner had the Pierce and Curran lampoons been received, when the section adopted, and sent on for publication in the Party press, a set of resolutions which have never been equaled in point of truly refreshing naiveté. They demanded no less than the resignation, on the spot, of the N.E.C., and the National Secretary, as well as the suspension of the Daily People. The N.E.C. sent in reply a letter formulating a set of ten questions in which their pretensions were thoroughly punctured and when we had their reply to the effect that they refused to answer these questions, it was decided to acquaint the membership with the entire correspondence which was done by means of a circular entitled "In the Matter of Section Chicago."

The N.E.C. were unable at the time to clearly understand all that was behind the outbreak, and since no word came from any one in Chicago, except from those who were up in arms against the Party, three letters of inquiry were sent to three members who were thought to be loyal. Only one, Henry Sale, responded, showing in his reply that he, too, had been somewhat affected by the dust that had been raised, but showing also that the spirit of loyalty to the S.L.P. was his guiding principle. He was communicated with, his misinformation dispelled and he became subsequently the means of rallying the few loyal members who re-organized Section Chicago after the traitorous section had been suspended, together with the Illinois S.E.C., the latter body having issued a call for a vote in the state to withdraw from the Party. Barring some tempo-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

rary wobbling in Peoria and Jacksonville, the sections in the state remained unaffected by the Chicago escapade, and, having had the same experience twice over with that town, once in 1899 and again in 1902, as the seat of the state committee that conspired against the Party, stole Party funds and diverted other Party property, they desired that the seat of the committee be located outside of Chicago. In compliance with these wishes the N.E.C. appointed Section Madison County to take in hand the re-organization of the S.E.C. This was done, the members of the committee being chosen from different sections in the neighborhood and that committee have ever since conducted the affairs of the Party in Illinois with much vigor and efficiency.

In Pittsburg, where the conspiracy had meantime raised its head, conditions were more serious. There was a larger membership than in Chicago and the leaders of that section had run up quite a large indebtedness with both the Labor News Company and the Daily People, owing through several committees not less than \$500, an additional inducement to liquidate their obligations by jumping out of the Party. The inevitable Julian Pierce, who had given them the goods, furnished them the handle to get rid of the debt. He, in order to fire his lampoon from a safe place, had gone to Philadelphia. Charges for treason had been brought against him in Section New York as soon as his lampoon had appeared, and Section Philadelphia had been informed of these charges before Pierce had deposited his card and had become a member of that section. Subsequently, and notwithstanding they had this information, the Philadelphia section admitted Pierce, but receded from that position when the N.E.C., upon the request of Section New York, ruled, that a member under charges cannot transfer. Pierce appealed from the decision of Section Philadelphia to the Pennsylvania S.E.C., and that body, with characteristic impudence, decided in his favor and finally capped its treacherous career by ordering a general vote in the state to withdraw from the Party (they called it withdrawing from the "present N.E.C."). The S.E.C., as well as Section Allegheny County, was promptly suspended, Philadelphia was appointed the temporary seat of the S.E.C., and Section Allegheny County was re-organized as soon as the few loyal members could be communicated with.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE NEW YORK CITY KANGLETS.

We now turn to the city of New York and its little Kangs. There had been considerable wire-pulling between that fraternity in New York and their brethren in Pittsburg. Those in New York had formed a secret organization, dating back as far as January, 1902, and when the Pittsburg outfit began to get things in shape for their leap, two curiosities of the New York secret organization, Peter Damm and A.D. Wegman, had been sent to Pittsburg to help things along; and when the Pittsburg crooks had their pipes laid, they, too, sent a committee to New York to see what they could pick up in the way of loose ends that were not accessible to their New York fellow conspirators. They came and smelled around headquarters, around the Assembly Districts of the city, over at Northport, Long Island, where Lucien Sanial lived; they met Mr. Curran of Rhode Island, and, finally, left again with Mr. Lucien Sanial safely tucked away in their vest pocket. The upstart of it was that two letters of resignation came. One from Lucien Sanial, whose resignation was accepted when it reached the General Committee of Section New York; the other from Benjamin Keinard, but in his case, because of the insolence of the letter, charges were brought and he was expelled, failing to show up for trial.

Section New York, then thoroughly aroused to the situation, decided to probe deeply into the conspiracy and drive the skulkers from cover. A committee of inquiry was appointed by its General Committee with power to examine witnesses and that committee went to work at once. Then came the end of the "plot of the pin-heads." Unable to hide any longer in dark corners, they came out with a four-page "statement," a diluted, vapid, spineless wail, worthy of attention only because of the thirty-one signatures it bore. These were looked into. One was found to be a forgery and the remaining thirty were then disposed of as quickly as the expulsion apparatus of the section could be made to do its work.

THE CAMPAIGN OF LAW SUITS.

We have pointed out before in what shape the Party press came to the hands of the N.E.C. from the Board of Trustees, and what were the difficulties we had to overcome. These difficulties were not lessened by the Kanglet revolt, but were augmented. Stupid and senseless and without any general purpose though it was, it nevertheless tore a piece off the organization here and there, di-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

verted attention from Party work on the part of officers and members, and alienated support in some quarters. The Kanglets had tried to smash the Party's press by smashing the Party organization and had failed, but from another side, the former Board of Trustees' side, or to be more exact, the Hugo Vogt side, came attacks that sought to smother the Party press itself in a shower of law suits; it was the property acquired by the Party which furnished the handle thereto. This same Vogt, shortly after the Kangaroo outbreak, was heard to remark that he could understand how he could become so incensed at persons in the movement as to be forced to leave the Party, but he could not understand how a true Socialist could ever turn against the movement. Well, the latter part of this observation is true, no doubt, but he probably understands to-day how he turned against the movement and he can draw his own conclusions.

Vogt had been the manager of the Daily People. It was he who had mismanaged, who had piled up obligations and who was finally ready to give up the ship without giving some one else a chance to do better. Probably to prove that what he could not do was impossible of doing, he utilized what information he had gathered while in office, to break down the Daily People; to bring it about, to quote his own words, "that he would hoist the red flag of the auctioneer on the Daily People building." Not only did he prevail upon such as had bona fide claims to bring suit, but he did more. There were among the alleged wage claims some that had been renounced, as was well known to those in touch with affairs. In a book where these claims had been entered there was back of some, marked in the handwriting of Vogt, such words as "renounced" and "waived." These men had become linotype operators because of the opportunity afforded them by the Party, and, in a spirit of equity, had waived a claim that was none too genuine from a moral point of view. But Vogt, the man with some legal training, had not taken these releases in such form as to protect the Party against any change of mind, but had let it go with a purely verbal agreement in his customary slovenly fashion. Now, however, was the time to take advantage of his malfeasance in office, and he promptly availed himself of the opportunity. His motive was a two-fold one. He wanted revenge and business; revenge—to satisfy the vanity of Vogt, the dethroned Party leader; business—to help along Vogt the now law clerk. The men who were by him prevailed upon to bring their unjust claims into court, through a firm of lawyers

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Vogt had become an employee of, might as well be fixed for all future time, for the S.L.P. is not of to-day or to-morrow only, and it is well to have a long memory for both friend and foe. These men were: Arthur Coutant, Henry Lightbourne, Dow Hosman and Morris Benon, the latter sailing under an alias and whose real name is said to be Maurits Stutzinsky. The first to lead off with a suit against the Party under the instigation of the Vogt firm was W.S. Dalton, to-day esteemed in the Kangaroo camp. The case was settled out of court for \$139.50. Next came Peter Fiebiger, who sued for \$1043, which he claimed to have advanced to himself while in charge of The People prior to the establishment of the Daily People, and for \$600 more, which he claimed to have loaned to Peter Fiebiger, the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees. This suit the N.E.C. contested, appealed the case when he obtained judgment in the City Court, and finally paid when the Appellate Term affirmed the judgment of the City Court. We paid because we could not go higher up, the Appellate Term decision, rendered on May 5, 1904, being unanimous. The total amount with interests and costs was \$2,362.94. Then came Benjamin Keinard, whose claim was settled out of Court for \$281.50. His claim was a double one; part of it was due him for work done as an organizer, directly for the N.E.C., on which claim we were making gradual payments, the balance represented an alleged wage claim for work done in the editorial department. The cases of M. Benon and A. Coutant were settled out of Court, after they had brought suit, each for \$75. Settlement without suit was also made with Edward J. Montagne, compositor, who was paid \$93, and with Albert B. Kreitler, pressman, who got \$218. Another ex-member of the editorial staff, Frank McDonald, brought suit and his claim was settled out of Court by payment of \$136. Still another compositor, James Wherry, brought suit and his case was settled for \$25.

Besides these suits that proceeded from the Vogt side of the conspiracy, there were two more, brought from the camp of the little Kangs proper, for money loaned in 1899 to the Workingmen's Publishing Association, who were then the publishers of the Jewish "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiter Zeitung." One was by Ephraim Siff for \$500, which is still pending, the other by Hyman Starr, assigned to Jacob Siff, for \$330. The latter was decided against the Party in the municipal court, was appealed and cut down to \$250, which we paid. The total amount disbursed in this way, outside of costs and legal fees, foots up \$3,077.94, but the Daily People still lives; the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

whelps have not triumphed yet. The suits brought by Dow Hosman and Henry Lightbourne are still undecided at this writing. The former, won by him in the municipal court, went against him on appeal and has been retried, while appeal on the latter is still pending, he, too, having secured judgment in the court of first jurisdiction.

THE "ABENDBLATT" AND "ARBEITER ZEITUNG."

Time was when on the lower East Side, the "Ghetto," all the revolutionary sentiment of the Jewish working class seemed to be pro-S.L.P. That aspect of the case prevailed while the S.L.P. was not what it is to-day and it vanished in the same measure as the S.L.P. evolved towards the clearness of its present tactical position. Formerly, the trade union central body of the East Side, the United Hebrew Trades, was a District Assembly of the S.T. and L.A.; to-day it is as much of a pure and simple body as can be found in the land, as impure and unsimple as any of them. Formerly, the Party organizations of the East Side were numerically strong, and a number of auxiliary organizations added to their strength; to-day the Party organization has been reduced, by a process of constant sifting, to what the S.L.P. of to-day can expect to have from among a population so easily swayed by mere appearance as is that of the East Side. Formerly, the "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiter Zeitung" were the only Jewish Socialist papers in the field; to-day an alleged Socialist daily exists, the real character of which is as difficult to determine as is the color of a chameleon.

In the report of the N.E.C. to the national convention of 1900, was set forth what efforts were made by the Kangaroos to capture the paper and how these efforts were frustrated. The Kangarooish editors of that time were got rid of and a man named Beer was put in charge. He tried, in 1899, to insert in the paper an article advocating the endorsement of a candidate for assembly, running on a Debs Social Democratic ticket, and naively pleaded when taken to task that, since we had candidates in all assembly districts, while the Debs S.D.P. had but one, it would be but fair to give them this much of a lift. Beer was speedily disposed of, and Herman Simpson, who subsequently became the invisible general of the New York city Kanglet contingent, was put in charge. He remained until the fight started by the United Hebrew Trades against the "Abendblatt," had culminated in the discharge of the Hebrew Ty-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

pographical Union composers, who were represented in the U.H.T. and refused to declare their position on a boycott levied against the paper by their central body. The position of the "Abendblatt" had been a difficult one for some time. Prior to the Kangaroo outbreak in 1899, the then Editor engaged in a controversy with another Jewish paper, out of which controversy grew a libel suit. This suit ended in 1901, with the plaintiff obtaining a judgment of over \$3,000 against the "Abendblatt," or, to be more exact, against the Workingmen's Publishing Association, which owned and published the paper. To pay that judgment was out of the question and an assignment was made to a member of the Party. He in turn sold the property to several creditors and steps were then taken to organize another corporation for the publication of the paper. Thus the "Workmen's Printing Company" was formed in which the N.E.C. held a majority of the shares in order to fully control the paper. But to avoid Party liability for obligations incurred in the running of the paper, in compliance with Article IX, Section 5, of the constitution, a partnership was formed to whom the property was leased.

This is the way things stood when the aforesaid boycott was levied. The pretext for it was furnished by an advertisement, which every Jewish paper carried, unmolested by the fakirs, but which they wanted the "Abendblatt" to throw out. The boycott did not affect circulation at all, but it did affect advertising, the small business fry, scared out of their wits by the pretensions of the fakirs, tumbling over one another to pull out their ads. Thus the position of the paper, already precarious, became untenable, and when the opportunity presented itself to dispose of the plant under favorable conditions, that opportunity was taken hold of and the plant sold. The purchasers assumed all the mortgages resting on the plant, and paid \$6,000 in cash, from which amount were paid all the other debts of the paper, consisting of current business obligations, loans from members, unpaid wages, etc., leaving a balance of \$1,167.01, which was deposited with the Daily People for the purpose of defraying the expenses of what Jewish publication the Party might want to issue.

The first question was whether or not to continue the publication of the "Abendblatt." This could have been done in so far as the possession of a technical equipment was concerned, because we had in the Daily People office enough machinery to do so, but upon reflection this idea was abandoned and it was decided to continue

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

only the weekly "Arbeiter Zeitung." For this purpose one of the Daily People linotype machines was converted to set Jewish type and for a time the "Arbeiter Zeitung" continued to appear. It was, however, impossible to maintain it long; the deficit, and initial expenses needed, more than exhausted the funds left over from the "Abendblatt" sale and the paper became a heavy burden to the Daily People. To avoid danger to the more important publication, with which we surely had our hands full of difficulties, it was finally decided to suspend publication of the "Arbeiter Zeitung." It may be said, though, that, should conditions on the East Side change, so as to become more favorable to the existence of a clear-cut S.L.P. paper, we can, with our equipment, launch such a paper at any time with comparatively little cost.

THE "SOCIALISTISCHE ARBEITER ZEITUNG."

This paper, the German organ of the Party, existed at the time of the 1900 national convention, having been started a short time before at Cleveland, Ohio, under an arrangement with the "Volksfreund" Publishing Association. Like every other Party publication it has had its full measure of trial and tribulations and these were added to when a little more than a year ago the plant of the "Volksfreund" was destroyed by a fire. No insurance could be obtained for the building the plant was located in and it was a total loss. This loss was, however, quickly made up by collections from all over the country; a new equipment was procured, which, since the funds therefor had been contributed by the Party sections and members, was vested in the Party, the N.E.C. appointing Comrade John D. Goerke, of Section Cleveland, as the custodian of that property.

Frequent complaints have been received by the N.E.C. from the management of the paper that it does not get from the organization the support it is entitled to, and that many, if not most, sections are extremely lax in looking after their local lists of subscribers. This is all the more to be regretted, because it has but recently been shown what important services can be rendered by the paper to the movement, when it took up, in a series of contributed articles, an exposure of the corruption existing in the Brewery Workers' Union, showing how the Fakirs in control of the New York end of that organization outrage and browbeat such members as dared to protest against the sell-out by the Fakirs to the pool brewer

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

bosses. This exposure, which also brought out the intimate connection of the New York Volkszeitung with the Fakirs of the Brewers' Union and their sell-out to the pool bosses, did much to prove of what inestimable value is the possession of a German paper to the S.L.P., a fact that should be borne in mind and should bring forth energetic efforts to vastly increase its circulation.

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

It was about the middle of March, 1902, when a change took place in the editorial management of "Il Proletario," then the Italian organ of the Party. The then Editor, Cianfarra, by constantly stimulating the Italian sections and branches, had placed the paper on a self-sustaining basis, and the Italian portion of the S.L.P. movement could be said to be in better shape than it ever had been. But internal friction arose, and, tired of the bickerings engendered thereby, Cianfarra resigned the position. As is generally the case when an editor is wanted for a publication in a foreign language, none could be found in this country and importation from Europe had to be resorted to. A man named Serrati¹ was sent for and he came to take charge. He came with big notions as to the kind of Italian movement he was to build up in America, and no sooner had he got warm in his place, when he began to spread out. The S.L.P., of course, was too small for him and too narrow; its tactical position on the question of trades unions, as well as its attitude toward the Kangaroo movement, he considered a hindrance to his schemes and these met, therefore, with his disapproval. At first, his attitude on these matters was one of unbiased inquiry, like that of a man who, having come from another country, wanted to post himself, but he soon outgrew this and came to know it all, better than any one who had been in the movement for years. He had been here but a short time when he began to unfold his plan for forming an Italian Socialist Federation, an organization that was to enroll Italians by the thousands, take care of helpless immigrants, protect them, get work for them, in short, act the part of a Socialist Providence. A part of the plan was a daily paper, which was to fly on the wings of the great movement he would build. The few clear-headed men among the Italians, who saw through the folly of the scheme, were brushed aside; the bulk of the Italians in

¹ [Presumably Giacinto Menotti Serrati (1874–1926), who would later succeed Benito Mussolini as editor of *Avanti*.—*Editor*.]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

the movement rallied around the new Moses. The Federation was started and the daily paper soon followed. The latter did not last long, but while it did last it imposed heavy financial sacrifices upon the adherents of Serrati and contributed not a little to their disenchantment. Needless to say that, while the paper existed, the Federation had little chance to live up to the highfaluting plans of its founder and less so after its collapse. Serrati then vacated the field and went back where he had come from, leaving behind him the ruins of what had been as flourishing a movement as conditions permitted.

The weekly "Il Proletario" continued to exist. Its plant was gone and it had to be set and printed in another office. From what we can learn of it, the paper is in incompetent hands and maintains an attitude that is neither fish nor fowl, not daring to come out openly for the Kangaroos and not wishing to align itself with the S.L.P.

Among the organizations that were taken out of the Party by the formation of the Federation, were the three Italian sections located in the state of Vermont. What little organization the S.L.P. had in that state in 1899, went over to the Kangaroos in 1900, but the later formation of the three Italian sections made possible the formation of a state executive committee in that state, which, with the formation of the Serrati Federation ceased to exist. Most, if not all of the members of these sections were granite workers and belonged to Italian trade organizations of that calling. From what we have been able to learn, it would appear that the inability of members of the Party to hold office in those organizations, made it easier for Serrati to prevail upon these men to pull out of the S.L.P.

THE WAGE WORKER.

In Detroit, Mich., there existed a monthly paper bearing this name, published by a man named George Eastman, as an organ of the "Socialist" party. Eastman had been a member of the S.L.P. up to 1899, when he went over to the Kangaroos. In the course of time he became, however, ever more dissatisfied with the course pursued by that party and finally offered his paper, unconditionally, to Section Detroit. The section asked the N.E.C. for advice and were told to take it. For a time the paper continued, but could not be maintained as it proved too heavy a burden, both financially and in regard to the amount of work it imposed upon the local membership.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

“ARBETAREN.”

This is the Swedish organ of the S.L.P., and is published in the Daily People building. Until recently, it was set up on one of the linotype machines of the Daily People, for which it paid a weekly rental, but a fund was collected with which to purchase a linotype machine of its own and a short time ago that machine was bought and installed.

The paper is in fairly good shape, is clear and well conducted and is doing invaluable work among the Swedish population of the country.

To better sustain the work of the paper, and concentrate the elements from which it derives support, an organization known as the “Swedish Socialist Labor Federation” has recently been formed. One of the purposes of this organization is to form Swedish Socialist Clubs and prepare the members of such for membership in the Socialist Labor Party.

FUTILE ATTEMPTS AT UNITY.

In the year 1901, there took place at Indianapolis, Indiana, a convention at which the Debs wing and the Kangaroo wing of the Party of many names were merged into one. Prior to that convention, the “unity” that had been patched up between them in 1900 with much labor and pains, had been of a rather rickety character. Each side mistrusted the other and when that aforesaid convention approached, both sides made an attempt to draw to themselves the S.L.P. Whether this was done for purely stagey effects, or whether each side really expected that the S.L.P. could be used by them as a club to cave in the head of the wing they were about to unite with, we shall leave undecided. Two invitations came, however, the first from the Kangaroo side, then located at Springfield, Massachusetts, who moved as early as January, 1901; the second from the Debs S.D.P. at Chicago, Illinois, whose letter reached us in April of that year. With the invitation of the former, short work was made. A crisp statement was drawn for publication in the Party press, and the invitation was returned to the sender without answer. More formal was the way in which the invitation from the Debs side was declined. While we held them to be in the wrong, utopian in character, and devoid of a correct understanding of revolutionary working class Socialism, an obstacle not an aid to the So-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

cialist Movement of America, the S.L.P. could not regard them with the loathing and contempt felt for the scurvy Kangaroo, who had tried to steal our press and our name, and had in more than one instance stolen our funds, or anything else he could lay his hands on, all the while parading as the “Socialist Labor Party.”

It was decided to reply to the Debs invitation with a statement setting forth why the S.L.P., aside from purely constitutional reasons, cannot unite, and lose its identity, with elements such as had been gathered in the Debs Social Democracy without betrayal of the cause of the American working class and without destroying, for many years to come, the only revolutionary Socialist Movement of America. To give additional weight to this statement, it was decided to submit it first to a general vote of the Party membership and then transmit it to the sender of the invitation as the collective expression of the Socialist labor Party. Accordingly, the statement was sent out to be voted upon, and, after its practically unanimous adoption, it was duly forwarded to the Debs national committee.

The Indianapolis convention did “unite” the Debsites and Kangs—after a fashion. They adopted the name “Socialist party,” except in such states where they could not, as in New York, or in such as they would not, as in Wisconsin, and they have ever since pursued a course that was to be expected from them; dickering with the old parties; betraying Socialist principles and working class interests while in public office and while out of it; their ranks filled up with middle class elements and their policy dominated by these and the pure and simple trades union leaders. So stenchful became their doings, that, to protect itself as much as possible from being confounded with them, the S.L.P. was forced to expend considerable energy in making clear to the general public that they are not we and we not they. A leaflet, entitled “The Difference,” was published, wherein an enumeration of whatever information we could get out of their misdoings made clear to all who cared to know that they were, indeed, a “different” party. This leaflet has been used by the Party sections in large quantities, its several, constantly augmented editions, running away beyond the figures attained by any other leaflet.

But a “difference” also exists between the Debsites and the Kangs. The former are chiefly of the West; the latter of the East. The former have for their spiritual leader Eugene V. Debs, the founder of the quondam American Railway Union, an organization that could not, whatever its shortcomings, be lumped together with

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

the ordinary pure and simple union of the Gompers A.F. of L. type, for it had at least the breath of revolutionary instinct in its nostrils; the latter, without a spiritual leader, but with a set on non-spiritual leaderettes, lie prostrate before the shrine of the Civic Federation—Mark Hanna—A.F. of L.

The spirit of the former produced the American Labor Union, a sort of amplification of the Western Federation of Miners, an organization that comes nearer to the S.T. and L.A. than any other in the land; the latter has never been noted to have any spirit, other than that of abject and craven submission to the Labor Fakir, who, in exchange, is supposed to permit their “agitation” in HIS union, their begging for campaign funds, and their getting of label and pool-brewers advertisements for their papers.

Thus far, this “difference” has been smoothed over by compromise and the fabric held together, their last national convention held at Chicago in the month of May of this year, “uniting” the divergent elements once more under the ticket of Debs, the exponent of the American Labor Union for president, and Hanford, the Sun-strike beneficiary and A.F. of L. man, for vice-president, adopting at the same time a platform which is an admixture of Populism and Single Tax.

Henceforth, and happily, the S.L.P. will perhaps have no need of expending so much energy to make clear the “difference”; the confusionists are moving further and further away from our position so as to make it clear to all that they are not what they claim to be—a Socialist party, but as murder will come out, so must the inherent differences in this so-called Socialist party lead eventually to a parting of the roads between the two opposing elements.

AGITATION AND ORGANIZATION.

The great financial strain put upon the N.E.C. by the necessities of the Party press, made it exceedingly difficult to conduct much of an agitation in the form of sending out speakers and organizers; indeed, when we look back and contemplate what we have gone through, the wonder is that we were able at all to do what was done. Even during the national campaign of 1900 it was extremely difficult to raise the funds needed to do what was done, but after the election, with the Party press exhausting all the possible sources from which funds could be raised, the N.E.C., with hands tied and the Party fully engaged in the task of maintaining that

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

press, were unable to move in any other direction.

To mend this condition, it was suggested that a number of states be clubbed together in an agitation circuit, proceeding from the theory that, while one state could not keep an organizer permanently in the field, several states could. Two such circuits were formed, one in the East, the other in the Middle West. The plan cannot be said to have met with much success and was soon discontinued, due in part to the fact that suitable organizers could not always be found, and also because it was found that the several states, unaccustomed to work in concert for such a purpose and conditioned so differently in point of numerical and financial strength, tired of the arrangement.

THE CONNOLLY TOUR.

As early as July of 1900, we had received from the Irish Socialist Republican Party a letter suggesting that one of its members tour the U.S. under the auspices of the N.E.C. It was pointed out, in the course of the correspondence that ensued, that such a tour would bring the Irish workingmen of the United States into closer touch with the revolutionary Socialist movement in Ireland and thereby draw them nearer to the S.L.P., and that the movement in Britain and Ireland would be much aided, if a man who had been in America and who had seen for himself, could meet and demolish the absurd and slanderous statements that were there hawked about on the part of alleged Socialists, who had come to the U.S. as "fraternal" delegates to A.F. of L. conventions. This idea was acceptable enough, but face to face at that time with the necessities of the national campaign, and having just started the Daily People, the Party was in no shape to assume the financial responsibility that went with the proposition and the N.E.C. so informed the I.R.S.P.

In 1902, the suggestion was again made, and the N.E.C. then decided to submit the matter to the sections and see what support the proposition was likely to get. The response being such as to insure a measure of support that would make the tour possible, arrangements were made with the I.R.S.P. and they sent one of their members, James Connolly, whose tour extended as far as the Pacific coast, touching all the important towns where we have organizations.

Subsequent thereto, occasional tours were arranged as necessity dictated, such, for instance, as that of the fall of 1902, when Com-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

rade De Leon went to Chicago at the call of the Illinois S.E.C. to aid our Chicago section in its conflict with the little Kangs, touching at the same time a number of other important cities.

A number of states kept organizers in the field for shorter or longer periods, or sent out canvassers for the Party press. The sum and substance of the experience gained appears to be that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form new sections. Conditions seemed to be unfavorable and there existed besides a deep-rooted prejudice against the S.L.P., the result of the campaign of slander waged against us by the Kangaroos and their Labor Fakir allies, producing, temporarily at least, a state of affairs that cannot be readily overcome, but which must in the end have a boomerang effect upon those who gained a transient advantage by such means.

THE ORGANIZATION IN VARIOUS STATES.

What is notable in point of organization, is chiefly traceable to the Kanglet conspiracy, from the effects of which the state of Pennsylvania suffered most. The Pittsburg contingent, famed far and wide as “the only logical center,” carried with them nearly all the organizations located in Allegheny and adjacent counties, besides a few in other portions of the state. Philadelphia, Erie, Patton and Allentown remained loyal and Allegheny County was soon re-organized. Pittsburg had great aspirations. They formed an N.E.C. “pro tem.”; and they had, in the person of Mr. W.J. Eberle, a national secretary “pro tem.” They also started a paper that was to demonstrate to the world how a Socialist paper should be conducted. For the purpose of such demonstration, they set up the principle of “no Editor”—an editorial board to take the place of this proverbial tyrant—but somehow what editorship there was seems to have focused itself upon the person of W.J. Eberle, who had for a second a gentleman named Selig Schulberg, ostensibly the manager of the new publication. Both these worthies then proceeded to put upon the paper the impress of their brilliant and strictly original personalities. But as men and things of great merit often pass unappreciated in this cold and cruel world, so in this instance. The “pro tem.” concern, somehow, failed to take root. The paper, started as a monthly that was soon to grow into a weekly, presently showed signs of a wasting ailment. It shrank to the size of a hand-bill and a merciful fire, from which the cot of the manager is alone said to have been saved, finally ended the agony. It is also said to

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

have ended the uncertainty of the printer of the sheet, who, prior to the fire, had been kept busy counting the buttons of his waistcoat to ascertain whether he would, or would not, get the money due him. Mr. W.J. Eberle, we understand, has manfully renounced his occupation as a regenerator of the Socialist Movement, has ceased to be "pro tem.," and had again become permanent by going back to his original vocation of peddling crayon pictures, but Mr. Selig Schulberg, the late manager, is at present the subject of circular literature, proceeding from the "only logical center," wherein he is charged with sundry misdoings, among them the removal of his person from Pittsburg to St. Louis, plus the number of Kanglet dollars he could manage to lay his hands on.

The Pittsburg situation may be epitomized by saying all that ailed these men was an exaggerated sense of their own greatness, or, in the plainest of English, they suffered from as bad a case of "swelled head" as ever afflicted a set of men. Had they known their place and how to keep it, they would probably have continued to be useful material for the movement, but when they had succeeded in kidnapping Mr. Lucien Sanial, and he, in return for the service bestowed upon them the appellation of "the only logical center," they promptly lost all sense of proportion, saw themselves enthroned as the "Managing Powers," tried to act their part as well as they knew how—and landed on the refuse heap of the movement.

In 1902, as a result of the coal strike, the "Socialist" party of Pennsylvania had polled just enough votes to become an official party in that state, and, under the provisions of the Pennsylvania ballot law, no party that nominated by petition could use the word "Socialist" as a part of its name. The only logical centrist Kanglets, realizing what they were up against, attempted to strike up an "entente cordiale" with their big brother. They invited the Kangaroo state committee to a joint conference, but were rather unceremoniously repulsed. Then, parading as the Socialist Labor Party, they went to Court but without avail.

But in 1903, the mushroom vote of the Kangaroos collapsed, and the field is again free for the S.L.P. to use its own name in Pennsylvania and it is to be hoped that our men will see to it that this is done.

Another state that has given considerable trouble is California, the city of San Francisco holding first place in that respect. The section that had been organized there after the Kangaroo outbreak, in place of the one suspended, had fallen under the domination of a

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

man named S.B. France, who conducted it according to his own fancy and without any regard for the provisions of the Party constitution. This led to friction, which finally produced an intolerable situation and made suspension and re-organization inevitable. France went out and withdrew into a local of the S.T. and L.A., from which point of vantage he kept up a policy of nagging at the re-organized section. A state of irritation continued, and, when the lampoon period set in, the section fell a ready victim. Again it was suspended and this time re-organization was deferred until sounder material could gradually be gathered. This was done, but when re-organization was to be taken in hand, it was found that S.B. France blocked the work, endeavoring to use his local as a means to again dominate the section to be formed, forbidding that its members aid the work unless none but members of the local be permitted to join the new section. The attention of the General Executive Board was called to the matter, and, after an investigation by the Board, the local was suspended. The new section has been formed and from all accounts it is doing good work. The suspended local was also re-organized.

In Los Angeles, the seat of the S.E.C., the Kanglet affair also produced a few ripples, but the bulk of the membership remained sound and the section soon got over the disturbance. A feature of the case was that the Kanglet element had the naïve impudence to try and use the N.E.C. to suspend Section Los Angeles and place re-organization in their hands.

In California, too, the "Socialist" party had become an official party and we were thereby shut out from the use of our name. Efforts were made to bring the matter into Court, but these came to naught, due, it was thought, to treachery in San Francisco.

Our organization in the state can now be said to be the best and clearest we have ever had. In point of activity it rivals any of its size in any other state, as has been amply shown by the support it gave to the Party press, both as to working for circulation and in the way of direct financial contributions.

Of the other states, barring Illinois and Rhode Island, which have already been mentioned, none were affected by the Kanglet episode except Minnesota, where one section, Minneapolis, began to act in rather queer fashion by sending absurd resolutions. The trouble seemed to blow over at the time, but recently broke out afresh, compelling the S.E.C. to take action in the matter which led to the suspension and re-organization of the section.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

In the state of New Jersey, Section Essex County (Newark) proved to be the center of several disturbances. There were two distinct acts of malcontents; the first was dissatisfied because the Party was not enough pro-alliance; the second because it was too much so. The first set, under the leadership of a drug store proprietor, tried to stir up all sorts of trouble and when finally they landed on the outside, they followed the prevailing mode by sending out lampoons. They first sent out a feeler, signed by one Roman Holler, promising to reveal sundry crimes the N.E.C. was said to be guilty of, if the recipient "would be interested" and would "send them thirty cents," or some such sum, to cover expenses. Moreover, the manifestation of "interest" and the remittance of the "thirty cents" were to be considered as an application only, to be passed upon by an unrevealed Executive Council of the "Socialist Labor League," whereupon, if the applicant was thought worthy, the lampoon would be sent.

This deviation from the liberal policy pursued by Pierce, Curran, et al., who used to scatter their productions profusely, greatly militated against the circulation of the document, in which lack of dispensation there is much to be thankful for.

The second set, instrumental in expelling the first, were much less spectacular. They carried on an agitation against the Party's trade union policy in a variety of ways until the last state convention was held, and then, finding that their efforts were of no avail, they resigned in a body. Section Essex County, freed at last from these disturbing influences which turned its meetings into protracted wrangles and prevented all constructive work, is now in a position to take up the Party's work and according to report it is doing so.

ARRESTS OF PARTY SPEAKERS.

During the campaign of 1901, and as a direct result of the commotion caused by the assassination of President McKinley, our speakers in several states had brushes with local authorities who endeavored to prevent them from speaking for the Party. Popular passions had been lashed into a state of frenzy and the kind of patriotism that is said to be the last refuge of the scoundrel flourished extensively. In Amsterdam, New York, and in Bristol, Connecticut, speakers of the Party were arrested, while in other places there was persecution of Party members, in some cases leading to

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

imprisonment. The Amsterdam, New York, case—known as the Wallace and Lake case—where a fine had been imposed, was taken up by the New York State Committee and pushed to the highest instance of appeal that could be reached, with the result that the action of the lower Court was sustained. The Bristol case is, in a way, still hanging fire. The men arrested were fined, but an appeal was taken which stayed the collection of the fine and which appeal is still pending at this date.

Of the states not specifically mentioned there is not much to be said. Progress, in point of organization, has not been made, and there has been a shrinkage in many. This is due, no doubt, in part at least, to the heavy financial pressure resting upon the Party, but the chief reason, in our opinion, is to be found in the adverse conditions, indicated at the outset of this report, which made it difficult for a movement like ours to make headway. The latter contingency imposes upon us patience and firmness. We must wait and bide our time, for the S.L.P. cannot adapt itself to all currents of popular fancy, running to pure and simple unionism on the one hand and to middle class reformism on the other, just as changing political or industrial conditions influence these currents. But as to the financial pressure, it is hoped that this convention will find ways and means to relieve that and place the executive arms of the Party again in a position to perform the functions for which they are created, so that we may be able to conduct the work of agitation and organization and reap such results as conditions may permit.

THE DAILY PEOPLE AUXILIARY LEAGUE.

It must here be said, and it must be carried from this convention to every section and every member in the land, that, while the Party organization has done wonderfully well in the way of raising funds in a variety of ways, it has done poorly in the way of increasing and maintaining the legitimate revenue of the Party and its institutions. The Weekly People, which could be made a source of much income, sufficient to relieve all distress were all to take hold and increase its circulation, thereby giving additional impulse to our propaganda, has not received the support it should and could have received, despite the many efforts from headquarters to stimulate action. Careful scrutiny at this end shows that, what work was done, has been done by a few{,} the bulk of the membership going from the beginning of the year to its end without the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

slightest apparent effort to do their share of the work and thus help to relieve an intolerable situation. It is likewise with the literature of the Labor News Company, for there, too, the number of men who can be enlisted in its dissemination, is too small to produce the propagandistic and financial results that could be produced by mass action. Moreover, insufficient as is the quantity of work done, it is not even constant. If at one time we were in a position to report that we had come near to the point of being self-sustaining, the next few months would make such a report seem untrue; in fact, it would be true no longer, because of the falling off of receipts that took place. When we thought to stimulate action by showing that progress was being made, the effect seemed often to be that everybody again rested on his oars, taking it for granted that all was well.

These ups and downs, this working by fits and starts, came out most glaringly with every effort to throw off the debt on the plant. When the N.E.C. took charge of the Party press, we were confronted with a large current business deficit, and, besides, with the necessity of meeting payments on the plant amounting to about \$500 per month,—a most perplexing situation to face. We set to work to reduce the deficit, and, at the same time, endeavored to raise funds to meet the payments on the plant. The deficit was reduced and for the purpose of enabling us to meet the payments on the plant the Daily People Auxiliary League was formed. Like all such attempts it did not accomplish what it set out to do, namely, to raise successively the amounts needed to meet the notes as they fell due, but it was a help nevertheless. The collections dragged out interminably, finally came in dribs and drabs, and ceased to be of any help so far as meeting the notes was concerned. Quite a sum of the total of \$4,838.15, collected by the League up to date, came in the shape of released obligations. This reduced our debt, but it gave us no cash to pay notes with.

THE LOAN CERTIFICATES.

To increase our income and relieve the situation, it was thought that we exploit our plant by doing work for the trade. But the plant was at first in no shape for such work and to put it in shape required outlay; it required, moreover, working capital, for credit had to be given according to trade custom. We had no funds for either purpose worth mention, but we did manage to improve the plant,

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

and, amid no end of difficulties, augmented by the larger scope of our operations, managed to run along and earn some money in that way. But the notes on the plant fell due with unfailing regularity and to ease up on that end the loan certificate movement was started. It yielded in all \$7,336.25, of which \$1,380.70 had to be repaid, a portion of the latter sum being donated. The theory upon which the loan certificate plan was based, implied that the Party organization should keep this debt constantly moving, simply changing the individual creditors, until such time as the Party would be in a position to liquidate it. The theory did not work well in practice for there is little mobility about that debt and we are now being pressed, and our difficult position made more difficult by holders of expiring certificates presenting them for redemption while the income from that source is nil.

THE MONTHLY PEOPLE.

During all these efforts to get rid of the debt on the plant, it was noticeable that no sooner had we set in motion a plan to accomplish that end, there was a corresponding let-up of the regular work of the organization and our regular receipts suffered as our irregular income, in donations or loans, went up. It seemed as though the same old standbys, when taking up a new task, were compelled to drop what they had been doing, and that the bulk of the membership did nothing.

How to increase the circulation of the Weekly People had long been a matter of anxious concern, it being practically the only means to permanently improve our condition. Early in 1903, at the suggestion of Comrade Reinstein of Buffalo, we had started the Monthly People. It was thought that a cheap medium of that kind would pave the way for an increased circulation of the Weekly, besides becoming a power for itself. The Monthly went up like a rocket, acquiring in a short time a circulation of over 20,000. But instead of helping the Weekly, it hurt it, again exemplifying the experience, already made, that a special effort in one direction, means a slacking up in another. Very soon the work for the Monthly stopped entirely, and it was discontinued when its circulation had dropped down to 4,000, the remaining subscribers receiving the Weekly in its place for a corresponding term.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

THE PREPAID SUBSCRIPTION PLAN.

Finally, the prepaid subscription plan was evolved and, for awhile, it looked as though the secret of the circulation problem for the Weekly People had been found. The income of the paper increased steadily, the circulation rose, from 4{00} to 500 subscriptions, new and renewed, coming in per week. Thus far we had been plodding on, hanging to the willows amid indescribable difficulties. We had worked as best we knew how, beset within and without, harassed by law suits, hampered by the traitor in the ranks, held down by the apparent apathy of the membership, but here was a ray of light—a chance to work out of our troubles.

THE HOMESTRETCH FUND.

Despite the enormous difficulties that were encountered and had to be overcome, we had succeeded, step by step, and inch by inch, to reduce the debt on the plant until less than \$5,000 of the principal remained. The splendid work now being done for the Weekly People, which made our institution practically self-sustaining, gave rise to new hopes and suggested the idea of one supreme and last effort to throw off the debt on the plant, once and for all, and have the Party go into national convention with the impediment out of the way. Thus the Homestretch Fund was started. The response was most liberal, but very soon it began to be felt with greater force than ever, that the Party organization cannot, or will not—we don't know which—make a special effort in one direction and at the same time maintain the regular work. Receipts of the Weekly, as compared with what they were when the Homestretch Fund was launched, fell off at an alarming rate and a calculation made in the spring of this year showed that, during the last winter, we had received about \$2,400 less than we would have had the rate of receipts of last fall been maintained. Repeated calls to stir up action had no effect and the situation became so desperate that our very existence was threatened from week to week. To continue the job department under such conditions became impossible, the less so as it required no end of time and attention which we could not bestow, and when a few months ago an opportunity presented itself to lease the machinery to a firm which was thought could better exploit it than could we, an arrangement was made by which we were to receive the mechanical work on our papers, and \$1,000 per year as a compensation for the rent. But this arrangement did not

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

last more than four weeks, the firm discontinuing because they considered it one causing them great loss. Unwilling to again resume {assume?} the running of the job department, we then made another arrangement under which the machinery is let out during the day, while we run our papers at night with our own force. It has been said by some that, had we never tried to run a job department and from the start hired out the machinery during the time we do not use it, we could have fared much better, but they who reason in this wise forget that to so sublet required first, the possession of a plant fit to do job work with, and, second, the acquisition of custom sufficiently large and profitable to make possible the payment of the rental of the machinery. Before we could derive an income in this way, we had first to create the conditions that made it possible.

APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES.

Of these the N.E.C. have had few to dispose of during the four years that have passed.

One case came to us from Augusta, Georgia, in 1901. A section existed there, small in number, and owing to internal friction a member named E.L. Cranfill had been expelled. He appealed to the N.E.C., claiming that he had not even received a trial. The section, when written to for its side of the case, admitted that it had violated the constitutional provisions governing the subject of the trial of grievances and claimed to have acted in self-defense, Cranfill wanting to destroy the section. Because of the violation of the constitution, admitted by the section, the N.E.C. could not enter upon the merits of the case at all, and had no course open but to order Cranfill's reinstatement. This was done, but the section ceased to exist about that time.

The next case was a charge of Section Lynn, Massachusetts, against the Massachusetts S.E.C., alleging gross incompetency, prejudice against Section Lynn, and violation of Sections 9 and 10 of Article 2 of the Party constitution, by taking new evidence in an appeal from a decision of Section Lynn by Charles Gibson, expelled by Section Lynn, and reinstated by the Massachusetts S.E.C.

The N.E.C. could only take up the charge of illegal procedure, all else being outside of its jurisdiction, the remedy of Section Lynn lying with the general vote in their state in so far as an appeal from the decision of the S.E.C. was concerned. It was found, when

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

the S.E.C. had been written to for a statement of their side of the case, that there had indeed been a violation of Party procedure in that the S.E.C., instead of confining their attention strictly to reviewing the case as tried by the section, had ordered hearings, heard new evidence, in short proceeded as though they were trying the case in the first instance. By thus confounding the functions of a Grievance Committee of a section and those of a Court of Appeals, retrying the case and reviewing it on appeal at the same time, the S.E.C. had erred and the N.E.C. so ruled.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

A few months after the adjournment of our last national convention, in August, 1900, there was held in the city of Paris an International Socialist Congress which acquired a good deal of bad eminence by its adoption of what has become known as the "Kautsky resolution." This resolution—evidently aimed to allay, without taking sides, the conflict then raging in the Socialist movement of France between the opportunists and revolutionists, represented on the one hand by the Jaures-Millerand combination, and on the other hand by the Parti Ouvrier Francais—by admitting the possibility of impartiality on the part of capitalist governments in the conflict between the capitalist class and the working class, flew in the face of the very principle of the Class Struggle.

What made the adoption of this resolution all the more significant was the fact that, with the exception of rather few votes—those of the P.O.F., the S.L.P. and S.T. and L.A., U.S.A., the Irish Socialist Republican Party and a few scattered votes from Italy and Bulgaria—nearly every country voted in its favor, including the Kangaroo delegation from the United States.

The Paris Congress had decided that the next Congress should be held in 1903 and at the opening of that year the N.E.C. communicated with both the P.O.F. and the I.S.R.P. and inquired whether they intended to be represented at Amsterdam, the city where the Congress was to be held; whether, if this be so, they intended to move the repeal of the Kautsky resolution; what their course of action would be if the said resolution were not repealed; and, finally, whether they considered representation by the S.L.P. desirable. The communication also set forth, why the N.E.C. did not attach much importance to S.L.P. representation at these Congresses, particularly because of the presence at these Congresses of the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Kangaroo delegation from the U.S., which cast upon the S.L.P. the odium of going into council with representatives of a body that must be regarded as a blot upon the name of Socialism, an obstacle in the path of the revolutionary movement of the American working class.

Proceeding from this conception of the matter, it was the intention of the N.E.C. to await the answers to these communications and then submit them, together with a call for a general vote, as to whether or not we should send a delegate. The I.S.R.P. did send a reply, favoring representation on the part of the S.L.P., but no word of any kind came from the P.O.F., although two separate letters were sent by registered mail. The call for the vote was then sent out, but in the midst of the voting word came that the Congress had been postponed for one year, until 1904. Again, at the beginning of that year, did the N.E.C. submit the question and by a small majority of twenty-five votes it was decided in favor of sending a delegate.

Since that decision was reached, we have been in receipt of a letter from the S.L.P. of Canada, inquiring under what conditions they could obtain joint representation at Amsterdam, with the S.L.P. of the U.S. and through its delegate. And still another body imbued with the spirit of the S.L.P., the Australian Socialist League, have sent us credentials with the request that our delegate represent them.

Of the candidates nominated for delegate, all have declined the nomination but Comrade De Leon; the vote to be taken became thus a mere formality but was nevertheless called for so as to have a formal election.

At Amsterdam, a new Socialist Labor Party will for the first time make its appearance in an International Socialist Congress; the S.L.P. of Great Britain, born since the Paris Congress was held, has entered the field. It was the "unholy Scotch current" that did the pioneer work for this new S.L.P., which current had been active for several years, spreading the literature of the American S.L.P. and *The People*, urging the adoption of the sound and uncompromising tactics of the American S.L.P. as against the spineless course pursued by the Social Democratic Federation of England, until they earned for themselves the aforesaid appellation. The reports received at this end show that the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain is making satisfactory progress. Its organ, "*The Socialist*," is gaining ground steadily and has been enlarged, while

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

large quantities of Labor News Company literature constantly find their way across the Atlantic.

THE LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

This Party institution, although in a measure affected by the general financial hardships the Party experienced, has, on the whole, been enabled to more than make ends meet. The consolidation of its management with that of the Daily People, after the discharge of Pierce, made possible a better utilization of the Daily People plant for its purposes. This led to a considerable cheapening of our leaflet literature, and, at the same time, to its enlargement. Of these leaflets, vast quantities have been printed and sold and our equipment for that kind of work is such that we can produce unlimited quantities, as fast as the movement can absorb them.

During the Pierce regime, the publication of several cloth bound books was taken up, all of them belonging to the class of Socialist classics, valuable and indispensable for the Labor News Company, but rather limited in their sales.

With a stock of these on hand, another field was looked to, and the translation of Bebel's "Woman Under Socialism" was taken in hand. By running this translation in the Sunday and Weekly People serially, the cost of composition was saved to the Labor News Company, the cost of production being confined to paging, plating, paper, presswork and binding. The translation of Eugene Sue's "The Mysteries of the People" was next undertaken, the successive stories to be separated and each put on its own feet, so to speak. The first of these stories has appeared, and, it is hoped, will find a ready sale. In between, Lallsalle's "Franz von Sickingen," a historic drama, was taken up and is now ready for the printer.

With these books, all of the copyrighted, the Labor News Company is acquiring a valuable stock of literature, part of which should find a market in large circles outside of the Socialist movement, and, by virtue of the valuable historic and scientific information conveyed, contribute not a little to have history read aright, thus producing a correct understanding of the development of human society and the true inwardness of the habits, customs and institutions this development has brought forth.

Aside from these more pretentious publications the Labor News Company has published, and put out in large quantities, the smaller propaganda pamphlets of the S.L.P., and so marked is the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

superiority of many of these over what can be had elsewhere in the English language, that they are sent for from all over the English speaking world, orders coming from Canada, South Africa, Australia, England, Scotland and Ireland.

As a means of propaganda, the Labor News Company occupies a position among the Party institutions that is second to none in importance and scope of influence. It is worthy of the most energetic support that can be given it by the Party organization and membership, both of which can do far more than has been done if they but will it and choose the proper means. It must be our aim to invade new fields constantly; to create a demand for our literature in new quarters, which can be done by introducing it in whatever places are engaged in the sale of books and in this field the membership can co-operate most effectually. A number of men and women, moving in one direction and with one purpose before them, can in almost any locality bring before the reading public certain books if they but ask for these books, constantly and persistently, in department stores, libraries and general book emporiums. Once introduced in this manner, these books will fly on their own wings and by their very quality gain ever new readers.

CONCLUSION.

We now come to the end of this report. As is self-evident the most important question this convention will have to pass upon is that of the Party press. In 1900, when we were about to establish the Daily People, the convention had to deal with a problem the exact dimensions of which were unknown—had to be so—, but in 1904, four years later, the Daily People having been in the field for that length of time, we have before us the experience gained and are better equipped to determine what is to be done. The financial statement attached to the report will show what has been done and what is the present status, while throughout the report is to be found information abundant, and yet only indicating—not fully describing, for that would not be possible—under what difficulties we have labored to bring our Daily to this convention. Yet here it is, and it is for the Party to decide what to do with it. Often have we been asked: “What effect will the discontinuance of the Daily have upon the Weekly, and what will be the cost of producing the latter in the absence of a Daily?” We have found it impossible to give a clear answer to such questions because there stands in the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

way the question of the plant and what to do with it; its very possession imposing an expenditure in point of rent, power, light, etc., that is not slight and could be covered only by exploitation. To a movement sufficiently large, and sufficiently active, to sustain the institutions resting upon that plant, its possession is a powerful aid, enabling it to produce large quantities of propaganda material as fast as these can be absorbed. But to a movement small in numbers, and laboring under adverse conditions, the very possession of such a plant may be a hindrance rather than an aid, adding to the burdens rather than lightening them. Nor can the fact be overlooked that the possession of property of considerable value is not an unmixed advantage, particularly not for an organization such as ours. Aside from the necessity of bestowing upon it the care, time and attention it requires, and to be compelled to do so under extremely adverse conditions, it offers a valuable object of attack as is evidenced by the long array of law suits that have been brought, most of which would have never been brought in the absence of that property. Again, assuming even the most prosperous conditions, it is not entirely a fanciful picture to imagine that the capitalist class, once the S.L.P. and its press had become a serious menace, would not scruple to resort to its courts to attack that property and to dissipate it by means of endless litigation. These are serious questions which merit the most thoughtful and earnest consideration of this convention.

In point of organization, we have to face the fact that we have fewer members, as has been sufficiently indicated throughout this report. What is of importance on this score are not the losses sustained by reason of internal disturbances, such as the Kangleit affair brought about, for these can be made up rapidly under otherwise favorable conditions, but the steady, almost imperceptible falling off of membership everywhere as is evidenced by the decline in the sale of dues stamps since the year 1900. An effect so generally manifested, must have a general cause. In so far as this effect is traceable to the industrial and political conditions of this country during the last four years, and, in a smaller measure, to the financial difficulties of the Party, which again are in part an effect of these conditions, we can readily understand the cause of the trouble, but is no far as other factors enter into the situation, your N.E.C. looks forward to this convention as a means to ascertain them. With the Party's representatives gathered in convention from all over the country, there is possible an exchange of informa-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

tion that will go far to bring out whatever may be amiss in our methods, and there is possible also such actions as will tend to remedy defects, or augment our line of action.

There is another matter we desire to call attention to and which suggests some action on the part of this convention to the end of more clearly defining the functions of state executive committees in their relation to the national organization. In the year 1900, the N.E.C. issued campaign subscription lists in order to defray the expense of the national campaign and these were sent to the state committees for distribution amongst the sections. It then developed that two of these committees, that of New Jersey and the one of Kentucky, declined to convey these lists to the sections, thus taking to themselves discretionary power as to what should or should not go to the sections in their state from the national organization. In the case of New Jersey the lists were returned after the election, unopened as they had been sent with the explanation that they did not think it wise to send them out, while the Kentucky S.E.C. returned them prior to election with a similar explanation. In neither case was the matter an important one from a purely financial viewpoint, but the principle involved must be looked at and that we hold cannot be allowed to stand. No S.E.C. must be permitted to act in this way; to stand between the national organization and the sections and determine what the latter shall or shall not do for the former. A similar experience was had this year in connection with the work of the National Agitation Committee, when again two state committees, this time those of Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, did precisely the same thing. It cannot be said in any of the instances quoted there was any malicious motive actuating these men; they simply acted that way because it seemed to them most convenient, and, possibly, they gave no thought to what their action would lead to were it imitated to any extent. But whatever their motives, it is certain that so much latitude cannot be given to any state committee if we are going to maintain an effective organization.

Another matter that has contributed not a little to produce embarrassment at our end of the line will merit both mention and attention. It is the extensive credit asked for by both state and local Party organizations, extensive not only in point of quantity, but also in point of time. To ask this of our institutions, battling as they are against great odds, adds not a little to the irksomeness of the work and helps to impair it. Moreover, it is due to this practice,

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

that a good deal of money is lost on bad accounts, some organizations ordering heedlessly and without regard to their ability to pay. A change of conditions, or a change of personnel, or both, often leads to a complete repudiation of the debt and in other cases the disappearance of the organization produces the same result.

Instead of centering the need for credit upon one spot, and that the one least able to bear it, the Party organizations should distribute this need for credit by raising local loans and then deal with headquarters on a strictly cash basis, easing, in a measure, the financial strain at that end and preventing, absolutely, all losses to the Party.

And now, with the work of the last four years behind us, we place our functions back into the hands of the Party, feeling that when all has been said and all things considered, we have done all that could be done by us under the conditions prevailing. Owing to these conditions, the superficial observer may easily be led to assume that the maintenance of its press has imposed upon the S.L.P. a burden almost too great to bear, but he who reasons thusly loses sight of the fact that the very existence of this Party-owned press has given to the S.L.P. organization a solidity, has welded its units into so homogeneous a mass, as to enable us to reap the fruits of our struggles once the tide does turn.

We are now on the threshold of another national campaign, and if all signs do not fail it will be destined to mark great changes in the political and industrial life of our nation. Already, the land is full of the din of the fight between the desperate and despairing middle class and the plutocratic portion of our capitalist class. The industrial crisis, apt to be in full swing at the time the campaign is at its height, will play havoc with the remnant of the former; capitalist concentration of wealth, which has made such tremendous strides during the years of "prosperity," will proceed by leaps and bounds during the years of adversity, concentrating in the hands of the big capitalist the property of the left-over smaller fry. And the working class?—It will get its full measure of the blessings of capitalist society and be made to feel what it means to produce a superabundance of wealth and at the same time maintain and give moral and material support to a social system that makes this very abundance a means to inflict upon the producers of this wealth—the working class—untold misery and starvation.

At this writing, the press of the land is full of reports from the state of Colorado, depicting events which will go far to influence

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

the campaign of this year for these events carry with them lessons of the true relations between the capitalist class and the working class that should not be wholly lost upon the masses of the working class. A long drawn-out strike, conducted by the Western Federation of Miners in defence of an eight-hour workday, secured by constitutional provision, but disregarded by the capitalists whom it affected, during which strike the organized forces of the state of Colorado were, of course, placed at the disposal of the law-braking capitalists and against the miners who struck to uphold the law, finally culminated in a dynamite outrage in precise repetition of the tactics pursued some years ago in the state of Idaho. That created the necessary atmosphere for the inauguration of a reign of terror the end of which is not yet but which, as far as it has gone, is as full of object lessons to the working class as an egg is full of meat, demonstrating that, if its real or supposed interests demand it, the capitalist class will sweep aside the law and order of its own making and resort to the rawest of methods to break down the resistance of the working class.

With such events to illustrate the class struggle and with the industrial crisis now upon us the S.L.P. must be up and doing. That industrial crisis will bring us new difficulties, such as naturally flow from such a state of affairs, but the S.L.P. must be equal to the task before it: that of rousing the working class to a consciousness of its power, rending the veil of capitalist sophistry and labor fakir duplicity that obscures its vision, cutting a pathway and pointing out the road that must be pursued to attain working class emancipation—in short, hammer into shape the indispensable prerequisite of the Social Revolution—the only solvent of the Social Problem—a class conscious Proletariat.

The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party.

JOHN J. DONOHUE,
AUGUST GILHAUS,
JULIUS HAMMER,
JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
ADOLPH KLEIN,
EDWARD C. SCHIMDT,
TIMOTHY WALSH.

HENRY KUHN, National Secretary.

When the National Secretary had finished reading the report, Delegate Passanno asked about the running of the plant through

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

other parties and the printing of the paper by them.

Secretary Kuhn answered that this report was a general report; that the financial report was forthcoming.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that the report of the N.E.C. be received and referred to the respective committees. (Seconded and carried.)

A delegate moved that the chairman of each session be a distributing committee to distribute resolutions, etc., among the chairmen of the respective committees. (Seconded and carried.)

The Committee on Credentials reported the receipt of the credentials of August Gilhaus of New York, and recommended that they be accepted and the delegate seated.

On motion the recommendation was concurred in.

Motion was made that the next five minutes be occupied in the presentation of resolutions, leaving about three quarters of an hour for the work of the meeting of the Committee of the Whole. (Carried.)

DELEGATE RICHTER: I would ask the consent of the body that preceding the five minutes for resolutions, the Committee on Rules and Regulations be allowed to make a report.

There being no objection, Delegate Reinstein, as secretary of the committee, stated that the committee could not attend to the work fully but recommended the adoption of the following:

“There shall be two sessions, the first from 9 a.m. until 12, and the second from 2 p.m. until 6 p.m.

Order of business to be as follows:

1. Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman for each day.
2. Roll-call of delegates at the opening of each session.
3. Communications.
4. Reports of committee and action thereon.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.
7. The last half hour of each session to be reserved for presentation of resolutions and their reference to committees.
8. Each delegate to be allowed ten minutes to speak upon any question before the house. No delegate to be given the floor to speak on a question a second time if any delegate who has not yet

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

spoken demands the floor, unless some delegate assigns his time.

9. No previous question to be entertained by the chair if a delegate who has not spoken on the question demands the floor.

10. On Wednesday, July 6th, at 10 a.m. nominations of candidates for the offices of president and vice-president shall be made.”

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions were thereupon read and referred to committees, as follows:

Delegate De Leon: 1. That $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members of a section shall be wage-workers; 2. No member of the N.E.C. nor any other national officer shall have power to raise any loan, or otherwise incur any liability upon the Party; 3. That the manner in which the N.E.C. shall be constituted be changed.

Delegate Bilsbarrow: Relative to the establishment of a National Agitation Fund and the maintenance of National organizers and solicitors, under the management on the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Duffy: Relative to instructions to delegates to a national convention.

Section Monroe County: Relative to the words “with the founders of this republic” in the Party Platform.

Delegate Kinneally: Relative to a member in arrears, providing for notice upon two months arrearage, and automatic suspension at the end of three months. Reinstatement to be effected by the payment of six months’ dues.

Delegate Corregan: To strike from the Party Platform the words: “all other honest citizens.”

Delegate Rehder: Relative to the reduction of the number of charter members necessary for the granting of a new charter from 10 to 5.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that we go into committee of the whole. (Seconded and carried, and the vice-chairman took the chair.)

A delegate moved that each side be given ten minutes—Frank Passanno and L.A. Boland. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE BERRY: I don’t think that either side can present what they know about it in ten minutes, therefore I move as an amendment that the time be fifteen minutes each.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The amendment was accepted by the mover and his second; and the motion as amended carried.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: Section Rensselaer County has suspended L.A. Boland for a term of one year, after an investigation had before a grievance committee. I will have to go back to the nominations of the candidates to the national convention. L.A. Boland came before that meeting for the purpose of snatching the nomination for himself. He had canvassed for it. There was opposition to L.A. Boland. Another member was nominated and he objected on the ground that he belonged to the bourgeoisie. The section has watched closely, and it has read between the lines as to his purpose in those articles in *The People on the Radical Bourgeois*. At the meeting L.A. Boland took the floor and objected to any one but the working class being nominated. Then he nominated a bourgeois and accounted for it by the fact that he associates with this man a good deal. If you read between the lines of the *Radical Bourgeois* articles, if they had been complied with, they read: Vote for Boland. Boland acted in a contemptible way. He would not come to the section any more. Every man knew and proved at the trial on the charges of Devane that Boland had been doing all he could to stop the selling of tickets. He would not sell any tickets. He used his influence upon another comrade. All of these actions, Mr. Chairman, prove that such a man is unfit to be a delegate to the national convention. Why did L.A. Boland go to a bourgeois at Utica and say that I was a dangerous man to go into the convention? Mark you, Boland has done these things; and then he has the nerve to say a tragedy is being perpetrated against him. It is well enough to say that a man may feel sore, but is that reason to stop him from acting? Is that reason for him to say that he won't speak to comrades? I say if he is beaten in the section he has other instances of appeal; the next instance is the state committee, and if we are reversed there, is that reason, because we have been reversed, that we won't play, because we can't be it, and overrule them? When the section overruled Boland, Boland sat down and refused to work for the Party.

L.A. BOLAND: Fellow delegates and members of the Socialist Labor Party: I have been duly nominated by Section Rensselaer County as a delegate and been elected by the referendum of the state. As the speaker has gone back to the date of the nomination, I

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

shall meet him upon his own ground. A special meeting was held at Troy on January 31st. I was placed in nomination by Comrade Burnham. There was no opposition except from one T.A. Devane. He made certain statements, and when I asked him for the proof of the statement he stated that they could be found in Julian Pierce's lampoon. At the next regular meeting of the Party I preferred charges against T.A. Devane for slandering the Party. At the meeting of the grievance committee they presented garbled extracts from the proceedings of the convention. It took about two months to bring those charges before the section. The accused pleaded not guilty of the charges. He could not prove his statements, but the charges were dismissed. Now what is the cause of this white-washing? Why cannot progress be made in Troy? The reason is that the section is stultified by the bearing of the freak within its ranks. There have been discussions upon discussions on value, until those discussions made every man sick. This man Devane comes to the meetings Sunday after Sunday, and instead of he himself arriving at a logical conclusion, he pesters the Editor of The People with questions for the letter box. I have not been very active in the movement since the charges were dismissed by the section. I have appealed the case to the state committee. About a month ago I wrote Daniel De Leon a letter. I informed him that Branch Troy had preferred charges against me, and I told him that the evident intent was to prevent my attendance at this convention. The section did not have but one meeting before this convention, and consequently they could not dispose of those charges in regular form. I told the grievance committee that they had no jurisdiction, as they did not represent Section Rensselaer County. A new scheme was propounded. The section had a special meeting. The call said nothing about charges to be preferred against Boland. The session was held a week ago last night. At that special meeting a grievance committee was elected to hold office six months. Charges were preferred against Boland and furthermore a motion was made that in the future meetings shall be held once per week.

Reads charges, as follows:

Troy, N.Y., June 23, 1904

Lawrence Boland,
Dear Comrade,

I was instructed by the grievance committee to notify you to be on hand Sunday, June 26th, at 3 p.m. at headquarters, 351 River St., prepared to

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

defend yourself against the following charges preferred by Comrade F. Passanno:

Copy of charges.

“Troy, N.Y., June 1, 1904.

To the Members of Section Rensselaer County, Socialist Labor Party—

I, the undersigned, hereby prefer charges against L.A. Boland, a member in good standing of Section Rensselaer County, S.L.P. The general charge is conduct unbecoming a member of the Socialist Labor Party. The specific charges are contained in the following counts:

1st. That at a regular meeting of Section Rensselaer, S.L.P., held March 9, 1904, at 351 River St., the said L.A. Boland accused and by word of mouth did say: “Until I discovered that a conspiracy had been formed to whitewash Devane and make me the defendant,” thereby accusing the whole organization (grievance committee) of crookedness, which accusation remains unproven.

(Boland injects: That thing is very indefinite. I have made the statement that a conspiracy was formed to whitewash Devane. I will prove that before the state committee beyond any question of doubt. I will prove that before this convention to-morrow morning. I will prove that they did conspire to make me the defendant and whitewash Devane.)

2nd. That at a regular meeting of Section Rensselaer Co., S.L.P., held at headquarters, 351 River St., Troy, N.Y., the said L.A. Boland did cause to be read a minority report of the grievance committee, that he himself did write the same; that in said report the said L.A. Boland knew that one of the members of Branch Troy was openly and in regular meeting branded a liar. I charge that the particular statement was Boland’s own suggestion.

(Boland interjects: I proved before the grievance committee by at least a half dozen witnesses that the testimony of Comrade Shaw was a barefaced lie, made of the whole cloth.)

3rd. That at a special meeting of Branch Troy, S.L.P., held at headquarters, 351 River St., May 29, 1904, the said L.A. Boland did by word of mouth urge a comrade to decline from serving on a committee, he (Boland) committing the offense in a whisper, thereby acting as in control of a certain member.

(Boland interjects: That statement was not proven. The man who made the statement sat some distance from me.)

4th. That the said L.A. Boland did say to one John M. Long that if he (Boland) could not work in harmony with the section he could work outside, thereby giving an impression that he cared little for the discipline of the section or his obligation as a member of the S.L.P.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

(Boland interjects: That statement could not be proven. It was a hearsay statement from a comrade who does not live in that locality now.)

5th. The general conduct of the said L.A. Boland since the nominations for the national convention candidates, has been that of an unruly person in as much that he is not acting in accord with the organization, and further the action of the said L.A. Boland has permeated and caused other members to be indifferent. All of which I firmly believe to constitute a general bad feeling and if allowed to continue must lead to no good end.

[Signed] FRANK A. PASSANNO.

The effort has been made by the delegates present here to exclude me from this convention.—

As the hour of 6 p.m. had arrived and the hall had to be immediately vacated, a delegate moved that the convention adjourn and that this matter occupy first place in the morning. (Carried.)

SECOND DAY—SUNDAY, JULY 3.

MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a.m. by the {National} Secretary.

August Gilhaus was elected chairman and Frank Leitner vice-chairman.

Roll call: Absent: Corregan, French and Olsen.

An invitation to a picnic to be held upon the afternoon and evening of the 4th in celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Daily People was received with cheers and accepted.

The Committee on Credentials reported the presentation of credentials by John Trainor of New York, and recommended that he be seated. Recommendation was concurred in.

Upon motion the convention then went into Committee of the Whole to conclude the investigation of the Boland matter.

The vice-chairman took the chair and Boland resumed the floor.

L.A. BOLAND: I will explain my position to the best of my ability. Comrade Berry, in his remarks, said there was a great deal of hard feeling. Where there is hard feeling among members of the S.L.P. there is something underlying that hard feeling. There is either dishonesty or there is a class conflict. In truth there is a class conflict in Troy. The Bourgeois have succeeded in doing work intended to prevent me from sitting in this convention. For more than two years I have tried to prevent the domination of the bourgeois. It matters not whether I sit here personally or not. I defend the class character of this movement. The conflict is not between Passanno and I, the conflict is whether the class character of the movement will live or whether this class character will be destroyed. An attempt has been made to knife me on the eve of this convention. I simply show how a special meeting of the section was called, which did not signify that I was to be tried. And when I asked Kuhn: Is it proper and according to the usages and customs of the Party to call a special meeting and transact business that the call did not signify was to be transacted? he said no. Then is it possible to call a regular meeting from a special meeting? They called a regular meeting from a special meeting. That is all I have to say in this case. The charges that are preferred against me are flimsy. I am justified to stand for my position in the Socialist Labor

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Party. There are three witnesses here from Troy who know that the position I stand upon is a bona fide position.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I move that we, the Committee of the Whole, recommend to the convention that L.A. Boland of Troy be seated. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEE: I am opposed to that motion on the following grounds: That Comrade Boland admits that he is a suspended member of the Socialist Labor Party. This hearing that has been given is entirely out of order. Does this convention take the word of Comrade Boland against the decision of the whole section? Does it override the action of the section, or does it go through the proper course, and if the charges are not proved against Comrade Boland the decision of the section can be reversed. In this case Comrade Boland has been a member of the Party for nine years, and his personality is taken into consideration against the order of the section. Is that the tactics that Comrade Boland taught me? No, they are just the contrary. Comrade Boland taught me that the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party was organization first, the individual after. I am the radical bourgeois that has held the section by the throat! What kind of material does the working class consist of if I can hold twenty men by the throat? I tell you, gentlemen of this convention, if you seat Comrade Boland in this convention without going through the proper course—if you override the decision of Section Rensselaer County, you override the constitution of the S.L.P. Comrade Boland says many things about many charges. Who nominated Comrade Boland as a delegate to this convention? Was it not Section Rensselaer County that nominated Boland? But since he was nominated the cause for charges has come up. When Comrade Boland says that snap meetings were held or any thing of that kind, it is not so. Comrade Boland offered a resolution to refer the matter to Section Rensselaer County. He did not state that Branch Troy had no jurisdiction in the matter. They referred the charges to the grievance committee, and at the grievance committee Comrade Boland told the committee that it had no jurisdiction. Immediately the comrades recognized the fact and referred the matter to Section Rensselaer County where it belonged. The charges were preferred at a meeting of the section; the meeting was published in *The People* and it was there announced that they would transact any business that should properly come before the meeting. The charges were preferred and referred to the grievance committee. The committee had a meeting and Comrade Boland re-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

fused to give evidence to the committee. The committee took what evidence was before it and Comrade Boland was suspended for a year. Comrade Boland was at the meeting where he was suspended, and didn't vote against the suspension. One of his witnesses here did not vote against the suspension. If those two had voted against this motion, Comrade Boland would not be a suspended member now. But he relied upon his coming here and overriding what the section had done, and coming back with a hurrah. Is that the proper procedure to take? I say no. I say as to Comrade Boland, no matter how good a member he has been, no matter what he has done for the Socialist Labor Party movement, if at any time Comrade Boland is to handle the organization of the Socialist Labor Party, and the Socialist Labor Party don't stand up and tell Comrade Boland that he can't handle it, then the Socialist Labor Party as an organization is no organization. Now if this action is taken Comrade Boland will go back to Rensselaer County, and we will turn the section over to Comrade Boland. I call upon the delegates to this convention—Workingmen I do not deny that I am not of the wage working class, have never denied it. I am a business man, I admit that fact; but there has never been any charge brought against me of doing anything against the working class, and Comrade Boland has never intimated that there can be any shadow cast upon me since I have been in the movement.—Remember it is the Socialist Labor Party you are defending. It is not the bourgeoisie against the working class; it is the organization, and if you override the action of that organization, in Rensselaer County, it will go down in the history of this Party what was done in this convention. He himself admits that he is a suspended member. Now do you want to tell me that the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party is going to have on its floor as one of its delegates a suspended member? If you do, then I have been mistaken in what the Socialist Labor Party is. I call upon you delegates to vote down this resolution—to let Comrade Boland come the same way as any other member would have to come. What reason is there to wait when there is reason for charges against member? Are we to withhold those charges and allow him to come here? If you, men of this convention, knew that there was reason for charges against him and those charges were not presented, and he was allowed to sit here, what would you think of that? Comrade Boland was found guilty of three of the counts, and the judgment of the section was that he be suspended for one year.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

If you override the section you override the constitution.

DELEGATE COX: I want to rise to call for the question. If it goes against Comrade Boland, a state committee exists in New York.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I rise to the point of order that a delegate cannot move the previous question and make a speech. (Point sustained.)

DELEGATE BERRY: I think as Comrade Cox said, that we have heard about all that we can hear; all that can be said in the future would be repetition of what we have heard.

DELEGATE MEYER: There are other ways of settling this. For my part I will tell you right now I will not vote yes or no. I want to be sure that nobody can come back at me with anything. Not only my state but the whole working class is concerned, and these things we as delegates to this convention will have to face.

DELEGATE RICHTER: It seems this question is very clear. An organization of the Party has suspended one member and it has not been contested. It has been agreed to by the opposing faction. Why not let the constitution and rules of the Party proceed in this case the same as in any other? If the comrade is wrong it will come up in time. If Section Rensselaer County has done wrong, has done an injustice to this comrade, that will be corrected; but why should this national convention go out of its way to establish the precedent of one member against so many other members? It seems plain that our course is marked out by our position in the Socialist Labor Party, claiming that organization is the strength of the working class. If organization shall prevail, Comrade Boland is a suspended member and has no case here.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Berry thinks that every one has equally clear ideas upon the subject. Now I spoke against that motion. This is a matter of organization, in this I agree with Comrade De Lee, whether I agree with his conclusions or not. It makes no difference whether Berry is clear or I am, I consider that this is a matter of prime importance. We shall have questions of this sort arising in the future. This is a matter of organization and a matter of transcendent importance, and it would be necessary for us to forget Passanno, to forget De Lee and to forget Boland in the matter. Before I speak further there are several things that we must clear up in the minds of the delegates. It has been stated that Boland has an appeal before the state committee. What there is is an appeal not upon this case. Boland brought a charge against another mem-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

ber, Devane. Boland appealed that, and that stands now on appeal. After that a charge was brought against Boland and Boland was convicted, and there has been no time for Boland to make an appeal on that. Boland is right when he said here that he wrote to me that charges has been preferred to railroad him. When the Committee on Credentials spoke here through Berry, Berry stated that this was a matter of personal animosity. But it would not much matter to this convention whether it was owing to a personal animosity or not, as, for instance, the calling of a special meeting, or those other matters with which we have no concern. If we were to go into that sort of thing we would be overriding the constitution. I have made up my mind as to what ought to be done. We should say: Why, we cannot here act as a court of appeals upon the regularity or irregularity of the action of a section, nor can we go into the merits of the case. Since Passanno spoke my opinion in the matter has completely changed. Passanno's statement cleared the whole question. In Boland's defense he muffed his case. I shall vote for the motion of Kinneally on this ground: What is it that Delegate Passanno said when he stated their case? He said: I must begin this case back. We didn't want him nominated. We considered him unfit to represent us. The thing started when Boland was nominated. In other words Section Rensselaer County presumed to constitute themselves a committee on credentials for this convention. Delegate Passanno, the bringer of the charges, said he could not take the case from the bringing of the charges, and that Boland wrote articles against them. Now I know when I hit a crook in The People every crook reports himself. At any rate it shows an irritated state of mind. He, according to my best recollection, stated that the man was unfit to come here. It was not a question of kind but a question of degree. It is not entering a question of trial, but it is a section acting as a committee on credentials. Boland was reported favorably by the Committee on Credentials and no objection had been made before the committee. In the case of Hickey, Hickey was tried by Section New York; he was given two trials. He was expelled because he did not want to be tried. Thereupon the state committee decided that his removal did not work his exclusion from his office. In this case we have something entirely different. According to the statement of Passanno, that section organized themselves into a credentials committee for this convention. In view of this fact I shall go on record as voting for the seating of Boland.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE DUFFY: Comrade De Leon in starting off said he would take it upon Comrade De Lee's ground of principle and be guided thereby. He has outlined certain principles. Now I wish to have you go back to yesterday when this matter came up. De Leon gave vote that he wanted these facts down in Troy to come before this body, and I suppose he looked for a principle upon which this matter could come before this body, and found the constitutional principle that this body has the right to decide upon the qualifications of its delegates. De Leon is more moved by an intention to get this man Boland a seat in this convention than in simply following principle. It was because of that fact that he raised this principle that the convention had a right to decide upon the qualifications of its delegates. Now he has shifted to the point where he makes the claim that Section Rensselaer County has arrogated to itself the right to sit as a committee on credentials before this body. We should not give that any serious consideration whatever. The fact that he has been suspended by his section passes him out of all consideration as a member of the Party. This body has no right to override the action of Section Rensselaer County of New York. There is no vital principle at stake. No one has shown any vital necessity; things will go on just the same and nothing will happen. There is nothing vital about it, and in the absence of any vital consideration Kinneally's motion should not prevail.

DELEGATE BOHN: De Leon says it was Passanno's argument that convinced him that the Kinneally motion should prevail; so it was Comrade De Leon's defense that turned me against Boland. I gather something quite different from Passanno's accusation. Comrade Passanno said the fight went back two years, or for considerable time, instead of three months. (Delegate Passanno here denied the statement.) Comrade Boland says the reason was to get him out of this convention. From beginning to end it was a personal matter with Boland, he said merely: I am the real party and they are not. I don't concede that anything so vital is at stake. We can decide it according to the constitutional law. We take action for ourselves alone. We aren't deciding upon any very grave matter, except as it affects this matter here. Had I been elected by Michigan, and then had the section turn me out, I would not have come to this convention.

DELEGATE MEYER: Comrade Bohn stated that if you act legally you always act rightly. There is a difference in this way, when you act legally you may be submitting to a certain law that

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

has been passed when in reality you are working against principle. Sooner than be wrong on principle, submit for the time being to the rule that exists and then change that rule so that finally principle itself comes on top. Now we find that as far as the stand from the other side is concerned, the stand against Boland, I think that their own expressions show that they have no reasonable ground to suspend Boland. It is said that they read between the lines in Comrade Boland's letters. It is their own idea that they read between the lines. We should teach both sides to proceed properly, so let Boland submit.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I want to go on record. Comrade De Leon speaks about Comrade Boland having muffed his case—Comrade De Leon has muffed the whole business. It is too bad that a thing must have a beginning. I went back to show the misconduct. I wish to go on record in this way, with the organization. I cannot understand how Comrade De Leon can say that it is a matter of organization and then flop right over on the other side. He says that we constituted ourselves a committee on credentials. I cannot find how he arrives at that conclusion. Hasn't a section the right to try a member, no matter at what stage?

DELEGATE BERRY: What led me to make the motion that was voted down was the very thing that the remarks of Comrade De Leon brought out. One thing sticks out as clear as a pike: there were none of us up in Troy. The general tenor of Comrade Passanno's arguments seems to hold me to the conclusions of Comrade De Leon. Comrade Boland is entitled to certain rights, but if he had been flirting with the Democratic party or the Republican party then I would have said immediately: Chop his head off. No one claims that Boland did anything that could not have passed by this convention, the section to handle the matter afterwards. It appears to me that there was no need of this summary action. Now for myself, there may be some good bourgeois, I won't argue that, but for my own self, I wish there was not one in the Party. I realize how working men are excited—they cannot practice policy. I know what I will do if I get into a fight. I won't follow Queensbury rules. Boland did something they did not consider according to Cushing, but it strikes me that there was a well defined policy to shut Boland out of this convention because he fought them there in Troy. If he refused to sell tickets I doubt not those matters could have been settled afterwards, and they should have been.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I desire to state my views on this mat-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

ter relative to the discipline of an organization. It appears to me that in this discussion we have overlooked the point. Discipline is the first necessity of the membership in the Socialist Labor Party. The constitution defines the rights of membership in the organization. When a member may be called to answer charges he goes there and answers those charges, and after your section sits upon the case and renders its decision, he has a right to appeal, and his appeal must go according to the constitution. Now let us not violate this. Let us stand to those rules until we change those rules. Let them follow the courses laid down by the constitution. I cannot vote other than to sustain the decision of the section.

DELEGATE WILKE: I wish to state my position in this matter, as the same as that of the delegate from Massachusetts. I contend that it is not a question for this convention to decide, whether Passanno is right or Boland is right. The question is, shall the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party be upheld? I believe our course is just as plain as any one would like to see it.

DELEGATE CHASE: Much has been said by those opposed to the seating of Boland about holding to a strict compliance with the constitution, while in their special meetings, etc., they themselves have ignored the constitutional requirements—they don't come here with clean hands. Can they ask that the purpose of what they have done unconstitutionally shall be carried out by now calling up the constitution? But is it against the constitution to seat Boland? Does any one doubt that Boland will appeal his case, that the only reason he has not already done so is because there has not been a meeting of the New York S.E.C. since his trial by the section? No one has any idea that Boland accepts the decision of Section Rensselaer County. In effect his case stands upon appeal. The real status of Boland is that of a member in process of trial. The trial is not over, no final judgment has been rendered. There is nothing in the constitution that prevents a man under charges or in process of trial being a delegate to this convention. A strict construction of the constitution does not bar, but admits Boland to this convention.

DELEGATE GOERKE: I am a wage-slave. Into this discussion there has been brought a phase that does not look well to me. Comrade Berry says he wishes there would be a time when we would have no member of the bourgeoisie in this Party. Comrade Corregan says there are no honest bourgeois. Since the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party admits the bourgeois to membership, we must give them the courtesy of members in the Party. It is those

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

who vote in favor of the motion who are raising technical constitutional points to stand upon. I shall stand upon a constitutional point and vote against the proposition. According to the constitution a suspended member loses his rights of membership. Is the constitution clear upon it? I maintain that it is.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I differ from those comrades who oppose the motion of Kinneally. I believe that that matter was quite properly brought up here. He was suspended after being elected, after receiving the nomination. With our congressmen, they have the right of immunity from any legal procedure during sessions of Congress or on their way to and from such sessions. However, I will vote against the motion of Comrade Kinneally. This motion would have the appearance of a verdict against the section. This is not the case we are here to decide, either in favor of a member or against the organization—at least we are not to interfere with the constitutional rights of the organization. If we could get all the evidence of the witnesses together, I know that we would have the mere right to decide upon the qualifications of the delegate. We had no documents presented to us, and I know of no facts that would give me the power to decide. Comrade Passanno allowed sentiment to carry him away and gave us no facts. Both sides agreed on one point, it is upon the theory of a jumping jack of a section. Now I don't believe that that there is any section of any importance that can be induced to commit any unjust action, and I don't believe that Section Rensselaer County is any exception to it. There was absolute evidence produced here that the action of the section was a unanimous action and I believe that we will establish a better precedent if we allow Comrade Boland to be debarred from a seat in this convention.

DELEGATE COX: I was present when this trial occurred in Troy, and I told them that I could not decide. Now, since it has been acknowledged upon this floor that the accused is supposed to have the benefit of the doubt, I shall vote in favor of the seating of Delegate Boland.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I recognize that this body is the highest legislative body of the Party in the United States. I recognize its right to seat or unseat its delegates, and I agree with Comrade De Leon in the opinion that any section passing any judgment as a credentials committee on the fitness or unfitness of a delegate to this body is acting beyond its authority, and in my opinion that is the position of Section Rensselaer County in the action against

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Comrade Boland. I further recognize that there has been an injustice done, and all the evidence that has been presented by Comrade Boland proves to me conclusively that there has been a gross injustice done, not against Comrade Boland, but against the constitution that some of the comrades are so desirous of upholding. The evidence is presented; it lays with the delegates here to decide. The unseating or the seating of this delegate here to-day does not change the aspect of the case of Boland on appeal. The object was clearly portrayed, especially by Comrade Passanno—the object of the action of Section Rensselaer County was to debar Comrade Boland from the right to be a representative in this body.

DELEGATE METZLER: It is a fact that the questions brought out against Boland are unimportant. But I don't want to have a band of capitalist law-makers in this convention. The matter is not in progress. We stand here as a legislative body, but our laws have been made by ourselves. Of course we are apt always to overlook the laws, because they are made by the capitalists and forced upon us; but our constitution says no expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party.

DELEGATE LUEDECKE: I cannot vote for Kinneally's motion on the ground that it is not constitutional to vote upon it. It was stated and it was not denied upon this floor that Boland was suspended. He did not try to undo the allegedly unjust action.

DELEGATE DINGER: I seconded the motion of Comrade Kinneally. I am glad that this matter has been discussed, but if I had to do it over again, I would not second the motion of Comrade Kinneally. Section Rensselaer County is to-day a bona fide section of the Socialist Labor Party. As has been said, there are very few facts presented, and whose facts shall we take, the word of a section or of a single member? I, as a working-class member of the Party, have no sympathy with the radical bourgeois; but at the present stage of the game I believe that we cannot afford to override the constitution. Not that I have anything against Comrade Boland. I am in sympathy with Comrade Boland, but we shall not be guided by sentiment but by the constitution, and if it is not sufficient we should find it out.

DELEGATE BERRY: I move that this committee do now rise.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I rise to a point of order. Comrade Berry moves to rise and leave our work undone. (Point sustained.)

A delegate moved that this Committee of the Whole recommend

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

that Comrade L.A. Boland be seated as a delegate from the state of New York.

The motion was seconded and carried by a vote of 24 in favor and 15 against.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I move that the committee rise and report to the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

The convention was thereupon called to order by the chairman who reported the recommendation of the Committee of the Whole.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I move that we concur with the recommendation of the Committee of the Whole. (Seconded.)

On motion vote was taken by roll-call, some of the delegates recording the reason for their votes, as follows:

Ayes—Chase, Stodel, Cox, Johnson, Doyle, Stevens, Berry, Bresnahan, Ruther, Sweeny, Brandborg, Bilsbarrow, A.J. Boland, Herrschaft, Corregan, De Leon, Gaffney, Kinneally, Brauckman, Walsh, Gilhaus, Trainor, Kihn, Hammer, Rehder and Leitner.

Nays—Richards, Brennan, Bohn, Friesema, Meyer, Richter, De Lee, Metzler, Passanno, Reinstein, Luedecke, Dinger, Goerke, Duffy, Mueller and Wilke.

Ayes, 26; nays, 16.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I vote in favor of the seating of Comrade Boland. While I know that to seat suspended members would be to overrun the discipline of the organization, the statements of Passanno and De Lee make it plain that Section Rensselaer County has overrun the constitution.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I wish to go on record in favor of the motion to seat Boland. My reason is that, from the statement of Passanno, of Boland's section, who presented the section's case, what the majority of the section wanted was to exclude Boland from this convention. I hold that this body has the right to pass upon the credentials of its delegates. Passanno's second arrogated to itself that right by constituting itself a credentials committee for this convention, and in doing so violated the constitution of the Party organization by turning the Party machinery of the grievance committee to purposes not contemplated by the constitution,—an action that assails fundamental principles of organiza-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

tion.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I vote yes because I believe that this body has eminently the right to decide that question because the time was too short between the suspension of Boland by Section Rensselaer County and the convening of this body for Boland to get his remedy on appeal.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: I vote no on the resolution to seat Boland of Rensselaer County, N.Y., as a delegate, because I believe the seating is an unjustified overriding of the constitution by the convention.

DELEGATE MEYER: I wish to go on record that I voted against the seating of Comrade Boland because I cannot see any regular method—according to organized methods of action—to vote otherwise, although I favor Boland's position.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I wish to go on record to the effect that it is a flagrant violation of the Party constitution.

DELEGATE DUFFY: Boland was suspended regularly by Section Rensselaer County, N.Y. The constitution provides that sections have jurisdiction over their own members. I desire also to go on record against that species of masonry that ignores the constitution and searches for technicalities upon which to carry its point; that, in its argument, virtually brings forward ideas that may be condensed into one phrase: "To hell with the constitution." Also because Section Rensselaer County has been misrepresented as acting as a credential committee for this convention, where, in reality, it is merely exercising its constitutional right of controlling its own membership.

DELEGATE WILKE: I wish to go on record against this vote because it will override the rights of a section as guaranteed to it by the constitution.

The Credentials Committee here reported the receipt of credentials of A.A. Grant as alternate from Pennsylvania, and recommended that he be seated. (Recommendation upon motion was concurred in.)

The hour of 11.30 a.m. having arrived the following resolutions were read and referred to the proper committees:

Delegate Duffy: Resolution relative to alleged irregular methods in vogue in Massachusetts, according to which Greater Boston instructed the state's delegates to the national convention.

Delegate De Lee: Relative to ending the credit business of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

New York Labor News Company with the sections of the Party, and placing all sales upon a cash basis.

Delegate L.A. Boland: Resolved that the qualifications of membership in the Socialist Labor Party, shall require that all members be wage-workers.

Delegate Richards: Resolution defining more specifically the Party's endorsement of the materialist conception of history, and its attitude toward theology, supernatural intervention, etc.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

July 3, 1904.

The convention was called to order by the chairman.

Roll call: Absent, Olsen.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations recommended that all committees have printed one session in advance, resolution that they decide to recommend to the convention.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in as far as is practicable. (Seconded and carried.)

A delegate moved that, as to every resolution referred to a committee, the committee should report what became of that resolution. (Carried.)

Thereupon the convention listened to the report of the editorial department of *The People*, delivered by Daniel De Leon, as follows:

EDITOR DE LEON: The circumstance that *The People* is owned absolutely by the Party, not only its editorial management, but its plant, does establish a condition of things that needs special attention, and that our constitution leaves unprovided for. The editorial department of a paper owned by the organization is different from that of a paper not owned by the Party. Before the Kangaroo affair the Party did not own its plant. You know that the *Volkszeitung* Corporation owned the plant on which the Party press rested, . . . ¹

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I move that the report of the editorial department be accepted. (Seconded and carried.)

¹ [The balance of the report omitted from the typewritten proceedings.—*Editor*.]

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I move that we now proceed to the election of a press committee, consisting of five members. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE RICHTER: The statement was made yesterday that the Press Committee ought to be made up of various sub-committees, therefore I think the motion to make it five would not give satisfaction. I think that, as the matter is of great importance, to do justice to it, the committee should consist of one member from each state. Therefore, I move that the Press Committee consist of one member from each state represented in the convention. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: If you do that you will have no report this coming summer. If the committee consists of three members there will be three speeches; if you have eighteen members you will have eighteen speeches.

DELEGATE BERRY: I hope that that amendment will be killed. If you have a committee of three you will get two-thirds less work done than if you have only one on the committee. There is no need of wearing our eardrums out listening to orations that will be made.

DELEGATE WILKE: The state I represent instructs me to investigate the standing of The People, as it involves the future of the Party. We want this question settled in 1904 instead of 1908. A committee of five is not enough for sub-committees.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: Comrade Wilke seems to think that the limiting of the committee to small committee is a limiting of the investigation. I think that a small committee bringing in a report here will allow the whole convention to investigate.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I am in favor of the small committee for the reason that there are papers and books to be submitted to the committee and with a small committee they can better handle it.

Upon the taking of vote the Richter amendment was lost, and the motion of Kinneally carried.

A delegate moved that we hold a night session that night. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: The fact is that a member must live just the same whether he is from long distance or nearby; the railroad fare is no more if the convention lasts a little longer. We might as well give the committee a chance to work and do our work prop-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

erly.

DELEGATE WILKE: I am in favor of the motion for the following reasons: To-morrow afternoon there will be a picnic, and we are not sent here to attend picnics. We came to do business in behalf of the working class. Now, if we are to lose half a day to-morrow afternoon, let us hold a night session to make up the time.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I would favor holding a night session Tuesday night, after the committee have worked out their reports.

DELEGATE DINGER: If you take members of the committees away from their meetings you will have to do the work yourselves.

DELEGATE BERRY: You will accomplish nothing by a night session. If you work at night you will do so much less the next day.

Vote was had and motion lost.

The following were unanimously elected to constitute the Press Committee: F.R. Wilke, Hugh R. Richards, Thomas A. Brennan, Frank Bohn and John. D. Goerke.

A communication from the California State Executive Committee was read relative to several matters. It dwelt particularly upon the question of our Party name in that state, and the "Union Labor" and "Socialist" parties have the exclusive right to the words "Socialist" and "Labor" under the laws of that state.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I move that the document be received and referred to the proper committees. (Seconded.)

A delegate offered the amendment that the matter be referred to the National Executive Committee. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I hope that this amendment will not prevail, because some of the propositions require immediate action. I think it properly comes before this convention.

SECRETARY KUHN: It is not so much a matter of immediate action, but they are matters for the national convention to settle, such as the name, which they have had before the N.E.C. long enough. Now, since the convention is in session, they put it before the convention.

The mover and second withdrew the amendment. Motion is carried.

The Committee on Credentials then reported on the delegation

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

each state is entitled to and the number sent by each, as follows:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ENTITLED TO</u>	<u>SENDS</u>
Arizona	1	0
California	1	0
Colorado	1	1
Connecticut	1	1
Illinois	8	2
Indiana	2	1
Kentucky	1	1
Maryland	1	1
Massachusetts	5	5
Michigan	4	4
Minnesota	2	1
Missouri	1	1
Nebraska	1	0
New Jersey	2	2
New York	16	13
South Dakota	1	0
Ohio	2	2
Pennsylvania	1	1
Rhode Island	1	1
Texas	1	1
Utah	1	0
Virginia	1	1
Washington	1	0
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	57	40

Resolutions were thereupon introduced and referred to the various committees:

Delegate Wilke: Relative to the moving of the plant of Arbeiter Zeitung to the National Headquarters, and to the election of an editor to supercede the present editor of the German organ.

The Committee on Platform reported the Platform substantially as follows:¹

DELEGATE MEYER: I don't see the use of the word land in the

¹ [Text as reported omitted from the typewritten proceedings.—*Editor.*]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Platform. Land is a part of wealth, it is a part of capital, and I don't see why we should have any part repeated in or platform that is already included in the word capital. I move that the word "land" be stricken out of the platform. (Motion seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: Land represents natural opportunities. Here in this country there has preceded us a land movement. They actually brought forward the term land, that means a good deal, and due to that separation of capital into its parts, we cannot now do better than to utilize that term in its obverse; and I consider that that separation which has been established by the saying "natural opportunities," which the Single Taxers brought out, gives us an advantage in this country. Natural opportunities is what the savage needed; but we want, not natural opportunities only, but social opportunities also; there are these two things; we want the opportunities to nature, and we also want the opportunities that society has created; the land on, and the machinery with which to work. We can safely use the word land and capital.

DELEGATE LEITNER: The platform is written for people not Socialists and we need this to be stated plainly.

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: My agitation has been principally among the working men who were farmers. They are not up in economics, my friends; they are probably less acquainted with economics than the trades unions, the pure and simplers. As the comrade from Texas said, we should bear in mind to make that platform as simple as possible. Now the farmer looks upon the land as the chief thing to get along with; to lose it is the greatest calamity that can befall him; therefore let us make it plain to him that we include land, and that is done in that platform. Just as the railroads will have to give up their land, the farmers will have to give up theirs. The Populist idea, and it affected not only the Populist farmers, but also Republican farmers, they wanted free telephone, free transportation, etc., they wanted the government to take the railroads and public utilities, but they wouldn't think of the government taking the land. I do want to tell you the conditions that confront the farmers, but I don't want to take up your time now.

Motion lost.

On motion the platform was ordered printed in *The People*, to be acted on to-morrow.

THIRD DAY—MONDAY, JULY 4.

MORNING SESSION.

Meeting called to order at 9 a.m.

Hugh R. Richards elected chairman and J.A. Bresnahan vice-chairman.

Telegram of congratulation read from the state executive committee of the state of Washington.

Roll-call: Absent, A.J. Boland, Herrschaft, Corregan, Walsh, Trainor, Hammer, French and Olsen.

Letter of congratulation read from Local Alliance 42, Yonkers, New York. Received and filed.

Fraternal letter from British Socialist Labor Party read and received.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I understand that the picnic will not be held early in the afternoon; therefore I move that we suspend the rules upon the hour of adjournment, and instead of adjourning the morning session at 12, we adjourn at 2 p.m. (Seconded and carried.)

Platform Committee reported proposed Platform, through De Leon.¹

DELEGATE L.A. BOLAND: The beginning of the platform, the first paragraph, uses the word "inalienable." I don't know that I understand the word, but I have thought that inalienable meant a natural right, and I hold that those rights are established by each society.

DELEGATE DE LEON: There is a school of thought which says there is no such thing as an absolute truth. The whole thing started from Plato's "Republic," based upon absolute truth, absolutely right; that school maintains that there is such a thing as absolute truth, but that it cannot be seen. Upon this I know that Socialists differ, and some hold that according as conditions exist that right changes. I believe that there is such a thing as an abstract right, and we cannot reach it without the economic foundation to stand upon. In view of that I hold that there is such a thing as an

¹ [Proposed platform omitted from typewritten proceedings.—*Editor.*]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

inalienable right.

DELEGATE COX: With the typographical corrections made, I move that the platform be adopted. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: I wish to move as a substitute that the platform be considered paragraph by paragraph. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE DE LEE: I would like to ask for the reason why the committee has substituted the word "America" for the words "United States"?

DELEGATE DE LEON: The State Department of the country has just issued an order to all the foreign consuls to strike out the words "United States" and use the word "America."

DELEGATE DE LEE: I move that we insert the words "United States of" before the word "America." (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: I would like to know which is proper.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The Government has ordered the Foreign Departments to strike out the words "United States" of that title, leaving the word "America," and that is our name to-day, as a matter of fact.

DELEGATE WILKE: I believe that this motion ought to prevail, for this reason: to-day in America proper we have the Canadian Socialist Labor Party, and we have no jurisdiction over them.

DELEGATE RUTHER: The Socialist Labor Party is the leader of thought in the economic field as well as upon the political field, and we should not take a backward instead of a forward step. There is no need of hanging onto the old name which the Government has discarded. Why should you go backward? I hope the motion will not prevail.

DELEGATE DINGER: There is already the custom established of speaking of the United States of America. In Canada, when they speak of coming here, they speak of going to America, instead of to the United States.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE KEMP: The people of Canada do not state that we go to America, but we say we are going to the United States.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Ever since the Civil War, there has been the steady inclination upon the part of the people of the country, led by the government, to unify the states into one country. This country started as a federation of sovereign powers. They were sovereign states. We hear less and less talk about the sovereign states. What has been done in this instance is simply in line

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

with that movement toward the unification of the country.

DELEGATE LEITNER: It is so immaterial that I hate to see the time of the convention taken up with it.

DELEGATE MEYER: The question of the "United States" or "America" is an important question, a matter carrying more thought than we suppose. This thing is not yet permanently adopted. It has not been made a solid fact, incarnated in the country. I know there has already been quite a discussion going on.

DELEGATE DINGER: I know what I am talking about when I speak of the custom in Canada. Why, up at the Niagara Falls, there is the "American side" and the "Canadian side."

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I believe that we should be abreast of the times, but I don't take the politicians in the departments of government as the path-finders. Therefore, I believe that it would be better to insert the words "United States."

Motion lost by 20 to 21.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I move that the substitute the words "opportunities to secure happiness" for the words "pursuit of happiness." (Seconded.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I believe that the pursuit of happiness is a meaningless thing. The thing is not the right to pursue happiness, but to have the opportunities to secure happiness.

Motion lost.

DELEGATE WILKE: I move that the paragraph be adopted. (Carried.)

Second paragraph read.

Moved that we substitute the word "taught" for the word "tutored." (Carried.)

Moved that we insert the word "to" before the words "every citizen." (Carried.)

On motion the paragraph was adopted as amended.

Third paragraph read.

The word "tutored" substituted by "taught."

Paragraph adopted.

Fourth paragraph read.

Delegate Bohn moved that the words "despotic economics" be

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

substituted by the words “a despotic economic system.” (Seconded and carried.)

Paragraph adopted as amended.

Fifth paragraph read and adopted.

Sixth paragraph read and adopted.

Seventh paragraph read.

DELEGATE MEYER: I move that this paragraph be stricken out altogether. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE RICHTER: Capitalism may take on a new form under new conditions, but it is capitalism just the same. This paragraph leaves the impression that we simply have to sit down and leave the development of capitalism to do its work, which is not true, and I think we should leave it out.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: As far as I can see, it leaves no such impression. It states that this system will have worked out its own downfall, but it does not state that it will reach socialism. If we notice the progress, we can easily see that within a very short time this system must work out its own downfall. It will be simply a repetition of history. But the next paragraph tells us what should take place. It says, “We, therefore, call upon the wage workers,” etc.

DELEGATE MEYER: The argument that the system works out its own downfall is a remnant from the time when the Socialist Labor Party thought that capitalism would dig its own grave. What incentive is there for me to act, if I believe that evolution will bring the system I want? It is the pressure of capitalism acting upon us which makes us strive for its overthrow. When we talk about the economic system, we talk about the whole established system. We should not encourage this old line of argument and make the working class understand that if they do not act some one is going to do it for them. This system, if it works out its own downfall, means that production for profit must work out its own downfall. Where can you imagine a system without the essential principle of capitalism? Even though it may be modified, it will leave in existence the exploitation of the man that works. As a result, no matter how you change your form of government, it will always remain capitalism. Let us strike this clause out, because it induces the working class to lie down.

DELEGATE DINGER: I, for one, believe that this paragraph is absolutely correct. There is a difference between the capitalist sys-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

tem working out its own downfall, and the erection of a new system to take its place. You all know that the people who make the laws to-day are the lawyers. Not very long ago the lawyers elected a committee on the trust problem, to investigate it, and they claimed that if things were left alone it would result in the collective ownership by the capitalist class. It makes no difference. The concentration of capital will render the vast majority of the people propertyless, and a handful of people will control all the instruments of production, and unless you can reduce the Americans to a pack of idiots they will be obliged to revolt, and we do call upon the working class to organize. I therefore hold that this is a very essential paragraph. We might make it a little clearer, if some comrade will make a suggestion, but I think it is a vital thing and we ought not to strike it out.

SECRETARY KUHN: Delegate Johnson has already pointed out that the following paragraph calls upon the working class to conquer its rights. I do not, therefore, deem it necessary to say much; but this preceding paragraph, rapidly sketching an evolution, is absolutely necessary in a platform of the Socialist Labor Party, I hold. There is such a thing as social evolution. We know that social systems have arisen, developed and fallen, and we know that the present social system has arisen, will reach the summit of its development, and will fall. It does not require a great deal of penetration to see that a system based upon the sale of commodities in the markets of the world must fall, and we ought to point it out. We must point it out because the working class is disposed to regard capitalism as a finality. There is not only such a thing as a theory, but also a fact of social evolution.

DELEGATE WILKE: I contend that this paragraph should be embodied in our platform. There is a vast distinction between resting on your oars and going down stream to destruction, and trying to get out of the current. Comrade Meyer contends that if we embody that paragraph in our platform we are arguing that the working class need not worry about it. We don't argue that with the destruction of capitalism the Socialist Republic will be established. Why do we revolt against these conditions? Because we realize that if we permit the working class to go to destruction, as they positively will, then we must go along with them. Is it not a fact that, with the concentration of capital and the means of production, capital to-day will come into the hands of a very few, and, this being the case, that another body of capitalists are trying to establish

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

municipal ownership or state capitalism. Now what will it amount to? Under which of the two lashes will we suffer most severely, private capitalism or state capitalism? I contend that Comrade Meyer must also recognize that capitalism and all other systems are pregnant with the child of the system of the future, and it is our duty to be the mid-wives.

DELEGATE DE LEON: For those who, besides writing upon this matter, are on the field as Comrade Meyer is, who take the stump, he will find that his position, instead of strengthening him, weakens him. Unless that position is taken, you encourage the delusion that every one may be a capitalist to-morrow. It is necessary, therefore, to show that the capitalist system will work out its own downfall; that the belief in the prospect of the workingmen to become capitalists is a figment of the brain of fools or a concoction of the brains of knaves. You cannot remove that lure except that you show that this system must go down. Meyer said that profits will continue, and I am surprised to hear him say that, because there is no profit under feudalism. Profit implies competition, and when feudal lords own the property there is no competition among them. Profit implies a social system that will, if sufficient rope is given to it, destroy itself. There is another reason. That is, unless we bring out the fact that the social system is self-destructive, we play into the hands of that element of reformers that look to a social catastrophe. The catastrophe school is a dangerous school; that school always shows that Socialists want a catastrophe, while the socialist teachings tell us that capitalist society is working out its own downfall. The system of profit is eliminated, and concentration is being brought to-day toward feudal conditions. It works back to the condition of the feudal lords. Those of you who watch events know that an attempt was made to establish a school of journalism, and every one should not be an editor. In view of this, we want to stand squarely upon the standpoint of evolution.

DELEGATE COX: I agree with all those who have spoken in favor of this paragraph. As a speaker I have been producing those arguments, and that the mission of the Socialist Labor Party is to build a organization to take care of the situation.

DELEGATE RICHTER: I was under the impression that this was a convention for the interests of the wage-worker. The arguments here simply start from a philanthropic idea. The platform, as it is here seems to have a bearing only so far as it tends to lift the working class up. What satisfaction does the working class de-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

rive from the fact that the chances of the working class and the condition of the working class are going down. It is not true that capitalism will work out its own downfall. I don't think the working class can derive a great satisfaction by making a scientific declaration of something. The only arguments that have been advanced are arguments to strike it out. If we are to arise in revolt, and the system is working out its own downfall, what is the use of revolting? The strongest argument made for it is that the S.L.P. should make a scientific declaration.

Motion to strike out was lost.

DELEGATE MEYER: I move that we insert after the words "social evolution" the words "and through the resulting pressure that forces class-conscious action of the wage-working class." (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: I make this modification so that there can be no possible chance of a misconstruction. We find to-day that the capitalist class organizes the working class. The pure and simple union at the present time is nothing else but an inspiration in advance of the capitalist class to organize the forces that it employs to throw up against the rest of the working class. We find that while organization of workingmen goes on, it is capitalist organization, not for the interest of the workingmen. If we modify it in this way, we will show that the pressure and the evolution combine.

DELEGATE DUFFY: As other comrades have a purpose in their actions, so Comrade Meyer has a purpose in his motion. His purpose in this amendment is like his purpose in striking it out, it nullifies the purpose of the clause.

DELEGATE BERRY: I move that the amendment of Comrade Meyer be laid upon the table. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE BERRY: I move that this paragraph be adopted as read.

Motion carried.

Eighth paragraph read.

DELEGATE DINGER: I move to amend the paragraph by making the last clause read "aware of its class interests and determined to make them supreme." (Seconded.)

DELEGATE WALSH: Then we are in conflict there with the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

original paragraph.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: We do want to secure the supremacy of the working class interests, and I don't believe there is any contradiction at all.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I move that the amendment be tabled. (Seconded and lost.)

DELEGATE GOERKE: One of the chief things we have to point out is that it is a question of material interests and not a question of rights. It is because of my material interests that I am a Socialist, and no other reason. We should make our platform as clear and as concise as possible. I maintain that the motion of Comrade Dinger has the proper wording.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: Society is not a contract; society is a growth. We have no rights except those conquered by society through organization. I am sorry that I was not present when you adopted your initial paragraph, which goes back one hundred and fifty years and says we have rights; when every one knows we cannot exercise them.

DELEGATE DE LEE: There would be no classes in the Socialist Republic, but there would be the one class, the working class, and the interests of the working class is what we are working for.

Motion of Dinger lost by a vote of 21 against 20.

Upon motion the paragraph was adopted.

Ninth paragraph read.

DELEGATE GOERKE: I move that we strike out the words "and honorable." (Seconded.)

DELEGATE GOERKE: I believe that we should make this as plain as possible. I maintain that the term "and honorable" is a very relative term, and means absolutely nothing. It implies, furthermore, that the working class stands upon the basis of honesty. I know in Ohio that the working class is the most honest class, but it is because they must be honest or the government would put them in jail. My material interests impel me to be honest. I have no objection to the intelligent citizen, whether he is a member of the working class or not, because his intelligence may guide him to see that his ultimate interests lie with the working class; but, if a man was strictly honorable and honest as a member of any other class how long would he last?—Competition would freeze him out. A middle class manufacturer must guide his actions according to

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

the market—man is the product of his environment. Therefore, if we admit a middle class man into the Party, and if, after a short time he is still a middle class man, he automatically suspends himself.

DELEGATE BOHN: When we see that a man is honest, we know that we can trust him—it has a meaning—and if the middle class man is not an honorable man, I don't want to see him in the Party.

DELEGATE DE LEE: The argument that Comrade Goerke puts up all hinges upon what the word "honorable" means. If you mean by that word "honorable" that the man will be an honorable man in the Socialist Labor Party, then I believe in leaving that word in the platform; but if you mean by that word "honorable" an honorable business man outside of the movement, that he must be honorable in his business dealings, why I say strike that word out of the platform, because there is no such thing as an honorable business man. Do you want to go on the stump and tell them that it is honorable for the middle class to rob the working class? If you mean that you are going to pick out honorable men in the middle class then I contend that no man can be honest and stay in the middle class.

DELEGATE DE LEON: What the committee meant was to join the word honorable with intelligence, that they should be true to their intelligence. I know men who see as clearly as I do that this thing is going to the dogs, but they don't dare to come out, they are untrue to their intellect. It is not that they would be materially injured: they may have acquaintances, and they are intellectual cowards. I do believe that the word honorable is open to misunderstanding. I therefore move as an amendment that the paragraph be made to read: "And we also call upon all other intelligent and intellectually honorable citizens," etc.

DELEGATE BRESNAHAN: Do the speakers and propagandists of the S.L.P. always lay particular stress on the working class as an honest class? I contend that the appeal to honorable men under the capitalist system is a paradox. It seems to me that the word honorable, in the sense that the Socialist uses it, is, to those men that understand the class struggle and see within the capitalist system the downward tendencies of the system, to be honorable as far as possible and adopt the position of courage and determination to stand by the position the Socialist Labor Party demands of its membership.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I am in favor of Comrade Dinger's motion, for this reason: When, eight years ago, I received the platform of the S.L.P. I knew nothing of socialism, but it struck me that you were an independent set of men.

DELEGATE HERRSCHAFT: I am opposed to the word "honorable," because, of all the words written, it is that word "honorable" that is oftenest tacked before the name of every corrupt political lawyer of New Jersey. They advertise every man who can be put upon the political platform as the "Honorable," like the words "ladies and gentlemen" applied to every Tom, Dick and Harry.

DELEGATE L.A. BOLAND: I believe there is a moral philosophy underlying our movement, and I think the position of the Socialist Labor Party is the most moral position in society. Is it possible for a man to be a labor skinner and still be an honest man? Can a man be a dishonest man in the everyday life and walk into the Party as an honorable member?"

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: There are no honorable men among the middle class, but there are no honest men in the working class either. Out position in society is dictated by our material interests. If we attempt to lay down such an absolute rule, there is no one honorable.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: There is no laughing matter about it to me; it is an absolute fact. There are two classes in society: the exploited and the exploiters, the robbed and the robbers, and if we want honest robbers in here we get nothing. But I don't care whether a man is honorable or dishonorable, if he will only fight my battle and the battle of my children and my class. He may be as dishonorable as hell, but if he will only stick to the principles that I stand for I don't care what his career is—if he will only take up the weapons of the working class and try to achieve its emancipation. There is the Honorable James F. Carey and the Honorable Timothy B. Sullivan, and we don't want these honorables. All we want is intelligence, if he is intelligent enough, he will see that this ultimate interest is with us. That is why he joins us, because of his intelligence. He don't come into the organization because he is honorable. He knows that society has in store for his children probably the slums of New York. The sons of the millionaires of today may be ground under foot to-morrow. If he is in this movement he is in it because his material interest forces him in, just as much as you and I. He is there because he must be there to make sure the future of himself and his children.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE MEYER: Organization precludes the fact that a man may be immoral; he must be true. You must, to a certain extent, rely upon honesty and honor.

DELEGATE DINGER: I believe that some of the comrades miss the point. A capitalist may pay his debts, he may be a moral and honorable man, but when it comes to dealing with the working class, he is a scoundrel. As to condemning a man who has violated capitalist law, a man may have made a mistake in the past, but we cannot cut off his chances to reform. As soon as a man joins the Socialist Labor Party he joins an organization that has set itself above this system; the very fact that he amounts to something that he did not before will make a man of him in more cases than one. I believe that, in justice to every one, the word "honorable" should be eliminated from our platform. On the one side the arguments are based upon facts—the other side is in the air.

Vote being taken the De Leon amendment lost, and the Dinger motion carried.

On motion the paragraph was adopted as amended.

A delegate moved that we adopt the platform as a whole. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I want to call attention to the reading of the first paragraph: "The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This paragraph flies in the face of socialist science, flies in the face of Morgan's "Ancient Society"; takes us back 150 years, when society was a contract, but we have evolved beyond that point. History and science to-day prove that we have no right to life, to liberty, to wife or children unless those rights are conferred by organized society. I move this amendment, that the paragraph read: "The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, declares for a social organization which will secure to all men equality of opportunity for life, for freedom and for individual well being." The liberty of some may be the slavery of others, but freedom for all men, and to establish a system which will give quality of opportunity for freedom is good enough for me. I am not born with rights, but I must win them for myself. Here is a struggle, and we have no rights but such as we have the power to enforce, and we are after the organization of society called government, in order to secure these rights that we are

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

not born with, that we do not have.

DELEGATE MEYER: If we adopt that change the next paragraph will also fall away. I would like to see it remain as it is. If the capitalists throw these rights away and we adopt them, we can show that we are following the path of the revolution.

DELEGATE BERRY: Inasmuch as the first paragraph was adopted by this convention, and inasmuch as that paragraph has not been reconsidered, I raise the point of order that Corregan's motion is out of order. (Chairman ruled the point well taken.)

Vote was thereupon taken upon the adoption of the platform as a whole resulting in a majority in the affirmative.

Delegate De Leon reported for the Committee on Platform and Resolutions their recommendation of the first of the East St. Louis Resolutions and another to take the place of the other two proposed by East St. Louis, making it read as follows:

“Resolved, That the delegation of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States to the International Congress at Amsterdam, in 1904, use all the influence and effort possible to make the honest comrades of the less developed countries comprehend the enormous differences ~~in~~ [between the] economic and political conditions, for example, in Germany and [in] the United States, and to secure the repudiation of the Kautsky Resolution; and to receive the assurance of the elimination from future International Congresses and other representative bodies of the movement of delegates and representatives of Kangarooism, Millerandism, Hyndmanism, etc., and the acceptance of representatives only of the class-conscious Socialist Labor Party of the respective countries; and, be it further

“Resolved that, as to the matter of possible withdrawal from the convention, the Party's delegation be allowed the latitude of their own judgment as officers of the Socialist Labor Party.”

DELEGATE DE LEON: The reason for the substitution is this: If a delegation is sent with such hard and fast instructions it cannot move. Conditions may arise that would make it advisable for them not to withdraw. The S.L.P. of Great Britain inform us that they are not going there for a picnic. We think the delegation should not have hard and fast instructions; the position of the S.L.P. should be sufficient guidance for them.

DELEGATE COX: I move to adopt the resolution recommended by the committee. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE COX: The object in this resolution, by way of in-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

structions to the delegate to the International Congress at Amsterdam was to endeavor to sever our connection with bogus socialism of the world. If I understand it, the last delegate¹ was so instructed, but failed to carry it out. The development of the year shows us that it is in keeping with our position to send a delegate to that congress. We wanted when we took part in framing the resolution of East St. Louis, that we should refuse to sit with the Kangaroos at that congress, believing that there was a number of countries taking our position who would withdraw and establish an international socialist movement revolutionary in character.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I want to offer this as a substitute: "That should the International Congress declare for a policy along the lines of the so-called Kautsky resolution, our delegates shall withdraw from said congress and immediately publish their reasons therefor." I don't want to tie our delegation down. I would not want our delegate to withdraw because Job Harriman was sitting there. We want to give our delegation as much latitude as possible and still maintain our position here.

DELEGATE DUFFY: It is almost impossible for us sitting here to understand the conditions under which that convention shall organize, and our delegation should simply go there as officers of the Socialist Labor Party.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I wish to say that I oppose Comrade Bilbarrow's amendment, because it does tie the delegates down to a strict narrow action, more than the resolutions proposed by Section East St. Louis. While the words in these resolutions embody the sentiment of the Socialist Labor Party, nevertheless I feel that in sending a delegate understanding the policy of the members whom he represents, he should go there with latitude to move. Things may turn up in the International Congress so that our delegate being there with his hands tied would be a detriment to our Party. That is why I think that this convention should defeat Comrade Bilbarrow's amendment and adopt the recommendation of the committee.

A delegate moved that the whole matter be referred back to the committee. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: I am against a motion to recommit, be-

¹ [Lucien Sanial.—*Editor.*]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

cause there is a misunderstanding here as to what Bilbarrow's proposition is, and what the recommendation of the committee is. The situation is this: Section East St. Louis has three resolutions on that subject, one instructing the delegation what to do within the congress, and the other two instructing them to get out of the congress under certain conditions. The last two resolutions contain nothing except upon conditions to withdraw. Your Committee on Resolutions reports favorably upon the first, as to what to do within the congress, and it recommends the dropping out of the other two, and proposes leaving it optional with the delegation. I am in favor of the Bilbarrow resolution as substituting the whole, because, if a delegation is fully instructed and the conditions don't arise then he does not need to act.

Motion to recommit lost.

The Michigan delegation submitted the following amendment: "Resolved that the delegate to the International Congress at Amsterdam be instructed to vote against the seating of pure and simple by the congress in case they are still admissible, and to force class-conscious action by it, or to urge re-organization of the class-conscious forces upon those lines."

The amendment was lost.

The Bilbarrow substitute was lost.

The recommendation of the committee carried.

The Committee on Resolutions announced that they were informed that several members of the Party would be in Europe at the time of the congress; and advised that the N.E.C. be empowered to issue credentials as delegates to the International Congress to any such members in good standing who are ready to represent the Party as they may choose.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The following resolutions were thereupon submitted and referred to the proper committees:

Delegate Meyer: Opposed to the raising of dues in the Party.

Delegate Gilhaus: Relative to the establishment of a fund to be supported by voluntary 10-cent weekly subscriptions of the members of the Party, to be used to extend the circulation of the Weekly People, by supplying three months' subscriptions to men whose names are given by the members of the sections, to keep record of the readers, and endeavor to have them renew the subscriptions at

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

the end of the three months.

Delegate Meyer: That the editor of the Party organ be instructed to publish all letters sent in for publication, and if they be erroneous or against Party policy the false positions be shown up by editorial notes.

Delegate Bohn, on behalf of the Mileage Committee: We want all of the delegates to appear before this committee at the morning session to-morrow.

The Committee on Resolutions reported their consideration of the following resolution referred to them, and made the recommendation attached:

“Whereas, the materialist conception of history is quite as vital a tenet of socialist teaching as the economic theory of surplus value, strenuously and consistently defended by Marx and Engels throughout their career,

Therefore be it Resolved, That it is the judgment of the Eleventh National Convention of the S.L.P. that the doctrine, with its conclusions and logical applications to other theories, philosophical, religious, etc., be energetically expounded through our official organs, other literature and authorized spokesmen;

Furthermore be it Resolved, That it is our judgment and opinion drawn forth by the Connolly discussion that our official organ, The People should not stop short with the refutation of the economic teachings of the church, but should expose the fallacy of the theological doctrine of supernatural interference with the natural evolution of man and society, which is distinctly and directly opposed to the materialist conception of history.

(Signed) H.R. Richards.”

“Recommended adversely because, in the opinion of the committee, the Party organs, literature and speakers have done that very thing; and, if what the proposition designs should be done, is something over and above that which has been and is being done, then this committee can interpret the proposition only as favoring the initiation of an Ingersollian¹ crusade by the Party—a move that is outside the pale of scientific socialism.”

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions reported, as to the resolution of Comrade Duffy relative to the instruction of the delegates from Massachusetts, their consideration of the same and recommenda-

¹ [Presumably a reference to 19th Century politician, Robert G. Ingersoll (1833–1899).—*Editor*.]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

tion that the matter be referred to the National Executive Committee.

Recommendation adopted.

DELEGATE WILKE: I wish to say, in behalf of the Press Committee, that we organized ourselves last night and laid out a plan to follow in our work, and if there are any resolutions they should be presented now, as we will have a full afternoon session.

A delegate moved that we change the rules so as to have a recess of one hour, 12 to 1 p.m. instead of 12 to 2 p.m. (Seconded and carried.)

Thereupon the convention adjourned to the following morning at 9 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY—TUESDAY, JULY 5.

MORNING SESSION.

Meeting called to order: John D. Goerke elected chairman and D. Rehder vice-chairman.

Roll call: Absent, Stodel, Herrschaft, Corregan, Gaffney, Walsh, Gilhaus, Kihn, Hammer, French and Olsen.

Meyer Stodel of Connecticut absent and excused because of sickness in his family.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations recommended the adoption of the following amendment to the rules: "That no person shall be allowed the floor twice on the same motion, except by the consent of the body. This rule not to apply to the mover of a motion, who shall be allowed five minutes to close the debate if he so wishes. The previous question shall be ordered whenever demanded by a three-fourths vote of this convention."

Recommendation adopted.

DELEGATE DE LEE: We want some information as to the jurisdiction of the Auditing Committee, whether or not it is to audit the books of the Party press or whether that auditing will fall upon the Press Committee.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The duty of the committee is simply to audit the books of the National Secretary, the books of the organization.

DELEGATE WILKE: On behalf of the Press Committee, I wish to say that we arrived at the conclusion yesterday that it was not the province of the Press Committee to verify the figures in the books of the Party press, but to take them as they are.

A delegate moved that the duties of the Auditing Committee be to audit and report upon all the finances of the Party, the National Secretary's, The People's and the Labor News Company's. (Seconded.)

Carried.

Chairman called for reports of committees.

DELEGATE COX: The Committee on Constitution has held two sessions and Comrade Reinstein was instructed to draw up our report as far as he could, and we have not met since to verify what he

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

has written, so we have nothing to report.

DELEGATE BOHN: The Committee on Mileage has to report that only part of the delegates have reported their mileage expense, and we want detailed reports as to what road they came over, what the fare was, etc., so that we may verify the reports.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I want to get a copy of the Daily People regularly, and I believe the other delegates do also, so I move that the National Secretary be requested to have a sufficient number of copies here every morning. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE CORREGAN: The Committee on Trades Union Policy of the Party recommends the following resolution:

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ON TRADES UNIONISM.

As the navel string, designed to supply nourishment to the foetus, at times threatens its life, and if left alone, actually throttles the child, so the bulk of what is called the Trades Union Movement of America—typified by Samuel Gompers, his lieutenants on the Hanna-Cleveland Civic Federation, and their American Federation of Labor in general—surely originated in a natural navel string intended to nourish, promote and accomplish the emancipation of the working class, now threatens to throttle the Labor Movement, and as such has become what the capitalist “Wall Street Journal” triumphantly greeted it with—“One of the strongest obstacles in this country to Socialism.”

The Trades Union is a breath of the class struggle, and as such its mission is to resist the encroachments of the capitalist class, drill the working class in the theoretic understanding of its class interests, solidify it for the accomplishment of its emancipation, and prepare the organized form of the Socialist Republic. The said Gompers-type of Unionism brings about exactly the reverse of each of these requirements.

So far from drilling the working class in the theoretic understanding of its interests, Gompers Unionism befogs the workingman’s intellect with capitalist economics, and it hounds Socialist or working class economics out of its camp under the false pretence that such economic teachings are “politics,” and that they “divide the working class.”

So far from solidifying the working class, Gompers Unionism keeps the workers hopelessly divided. By means of a perverse system of Chinese Walls of high initiation fees, high dues, restriction of apprentices and other guild devices intended to keep out members, and keep the jobs to itself, Gompers Unionism splits the working class into two camps that rend each other for jobs. And, with the effrontery and arrogance of the old guilds, Gompers Un-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

ionism claims “sacredness” for itself while it adds insult to injury by denouncing its compulsory adversaries as “scabs.”

So far from resisting the encroachments of the capitalist class, Gompers Unionism acts as a “parachute” to the downward course of Labor’s conditions, rendering the decline insensible and even seeking to conceal it. Even the doctored Census records a decline in earnings; the statistics of labor’s “accidents” and mortality, imperfect though they are, read like the reports of murderous battles; and proverb wisdom, ever the reflex of wide observation, discloses the general condition of our working class in the ghastly maxim: “If a workingman has reached 40 years, take him out and shoot him; he is too worn-out to be of service, and too poor to take care of himself.”

So far, accordingly, from preparing the organized form of the Socialist Republic, Gompers Unionism is a prop of capitalist society; it is a wheel in the machinery of capitalism; it is essentially the revamped guild of capitalism in the days of capitalist infancy; it is a job-Trust—and as such, has no part of the Labor Movement.

True to its guild character and capitalist spirit, Gompers Unionism is seen to foment racial animosities; it is seen resolving in favor of the wars in which the nation’s ruling class sacrifices the working class in pursuit of the giddy interests of capital; it turns itself into advertising agencies for competing employers; it is seen {as} a plastic tool in the hands of the stock-jobbers, ready to help “bull” or “bear” the stock of a corporation by the stoppage or the initiation of a strike, as the case may be;—and so to the end of its guild-capitalist track.

In Europe, such organizations exist in Russia, brought together by the industry of the Russian Police; or in England, where, as in America, the union navel string of the Labor Movement preceded the advent of Socialism. They are unknown in France or Germany, where the Socialist Movement had the lead, and where, as happened in Germany, the higher tone of Socialism broke up the abortion, at times with cudgels, when it put in its appearance in the shape of the Schultze-Delitsch [Hirsch-Dunker] unions. Accordingly, to claim for such organizations that they come under the category of the bodies that the International Socialist Congress(es) of Brussels, Zurich and London pronounced “a necessity in the struggle that makes for the emancipation of the working class,” is an act of mixed knavery and stupidity that does credit to the beneficiaries of Gompers Unionism who dominate the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party; and the act is exclusively one of knavery, when, again quoting those Congresses, the aforesaid beneficiaries declare it to be “the duty of all wage earners to join the unions of their trade”—unions, that, as stated above, the bulk of the wage earners cannot join without they were to break into the doors with axes, and over the prostrate bodies of those self-same Socialist, alias Social Democratic Gompers unionists.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

By the light of these facts we renew the Party's declarations, made in 1896 in congratulation of the birth of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance; we now extend the Party's congratulations to the American Labor Union, that has since sprung up in the West, and that, so far as we can judge, seems to be making a serious effort to enter the path of bona fide Unionism that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance first broke open; and finally we extend the Party's congratulation to the "American Labor Union Journal," the organ of the said American Labor Union, for its bravery in recognizing that the Trades Union Resolution of the Socialist, alias Social Democratic party **COMMITTS THAT PARTY TO SCAB-HERDING**. Finally, by the light of the above facts we consider it the duty of the militant Socialists of the land to join to their political endeavors the economic endeavor of promoting the industrial organization of the working class into unions that shall remain true to the class struggle spirit that gives unionism its birth, instead of degenerating into hand-maids of capitalism.

Charles H. Corregan (Printer)

Chairman.

Michael T. Berry (Shoe worker)

Secretary.

William W. Cox (Miner)

A delegate moved that the resolution be adopted. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE LEITNER: That is a remarkable document, and I applauded it, but when a document is endorsed by this body it must be accurate. I therefore wish to correct it in regard to the labor movement abroad. The very union which has fought Comrade Corregan in Syracuse is fighting the Socialists in France and Germany. And there is the Catholic Workingmen's Society, dominated exclusively by the clergy. There have been the Lutheran Societies, which raise one class of working men against the other, but we know that the socialist union is the principal unionism there. However, anything that emanates from a body like this should be correct.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I can see that the statement would point to some importance in the paper, therefore I would move that this document be printed in to-morrow's People, so that the delegates can see it.

An amendment was offered that this document appear in to-morrow's People and that we then take action upon it. (Original

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

motion withdrawn and amendment carried.)¹

Moved, seconded and carried that the rules be suspended and resolutions be offered now.

DELEGATE DINGER: I introduce by request of a member of Section New York this resolution relative to the sitting {seating?} of delegates at national conventions, covering the determination of qualifications.²

In view of the fact that there was nothing in shape to come before the convention they adjourned at 10.15 until 1 p.m., to give the committees time to work.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

July 5, 1904.

Meeting called to order promptly at 1.

Roll-call: Absent, Richards, Bohn, Friesema, De Lee, Walsh, Gilhaus, Leitner, Wilke and Olsen.

Telegram of congratulation from Lynn, Massachusetts.

The Grievance Committee reported regarding the case of McGinty of San Francisco, California, recommending that the matter be referred back to the California S.E.C.

A delegate asked as to what the matter was, the nature of it, etc.

DELEGATE DOYLE: On behalf of the committee, I will say that there was no head or tail to the matter we read, and we could do nothing but refer it back to the S.E.C. of California. ~~McGinty has been suspended and he wants redress, and he has brought the matter before us as a matter of form.~~ It seems to be a personal fight.

Moved that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in. (Carried.)

DELEGATE COX: As chairman of the Committee on Constitution, I report progress. We are not ready to make any more definite report.

¹ [The original motion being withdrawn, the amendment became a substitute motion.—*Editor*.]

² [Presumably referred to Committee on Constitution.—*Editor*.]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Moved that the report be received. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE BERRY: I offer the amendment that the committee be instructed to report not later than to-morrow morning's session (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: We have quite a bit of the work done but it seems to be no difference whether we report this afternoon or to-morrow morning, and we want the delegates to see in print what we have worked out.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: That is not the only reason the Committee on Constitution must have time. They cannot report until the Committee on the Party Press has reported. The management of the press is certainly an important part of the constitutional committee's work.

DELEGATE DE LEON: My impression is that a number of propositions have come in that don't affect the press at all or only remotely, and it seems to me that this committee, if it has anything on hand, that it ought to report on,—we ought to have it. I recall that a proposition came in here as to whether a member may accept an office in a pure and simple trades union—that has nothing to do with that Press Committee's report. More of such instances occur to me. Very likely they have tackled the press or the National Executive Committee, instead of disposing of the easiest things first. I am in favor of the amendment of Delegate Berry, and I don't construe that amendment that they are to report on the matters they lack information on.

Amendment adopted and amended motion carried.

There being no other committee ready to report and nothing before the house, Delegate Bilsbarrow of the Committee on Constitution announced that that committee could get matter in shape to report to the convention in half an hour, and moved that {a} thirty minutes' recess be taken to allow the committee to report. (Carried.)

The convention reconvened at 2.15 p.m.

Request was received from a photographer for the privilege of taking a picture of the convention at noon the next day; and all delegates were requested to be present.

The Committee on Credentials reported receipt of credentials of George Hasseler, alternate from Michigan, who was seated.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I want to say for the Committee on Constitution that we cannot report anything systematically, but we will simply take paragraphs here and there, beginning at the first: To the first article we have nothing to add, nor any change to suggest; but, as to Article II, Section 1, a resolution was referred to us proposing that it read five members instead of ten, may form a section, etc., and we also had a proposition for having larger cities have more than one charter, and we recommend:

“Seven members may form a section, provided they acknowledge the Platform, Constitution and Resolutions of the Party and belong to no other political party; but not more than one charter shall be granted in any city or town, except in a city comprising a territory greater than a county, in which case not more than one charter shall be granted to each of such counties.”

A delegate moved to concur. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: For the sake of information, I desire to know whether the committee will have a provision in the case a man who wanted to join the Party could not speak the English language; do you provide for language subdivisions?

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: There is no provision, so far.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move to amend, that the Committee on Constitution be instructed to make provision authorizing a section to arrange for branches where such are considered necessary. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE WILKE: I want to rise to a point of information. The original motion provides that in cities which cover a large territory and lay in several counties there shall be one charter for each county. Now, if there is another city in the county, Comrade Chairman, I contend that if my construction of this clause is correct, it does not cover the case. My construction is that in a town that comprises a larger territory than one county and covers corners of another county they will permit various charters granted for those sections of the city in the various counties, but they will allow no other charter to be granted to another city in one of the counties.

DELEGATE HERRSCHAFT: Across the river we have three large cities in one county. Under this provision of the Constitution there could only be one charter granted to the three of them. On

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

this side of the river we have one city covering five counties; that would give five charters. Now there ought to be some provision made to give each city a charter and as far as the language branches are concerned, I am in favor of them, because we have here in the city of New York, a great cosmopolitan city, a city in which more languages are spoken than in any other city in the world outside of London—in which these different languages are spoken in the public schools; and on the other side we have the same thing. In Hudson County, New Jersey, where I reside, we have the Polish, the English, the German and considerable of the Italian element. Now a committee, in making up a constitution should bear those important geographical divergences in mind. We want to have equal justice to all. All the trouble we have had in New Jersey existed from the very fact that the county of Hudson had three large cities while all the other counties had only one large city. Here we have them, these little divergences that we must take into consideration when we put down an iron-clad rule as to how many charters shall be issued to each county.

DELEGATE HAMMER: It seems to me that this means that one city that is very large can have two charters, and other towns or cities, if there are six of them in the county, can have six charters; and if a city is larger than one county, it can have more than one charter, and if one city has a second charter because it overlaps another county, another city in that county can have another charter.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The explanation of Comrade Hammer is correct.

DELEGATE WILKE: I would like to have Comrade Reinstein read the amendment as they have annexed it to that section.

Delegate Reinstein reads the above proposed section.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Comrade Wilke's position is correct. A part of Kings County falls outside of New York, and the delegate from Wisconsin is correct when he surmises that where a part of the city falls outside of the county no other charter could be granted in that county. I offer this amendment. I want to add the words: "Except that where a part of a county falls outside of a city, a charter may be granted for that part outside of the city."

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I wish to speak upon the amendment of Comrade De Leon. As to the establishment of branches in cer-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

tain languages. As far as I understand, where a city is organized in Assembly Districts, which are really branches of the organization, there can at the present time be language branches, but I hold that if the element that comes to this country cannot talk the language, but will study the question, they will learn enough of the language to join the English branch. In the city of Minneapolis we started a branch in the Scandinavian language. Those Scandinavians were swayed by a paper in their language, a privately owned paper, and I claim again that the working people who are progressive enough to put themselves in touch with the Socialist Labor Party will make an attempt to learn the English language. There is an organization in Boston which is an independent club and certain leaders of that club are members of the S.L.P., and come in contact with the English speaking part of that city and carry with them the progressive socialist spirit into that club, and I think that similar situations can be handled with such auxiliary organizations, and I don't think that the Socialist Labor Party ought to grant any privileges to any foreign language.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The committee reports directly against it.

DELEGATE DE LEE: I don't agree with the proposition or the amendment. If we take into consideration a revolutionary movement, we are an international movement. But, if you grant charters to two or three different branches, all differences will have to be referred to the N.E.C. and puts about twice as much work on the National Organization. If corruption should arise in a county, the section would have nothing to do with it, but it would have to be referred altogether to New York. I believe like Comrade Johnson, that there is no use of granting a charter to any special language; if they are revolutionary Socialists, it is not a question of language but of principles. If you go scattering it out you can never bring it to the point. All that unnecessary correspondence should be eliminated, and each county should control its own branches, and they can do the cutting off as the conditions arise, without referring to the central body.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I am heartily in favor of the exposition of the matter that Comrade Johnson has made, and I know of no better way than to state the experience we have had in Troy. It happened that we had five Italian sympathizers who thought it would be a good idea to start an Italian branch. After we started it, two Italians at the head of the branch had to be expelled for crook-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

edness, and just as soon as they were expelled the branch went to pieces. They were holding the thing together for their own benefit, and out of about thirty who had joined the branch only about three or four stayed with the section.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The point of Comrade Johnson is certainly correct. It is evident that we should not neglect these foreign people entirely. It is evident that we should not have them in the organization and also with regard to the papers, that club referred to in Boston might be swayed by a foreign paper as well as a branch. In fact we find that something must be done for that element. With all these explanations, I want to change the word "instruct" to "recommend," so that the committee can act in the light that has been brought out here. For instance, in the city of New York, these brewery matters have made us realize how important it is that we have a German organ. Just as soon as the matter began to brew our Germans found that there was no place to take these innocents. I realize that the word "club" or the word "branch" is an unsatisfactory word, but the Committee on Constitution should digest this. They should learn what course can be adopted so that the material may flow to us.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: We had a talk upon this matter, and we all agreed not to endorse it, and we decided not to grant any charters, but we should leave it to the sections having a charter to establish such relations as they can to bring them into the English speaking organization, but not to grant any charters in foreign languages.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that this clause that has been reported on be recommitted.

DELEGATE MEYER: I don't see why we should recommit this section, because the organization of a section can be composed of branches, and there is nothing to prevent the organization of language branches. Therefore what is the use of making any other provision? If it is desirable to have those branches organized there is nothing to prevent them from it.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The point made by Comrade Johnson has been covered by our experience time and again.

Motion to recommit carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Clause a. we are not ready to give a definite report upon. We recommend the addition of clause b. of the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

following words: "Not less than three-fourths of the members of any section shall be wage-earners."

DELEGATE DINGER: As a member of the committee, in connection with that I wish to state that there is a resolution bearing upon that which has not been considered by the committee, and I think it should be considered before we can report.

Motion was made and seconded that we concur.

DELEGATE DE LEE: Point of information. It says that three-fourths of the membership shall be wage-earners—suppose that we have fifteen members in a section and ten of them are not at work?

DELEGATE COX: For information to the comrade, I will state, as a member of the committee, that the constitution will be so arranged as to provide for his objection.

DELEGATE MEYER: There is a section which covers that point, which says that if a person is out of employment he shall not be obliged to pay dues.

DELEGATE COX: The committee has arranged—we will come to it later on, where the reports on the applicants for charter members must state the class they belong to.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I move that we change the word from "wage-earners" to "wage-worker."

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I read to you the clause as it was adopted by the committee. I personally believe that wage-working class would cover the ground; that would provide for the members of the wage-slave families that may not have a chance to be wage-workers themselves.

SECRETARY KUHN: I don't know whether I understand the question correctly, but does it mean that no section shall exist unless three-fourths of its membership are wage-workers?

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The understanding of the committee was that no charter shall be granted if there are found among the applicants less than three-fourths belonging to the wage-working class.

SECRETARY KUHN: That is very easy, because the applicants for a charter have to state their occupations. As it stand a section such as our friend Brandborg of Minnesota belongs to could not be organized under that Constitution.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Can you explain to me any good reason why, if a charter should not be granted to an organization that ap-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

plies for the standing of a section—if a charter should not be granted unless three-fourths of it are wage-earners—by what reason can such a section continue later without the necessity of having three-fourths majority of wage-workers in it?

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: As we stated just now, there are clauses in the Constitution providing for this very thing, and this would mean that the sections are prohibited from admitting such a percentage of non-wage-workers.

DELEGATE LEITNER: The small farmers in Texas have no one hired, and they have no such thing as wage-workers.

ALTERNATE GRANT: So where I came from one of our members is a huckster. What is the difference between the small farmer and the huckster, or the barber working with one chair? You would have to specify where you draw the line.

DELEGATE WILKE: I would like to offer the amendment that instead of using “wage-earners” we say “members of the working class.” The reason is that my wife is a member of the section in Milwaukee, and yet she is not a wage-worker. She isn’t taking in washing or anything of that sort. (Motion seconded.)

DELEGATE L.A. BOLAND: As I introduced a resolution, this unalterably destroys my resolution. I am unalterably opposed to taking into the Party middle-class men in any form. This movement must be a movement of the wage-earning class. I don’t see how we can talk so much about class-conscious unless we prohibit the membership of any but wage-workers. All our troubles in the past have come from two sources: first, from the class struggle within the Party; and, second, from crooks within the Party. I remember the time of the Kangaroo trouble when Comrade De Leon delivered a great address on the class struggle within the Party.¹ I firmly believe that there are working men, wage-earners, sufficient to do this battle.

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I am glad this discussion has come up, and I wish to say a few words upon it. It is vital to us members of Section Henning, and while I don’t mean that we are the whole thing, yet, being a farmer, and, I believe, a worthy member of the Socialist Labor Party, I believe that there is and will be from now on, some assistance from the rural worker. It is well that we get this thoroughly defined, and I realize the difficulty to get this to work. When we talk about the class struggle, we mean clearly the

¹ [The Class Struggle Within the Party.—*Editor.*]

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

capitalist class and the wage-working class. But there is also existing in this country a large amount of men that are working men in the broadest sense of the word; they are performing a very useful function, and without any personal insinuations, a great deal more so than many who can be defined as wage-workers. Now the question is, how are we to include those men in the movement without in the least sacrificing the class-struggle, for I want to draw the line of demarcation. When the class struggle is dropped in our movement, I want to pull out. But those rural workers are not labor skimmers; capital skins them a great deal worse than the wage-workers right here. We want help. Lots of them don't know yet what we want, that is true, but we have been howling for help for the last ten years. You may retort that it has been done along false lines, but so do the working men in your trades unions, and you will admit that. The small farmer to-day is not a wage-worker, nor is he an employer of wage workers. For myself, I don't hire more than \$25 per year and have not for the last ten years. We have in the West people who go into undeveloped country and develop farms in the forests—those men's only source of living is chopping cordwood and hauling it with an old yoke of cattle to the market. I am not pleading for myself to remain in the movement. As far as I am concerned, you can take and rule us out, and I assure you I will not vote the capitalist ticket all of my days, and I defy you to say that I cannot vote your ticket; and no amount of quibbling of the Socialist Party on "land values" will induce me to vote theirs. But I do plead for this class of working people that I am one of. There are men here who are better off, who are not performing as useful functions as we are.

DELEGATE BRESNAHAN: I would like to ask a question. In view of the different conditions in various parts of the country, would you consider three-fourths of the membership arbitrary—would you consider this clause arbitrary?

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I could not have organized Section Henning for there was not a wage-worker there. Owing to changes that have taken place, I believe it could exist now.

DELEGATE DINGER: I would like to offer a substitute for the whole, if I am in order, that I think covers the points. "The qualification for membership in the Party be that the applicant depends upon wages for his or her support."

DELEGATE MEYER: The idea is all right. The fact is that the interests of the two citizens is diametrically opposed, in spite of the

fact that they both use their muscle or their brain to make a living. The one side uses its own tools and the other uses the tools owned by somebody else. One class's interest can be advanced only when they strive to get possession of the tools that they work with and which are owned by some other persons, and the interests of the other class can be advanced immediately when he can create some little demand for his product, or improve upon the tools he owns, and as a result we find that the relation of the interests of the two classes is really an antagonistic one. The thing that induces human action is material interest. As a result we find that the wage-working class cannot be untrue to itself unless it injure its own class interest as wage-workers. The small farmer can raise his class standpoint when he works for the improvement of his class; thus his conditions are different from the condition of the working class. Now we cannot go by the exception, but we got to take the rule, and we must apply ourselves to the rule that the majority is a wage-working class. Let us consider that we must place ourselves solidly upon the basis of class conscious organization, upon the basis of working class organization. If we do that we establish the right principle.

DELEGATE BERRY: I rise to amend Comrade Dinger's motion. The reason why I offer this amendment is that evidently Comrade Dinger's motion does not take into consideration the organization of a new section. The amendment I propose is: "No such person to be admitted except by the vote of the state executive committee of the state, and, where no state executive committee exists by a vote of the National Executive Committee."

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I am heartily in accord with all that Comrade Boland expressed in spirit, but in practice, as we stand to-day, we certainly have members of the middle class that do credit to our organization; that have reasoned out of their class and have joined the class-conscious working class for the emancipation of that class, and I believe that against these few exceptions it will be wrong to debar such men from our organization, but I do recognize that in the United States to-day the wage-working class is a class large enough and intelligent enough, if we reach them, to be the organization of the Socialist Labor Party and to at least be in the majority of that party, so as to control that party in accord with the interests of that class. Now I am in sympathy with our friend from Minnesota, but I don't believe that my sympathy shall override the interests of my class, but I believe that, if we allow, as

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Comrade Dinger would have us allow, the committee to decide, we have men in our movement who would deliberately vote for the admittance of members of that class. I believe with the committee that the Party should be at least three-fourths members of the wage-working class. And, furthermore, I am in thorough sympathy with the recommendation of the committee, and for such men as may arise from the middle class, I say we should allow them in to the extent of one-fourth of the strength of the organization and no more. The day may come when we must have and shall have none but wage-workers in our organization.

DELEGATE GAFFNEY: The members of Section Yonkers have put their heads together, quite a few of them, and organized a building and construction company—I am not looking for work but I am trying to get away from it, and if this motion goes through it will simply wipe out Section Yonkers. We have put our heads together and formed this company with the purpose of buying lots, building houses and selling them to the capitalists.

DELEGATE BRESNAHAN: The discussion has reached that point where the class struggle is very clearly defined. The only thing that is lacking to make it clear is the adoption of the trades union resolution to show the class struggle raging with all its fierceness. Is the class struggle waging in Minnesota or in the sweatshop in the large cities? In the state of Massachusetts, within a radius of ten miles, resides fifty per cent of the population, from the city of Worcester to the city of Newton. I want to impress upon your minds that the tendency of capitalism is the concentration of the wage-workers in the large cities, and the class struggle must be fought there, to force that on the political field, and although I exceedingly regret it, if we are to lose any assistance through the arbitrary action of this provision that three-fourths must be wage-workers, yet I am willing to make the sacrifice. Here in the large cities is where the struggle is brought out clearly, here we force the capitalists to the class struggle. Are the farmers of New England or the farmers of Minnesota forcing the class struggle? They have adopted the false economics not only in the Populist party but also in the Social Democratic party. Is the Socialist Labor Party going back on the class struggle? I say that we should endeavor to keep in mind that this struggle must be forced in these large cities where the wage-working class is developed, along the direction of the true trades union organization in conjunction with the Socialist Labor Party. I hold that we should not be misled by feelings of sen-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

timent, even for Yonkers. In my state the fight is in the city of Boston; in New York it is in New York City. The fight, fellow delegates, is in the large cities, where industry is carried on, and consequently we must not lose sight of the fact.

DELEGATE {L.A.} BOLAND: I offer this amendment: "None others but wage-earners be admitted to membership, unless by consent of three-fourths the membership, and that no section shall have less than three-fourths wage-earners in its membership." (Not seconded.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: There is absolutely nothing to prevent those out in Texas or Minnesota from keeping up the fight as auxiliary organizations. I believe it is essential to adopt this clause. In one of the works of Engels it is stated that there comes a time when a quantity becomes a quality. The proportion may be reached where the quantity will turn into quality and the middle class interests will assert themselves, but if the line is drawn as the committee recommends, the three-fourths wage-working class being there, I don't believe that there can be any danger that Comrade Boland talks about. With the Socialist Labor Party so stating the class struggle I don't think there can be. The danger I see as far as the Party development is concerned is not from these few and far between non-wage-worker elements that may come into the Party, but from the three-fourths neglecting to inform themselves clearly enough upon the class struggle. If our membership will see to it that they are informed, I believe there will be no danger whatever.

DELEGATE LEITNER: That question of the rural districts, of the farmers, has kept everybody busy for the last twenty years. It creeps to the surface because it is a question that must be settled once and for all. You are afraid that the farming element will gain strength in your ranks. Will you tell me that the wage-working class is afraid of the tenant farmers? Are you, the majority in the city afraid of that handful of the farmers? Why, it is ridiculous. These men are in the worst condition of all the people of the world; those men would fight for a better condition alongside of us.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: The defense you have put up for the middle class is stronger than the defense put up by the Socialist Party in the convention of Chicago.

DELEGATE MEYER: One of the capitalist parties puts a very catching clause into its platform, seemingly to benefit the working class. The same thing happened when Mark Hanna shouted about the full dinner pail. The working class will not hit hard enough.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

The capitalist class finding that they have to organize a new party, and finding, on the other hand, that a party is in existence where they can utilize the connections that have been established, if that is the line of least resistance, they will capture the Party and turn it where they want it.

DELEGATE DINGER: I don't wish to say very much, but I think there have been points overlooked by the delegates in discussing the matter. The Socialist Labor Party has adopted a platform and is about to adopt a set of resolutions on the trades union policy, etc. We have adopted a platform. We have no plank for the farmer or the small business man. If we are afraid that this middle-class element would come into our Party and destroy our Party, the capitalist class can hire a lot of wage-slaves to destroy our Party. What does it matter to the capitalist class whether a representative of their respective parties, or whether a delegate to their respective conventions is a wage-worker or not? It is true, it is their economic support, their money, that controls their party. We have no such means, but, if we circulate our literature I don't think there is any such danger. The reason I favor this resolution is to bring our Constitution into conformity with our expressions elsewhere. But if, in the judgment of the majority of three-fourths of the members of any section a member of the middle class is worthy of membership in the Party, let them admit him. Though I believe we should not fear anything. And, as to the comrade from the farm, well, as long as there is no accusation and as long as the section does its duty, I don't believe the Party will exclude them, even if you adopt this constitution and there should be a section of farmers. This is simply in order to have a club in our hands.

ALTERNATE GRANT: Supposing a section exists to-day where there are thirteen members, eight wage-earners and five middle-class men, which of the middle-class men are you to expel?

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I can only say we do not consider such a thing. It is for the convention to decide whether they want us to provide for that. I don't understand that a law is retroactive.

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I don't plead for sympathy, I plead that there shall be some provision made whereby we can be of service whenever we do act fairly and squarely, to be able to bring this about. That is what I ask. Now, the old constitution, under which we organized, provided that there should be so many wage-earners, except farmers. My friends, I believe that is sufficient. We organized under that. I believe by the Party retaining that we are in no

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

danger. The organization is in no danger by that clause. I don't know, from a parliamentary standpoint where we are at, but I would like to have that before the house. There is no danger of the big farmer harming the Party. You are more in danger from the capitalist class buying up labor men to send into your conventions than from the big farmer, but the small farmer, give him a chance to come in. It has been said regarding the section I organized, that the law will not be retroactive.

Previous question was moved and lost; 23 in favor and 13 against.

DELEGATE DUFFY: My idea is that no legislation should shut out of the Party those intelligent and honest members of the capitalist class who desire to join us. We don't want, I believe, to destroy sections such as the comrade from Minnesota represents. Would it not be advisable to so legislate as to have it so that three-fourths of the membership of the Socialist Labor Party of any state shall be wageworkers. There may be sections made up wholly of middle-class men, but to balance that there must be in the cities sections composed of wage-workers.

Vote was thereupon had upon the motion to recommit. (Carried.)
Letter was read from Comrade Paul Kretlow, Germany.
Accepted with applause.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Section 2 of Article II, the committee recommends be allowed to stand as in the old constitution. (Adopted.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Section 3 we recommend to readopt.

DELEGATE BERRY: I wish to amend by including the following order of business: My experience teaches me that most of the sections have no order of business: Election of Chairman, Reading of Records, Communications, New Members, Report of Committees, Unfinished Business, New Business, Good and Welfare.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I wish to amend by striking out the last rule.

Delegates suggested: Payment of Dues, Receipts and Expenditures, Roll-Call of members for their report of work for the Party press, etc.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: If you consider the order of business, we should have a chance to draw up more carefully an order of business.

Moved to recommit. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Section 4 of Article II we are not ready to report upon.

Section 5 we recommend the re-adoption of. (So ordered.)

On Section 6, relative to officers in trades unions, we didn't take action until the report of the Committee on Attitude towards Trades Unions.

Section 8 we recommend be re-adopted.

Moved to concur. Seconded.

SECRETARY KUHN: Our experience has taught us that some sections elect grievance committees only when they need them. They elect no grievance committee, but wait until a case comes up. Unfortunately the Constitution, as it stands, does not sufficiently specify that the grievance committee should be elected at the time of the election of the other officers.

Amendment was offered, to insert the word "standing" before the words "grievance committee."

DELEGATE PASSANNO: The word "standing" means for how long?

SECRETARY KUHN: That means that the terms of all officers end on July 1st and January 1st, and means standing for the term of office.

Amendment and amended clause adopted.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Section 9 we have reconsidered to some extent, and recommend the following: "Charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated the case and reported to the section. All charges must be made in writing, signed either by individual members preferring same or the organizer on behalf of the section,

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

whereupon the Grievance Committee shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay, hearing the witnesses of both sides. A detailed report of the investigation and the conclusions of the committee shall be drawn and laid before one of the next business meetings of the section, the accused party being notified by the Secretary of the committee in due time to appear at same. The section shall then decide the matter and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the Secretary for safekeeping. The Secretary shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.”

Motion was made and seconded to concur.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I move that the word “regular” be inserted between the words “next” and “business meeting.”

DELEGATE DE LEON: I believe that the reason Comrade Johnson demands that it be at the regular meeting is that she overlooks the fact that no special meeting is legal unless its specific purpose is stated in the call. I understand the delegate’s purpose to be that a special meeting shall not be called and charges trumped up against the man. But if the call has not stated what the purpose of the meeting was, no legal action can be taken. The purpose must be stated of a special meeting and nothing else can come up.

SECRETARY KUHN: Does the report of the committee contain a clause providing that the accused must be furnished with a copy of the charges?

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I will say that the point was overlooked. It was not in the old Constitution and we did not get it into the draft.

Amendment of Delegate Johnson lost.

DELEGATE DE LEE: I offer the amendment “that the accused be furnished with a copy of the charges in writing.” (Seconded and carried.)

Amended section was put to vote and carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Not ready to report on 10 and 11.

Recommend the following addition to Section 12: “except if a member is expelled or suspended after being elected delegate to a

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

state or national convention, in which case such convention may give him a seat in that body if, upon investigation, they so decide.”

DELEGATE DE LEE: I oppose this motion, because it is recommended to justify the action of the convention in overriding the Constitution.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I am opposed to it on the ground that you have previously said that every section has jurisdiction over its members; that being so, then their jurisdiction is qualified by the provision for overriding a section if you please.

DELEGATE BERRY: I believe that it is fair. I have known of instances, not hearsay, where just this very thing has been done. Without passing upon what the delegate from Troy says here, I believe this, that a delegate must have had some standing in the Party to have been nominated for the office of a delegate. I don't believe in the section's having the power to rule him out of the delegation. For that reason I will vote to concur in that recommendation.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: Continuing Comrade Berry's line of thought, suppose he has committed some flagrant violation of the constitution?

DELEGATE DUFFY: There is also a point. Of course our representation at the present time is based upon state organization, but some one has suggested an election of delegates upon some other basis than that of states.

DELEGATE RICHTER: I hope that this will be voted down, because it proceeds along a line of legislation which should not be the case with the Socialist Labor Party. By adopting this position we will raise a delegate to a higher position in the Socialist Labor Party.

DELEGATE HERRSCHAFT: I believe that this provision is a very good one. It is like a provision in the Constitution of the United States that prevents the arrest of a Representative in Congress during session or on his way to or from the Capitol. It leaves a grievous charge to be decided by this body.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I am opposed to concurrence with the resolution. I don't believe this action was taken to justify this action in the case of Boland, but I don't believe that this is the proper place to have this paragraph inserted. I think under "National Convention" we should insert a clause making the convention the judge of the qualifications of its delegates. I believe this body has a right to decide this question, and I believe it should be embodied in

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

its proper place, and that is under the question of “Conventions.”

DELEGATE WILKE: I hope that this resolution will not prevail. I opposed the action of this convention in seating Boland; not because it was Boland or any one else, but because it was overriding the jurisdiction that we granted to the unit of organization, the section. I don't believe that the national convention should become the laundry of the Socialist Labor Party either. That has been done in this convention.

Motion was made and carried that this clause be recommitted to be inserted under Conventions.

It was moved to readopt Section 12, Article II.

SECRETARY KUHN: I wish to say something on this. It has always struck me as incomplete. It does not say by whom they might be reinstated. The natural implication is the section that suspends or expels, but the section may have gone out of existence. It would be proper to say that the state executive committee or the National Executive Committee might reinstate in such cases.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: I don't believe it would be necessary to do that because, as it stands, the National Executive Committee, the state executive committee or the section can reinstate.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I offer an amendment to make the section read: “No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party unless properly reinstated by the section that suspended him or, if it shall have ceased to exist, by the state executive committee, or, in the absence of such, by the National Executive Committee. (Seconded and carried.)

On motion Secretary Kuhn was elected a teller to count in case of rising votes.

Section 13 recommended as it stands. (Carried.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that the committee report upon only such sections as it amends, or upon such amendments as it proposes. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: As Section 14 we propose the following: “Members who have withheld payment of their dues for two months, unless they are known to be sick or unemployed, shall be immediately notified in writing by the financial secretary and at the conclusion of the third month of delinquency shall stand sus-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

pended without further action of the section. At the end of the fifth month another notice shall be sent to the delinquent and at the end of the sixth month, unless paid up, his name shall be stricken from the list of members and the fact so recorded in the minutes. A member dropped from the roll for non-payment of dues shall not be admitted to membership except upon payment of six months' dues."

Moved to concur. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The next we can report upon is Section 18, which reads: "No Section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party. No candidate of the Party for public office shall accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party, nor allow any such nomination or endorsement to stand without public protest, otherwise his nomination must be at once withdrawn." And we recommend the addition of the words "and the fact made public."

Motion to concur.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I suppose that the cause of the recommendation of the committee is the case of Smith of Worcester, Massachusetts, endorsed by the Democrats. He claimed that he did withdraw, but it was not published in the official organ of the Party. But even that is not enough. It would be complete, if the nominee of the Socialist Labor Party of Minnesota {sic} were endorsed by a capitalist party, to publish his withdrawal in the official organ.

Moved to recommit. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The rest of the clauses are either in a crude unofficial form or the committee decided to adopt them just as they stood in the old Constitution, so we have nothing further to report at present.

DELEGATE DE LEE: The Auditing Committee reports—

DELEGATE DE LEON: I would move that the reports of financial matters be made in executive session. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE WILKE: I wish to say in behalf of the Press Committee, that it has practically decided upon that attitude.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

A delegate offered the amendment that when the executive session be held it be held in the afternoon, so that the visitors might be notified that the afternoon will be an executive session. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE RICHARDS: There is this objection to the amendment, that the Press Committee might not be ready to report to us to-day, and we would have nothing to do to-morrow morning.

DELEGATE DE LEON: This is crossing a bridge that we have not reached.

Motion lost.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Under Article II, the Committee on Constitution recommends the addition of two new sections to be known as 21 and 22:

“Section 21. Acquaintance with the current affairs of the Party being essential for an intelligent discharge of the duties and responsibilities of Party membership, each Section shall relentlessly insist on each member being a regular reader of a Party organ, except when none such is published in the language read by the member, and the Section shall order the paper at its own expense, if necessary, for the benefit of the unemployed.”

On motion adopted.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: “Section 22. For a similar reason as in the preceding, it shall be the duty of each Section to acquire as soon as possible an assortment of Party literature, dealing with the fundamental principles and the experiences of the Party and to stimulate their careful study by the members either individually or jointly.”

On motion adopted.

DELEGATE BOHN: For the Mileage Committee I want to report that all of the delegates who have come from a distance have reported, and the funds at the disposal of the committee are sufficient to cover the expenses, and that the manner in which they are paid will be reported later.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

On motion report was received.

Moved that the convention be now open to the presentation of resolutions. (So ordered.)

Delegate Passanno: That the pay of a National Organizer shall be as follows: If a married man \$15.00 per week and expenses, if single \$12.00 per week and expenses. (Referred to committee.)

Moved to adjourn until nine o'clock Wednesday. (Carried.)

FIFTH DAY—WEDNESDAY, JULY 6.

MORNING SESSION.

Meeting called to order at 9 a.m.

Paul Dinger elected chairman and Frank E. Passanno vice-chairman.

Roll-Call: Absent, Corregan, Metzler, Brauckman, Walsh, Gilhaus, Kihn, Hammer, Duffy, Leitner, French and Olsen.

Letter of congratulation from Rockville, Connecticut, read and filed.

Moved that we proceed to take up the recommendation of the Committee on Attitude toward Trades Unionism, printed in *The People*. (Carried.)

DELEGATE MEYER: I move that it be taken up paragraph by paragraph. (Carried.)

The first paragraph read, as follows:

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ON TRADES UNIONISM.

As the navel string, designed to supply nourishment to the foetus, at times threatens its life, and if left alone, actually throttles the child, so the bulk of what is called the Trades Union Movement of America—typified by Samuel Gompers, his lieutenants on the Hanna-Cleveland Civic Federation, and their American Federation of Labor in general—surely originating (sic) in a natural navel string intended to nourish, promote and accomplish the emancipation of the working class, now threatens to throttle the Labor Movement, and as such has become what the capitalist “Wall Street Journal” triumphantly greeted it with—“One of the strongest obstacles in this country to Socialism.”

Moved that this convention concur in the recommendation of the committee as to the adoption of this paragraph.

DELEGATE MEYER: It mentions here the “working class” instead of the “wage-working class,” and it seems to me that the sentence is not complete. It starts with “As” and don’t say what the “As” stands for. It seems to me that the expression is too vague.

DELEGATE BOHN: I think Comrade Meyer’s point is well taken. I find no verb in the paragraph. I claim that it is not a para-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

graph and that there is no verb in it, and I claim that it should not be concurred in.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Here we have the English language on the anvil. The sentence is perfectly correct. It states, without the parenthetical clauses: "As the navel string actually throttles the child, so the bulk of what is called the Trades Union Movement of America now threatens to throttle the Labor Movement." The construction is as in the sentence: "As the dog barks, so does the cat mew." The sentence is in accord with all the rules of grammar.

DELEGATE BOHN: I stand corrected so far as the sentence being grammatical is concerned, but I contend that, on reading it over the first time the average man would not understand it. It is long and parenthetical and loose. I claim that, on that basis alone, it is unclear and I claim that it ought to go back to the committee to be rewritten.

DELEGATE DE LEON: It has been our experience of the last twelve years, people tell us that these things aren't clear; but we learn that the people must learn the terms. The idea that no one can understand presumes that the members of the Party cannot explain to others, and we must come down to the level of the lowest intellect. The Social Democrats attempted to make their platform very clear, and now no one understands it and it is full of flaws.

DELEGATE BERRY: I hope that the comrades will bear one thing in mind, supplementing what Comrade De Leon has already said, and there is just that danger that Comrade De Leon has warned you of. If we follow that out we will have a hash bill of fare. We cannot afford to go back to the most ignorant; we must bring those up to us, and if you try to make this clear to every one you will make hash of it. There may be people who will fail to understand it, and the freak element will insist upon drawing some freakish conclusion. It is written in English—it is grammatical, and because some one cannot understand it is no reason we should not adopt it.

DELEGATE RICHTER: I would ask, do the words: "intended to nourish, promote and accomplish the emancipation of the working class," apply to the pure and simple trades unions? I, for one, would hold that this is not in accord with the facts. I think it is well for the Socialist Labor Party, if it makes any statements, to be as true to the facts as possible, and I hold that if the pure and simple trades union was intended to nourish, etc., in its incipiency, it is not true.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

DELEGATE BOHN (Second speech with the consent of the house): Comrade De Leon states that we do not want to bring this matter of language down to the plane of the lowest intellect. Now, on my own part, I don't agree, and I said twice that as it stood I read it twice before I understood it. Comrade Richter read this paragraph, I imagine once or twice and perhaps thrice, and if Comrade Richter don't understand it and I don't understand it, this shows that this convention should not adopt such language. Comrade De Leon said there were technical terms, but there are no technical terms, but this putting in these dashes, what could be made much clearer in two or three sentences.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I move to recommit this paragraph. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: When, yesterday, motions to recommit were made, something in writing was given with them. I have been endeavoring to understand this thing and I don't. There is nothing to guide the committee. What can they do? Just simply throw the language back. "That the Gompers style of trades unionism threatens to throttle the labor movement"—what can the committee do with the sentence?

DELEGATE BOHN: If it was asked of me to frame that into sentences, I could not do it here in the heat of debate.

DELEGATE COX: Being a member of the committee, I am opposed to recommitting that clause. I am not an intellectual, I am simply a "black diamond digger" and I can take that and get on the platform and explain it to my fellow miners thoroughly.

ALTERNATE GRANT: I don't believe it is necessary to have all the pamphlets of the Labor News Company tacked onto the clause in order to explain it. Many readers are superficial and see many mistakes in it at the first instance. Even if you explained all those things to the people at the bottom of the article a superficial reader can always make mistakes in points. The members of the Party and the working class generally may do that, but the speakers can draw their conclusions and explain the matter thoroughly.

Motion to recommit lost.

Motion to concur carried.

Second paragraph as follows:

The Trades Union is a breath of the class struggle, and as such its mission is to resist the encroachments of the capitalist class,

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

drill the working class in the theoretic understanding of its class interests, solidify it for the accomplishment of its emancipation, and prepare the organized form of the Socialist Republic. The said Gompers-type of Unionism brings about exactly the reverse of each of these requirements.

Moved we concur. Seconded. Carried.

Third paragraph read:

So far from drilling the working class in the theoretic understanding of its interests, Gompers Unionism befores the workingman's intellect with capitalist economics, and it hounds Socialist or working class economics out of its camp under the false pretence that such economic teachings are "politics," and that they "divide the working class."

Moved the concurrence of the convention with the committee's report.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Since this is a condensed statement, I want to call attention of the delegates to the fact that the pure and simple unions have a way of saying they don't want politics, but if, in the union, some one proposes to endorse an anti-immigration bill in Congress and a Socialist arises to show that anti-immigration is not the issue of the working class, he is ruled off the floor because he is talking politics. It has been my experience that you can rise in these unions, not mentioning a party and you will be cut off on account of talking politics. The closing paragraph of that wonderful Kangaroo platform resolution is to the effect that political divisions should not divide the working class, what they mean is differences in economics. The moment working class economics is presented they say it is politics.

Motion to concur carried.

The fourth paragraph, as follows, was read:

So far from solidifying the working class, Gompers Unionism keeps the workers hopelessly divided. By means of a perverse system of Chinese Walls of high initiation fees, high dues, restriction of apprentices and other guild devices intended to keep out members, and keep the jobs to itself, Gompers Unionism splits the working class into two camps that rend each other for jobs. And, with the effrontery and arrogance of the old guilds, Gompers Unionism claims "sacredness" for itself while it adds insult to injury

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

by denouncing its compulsory adversaries as “scabs.”

Moved to concur. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: In the A.F. of L. there is that constant claim that unless you stand by them you divide the working class. Now to stand by them means to leave the bulk of the working class out of the union. If we are dividing the working class, that implies that they are trying to unite it. They are simply the reverse; they are job trusts, and they have a deep interest in keeping as many persons out as is required. High dues, high initiation fees and all the things of the old guilds from which capitalism arose are employed. The pure and simple trades union is a necessary and inevitable divider of the working class.

Motion carried.

The fifth paragraph was next read, as follows:

So far from resisting the encroachments of the capitalist class, Gompers Unionism acts as a “parachute” to the downward course of Labor’s conditions, rendering the decline insensible and even seeking to conceal it. Even the doctored Census records a decline in earnings; the statistics of labor’s “accidents” and mortality, imperfect though they are, tread like the reports of murderous battles; and proverb wisdom, ever the reflex of wide observation, discloses the general condition of our working class in the ghastly maxim: “If a workingman has reached 40 years, take him out and shoot him; he is too worn out to be of service, and too poor to take care of himself.”

Moved that we concur. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: It may be that the word “parachute” is new to the working class, so we may as well all understand it. When a balloon bursts they spread an umbrella, which breaks the fall. The working class in the trades union is similar; the thing is going down, but it is so managed that the fall is not felt. Then, in the matter of the decline of the earnings, the union journals, except when the unions are on strike, hold that wages are increasing. Of course the money wages may increase, and yet the earnings may decline.

Paragraph adopted.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

The sixth paragraph, as follows, was read:

So far, accordingly, from preparing the organized form of the Socialist Republic, Gompers Unionism is a prop of capitalist society; it is a wheel in the machinery of capitalism; it is essentially the revamped guild of capitalism in the days of capitalist infancy; it is a job-Trust—and as such, ~~has~~ is no part of the Labor Movement.

Moved to concur. (Seconded.)

A delegate called attention to the word “has” in the last line, evidently a typographical error;—should be “is.”

DELEGATE DE LEON: The trades union revamps that guild system, one of whose purposes was to keep secrets to themselves, the secrets of the trade. The pure and simple trades union is built up on that system. It is the old guild out of which capitalism arose, resurrected now under these absurd conditions.

Paragraph adopted.

The seventh paragraph read, as follows:

True to its guild character and capitalist spirit, Gompers Unionism is seen to foment racial animosities; it is seen resolving in favor of the wars in which the nation’s ruling class sacrifices the working class in pursuit of the giddy interests of ~~capital~~ the capitalist class; it turns itself into advertising agencies for competing employers; it is seen {as} a plastic tool in the hands of the stock-jobbers, ready to help “bull” or “bear” the stock of a corporation by the stoppage or the initiation of a strike, as the case may be;—and so to the end of its guild-capitalist track.

Moved that we concur. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: Taking clause by clause, the constitutions of the pure and simple trades unions of Gompers, we have clauses excluding negroes; we have had clauses in the brewery workers against the Irish and against the Germans, and it appears that they started with the brewery business as a German business, and we Germans should have it and no one else. It is also an advertising agency. Many a strike breaks out due to a fight between capitalists; the labor leaders do it for them. In the clothiers they called a strike in Philadelphia to advertise New York. In the Min-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

ers' union, what was that Pennsylvania strike except a strike of one industry against another? One half of the union was made to scab it against the other.

DELEGATE RICHTER: I move that we substitute the words: "the capitalist class" for the word "capital," making it read: "sacrifices the working class in pursuit of the giddy interests of the capitalist class."

Seconded and carried.

A delegate raised the point of order that it was 10 o'clock, and that we were to nominate the presidential and vice-presidential candidates at 10. (Ruled well taken.)

A delegate moved that we suspend the rules and get through with this report of the Committee on Constitution. (Carried.)

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I would ask about the word "seen" in the ninth line: "it is seen a plastic tool," etc. What is the word "seen" there for?

DELEGATE DE LEON: The reason why "seen" is put there is because it is not quite as regular among its actions as the previous characteristics; but they are found risen to the level of entering the stock-jobbing.

Clause was adopted as amended.

The eighth paragraph was read:

In Europe, such organizations exist in Russia, brought together by the industry of the Russian Police; or in England, where, as in America, the union navel string of the Labor Movement preceded the advent of Socialism. They are ~~unknown~~ virtually unknown, or are known only as conflagrations under control in France or Germany, where the Socialist Movement had the lead and where, as happened in Germany, the higher tone of Socialism broke up the abortion, at times with cudgels, when it put in its appearance in the shape of the ~~Hirsch-Dunker~~ Schultze-Delitsch unions. Accordingly, to claim for such organizations that they come under the category of the bodies that the International Socialist Congress(es) of Brussels, Zurich and London pronounced "a necessity in the struggle that makes for the emancipation of the working class," is an act of mixed knavery and stupidity that does credit to the beneficiaries of Gompers Unionism who dominate the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party; and the act is exclusively one of knavery, when, again quoting those Congresses, the aforesaid

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

beneficiaries declare it to be “the duty of all wage earners to join the unions of their trade”—unions, that, as stated above, the bulk of the wage earners cannot join without they were to break ~~into~~ through the doors with axes, and over the prostrate bodies of those self-same Socialist, alias Social Democratic Gompers unionists.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move as an amendment that we strike out the word “unknown,” and insert the words “virtually unknown, or are known only as conflagrations under control” before the words “in France or Germany, where the Socialist Movement had the lead,”. Those unions cut little figure there; they are conflagrations under control. A fire under control does not endanger the town. The Catholic vereins cannot control the working class movement. Theoretically they exist in France, although I don’t know of any instances of their existence.

Amendment carried.

DELEGATE LEITNER: The Schulze Delitzsch Verein and all the unions were simply gotten together as co-operative associations. Although in the shape or the framework of a union, as we understand the union, it was not that; because socialism had preceded unionism, as we understand it.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: In the fourth line from the bottom of the paragraph, I move to amend by striking the word “into” and inserting the word “through”, so that it will read “without they were to break through the doors with axes” instead of “into the doors.”

Amendment carried.

SECRETARY KUHN: I desire to call attention to the fact that the plural should be used in the seventeenth line, “Congresses” instead of “Congress”.

THE COMMITTEE: That was purely typographical.

On motion the paragraph was adopted as amended.

The ninth paragraph was read:

By the light of these facts we renew the Party’s declarations, made in 1896 in congratulation of the birth of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance; we now extend the Party’s congratulations to

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

the American Labor Union, that has since sprung up in the West, and that, so far as we can judge, seems to be making a serious effort to enter the path of bona fide Unionism that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance first broke open; and finally we extend the Party's congratulation to the "American Labor Union Journal," the organ of the said American Labor Union, for its bravery in recognizing that the Trades Union Resolution of the Socialist, alias Social Democratic party **COMMITTS THAT PARTY TO SCAB-HERDING**. Finally, by the light of the above facts we consider it the duty of the militant Socialists of the land to join to their political endeavors the economic endeavor of promoting the industrial organization of the working class into unions that shall remain true to the class struggle spirit that gives unionism its birth, instead of degenerating into hand-maids of capitalism.

Charles H. Corregan (Printer)
Chairman.

Michael T. Berry (Shoe worker)
Secretary.

William W. Cox (Miner)

DELEGATE GOERKE: I move that we recommit this. I am particularly interested in this paragraph for this reason, because, being a delegate from Ohio, I was approached by the Editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung, who, as well as many of us could not help but applaud the stand taken by the Western unions, especially by the Western Federation of Miners, and he wished this convention would decide one way or another. According to the wording of this paragraph it seems that that thing is being done. Now this convention is not begging one another; it should be here to do business, not here to beg one another on this particular point. I am opposed to this for this reason. If I understand things accurately the American Labor Union is being engineered and organized to a certain degree at least by Eugene V. Debs, and it would seem that this convention, by endorsing the American Labor Union, would be endorsing the Socialist Party. And another thing, if I understand the conditions correctly, and I base my knowledge somewhat upon information I received from Comrade Cox of Illinois; Cox contends that the Western Federation of Miners in 1899 endorsed the Socialist Labor Party, later on they switched about and endorsed the Social Democratic Party. About the Western Federation of Miners, therefore, I maintain that, although we may look with hope, and we may expect a few things in the future that will give us cause to congratulate them, we ought not to endorse them now.

DELEGATE CHASE: In considering this resolution, we should

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

keep in view the position it will place us in in our work upon the field of the trades unions of the West; we should see what those organizations really are and what prompted them to pass the resolutions they have passed, to take the positions they have taken, who initiated their apparently progressive steps, and we should remember not only what they have resolved but also how they have acted. In the first place, we should realize to whom such a resolution will apply. In discussing this privately with one or two of the delegates I have mentioned doings of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado and of the Western Federation of Miners, and they have said that this applied only to the American Labor Union. Now, to make such a statement to a man upon the field would be to make yourself ridiculous. These organizations are all practically of the same kind, therefore to maintain one attitude toward the A.L.U. and other attitudes towards the others would be absurd. If you take a position toward one, by the men on the ground, it can't help but be construed to apply to all. I want to make this clear, so that, beyond question, you will understand that whatever I bring up against the State Federation or the W.F. of M. is in point and has a direct bearing upon this congratulation of the A.L.U. Look at the history of these organizations and you will see how true that is.

DELEGATE BERRY: One of the organizers came down into the state of Massachusetts about one year ago, and he resorted to exactly the same tricks of the Kangaroo organization that they had previously endorsed. The A.L.U. wrote letters to the members of the Alliance. If those leaders had been honorable, those letters would have been sent to the General Executive Board. Their actions have led them to where they are to-day. I hope that paragraph will be recommitted.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Of course, if the proposition of the committee can be even remotely construed as an endorsement by our Party, then that passage is wrong. To the men on the ground, if such an impression would prevail that we have endorsed what is so close the their eyes it would be harmful. While I must agree with all the theories Chase brought here against that organization, I want to call the attention of the Convention to certain things that have taken place. No one considered it an endorsement of the American Railway Union when we sent an answer to the Debs wing of the Social Democracy, that answer was adopted by the National Executive Committee and it was submitted to the general vote of the membership—no one considered that an endorsement

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

when we commended the idea that Debs had with him when he started that American Railway Union. We showed that it was the right direction; and, subsequently, when the American Federation of Labor was in convention in Boston { . . . }¹ so that, within the Party organization at any rate, the impression is not general that such a resolution would be an endorsement. If such a passage might be construed into so much of a congratulation that it might seem an endorsement, then the matter should be changed, particularly, since it can be changed with propriety. Notwithstanding that attitude of mine, I am against recommitting.

DELEGATE BOHN: I would ask the committee, considering the fact that they were here, when Chase and Berry had information, why they didn't get it.

DELEGATE COX: I would state that yesterday, when the resolution was read before the Convention, after it was acted upon, I was called down, especially by Comrade Chase. I am positively opposed to that paragraph.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: In explaining my part of the work of the committee, I wish to say that I had no time, due to my work. The only part I objected to was the part relative to the American Labor Union, but if the bulk of these delegates have not been informed as to the status of the A.L.U., it is the fault of the comrades of the West that they have not been informed. I am glad that it came up, and I am glad that it was put in, for the reason that it has cleared the minds of the delegates here as to the status of the American Labor Union, placing it in the same category with and as big a fake organization as the American Federation of Labor, because there is a misapprehension in this part of the country, where we haven't been in touch with the leaders of that organization, we were led to believe that they were some good. I think the time has come when we should not build up an organization we are going to have as an enemy. If we pass such a resolution, it will be used by the leaders of this union, and I don't propose any longer to help them by allowing any one to construe any of my language except on the proper lines of the class struggle. I contend that we shall condemn the American Labor Union and place ourselves squarely as we stand toward the American Federation of Labor. I believe that in four years, development will permit us to say that no member

¹ [An indeterminate portion of this speech omitted from the typewritten proceedings.—*Editor.*]

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

shall belong to a pure and simple trades union. No member of this organization should be permitted to belong to a pure and simple trades union, unless they are some unfortunately who are compelled to belong to the job trust because otherwise they would have to lie down and starve. I am in favor of recommitting for this reason: it will simplify matters, otherwise we will be entangled in a mess of resolutions. Resolutions can be presented to the committee, the committee can do its work, and the convention can go to work and act.

Motion to recommit carried.

Resolutions were thereupon introduced as follows:

Delegate Sweeny: Resolved that the Platform of the Socialist Labor Party be printed in every issue of the press in larger type.

Delegate Bilsbarrow: A resolution providing for the establishment of an Organizer's Fund to be maintained by a membership tax of 10 cents per month, to be handled by the N.E.C.

Delegate Richter: Relative to constitutional provision for auditing committee to meet two days before the national convention, audit the books and report to the convention.

Delegate Leitner: Resolved that the Mileage Fund be abolished and that the respective states pay the mileage of their delegates to the national convention.

A delegate moved that we refer back to the nomination of candidates for the offices of president and vice-president. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I rise to nominate Charles H. Corregan as candidate for president.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I wish to place in nomination as candidate for president of the Socialist Labor Party Michael T. Berry of Massachusetts.

DELEGATE GAFFNEY: I wish to nominate John J. Kinneally of New York.

DELEGATE WILKE: Coming from the central states as I do, I wish to place in nomination the name of William Bilsbarrow of Missouri. I believe that the logical candidate is one that can be sent out to all quarters of the country from a central point, and in other qualifications, I believe Comrade Bilsbarrow is qualified for the office.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

On motion the nominations were closed.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: While I thank the comrade for placing me in nomination, I wish to decline, because I want to see an older man at the head of the ticket, a man of more experience that I have had.

Motion was made that we proceed to nominate by ballot.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I offer the amendment that we elect by roll-call.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I am opposed to an election by roll-call. To begin with, this is a serious matter. While, on the face of it, we recognize that every delegate will have the firmness and strength of mind, regardless of whether that candidate comes from his state or not, to vote for his choice, I believe, at the same time, that the ballot system is the fairest. It leaves no impression upon any one's mind that shouldn't be there; we don't know whether a delegate is in favor of a candidate or not. Have a ballot and select a candidate, the one that gets the absolute majority.

DELEGATE MEYER: Does he fear anybody, or does anybody fear anybody? By God we are men, representatives of the working class, we stand responsible for what we do, and the roll-call is the proper method.

DELEGATE DE LEE: I am surprised at the position of Comrade Duffy—that there should be a delegate here who would take the position that Comrade Duffy takes. I have been taught, since I have been a member of the Party that everything this organization does is open and above board, a vote on any question, and for that reason I believe that this is the only proper way to conduct our proceedings, and that every man should vote open and above board.

Motion to vote by roll-call carried.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I certainly appreciate the honor conferred on me to-day, to be nominated, but I am not prepared to be the candidate and at first I thought I would decline, but, recognizing the honor, I allow my name to stand. Before the vote is taken, I wish to declare myself. Against the two candidates I stand, in my estimation, inferior, and while I hold on an equal stand Comrade Corregan and Comrade Berry in honor and integrity of the men

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

and as far as ability goes to stand before the working class; but I hope you, comrades, will cast your ballot for Charles H. Corregan from New York, because, so far as I am concerned, I recognize that he is the best man to fit the position.

Roll was called, giving Corregan 27, Berry 9 and Kinneally 2.

It was moved to make the nomination unanimous. (Carried unanimously.)

A speech being called for by the delegations, Corregan took the platform and spoke as follows:

“Fellow workers, delegates and comrades of the Socialist Labor Party. That this convention of the Socialist Labor Party differs from the conventions of the Democratic, Republican and all of the capitalist parties is evident from the fact that the least important of their duties in gathering here seems to be the selection of a man who will represent them in the election that is to come before us. We have heard arguments of considerable length on points of constitution, of principle, of tactics—we have heard discussion pro and con on facts of more vital importance, but, when it came to nominating your candidates there were no speeches or flights of oratory, you considering that the candidate would simply be a servant to represent your principles. I consider in this campaign, if I am a candidate of the Socialist Labor Party, it is simply because the Socialist Labor Party, through me, seeks to control the government for their class, to emancipate that class. My voice in that office will be simply the voice of an individual member of that party. For I know that if I refused to execute the will of the Socialist Labor Party you would put me so far beneath the surface of public opinion that never a bubble would rise to indicate the spot where I went down. (Applause.) As your candidate, I stand fairly and squarely, open and above board, upon the platform and declarations of the Socialist Labor Party. Having rounded out my tenth year of activity in that movement, I can feel proud of my record in the past, because no man who has been in a questionable light can secure an office at your hands. The times move so fast that we cannot give representatives a second trial. Once they prove incapable or untrustworthy, they must take a back seat and untried men must come to the front and indicate whether they can do the work or not. To myself individually, this is simply an endorsement of my action since 1894, since I joined the Party. As a representative of the Socialist Labor Party the task is an easy one, compared with the tasks of the capitalist politicians. They must find out what their masters, with varied interests, want; but on this platform I must stand, or stand as a misrepresenter of the working class movement of America. I stand as a man who represents my class

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

and the interests of my class. Let my speech to-day be as short as the nominating speeches. You didn't put me in nomination by any flights of oratory, or tell why the people should vote for me. Any man is good enough to stand as the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party if he is a member of the working class and stands true to the members of that class. It is true that some, better than many others, can voice the sentiments of that class, but I claim that any man can represent that party as well as I do, and is just as much entitled to your support, because, if they can represent you on the field and in the propaganda work, they can stand as the candidate of your party, and if they cannot, it is because an unjust system has deprived them of the opportunities that should be given to every man that is born. In representing the Socialist Labor Party, I stand for the interests of my own family and myself. I cannot raise myself in this system, and my selfish interests drive me to stand for the emancipation of my class, and your selfish interests, carried out to their logical conclusion, force you to unite with me."

DELEGATE WILKE: For vice-president, I nominate William Bilshaw.

DELEGATE BERRY: I second the nomination of Comrade Bilshaw.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I rise to nominate Michael T. Berry.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I was inclined to believe that we ought to have a man from the east and another from the west. But if we have men who have been tried and true it doesn't matter where they come from. We don't want to throw out any slush to the people as the Socialist Party did in Chicago. I say that the logical ticket for the Socialist Labor Party in this campaign is either Berry and Corregan or Corregan and Berry. And while I am on the floor I will decline the nomination.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: I wish to place in nomination that eloquent miner of Illinois, William W. Cox.

DELEGATE BERRY: Before the motion is put, I desire to say this: Under no circumstances would I accept the nomination. All of the delegates who accosted me upon the question of nomination, I told substantially this, that I don't want it, for the reason that I can be of more service in Massachusetts than I could be at the head of the ticket. I don't want to be hampered with any further responsibility.

It was moved, seconded and carried that the nomination of delegate Cox be made by acclamation.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Being called upon for a speech, Cox replied in the following words:

“Comrade Chairman and fellow delegates. As I am billed to speak at Cooper Union to-night, I will not make a speech here; I will simply state that I thank you for what you have done in placing this honor upon me. Being so young in the movement compared with the rest, I will say that so far as the nomination is concerned, I hadn’t thought of it, and I am agreeably surprised, and I feel that no honor ever was conferred upon me to equal this.”

Motion was made to adjourn to 1 p.m., sharp.

DELEGATE WILKE: I move that the session of the afternoon be an executive session, and that members of the Socialist Labor Party in good standing with the Party be admitted to the executive session upon the presentation of their dues cards, or if vouched for by members of the Socialist Labor Party in good standing.

DELEGATE DE LEE: It is pretty hard to keep track of who vouches for a visitor here, and afterwards what action could this party take? Would I be held responsible if I vouched for some one?

DELEGATE BERRY: I believe that the business that will be considered here by this convention is the business of the Socialist Labor Party, and I am one of those who hold to the belief that while my business is being considered I have a right to consider how it is being considered.

Motion carried.

Moved that we reconvene at 1.30 p.m., in executive session. (So ordered.)

AFTERNOON EXECUTIVE SESSION.

{Proceedings omitted from transcript.—*R.B.*}

SIXTH DAY—THURSDAY, JULY 7.

MORNING SESSION.

Meeting called to order at 9.00 a.m.

Delegate Passanno elected chairman and Delegate Kinneally vice-chairman.

Roll-call: Absent, Stevens, Bilsbarrow, Herrschaft, Corregan, Metzler, Brauckman, Walsh, Gilhaus, Kihn, Hammer, French and Olsen.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: I arise to a question of personal privilege. In any final vote on the continuance of the Party press I wish to go on record in the affirmative.

The page was reported absent and John T. Vaughn was elected temporary page.

DELEGATE BOHN: The Press Committee reports that its papers were left with those of the National Secretary, who has not arrived.

DELEGATE DE LEE: The Auditing Committee has looked over the books of the Daily People to some extent and finds the following donations:

Between July 1, 1900, and June 28, 1904	\$25,811.72
Total received on Loan Certificates	7,403.75
Total paid on Loan Certificate	<u>1,651.24</u>
Balance	5,752.51
Machinery Bought, R. Hoe & Co.	6,500.00
Paid on Account	<u>4,600.00</u>
Due on Account	1,900.00
Paid in Interest	721.28
Due in Interest	<u>114.00</u>
Due R. Hoe & Co.	2,014.00
Machines bought {from} Mergenthaler Co.	15,340.25
Paid on principal	<u>14,545.25</u>
Leaving a balance	804.00
Paid in interest	\$1,297.90
Owing in interest	216.90
Total debt to Mergenthaler Co.	1,020.90

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Total debt to Hoe & Co.	<u>2,014.00</u>
Grand Total, principal and interest	3,034.90

This committee has here a recommendation: this committee finds it utterly impossible to give this convention the proper kind of an audit of the books of the Daily People and the Labor News Company for the last four years. You will all recognize, to give this convention the proper kind of an audit the incomes and expenditures would have to be verified. These figures I have read to you are just taken as they are there. There has been no examination to find if this is correct; but, if we were to do that, it would take us two months, and we, therefore, bring in this recommendation, that this convention provide for the election of an auditing committee of five members, same to be chosen as follows: two members elected by Section New York and one each by Sections Westchester County and Richmond County, New York, and Hoboken, New Jersey, said committee to audit the books up to June 25th, 1904, and thereafter every six months, and report of such audits to be made to the National Executive Committee.

A delegate moved that the recommendation be referred to the Committee on Constitution.

DELEGATE DINGER: I would like to see added to that motion that this committee be instructed to insert that in the Constitution, and decide definitely what we want. If you wish to put that into the Constitution let us know.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Do you consider, from the investigation, that it is better to have a special auditing committee picked out from the surrounding counties, in preference to an auditing committee elected by the new National Executive Committee—which of the two do you think would be the better auditing committee? Doesn't that militate against our experience, that we want to have, for the sake of New York and for the sake of the outside members, a good deal more confidence in what is being done or in what has been done, and isn't this practically the same thing, whether the committee is in New York or in Hoboken. In the case the convention adopts the theory of having the N.E.C. elected as one member from each state, would not that be a better auditing committee?

DELEGATE DE LEE: The only idea that the committee has in having the books audited, and bringing this recommendation is

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

this: that those books have never been audited, have never been balanced up, by anybody in the last four years, and we want it done by somebody. If there is a National Executive Committee going to meet at the seat of the Party press from the different states, every six months, it won't be necessary to elect an auditing committee at all, that committee can act as an auditing committee, but the fact that the books have not been audited at all for the last four years shows that it should be done.

Motion to refer to the Committee on Constitution carried.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: As the figures which the committee has given us are just figures very briefly put, that we want to take back to our states and sections, and the expense of setting it up is practically nothing, I move that they be printed so that they may be distributed to the delegates. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE DUFFY: Regarding Rhode Island, I have heard it claimed that they have contributed to the Daily People, and that their fairs were next to New York's, and that the proceeds went to the Daily People. Now I didn't hear the committee mention them among the donations.

DELEGATE DE LEE: As far as the donation were concerned, there were none upon the books, not under the heading of donations. As to the loan certificates, we did not look over the individual holders of the loan certificates; we just figured up the loan certificates taken out and the ones paid back, and consequently I can't give you any statement.

DELEGATE DUFFY: The member of the committee says he finds nothing in the way of donations from Rhode Island. I would like to know what has become of that money. They held fairs there, which were very successful and I would like to know what has become of that money.

DELEGATE DE LEE: The only information that I can give is this: The only donations that are marked from concerts and picnics are from Section New York. They aren't all marked in the books "Section New York," but on account of the dates that they fell on, we inferred that they were from Section New York, otherwise there is no mention made of Rhode Island in any place under this heading.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: These donations have been acknowledged from time to time in The People, and if Rhode Island did not

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

see the acknowledgment of theirs, they should have demanded it at that time.

DELEGATE WILKE: I want to know why the N.E.C. did not fulfill its duty in auditing the books, and the Constitution demands.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE KEMP: I would like to ask the chairman of the Finance Committee if he could give us a report of the total indebtedness that is against the plant now?

CHAIRMAN: It was given yesterday by the Press Committee, in executive session.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: The books of the National Executive have been audited since the Party has been established, have been audited every six months. The committee didn't go into the Labor News Company.

Moved that the financial report of the Auditing Committee be received. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE DE LEE: That finishes the report of the Auditing Committee.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The Committee on Constitution can report some of our work. The main question we have considered so far, in the committee, was the question of the organization of the N.E.C., and among the other propositions, a proposition was submitted by Comrade De Leon. I will read to you the proposition as amended and recommended for adoption by the committee, and then suggest that we take it up clause-by-clause and act upon it:

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall consist of one member from each state organized with a state committee.

Section 2. The members of the National Executive Committee shall be elected by a general vote of the members of the Party in their respective states.

Section 3. Every candidate, before his name is submitted to a general vote, shall sign a pledge to support the Party, its principles, declared resolutions and tactics, such pledge to be filed with the National Secretary.

Sec. 4. The term of office of the members of the National Executive Committee shall be one year.

Sec. 5. Any member of the National Executive Committee shall be removable at will, either,

a. Upon the application of the sections of his own state, made to their state committees and ratified by referendum vote of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

membership of the state, or,

- b. Upon the application of three state committees, made to the National Executive Committee and ratified by a referendum vote of the whole membership of the Party.

Sec. 6. The National Executive Committee shall meet twice a year in Regular Session on the first Sunday of January and July, or, in Special Session, upon the written call, sent to the National Secretary and published in the National Organ, of at least one-third of its members, pledging themselves to attend.

Sec. 7. Five members shall constitute a quorum for the Regular Session of the National Executive Committee. One-third of the members shall constitute a quorum for a Special Session.

Sec. 8. The sessions, Regular and Special, of the National Executive Committee shall be held at the National Headquarters of the Party.

Sec. 9. No member of the National Executive Committee shall, at the same time, be a member of a State Committee, or hold any other National Office.

Sec. 10. The National Executive Committee shall elect a sub-committee for the purpose of carrying on the executive work of the Party during the time intervening between the sessions of the National Executive Committee; said sub-committee to act on its behalf in conjunction with the National Secretary, and subject to the instructions and control of the National Executive Committee, and the latter shall elect all other local committees and officers at the National Headquarters that it may deem necessary.

Sec. 11. The whole, or any part of the above-mentioned sub-committee is at any time subject to recall by a majority vote of the National Executive Committee, adopted while in session or by written communication.

Sec. 12. The sub-committee may at will of the National Executive Committee be chosen from the membership of the sections located within a two hours' ride from the National Headquarters.

Sec. 13. The sub-committee shall be composed of fifteen members.

Moved that we concur.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The principle is not changed by the amendment of the committee. There are only some minor changes. The committee is a national committee. Section New York might be stuck upon its representative, but the rest of the Party could unseat him. During the discussion of this convention yesterday, particularly the last words uttered by Comrade Richter contained all of the reasons that I have been realizing all of the inconvenience of. Delegate Richter said that there was not enough confidence. Take

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

that letter to Minkley, an otherwise good member; I am sure that if he had been here he would have kicked himself before he would have written such a letter. He would have realized that our anxiety to keep it up is out of our conviction that the Daily People is a potentiality {potent ally?}. The so-called Henry George movement went to the dogs for the reason that there was not such a daily. A moment like that comes up and it demands its paper, and if we have to start then with building our plant, we might as well give it up absolutely. Considering the present N.E.C., its supervision over The People, I would request any delegate to put to himself the question, suppose that he has worked all day at his trade, and then he is called upon to say whether an article should be published or not. I have refused it publication. He comes with a certain fund of confidence, and when I give him some reasons why it should be refused, he accepts them as a matter of course. So it is said, of what use is an appeal to the National Executive Committee, I control the committee. That condition grows out of the old method of constituting the committee, and it cripples us. The Editor must not have autocracy, because, in the measure that he has, he is weak. He must have a committee over him, and have a committee that is a committee and not a committee such as we have to-day. Upon this system being adopted, all these difficulties are removed. I know that there will be objected to this the matter of expense. This is the one point on which Kuhn and I cannot agree. I have noticed that all men who handle finances develop a bump of desiring a bold reserve; an officer in charge of funds immediately develops that. Kuhn being human has developed that feature too, and when anything is suggested to him he sees "expenses." The Kanglet affair has cost us \$5,000. I believe I can prove it has cost us that much. Would it cost us \$5,000 to have an organization such as this establishes? I feel confident that Curran, Eberle or any of them would have thought many times before they would have said there was autocracy if their states could have sent members to the National Executive Committee. By our constitution we furnished those men with a handle. There was a color of truth to what Pierce, Curran and all those people said. In discussion, every one who makes a discussion wants to prevail, and if a man is defeated continually he accumulates a hatred, and if there is naturally the impression that there is autocracy in the editorial management, that impression will naturally be used by those who have an axe to grind.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I agree in the fullest extent with

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

what Comrade De Leon has said. My own experience in the N.E.C. is this: I recognize that committees getting together close to three times a month, I have seen in that committee that my mind was on the time that I wanted to get to work in the morning, and that I could not give due deliberation to the articles before me, and I have seen other men so tired out that they would fall asleep. I hope that this recommendation of the committee will be adopted, then we will have men who will come, not tired out but fresh, with all the vigor of manhood, ready to deliberate in a proper manner, with time to do it in. We have been there until three o'clock in the morning. Just think of a man working all day and sitting up in committee until three o'clock.

DELEGATE BOHN: I think that, if we are going to have such a committee, we might as well call a special convention every time that committee comes together. If you demand only seven or five as a quorum, there is no responsibility, for one five would come together this time and the next time five others; there would be no continuity. Furthermore, if you have a committee of twenty-one, you don't want them all to come together every time. You only want seven or eight, but you will get them all. Perhaps Wisconsin or some other state is worrying a little, and another state is worrying too, and all want their representation there. If you have the twenty-one and a certain motion is coming before the committee, which is important and it is voted down three to two, the next time the minority will be anxious to get some more of their kind there, and the majority will have to get theirs there. I believe in responsibility and centralization in an organization, but, in this case cannot there be some wise compromise. This form of N.E.C. not being satisfactory, we wish to jump to the other extreme, to have practically a convention every six months. The larger committee must meet, if it is a larger committee, if it wants to do its work. I will move a substitute for that clause only of this resolution which refers to the members and their place and their distribution: Resolved that the N.E.C. be composed of seven members, three from New York City, one from New England, one from New York state, (resident outside New York City), one from New Jersey, one from Pennsylvania. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE LEITNER: There was a resolution before this body, emanating from the state of Missouri, and they wanted five from five different states, and that, in my opinion is better than to give New York City three. This committee could meet twice a month or

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

once a month.

DELEGATE WILKE: I believe that this amendment virtually nullifies the intention of the original resolution, it virtually embodies that from which we are trying to get away to-day. The amendment takes four members of that committee of seven right out of the state of New York. The object was to command the confidence of the outside membership, for that reason I hope that this amendment will not prevail. As Comrade De Leon has well stated, in centering our committee in New York, we are penny wise and pound foolish.

DELEGATE DE LEON: There is something in what Delegate Bohn says, but the point is this, with a committee of this sort, it is obvious that those five men are going to be there not once from New England and next from somewhere else. The objection of lack of continuity falls in view of the fact that it is safe to say that the representatives from the adjoining states will be there. But, relative to the whole committee coming, haven't you realized how foolish it is for the Socialist Labor Party to have its conventions only once in four years? Haven't you thought how absurd it is for such a party as ours?

DELEGATE BERRY: I rise to amend the amendment. I move that the N.E.C. be made up of one delegate from each of the following states: New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Would your proposition permit of the addition of two circuits to elect two additional members from the rest of the states, making the committee seven?

DELEGATE BERRY: I will accept that.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: It seems to me that Comrade De Leon's former explanation overcomes the objection embodied in this amendment. Comrade De Leon expressed the opinion that logically the delegates from those five states would attend these committee meetings. Now if that is true, why not let that carry and in addition have every state have representation upon that committee? You are limiting and wiping out some of the advantages which come with Comrade De Leon's original proposition, for I am afraid that amendment will not straighten it out.

DELEGATE BOHN: I just wish to suggest that the mover of the amendment include that one of the circuits be from the district west of the Mississippi River, excluding Minnesota, and the other from the district east.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I wish to offer as a substitute: Sec. 2. The N.E.C. shall consist of one member from each state organized with a state committee: that gives the privilege to states that are unable to have a member at the N.E.C. to form circuits and send members. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: I cannot permit this to go through without my objection. If you permit the states of the West to form circuits, what shall constitute the circuits? Unending quibbling and disorganization of those voluntary circuits must result. I think this convention has been elected to do this work and establish these circuits.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I rise to a point of order, that the delegate is speaking to a motion that has been passed. (Ruled to be well taken.)

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I desire to speak. The cost of bringing together a committee under this motion will be almost equal to the cost of a national convention, to begin with. If you have got the confidence of the members of the S.L.P., five states are sufficient to transact that business. I call for a rising vote on Section 2.

Vote retaken: 24 in favor of adoption, 8 opposed.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I move to reconsider the second paragraph. (Seconded.)

Eight in favor and twenty-five against.

Sec. 4. That the term of office shall be one year. (Adopted.)

Sec. 5. Any member of the National Executive Committee shall be removable at will, either,

- a. Upon the application of two sections of his own state, made to their state committees and ratified by referendum vote of the membership of the state, or,
- b. Upon the application of three state committees, made to the National Executive Committee and ratified by a referendum vote of the whole membership of the Party.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The word "circuits" should be inserted with the word "state" so as to read "two sections within one state or circuit."

Motion was made to concur.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE METZLER: I don't think that the word "circuit" very well fits in here, because, every state has the right to elect a delegate if it has the means to pay; the circuit is a temporary one.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: When the states or the circuits elect members to the committee, that means that their term of office shall be one year.

DELEGATE CHASE: I offer the amendment that the words: "two sections of his own state" be substituted by the words: "one-third of the sections within his state or circuit." I offer this because, in a state consisting of three sections, it would take a two-thirds majority of the sections to initiate where it would require only a simple majority to decide.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: We spent more time on this matter than on anything else. In such a state as Chase bases his objection upon, the member of the N.E.C. must belong to one of those sections. Now I know that the members of the S.L.P. are human beings, and if this member of the N.E.C. was to have a personal quarrel with the other members in that section, it would be taken to the membership of the state. So we decided that in the S.L.P. if there was any reason for removing a member from the N.E.C., they could get the assistance of two sections.

Amendment was withdrawn.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I don't see the reason for circuits removing their delegates. Each state is supposed to elect its member of the N.E.C., each can send its delegate. Why then provide for the removal by the circuits?

Motion carried.

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: Can the circuit select one or must each state elect a delegate?

THE CHAIRMAN: The circuit may elect one.

DELEGATE BERRY: I move the meeting consent for Richter to make a resolution to discuss the reconstruction of the N.E.C. I desire to state this; I am satisfied, from what has passed here, that we have an elephant on our hands. You can't set that thing in motion.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I hope that, by the light of the introduc-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

tion of that circuit idea, which we find affects the whole, the delegates will vote to reconsider.

Vote 32 in favor and 5 against. (Carried.)

Sec. 1. The National Executive Committee shall consist of one member from each state organized with a state committee.

DELEGATE BERRY: I offer the amendment that the N.E.C. be made up of one member from each of the following states: New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and two members at large to be elected by two circuits to be later defined by the Committee on Constitution.

DELEGATE BOHN: I am very glad that we reconsidered, because a great deal of discussion and a thorough consideration will enable us to reach the most advisable conclusion. I think that Comrade Berry's amendment, which embodies the best features of all the other amendments and propositions, which gives representation to every part of the county, which will centralize power and at the same time give to each constituency a voice in the Party; I think it cannot be improved upon. I do not think that the members west of the Mississippi ought to have more than one delegate. Nor do I think we need to go on making amendments until we have an amendment that the amendment to the amendment be amended to read, and substitutes for the whole! And if we adopt the original proposition with provision for voluntary circuits, it will go on for a year and cause all kinds of tangles, and then we will have to have a national convention to get us out of a fix. I, for one, give up my original idea and say that this is better, and I hope that every member of the convention will have the breadth of mind to stand for this.

DELEGATE BERRY: With me it is not a question of locality. I have already said that you can get such an unwieldy committee that it cannot act. The bulk of the membership resides in the states of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, both in point of numbers and geographically. There is the other feature to it; there is not one of those delegates but who is within a five-dollar ride of New York, and for myself, I do not believe in wasting the ammunition of the Party. I believe that this is a representative committee. It represents the bulk of the membership, and unless you are attempting to engraft upon the Party

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

some patent hobby, what better can you ask?

DELEGATE BRENNAN: It is well for the S.L.P. to consider carefully matters of this kind. Many of us here have had experience in organization and we should profit by our past experience; if not, what will become of the Socialist Labor Party? We have seen that, by a committee understanding the necessity of the organization, that the business of the Party that is left to them to attend to or before them to investigate, a small committee can much better handle the business than a large committee. There has been time wasted waiting for a member of the committee. It would be necessary, after this referendum vote is taken, to call all those representatives to the National Executive Committee together to make rules to govern that National Organization, to subdivide that committee, in order that the business of the S.L.P. could be enacted. And, even if you act, would the results be any better? This is a movement of the working class, and it matters not to me whether a member of the N.E.C. comes from one state or another, while he understands and recognizes the interest of the working class, it is sufficient for me, and I hope that this convention will go forth with the experience they have had in the past.

DELEGATE RICHTER: I move a substitute for the whole, that the committee consist of seven members which are to be elected from seven circuits of the states, which are to be made up by geographical location, guided by the membership therein.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: I take it that in discussing the substitute, reference can be made to the other resolutions. I hold that the original method is most feasible. I hold that, with the original resolution, any states can form circuits without any amendment to that resolution. Suppose three states want to send one delegate, they can themselves vote as to which member of the committee from those states they shall send. No amendment to the original resolution is required at all. Now we recognized, when we first discussed this question, that, logically, the committee will be composed from just those states which Comrade Berry wishes it to be composed of, under this original resolution, but, if a state, or section of the country is not satisfied with the work of the committee, they can send a delegate.

DELEGATE BERRY: I desire to say this on Richter's motion. I would like to see the West represented, if it was possible to do it without wasting our energy or sacrificing the good of the movement. But it is not what we would like to see. It is what we must

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

do. We ought to look at a plan, when we urge it, and see how it will operate. This circuit plan that Richter's motion presupposes {proposes?}—at many meetings of this committee some of those delegates will not be present; something may be done, then there will be a reconsideration of the whole thing. What we ought to do is to look at this thing in the light of getting a committee that will transact the business of the Party, and that will represent the largest number of members possible; for that reason I oppose Comrade Richter's motion, not because I don't want the West represented. It was not a question of locality at all, but it is a question of cost.

DELEGATE BOHN: Regarding Comrade Richards' statement, that is the only logical argument, feasibility will be secured. It is not feasibility we want; it is definiteness. It is definite, iron-clad organization, so that we may know where we are. At one time I defended such a proposition, but now I admit that Comrade Berry's proposition is better.

DELEGATE WILKE: Yesterday, in discussion {discussing?} a matter that was of vital importance to the Party, we argued that at some time we would have to start a daily paper if we left this one go, and we must keep it going at any cost. Recognizing the fact that we are going on, why not make a step in the right direction, and make the committee a representative committee, as it should be. I believe that the motion of Comrade Richter will not prevail.

DELEGATE DINGER: I just wish to call attention to one point that the circuit problem would involve. If you are to elect these delegates to the National Executive Committee, you will have to have circuit organizations in place of state organizations. That implies a reorganization of the whole party. If you wish to amend the proposition of the committee to form circuits, you have two propositions to provide for. The whole country will have to be reorganized into circuits.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I want to speak against both the substitute of Richter and the amendment of Berry. I hold that instead of an improvement of our present arrangement, it is a step backward, not exactly as far back as before the Kangaroo uprising, but in that direction. In 1900 we laid down the line that the committee should be elected and every member of the Party could vote. The members outside of New York had nothing to say as to who should serve there and who should not. The adoption of the substitute of Comrade Richter and the amendment of Comrade Berry limits the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

thing, and excludes members of states. It will create classes within our organization. I believe with the original resolution, that the states that may not desire to send representatives may have the right to form circuits.

DELEGATE LEITNER: If the N.E.C. don't work according to what you think they ought to do, you have the power to call a national quorum, consisting of one-third of the delegates of each state having a state committee.

DELEGATE COX: The original covers the whole ground, giving each state the privileges of electing a representative, and if that state has the means and is prepared to support that committeeman and send him, they have the privilege to do it; and it seems to me that of all the states, the Eastern states had not ought to oppose the original proposition.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I am for the original proposition, because the committee has threshed it out, and we have had all the fight there. I don't believe the Party is so poor as you would have us believe. If you adopt that original proposition, allowing each state to have a man upon the N.E.C. you then have made a radical change in the S.L.P., you have thrown off the sectarian character and taken on the character of a political party. By merely changing the formation, you have enlarged the diocese. The states don't all have to send their men there every time if matters are running along smoothly; but every state, when it is required should be given the privilege of sending a man to that meeting.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: I am in favor of the original recommendation. If I thought for a moment that the Socialist Labor Party of the United States was going to stand still and make no progress and not build up throughout the country, why, it would seem that it would be useless for us to go any further. But, if we prepare the framework of a party, the states will wake to the necessity of building up their organizations. Now, I believe that the states aren't so poor, as Comrade Bilsbarrow has well put it, as some make them out to be, in an opportunity is given them to build up their organizations to the standard that the working class conditions of that state demand, I believe that every state will be able to send a member to this body.

DELEGATE DE LEON: We have before us the following propositions: first, the proposition that is recommended by the committee, to elect one delegate from each state, and that five shall constitute a quorum for a regular session, and that special sessions can

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

be called upon the demand of one-third of the committee. Second is the proposition for the election of five members from five states and two from circuits; then the Richter proposition that proposes seven circuits. Now, in order to decide which one to take, we have to look at all of them together. The Berry proposition has one good feature, it defines the number that will come. If the original proposition is taken that feature cannot get in. While it attempts to remove some of the bad features of the original, it leaves them untouched. It is obvious that under the original proposition the circuit system will exist anyhow, without the complications that arise the moment we use the word "circuits." In Berry's proposition three-fourths of what the original proposition contemplates are left out. The states are smitten with the blight of incapacity. If they are considered fit to send a man here, let them be recognized. If they have not the cash, let them correspond and stir their stumps.

The time having arrived for the presentation of resolutions, a motion was made to suspend the rules and go on with the discussion. (Carried.)

DELEGATE GOERKE: Let us divide the question: organization and finances. There are only two positions we can arrive at. We cannot reach a compromise. It must be as it is now or a national representation must be provided for in the committee. Which is the better one? To make a general representation is a better one. Speaking along the line of the motion of Berry, why do we want to change the method of organization? To shut the door in the future to the fight we had in the past? Suppose we adopt the position of Comrade Berry, the result might be the same as to renew the present organization. It seems almost impossible to stand for the old proposition, I, therefore, stand for the original motion.

DELEGATE BERRY: In the making of this motion, nothing was provided for, except the districts from which the committeemen were to be elected. I intended to move later that this convention provide for the election of that committee by a referendum vote throughout the whole nation. A comrade has mentioned correspondence. My experience in Massachusetts is that you might just as well try to get a thought out of Julius Caesar as try to get a letter out of a member of the S.L.P. I would like to have all the democracy in the world, but I am circumscribed. There are other things we must provide for, and if you adopt the original proposition, I

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

think you will defeat the very thing you are looking for, namely, organization. Later, when you come to the question of how this thing will be arranged, I will offer a motion to elect them by the whole party.

DELEGATE RICHTER: There is only one, or, in fact, no argument made against the substitute for the whole. The idea is to have representation all over the country.

SECRETARY KUHN: I am somewhat at a disadvantage. I had to go to the bank and when I came the discussion was in full blast, and I could not make out what is before the house. I heard a comrade say that the entire party should pay the expenses of the meeting of such a committee. Theoretically it is so, but who would raise the money? The N.E.C. which must raise so much money for other purposes? Comrade De Leon and I have talked this matter over any number of times, and I have never been convinced that it is possible for the S.L.P. to have such an organization of the N.E.C. with the organization of the S.L.P. we have to-day.

DELEGATE BOHN: I have computed that every time you bring this committee together in session it will cost \$600.

Previous question was moved and carried.

Richter amendment lost by 29 to 3.

Berry amendment lost by 23 to 12.

Recommendation of the committee carried by 27 to 10.

Delegate Brennan offered the resolution: Resolved that we adopt *Roberts' Rules of Order* and it be so inserted in the Constitution.

DELEGATE BOHN: The Mileage Committee will pay the delegates their mileage this afternoon.

On motion the convention adjourned to 1:30 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

July 7, 1904

Roll-call: Absent, Richards, Friesema, Walsh, Gilhaus, Kihn, French and Olsen.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: You have just concurred in the committee's recommendation as to where the members of the N.E.C. shall be elected from. We will go on with the N.E.C.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Sec. 2 adopted.

Sec. 3 adopted.

Sec. 4. read.

Moved to concur.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I oppose a one-year term. Workingmen move so often, they will be changing. It ought to be four years.

DELEGATE MEYER: It seems to me that we are too much afraid of getting men that cannot do the work. It has been heard as an argument four years ago. If they do move away, what is the use of making it four years? They will move away and you will get new men any way. I don't believe in having it four years. If you want a man out you can remove him, then you must go through all the red tape. So, therefore, make it so the rank-and-file can express its opinion. Make action as easy as possible if you want to go to work and have an organization based upon democratic principles.

DELEGATE BOLAND: I approve of the resolution as it stands, and am opposed to amendment, because, in case we find a man thoroughly qualified, he will be elected to succeed himself year after year as long as the Party wants him.

Motion carried.

Sec. 5 adopted.

Sec. 6 adopted.

Sec. 7 adopted.

Sec. 8 adopted.

Sec. 9 read.

Moved to concur.

DELEGATE WILKE: Would that be construed to bar a delegate to the national convention?

CHAIRMAN: I would hold not.

DELEGATE MEYER: Would that include an ex-officio member of the S.E.C., that is, the state secretary? He simply has a voice there, and explains communications he gets.

DELEGATE DE LEON: These clauses are not arbitrary. If a person, as a member of the state committee, presents something to himself, which he thereupon carries to the N.E.C., and thence to the national convention, he refers it to a higher body of which he is a member.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Motion carried.

Sec. 10 adopted.

Sec. 11 adopted.

Sec. 12 adopted.

Sec. 13 adopted.

On recommendation of the committee, Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of Article V of the old constitution are stricken out.

Sec. 7 the committee recommended the readoption of.

DELEGATE WILKE: Is clause g. interpreted to mean the Party's press?

CHAIRMAN: That includes the whole of matters financial.

DELEGATE WILKE: I noticed this morning by the report of Kinneally, that the N.E.C. did not include it.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: It is the intent of the committee that it includes all.

Sections 7, 8, and 9 were readopted.

Fraternal Delegate Kemp asked to be excused, as his time was up. (Granted.)

National Secretary informed the convention that, if we were to meet again to to-morrow it would be necessary to secure the hall in advance.

Moved that we secure the hall for tomorrow. (Carried.)

Moved that we hold a night session in the meeting room of Section New York, in the Daily People Building. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The committee has certain propositions sent in by delegates and state organizations relative to the constituting of the N.E.C. Shall we report upon those to this convention?

Moved that all matters that conflict with what has already been adopted be filed. (Carried.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: I call from that committee a proposition limiting the powers of the National Executive Committee and other officers.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: No member of the National Executive Committee, nor any other National Officer, nor any of their subal-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

terns, shall have the power to raise any loan or loans or otherwise incur any liability on the Party.

DELEGATE DE LEON: In the absence of such a clause, we are all liable in Court for judgments against the Party. As the cases now stand, if this convention does not adopt a constitutional clause of that sort, then when Kuhn or any other member of the N.E.C. raises funds every single member of the Party is liable and the courts have so held upon that subject. The chances of a party member getting his money back remain just as good, but if he turns against the Party, he cannot then turn around and do us as these men, these little kangas are trying to do. We forfeit nothing and gain much. As it stands, every single party member is responsible. If you have money, they can levy upon you.

Motion was made to adopt the resolution. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: You will remember that you decided at one of the previous sessions to recommit the matter of three-fourths wage earners. Your committee agreed to recommend the original clause, taking in the amendments of Wilke and Johnson, making it the wage-working class.

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I want to get this before the house. So I offer as an amendment that three-fourths be required to be of the wage working class, except in agricultural districts. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I realize the philosophy, the position taken by this body. You want to be protected that the middle class shall not override {overrun?} your organization and get control of it, and I assure you that none of you are more anxious than I am, myself. Knowing something of the middle of the roaders, I can see the possibility and probability of such a movement arising in the agricultural states again. I will admit that in that state where the labor unions went in with us, we did override them. Yet, at the same time, I believe that the Party will be benefited by having a provision for the organization of those districts. Now, this covers it, I think. It protects the organization in the wage-working class districts and it also gives an opportunity to organize the rural districts.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I am opposed o the amendment, but I am just as much opposed to the motion. The more I listen to it the more it comes into my mind that so far from protecting the Party, we would involve ourselves in the most helpless {hopeless?} tangle

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

ever imagined. We have here in this convention drawn up a platform thoroughly expressing the class struggle. Is it imaginable that such a platform is going to draw the middle class reformers? Now imagine what we come into if we adopt this clause in our constitution. No section shall have less than three-fourths wage workers. We have one-fourth middle class members. Here comes a member of the middle class and we tell him he must wait until one of the middle class in our section dies, though he may be a better man than some of the middle class members we already have in the Party. Then suppose something happens, that one of our working people cannot make a living, he starts a little shop. He becomes a business man. The first thing when you adopt such a paragraph, you have got to establish a statistical bureau to keep track of your members going back and forth from the working class to the middle class.

DELEGATE {L.A.} BOLAND: I have been taught from my connection with the Socialist Labor movement to learn that the environment of everybody shapes their character. I hold, to be true to the class struggle and the platform and the general movement, that this movement should be a movement of the working class. I can only compromise the three-fourths proposition on the ground that they have helped me financially. In all my observations, I have arrived at the conclusion that a bourgeois is a bourgeois in this movement or out of this movement. I am unalterably opposed to anything but a wage-worker in this movement. I cannot compromise this three-fourths proposition. Furthermore, I have no patience to waste on the small farmer. The middle class man is a labor skinner, and as he is in the exploitation of labor, I don't see how we can have him in the ranks of our movement. I can't understand it.

DELEGATE LUEDECKE: We appeal in our platform to all honest citizens to join the movement. I don't believe that we should draw a restriction there, which is of no consequence at all.

DELEGATE WILKE: The bone of contention seems to be that the bourgeois is dishonest. The bourgeois forces me to be dishonest three hundred days in the year. Consequently that argument don't hold. The moment that you sell commodities you are forced to resort to trickery.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: All of the argument that has been adduced here in favor of the middle {class?} has been a plea to sentiment. Here we are, a working class political organization. We re-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

alize that there are men who are not of the working class who may see the trend of events and come into the Party. But, if there are any sections that have to be reorganized if this paragraph goes through, then the sooner they are wrecked the better. These middle class noblemen, if they want to help this movement, why don't that {they?} take the stand of a man, that Reinstein takes. He says that, even though you put a clause in the constitution that bars him, he will still give all his support to the S.L.P. Why don't they talk like that, not this weak effeminate gush?

DELEGATE MEYER: Any sensible person knows that you can never expect the middle class as a class to be with us. We may find exceptional cases where men that belong to the middle class may be class conscious, where they will be for the working class, and we cover these exceptions. I don't know how true it is, but I have been told that the Populists decided to join the Socialist Labor Party. It has been told me any way. If this is the case we should have such a provisions, and if it is not the case now, we don't know how soon it may be the case. Be sure that you guarantee your future. Working men don't allow any middle class sentiment to carry you off your feet here. There have been remarks made that there are dishonest men in the ranks of the working class. Right in the trades union they sell out the working class, but we bar them out of our Party. The average middle class man's interest being antagonistic to ours, we have reason to suspect him.

DELEGATE HAMMER: Though a physician, and by my position, perhaps classed as a middle class man, I sincerely hope that the motion and the amendment will not prevail. Logic and consistency leads us either to allow absolutely no middle class men whatsoever, or to maintain the status as it is to-day. Imagine a statistical bureau, as Comrade Johnson says. I, myself, welcomed the movement of the S.T. and L.A. in keeping out members of the middle class. But we must take a stand manfully, either that we don't want the middle class in the S.L.P., or we must let in as many as are willing to take our position.

DELEGATE FRENCH, S.T. and L.A.: I hold we have no need to go into such a long discussion at all. We are just in this position: we should do as we did in the S.T. and L.A. or leave it as it is. If we would act with this organization as we did in the S.T. and L.A., say all members shall be wage-workers, I would like to see it so. Any one who knows me, knows that there is no one in the movement who has greater contempt for the middle class as a class than I

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

have. While I don't wish to repeat, anybody knows that we have nothing to fear, that no one in the middle class intended to make a bolt for the S.L.P., and we don't need to care a snap about the farmers or any one else. The time has not arrived when we will have to call for the wage workers to line up and fight the capitalists on the physical plane. By the time that time arrives, we will have no one but wage workers in the Party. It is not worth our while to waste so much time bothering over this question.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Standing practically in the same boat with Hammer, I cannot help taking a stand exactly opposite from the one he took. I would vote with them against the proposition, if it were not for the tendency to the times. We must consider the situation as it is likely to develop before the next national convention. We know that there is a disintegration going on in the Social Democratic party. We know what is going on in the Democratic Party. We must consider all those things, and we must not be guilty of closing the barn after the horse has been stolen. When they attempted to close the door at the Chicago convention of the Socialist Party it was too late.

DELEGATE RICHARDS: There seems to be some technical objection to this proposition, but, when it becomes incorporated in the Constitution, as I think it will, and as I favor, I think it will be reasonably interpreted. I think that, in the interpretation, the section will take the reasonable course and wait until sufficient members of the working class come in before admitting any more middle class men. Therefore I favor this report, but it does seem that there is something in the argument of our comrade from Minnesota, While we cannot throw down the bars to the upper class, it seems to me that the Party ought to consider if there is a distinction between the capitalists and the farmer who owns the farm on which he works.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I believe the constitution should be explicit. There is no necessity of adding any more than is absolutely necessary. The N.E.C. has the power to suspend any section or state found guilty of disloyalty. I would regard it as inconsistent in this organization, after adopting a platform such as we have, to say we are afraid of the whole gang, but we aren't afraid of about two-fifths. To be consistent you must either let them in or put the bar on them as in the case of the labor fakirs. I was in favor of excluding them on the ground that there were no honest men among them, but you have adopted a platform that invites them. As to

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

their doing with us as they did with the Kangaroos, when you have such an N.E.C., they cannot come in as they do in the Social Democratic Party. Here we have an organization of a different character. And the Populist party will stick to Watson; they believe in property as in the old system. But, to be consistent, you have invited them to join, you can't provide that they shall not join only in small quantities. You have your N.E.C., there is no use of putting another axe in our hands. I don't believe any organizer is going out organizing middle class men.

Previous question moved and lost by 26 in favor and 9 opposed.

DELEGATE COX: I don't understand by this call in the platform that it calls upon those people to join our organization of the S.L.P. I understand that that call is to assist us to support the platform. It has been a little more than a year since I consulted Comrade Richards upon this point, and we talked this matter over. Comrade Richards told me then that it would hurt him to have to get out of the Party, but he said if he was thrown out, he would work just the same. A man in Chicago, Fitzgerald, who knows De Leon, says "you don't want a man like me" because he belonged to the middle class. Another man in Chicago, one thoroughly convinced that the S.L.P. was the correct revolutionary movement, an ex-member of the S.P., said: "No, I shall not ask membership in the S.L.P. My place is on the outside." I take the position of Comrade Corregan, but add that this report, coming in as it does, is opening the door plenty wide enough. I demand a roll-call vote, to go in record as voting for this recommendation of the committee.

SECRETARY KUHN: I don't think it is a question of whether the door is open enough or not. It is just because a compromise position is sought to be taken that all of this wrangling is going on. As Corregan very correctly pointed out, our form of organization is such that the dangers that Reinstein referred to don't exist. The S.L.P. movement is absolutely protected at any time from any machinations of the middle class. The whole thing reminds me of the work of a man who sits down in the cellar and makes elaborate preparations against falling off the roof. There will always be a vast majority of the members of the S.L.P. members of the working class.

DELEGATE GAFFNEY: I don't think that we are in any danger from the middle class. I would like to see every member of the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

S.L.P. connect himself with the S.T. and L.A. That is why I nominated Kinneally yesterday for president, because I thought his going through the country would help to build up the S.T. and L.A.

DELEGATE DINGER: It seems to me that Kuhn has struck the nail on the head; the very fact of the amount of wrangling upon the question proves that it is no good. We have nothing to fear from the middle class coming in. I am heartily in favor of moving the previous question.

Previous question moved and carried.

Brandborg amendment unanimously lost.

The recommendation of the committee was lost upon the following roll-call vote being taken:

Ayes—Chase, Cox, Richards, Doyle, Stevens, Friesema, Meyer, Richter, Bilsbarrow, A.J. Boland, De Leon, Kinneally, Reinstein, L.A. Boland. {14}

Nays—Johnson, Berry, Brennan, Ruther, Sweeny, Bresnahan, Bohn, Brandborg, Herrschaft, Corregan, Gaffney, Metzler, Pasano, Luedecke, Brauckmann, Trainor, Hammer, Dinger, Goerke, Rehder, Duffy, Leitner, Mueller and Wilke. {24}

Some of the delegates recorded the reasons for their votes, as follows:

{Delegate} L.A. Boland: I vote for this motion, in view of the fact that no motion can be carried in this convention excluding the middle class altogether.

Delegate Leitner: I vote no for the simple reason I want the whole hog or none.

Delegate Wilke: It is not the attitude of the S.L.P. to compromise. They are to do one thing or another. Either exclude the middle class altogether or leave the thing as it stands.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I will allow my alternate to take my place, and ask to be temporarily excused. (Granted.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The Committee on Attitude towards Trades Unions is ready to report; we are ready to relinquish the floor.

DELEGATE BERRY: For the Committee on Attitude towards Trades Unions, I will say that we recommend to strike out the last paragraph of the resolution, as referred back to us, relative to the A.L.U., etc., and recommend the following:

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

By the light of these facts we renew the Party's declarations, made in 1896 and 1900, in congratulations of the birth of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. And we urgently impress upon the members of the Socialist Labor Party and all sympathizers the necessity of ceaseless propaganda in the interest of that body; and we expect of them that they will join the Local Mixed or Trade Alliances which may now exist in their several localities and do all that lies in their power to organize such Alliances where none now exist to the end that the working class of the land may be correctly organized on the economic field and the structure of the Socialist Republic may arise unhampered by the crumbling influence of the Gompers form of unionism, thus ending once and for all time such disgraceful happenings as have taken place in the field of Labor in this country under the guidance of the Gompers form of unionism—happenings which are calculated to strengthen the arm of the capitalist class in its work of Coolieizing the working class of the land, as has been instanced on numberless occasions, both on the part of the A.F. of L. and that caricature of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the American Labor Union, the conduct of which has resulted in the present Colorado outrages upon the working class.

Charles H. Corregan (Printer)
Chairman.

Michael T. Berry (Shoe Worker)
Secretary.

William W. Cox (Miner)

DELEGATE DUFFY: We didn't definitely state in 1896, nor in 1900, our attitude toward trades unions. I believe that the 1896 convention advocated workmen joining pure and simple trades unions, and I don't think that was repudiated in 1900. Notwithstanding that and notwithstanding a leaflet on that question, the Editor of *The People* said: no. It cannot be possible. In the *Burning Question of Trades Unionism* we find the Editor taking another ground; he advocates that where a trades union is not grounded upon the class struggle we should keep out. I want this thing settled definitely.

DELEGATE BERRY: I desire to state, for the benefit of Duffy, that he should take the time to look at this thing. It is a question to be determined when a man is dependent for a living upon a pure and simple trades union. How in the name of common sense is he going to determine this question. I do believe that this opening paragraph here covers just exactly what he is trying to get at. I am of a nature that I won't join a pure and simple trades union, under any circumstances.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE DE LEON: I take the floor to speak in favor of that proposed recommendation, and, in doing so, I wish to meet the objections of the delegate from Rhode Island. He made two objections, one was that this does not meet the case. The other argument I refer to is that about the contradictory attitude of the Editor of The People. Now, there is nothing easier than to take a man's action upon a general principle and his words against a particular enemy and discover an apparent inconsistency.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I hold the language of the resolution as read. As to the Western trades unions, by their very action what position do that {they?} take? Do they fight on class lines? No. They appeal to those in power, and take that Gompers attitude. This resolution was put in for the purpose of showing that that organization was not bona fide, but simply a caricature of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, just as the S.D.P. is a caricature of the real thing. There are men who act straight at certain times, but what is the general run. We show that this A.L.U. was sprung up as a caricature. It is not the real thing; it cannot be depended upon. When it finds it falls down before the capitalist class and the capitalist class turns against them, they appeal to the head of the capitalists' politicians.

DELEGATE DUFFY: As they interpret it, would this resolution shut out the boring from within, advocated in the Burning Question of Trades Unionism?

DELEGATE DE LEON: I have stated that they should bore in all ways. The S.L.P. declared in 1896 that we should carry the revolutionary spirit into the unions; simultaneously it endorsed the S.T. and L.A. If, after that, some one says we must bore from within only they are wrong. I can't possibly state all that will be asked under given conditions, but since you have been referring to the Burning Question of Trades Unionism address, the same expressions have been made right along for the last ten years. The only new thing in that address was the necessity of the economic feature for the accomplishment of the revolution. As to defining just in what manner we should always act, common sense has taught that no statute can be interpreted by a judge, except upon each case as it arises.

Moved and seconded that the paragraph be adopted. (Carried.)

Moved that we concur with the whole. (Carried.)

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The committee considered the proposition presented by the state of Rhode Island relative to the establishment of a National Committee on Appeals and Grievances, and recommends that it be not adopted.

Moved to concur. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: We have also considered the point recommitted to us covering the first section of Article II, and recommend this:

Sec. 1. Seven persons may form a Section, provided they acknowledge the Platform, Constitution and Resolutions of the Party and belong to no other political party. Not more than one charter shall be granted in any city or town, except in a city comprising a territory greater than a county, in which case not more than one charter shall be granted to each of such counties. But, where a part of a county falls inside of a city and a part outside of it, a charter may be granted to each of the towns and cities in the part of the county not included in such city.

Moved to concur. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: As to the proposition of Section Cleveland that Section 8, Article XI be stricken from the Constitution, that is the paragraph requiring candidates to sign a resignation, we recommend adversely.

Moved to concur.

DELEGATE GOERKE: It is of no use, when the candidate is elected his resignation don't amount to anything. It is ridiculous so far as the Socialist Labor Party is concerned.

DELEGATE FRENCH: The object of that resignation is to put a disloyal man where we have put James F. Carey. Here you have specific proof of the attitude of that man, a man who signs his name to a resignation and then deviates from the stand that the Socialist Labor Party expects him to take, and refuses to be controlled by that resignation, perjures himself. Then you can brand him as a double dyed traitor, and you have the proof of it.

DELEGATE RICHTER: Detroit instructed us to vote against the motion of Cleveland. It is true that a man cannot be fired out, but as a member of the legislature or any other office of our present

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

government, we take that other precaution. Corregan yesterday made the statement that this is an organization where when a man proves disloyal he will be buried so deep that not a bubble will rise. Having this resignation, you bring the case right to the point and force him to acknowledge that he has not come up to the pledge he gave when he accepted the nomination; and, therefore, I think that we should retain that clause.

DELEGATE DE LEON: This question turns up about five times month in *The People*. If an organizer is speaking, and he is asked: Will the Socialist Labor Party sell out? and he takes out his Constitution and reads that clause, that does not meet that question at all. The only guarantee we can have that a man whom we elect into office will not go crooked is the degree of intelligence that you may get together, so that if he goes crooked we will know the reason why. I think it is well worth the paper upon which it is written, providing you understand what it is good for. It has no standing in court; but it has standing in our court, the intelligence of the working people.

Motion to concur carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: We have the proposition submitted by Comrade Leitner, relative to foreign speaking branches. The matter was reconsidered by your committee, and we find that we can not report different upon the matter, the best we can do is simply to limit one section to one charter. We recommend adversely upon the resolution of Comrade Leitner.

On motion concurred in.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The delegate from Pennsylvania asks to reduce the number of members to form a section from ten to five. Seven has been adopted, and we report adversely upon this resolution too.

Concurred in.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The committee did not take any action on the Section 6 of Article II, regarding the right of members of the S.L.P. to hold office in the pure and simple trades unions. We recommend the convention to take it up as a body and decide it.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Moved that the recommendation of the committee, that it be taken up by the convention, be concurred in. (Carried.)

Moved that it be readopted as before. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE WILKE: The reason that Section Milwaukee instructed me to ask that this clause be stricken out was for the same reason that I voted in opposition to one of these compromises before. You permit a member to belong to the union, because his bread and butter depends upon it. He condemns the labor fakirs and gets the sympathy of the rank and file, but when that member is confronted with the situation: Why don't you take the office and do better? he says: I can't or I will be fired out of the S.L.P. You expect a member to act in accordance with his interest, and yet, in a strike, he is not permitted to take any active part. Furthermore, you convict a member before he has committed a crime. Has he gone back on the principles of the S.L.P.? I contend that, to be consistent with the attitude you have adopted, you must bar them from going into the trades unions. Furthermore, you must force them to join in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

DELEGATE BERRY: I hope that that clause will be retained. And as to allowing member of the Party to be members of the pure and simple union, it is not because I love the pure and simple union, nothing of the kind, it is because I cannot see that anything else can be done. I would not, under any circumstances, join a pure and simple union. The position of the advocates of consistency is this: that the only reason that the Socialist Labor Party has for saying to its members that they shall not be officers of pure and simple trades unions rests upon the fact that the union is a part of the mechanism of the capitalist system. I believe it is the duty of this convention not to allow itself to be wiped off its feet. I think the best thing we can do is to retain that clause. As to the S.T. and L.A., we have extolled that organization as best we could; we have pointed out the duty of the members towards it, and they should not take it out in hot air. I know that down in Massachusetts there has been but little attempt made on the part of the workers to do that thing. I know that many a member is afraid to do anything in that direction, but, realizing the position we are in, I cannot see anything else that can be done. If any great number of the workers felt as I do upon it, I would simply say that no member of the Socialist Labor Party could be a member of the pure and simple un-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

ion. None of us want to go back to the position we left in 1900.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I want to speak, and to say that I am not inconsistent. That section has done considerable {good}. It has kept misleaders out of our Party. It has killed the labor fakir to a degree. Up in Syracuse we made a special effort to capture the pure and simple labor union, and we did capture it. Every meeting night it was a fight between the trades unionists and the Socialists. There was not a meeting night of that central body without a full column was printed in the capitalist press of what was going to take place. Then, when we withdrew from the union, what was the result? The capitalist class and its political henchmen could not get at the Socialists but once in a year. Previously their henchmen were fighting their battles 364 days in the year—the labor fakirs of that city were getting their little crumbs in appointments in the city. To-day you can look through the papers in vain for anything about the union, and there is no politician in Syracuse who will give the fakirs any office. The next administration turned them down. They declared the various departments unfair, because they could not get their men appointed. They are absolutely blocked out. We went on the outside, and now the capitalist masters fight us.

DELEGATE KINNEALLY: There is very little necessity of anything being said. The pure and simple trades unions are organized forces against the progress of socialism and the S.L.P. They uphold this damnable system of capitalism. Knowing that, we cannot allow a member of the S.L.P. to become an officer of that body, thereby using his intellect for the perpetuation and upbuilding of that body that we are organized to overthrow. A man may be compelled to belong to a pure and simple trades union, because his bread and butter depends upon that organization. But history tells us that the greatest traitors to the working class to-day, have been members of our organization, and became officers of a pure and simple trades union.

DELEGATE COX: The state of Illinois instructed its delegates to work and vote against the Milwaukee proposition.

DELEGATE DINGER: In view of the fact that there is only one comrade here who is opposed to that proposition, and our minds are made up, I move the previous question. (Carried by 29 to 5.)

Motion to readopt {sub)section c. carried.

DELEGATE METZLER: I want to be informed what officership

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

in pure and simple unions covers. Does the clause include doing picket duty?

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that the Committee on Constitution be instructed to bring in a clause defining pure and simple trades unions and their offices. We have adopted to-day a resolution in which we recognize the American Labor Union as a caricature of the Alliance; for this reason I would like to have them define the application of this clause just adopted.

Motion of De Leon seconded and carried.

DELEGATE L.A. BOLAND: I move that the rules be so amended that discussion be limited to five minutes each. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The committee has the proposition of Missouri, relative to the organizers' fund. We have just now taken up the resolution and have not had time to consider the matter, and could not arrive at a conclusion regarding it. Delegate Bilsbarrow is instructed by his organization to vote against retaining the present twelve cents.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I give way to my alternate.

ALTERNATE DIECKMAN: The purpose of the proposition is to extend the organization. All of you are willing to admit that in the last four years the organization has not been extended. My experience is that it is fossilizing in most any district; the membership sees nothing coming to it but appeals to keep up *The People*. Now that thing, in my mind, is all wrong. We have got to spread out. I know from experience, the experience of having two men in the field five weeks last summer, we have had sections established and put an interest into the movement which we never had. With the little dues we have had to support the organization, it cannot be done. As to the states, their finances are not such as to enable them to put organizers into the field independently. But we need organizers. Members in our state will write in and say discontinue sending us copies of *The People*, but if you can send us a speaker we can get a crowd, saying that they will get the whole miners' union and do all those things. I know from experience that we can contribute to the national organizers' fund, if we knew that the speaker would be going over the country. Besides that, there is the benefit of having a person come in contact with the sections, coming fresh from the field of the fight. If the delegates present want to argue from the standpoint that Hickey and those fellows were no

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

good, that is a crippled argument; if you send beer-soaks of that kind, you may as well not send anybody. Here is a proposition to send out sample copies. Very few sample copies ever take root, and I will follow that out by saying that of the 300 subscriptions that Pierson got for us, we got not one single renewal. I know that from my own experience. I don't believe that any of you will deny that a good live agitator is superior. It takes a good live agitator to make the men realize it. It seems to me that this proposition, on the face of it is of sufficient importance to recommend it. I feel that, if the organization does not take such steps as that in four years nothing will have happened. The operation of this plan will have a healthful effect upon the organization. For certain reasons members in a section get their hobbies, and keep men out of the section. What are we going to do about the states where we have no organization? The fact that we haven't had good organizers is the reason that the organization don't want to pay for them. There is no method of insuring steady constant work except by raising the dues so as to insure a certain income. As to the objection to high dues, there are other organizations of working men with higher dues than ours. It is a question of how the dues shall be used.

DELEGATE BERRY: As secretary of the Massachusetts State Committee, I would like to say something on that. I think that this is a question of moment. I would like to ask you how you ever expect to advance, unless you do something on the lines of this motion. My experience as secretary of the Massachusetts State Committee has been this. When I see reports of great things from any place, despite the howling about the buzz-saw, I often find it necessary to mark it down that the saw is not running at all. I thoroughly agree with the general proposition laid down in Comrade Dieckman's motion there. The secretary of the committee thought it might be better to raise that money in some other manner. I think that if we are ever going to get any lasting benefit, we must establish a fund and expect to pay for it. I don't object to high dues. What I object to is what is done with those dues. In the union, would I object to 25 cents per week? Absolutely no. I object to what is done with that 25 cents per week. You must understand this—before you get through you will have to understand it—the thing that we have got to work out is how we can keep all the members at work, and that is something that we haven't learned and that we don't want to learn.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

A delegate moved to call the matter from the committee. (Carried.)

Moved that the recommendation of Missouri be concurred in. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: The S.T. and L.A. has attempted the same thing. We found that after the tax had been raised, no organizer was forthcoming. Now, in view of the facts that we may possibly be confronted with things wherein the same thing may happen in the S.L.P., I do know that whatever is done should be considered before we go into it. Conditions may arise so that all of a sudden we cannot meet the requirement, and then we break down under it. I believe that the fund should be raised voluntarily. If a man has anything to accomplish he should take it up individually and get the Party to support him. Let them do as I have done in Michigan, go out of town at their own expense.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I have been instructed to support such a matter. It must be done, not sporadically, but from the central organization.

SECRETARY KUHN: I certainly favor any proposition to enable the National Executive Committee to conduct more agitation than in the last four years, but the creation of special funds for that purpose by a tax or assessment or any such thing bears certain features that should be considered. In the first place, I take it as a foregone conclusion that just as soon as you raise the dues you will lose in members, unless a large growth becomes possible because of general conditions. There is another feature. If a special fund is raised and that N.E.C. is told to use that fund for a special purpose, and that only, that N.E.C. must be in a position to do so. If for instance the membership of the Party lets up in the work and creates a situation where the Party press comes to a point where it must have funds, or die, how can an N.E.C. hang onto special funds? I, for one, do not favor the retention of the mileage fund, because I don't like to see the N.E.C. where it must commit a technical breach of trust. I hope it will not be necessary, but we may as well look out, and I don't want to see the N.E.C. have to go before the next national convention and confess a technical breach of trust. Put that press where it will be absolutely secure, and then funds will be raised by voluntary effort, and they can be raised. It has been my experience that just as soon as men do go forth on the road it becomes comparatively easy to raise the money. The incli-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

nation is there and the spirit is there, because they see the work that is being done, that very fact furnishes the stimulus. But special taxes, specifying that those taxes shall be used only for a certain purpose, will have sense only when the Party press has been made sufficiently secure to enable the N.E.C. to devote such funds to the purpose specified and that alone.

DELEGATE GOERKE: Take the states that have made it a practice to have an agitator once a year for two or three months. It is not wholly the lack of agitators, there are certain industrial conditions that are responsible for the slow growth of the Party. It seems to me that where we go along and increase the dues, you begin increasing your membership by losing it. The state of Ohio has managed to make both end meet and kept an organizer, and yet has not grown so much. At the last national convention they created those agitation circuits. The trouble was not to get good men, but the trouble was to keep them after we had them. Take a good man and put him on the road for about six months, and if he is not ready to go home, then he is ready to become a bad man.

A substitute was offered that the N.E.C. work out methods for the support of national organizers.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I am opposed to the original proposition because it looks like milking a cow after it has been milked. In 1903 we were confronted by practically the same situation. I went and got a man to donate a graphophone to the Party, and we raffled it on the plan of the National Agitation Fund, one to twenty cents per ticket. We raised \$100.00 more than we could have raised on subscription lists. We milked not only our members but our sympathizers also.

DELEGATE WILKE: I believe that what Comrade Kuhn has stated should be an example for us in this respect. He has shown us that, if we create a fund, it may be attacked at any hour of the day or night in order to defend a flank movement. It must defeat its own purpose.

DELEGATE LEITNER: We have in our section in San Antonio very poor working men, who are getting such small wages that they cannot contribute much, but they told me that they would rather pay more dues than to always be called upon for contributions.

DELEGATE BERRY: There is a question now on this very ques-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

tion involved in this amendment: Section Lawrence, Massachusetts, wrote me a letter in which they state that their members, who are putting up all the time were getting tired, and that was why I favored this raising of funds by a special tax. Experience has taught me that we should hire a man, pay him for what he does and be under no compliments to him.

DELEGATE HAMMER: This should be a permanent feature of the S.L.P. It is a necessary feature. A steady fund for national agitation work should be established and the work should go on, and not be left to be done when there is no money left from other things.

Amendment lost 9 to 25.

Missouri proposition lost 13 to 23.

Resolutions introduced:

Delegate L.A. Boland: The N.E.C. shall audit the books every six months.

Delegate Hammer: No one but a member of the working class shall be an officer in the S.L.P.

Delegates Corregan and Gaffney were excused.

Moved to adjourn to the Daily People Building to convene at 8 P.M. (Carried.)

NIGHT SESSION.

July 7, 1904

Meeting called to order at 9:20 (P.M.), upon the vacating of the hall by the State Convention of New York.

Roll-call: Absent, Cox, Richards, Bohn, A.J. Boland, Herrschafft, Corregan, Gaffney, Kinneally, Gilhaus, Kihn, Hammer, Goerke, Mueller, Wilke, French, Olsen and Kemp.

As Delegate Wilke was to be at the convention of his state on the 10th, he was excused.

The Committee on Mileage was called upon and Secretary Bohn found absent.

{COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION AND RESOLUTIONS}

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Your committee has not had time to digest these resolutions, but we can submit them to you as they were placed in our hands.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Delegate L.A. Boland: The N.E.C. shall audit the books of the National Secretary and all other books of the Party every six months.

SECRETARY KUHN: During my absence I thought something was done about that.

DELEGATE BOLAND: They simply recommend that provisions be made but submitted nothing.

On motion resolution was adopted.

Delegate Hammer: No one but a member of the wage working class shall be a candidate for public office.

Moved that it be adopted. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEE: If we nominate twenty-four men and one of them is a business man, it gives the Kangaroos an opportunity to hit back. Even if we accept a portion of our membership from the middle class, we ought to be strict on the nominees that we put in the field. In smaller cities, by having that restriction, there is no danger of any section violating the principles of the class struggle.

SECRETARY KUHN: Can this nominational convention create two different classes of membership? When a man becomes a member of the Socialist Labor Party, hasn't he all the rights of membership?

CHAIRMAN: The motion is out of order.

DELEGATE DE LEE: I appeal from the decision of the chair.

Chair sustained by 15 to 6.

Delegate Brennan: Resolved, that we adopt Roberts' Rules of Order, to govern the Party, and the fact be inserted in the Constitution.

Moved to concur. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE BRENNAN: It is an actual necessity that some rules should be adopted to govern the Socialist Labor Party in handling its affairs.

DELEGATE RICHTER: If such a motion is to be adopted, we

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

ought to adopt the best. If it is Roberts', all right. If it is Cushing's, we ought to adopt that.

DELEGATE DE LEON: If we put Roberts' Rules of Order, or Cushing's Manual or anybody else's in the constitution it is not going to teach us parliamentary rules. Our people should certainly learn parliamentary practice.

DELEGATE BERRY: I believe that motion should be passed. In Massachusetts, we were forced to pass such a motion. I believe that every member of the S.L.P. should acquaint himself with parliamentary procedure, and I think that he should get a knowledge of rules of order, for I know it would have saved us dollars this week.

Motion carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: There was a resolution submitted to the convention and referred to the Committee on Constitution covering this matter of Comrade Boland and similar cases. Whenever a member nominated and elected to a state or national convention is suspended or expelled, the question of his sitting as a delegate should be decided by the convention itself. You will recollect that this committee at first thought to embody it as a qualification upon the clause providing that no privilege of membership should be enjoyed by an expelled or suspended member.

A delegate moved that the resolution be adopted under the head of Miscellaneous.

DELEGATE LUEDECKE: Does that mean that the convention places itself above the section?

CHAIRMAN: It is presumable that the convention would hear evidence and decide.

DELEGATE RICHTER: If it is so that this body has the right to seat or unseat its members, it seems that it would be unnecessary to put it in.

Motion carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Here is a resolution that a clause be adopted explicitly stating that it is the duty of state secretaries, Organizers of sections, etc., to transmit all matters from the N.E.C. to their constituencies.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Motion to adopt carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Here is a resolution from Comrade Passanno:

Resolved that the pay of the organizers of the Party shall be as follows: Married men \$15 and expenses, single men \$12 and expenses.

A DELEGATE: Under such an arrangement, how could a single man save enough money to get married?

Moved to lay the resolution on the table. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The resolution of Hammer, that none but wage-workers be permitted to hold office in the Socialist Labor Party.

Move that this lay on the table. (So ordered.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I have here a note to have the N.E.C. instructed to print cards of membership in a booklet form, embodying the Constitution and a place for dues stamps.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: There was a proposition of transfer cards presented and I think that if this change is made in the dues card, that proposition ought to be embodied in it. There is at the present time a mix-up in the Party. There are people that go from place to place, and you don't know where they belong. They don't write the section they have gone from and they cannot pay dues where they are. I move that a transfer card be added to the membership card and constitution.

A delegate moved that we endorse the matters, as they shall be drawn up by the committee.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I would like to state that a separate card would be advisable.

SECRETARY KUHN: It seems to me that a transfer card should go into the hands of the section to whom transfer is made.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I proposed this new card and I have

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

given this quite a bit of thought and I have seen a good many methods used by the pure and simple unions. For instance in the lathers' union, when a member leaves Minneapolis he gets the secretary to enter it upon his transfer card, and thus he carried his record with him throughout the country.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: There is one feature of that transfer that is practical in the union. It is necessary for the lathers' union men to secure a job, so necessity forces upon the lathers to go first to the secretary everywhere they go, but I do believe that the principle would fail in the S.L.P. What is it that gives a clear card to the lather? It is the job.

DELEGATE BERRY: I hope that that amendment will prevail. It is a fact that the members of the S.L.P balk at anything that is orderly.

Johnson amendment lost.

Original motion carried.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I move that we adopt the transfer card system of Section New York. (Carried.)

Fraternal Delegate Kemp: Resolved that this convention define the status of members who are not citizens of the United States.

Moved that the matter be referred to the N.E.C. (Carried.)

Delegate Leitner: I move that the mileage fund be abolished and each state collect a mileage fund and pay the railroad fare of its own delegates. (Seconded.)

Lost.

Delegate Reinstein: Resolved that all sections be directed to send cash for supplies.

Motion to lay on the table was made and seconded.

DELEGATE DUFFY: My experience is that some sections have run up a bill. Those sections that intend to pay are careful not to run big bills.

DELEGATE DE LEON: There is another reason why that sec-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

tion should prevail. If credit is to be given at all and discretion is to be used in refusing credit, it throws upon the officer who has to attend to that department the burden of judging between the sections, when he is the Party's agent and all sections ought to look alike to him. If a resolution of that kind is passed the manager of the company cannot give the credit.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I would amend, that it applies to sections and individuals and not to state organizations, then it will leave state organizations free to contract the debt.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I believe that the rule should be adopted and that it should be adopted applying to all. If you make this exception, you don't know who will be in the shoes of the late committee of Pennsylvania. If the manager is placed where he must refuse credit, the sections in most cases will be able to raise the money among comrades and sympathizers.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I offer the amendment that it be inserted that the National Headquarters shall give only a month's credit to party organizations and individuals.

DELEGATE BERRY: I hope that it won't pass, and, for that matter, I hope the whole proposition will be killed. In Massachusetts and other states we order literature of the Labor News Company to the amount of \$200. You are merely hampering organization. In handling this it is a question of business judgment. You cannot make any hard fast rule to give them credit or to refuse credit.

SECRETARY KUHN: This manager is a party employe and it is hard to discriminate; besides, he handles a great many accounts. When you handle a thousand items, sent out in small amounts, it is very difficult to keep account and see if they run beyond the limit, either in time or amount. And it appears to me, that if a party organization conducts such a thing as the Labor News Company, and expects credit from the Labor News Company, they ought to provide that company with capital. If you don't give it capital, don't ask credit of it. All this demand for credit focuses in one spot. It is true that the Party is up against certain contingencies when a campaign is on, and it requires some credit, but if money is raised locally, then the Party's need for credit is distributed all over the country.

DELEGATE BOLAND: Speaking as a result of my own experience; here some time ago I went around and sold some books, Woman, Pilgrim's Shell, etc. I ordered them and disposed of them,

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

and paid for them afterwards. Without the credit it would not have been very easy. I found that the credit assisted me to dispose of literature. I don't want to pass any restriction that will hamper the Party.

DELEGATE DE LEON: If there is to be a limit, it should be a limit on the quantity and not on the time. Because, if you extend them \$500 credit, it may be asked for only a month regardless of the time it is intended to be paid, if at all. But, if you restrict it to a certain amount it is settled.

SECRETARY KUHN: There is another side that question, and I have had a little experience on that. In a number of cases where some dues cards or application cards are ordered, the amount is about twenty cents. It costs five cents to mail them and the bill, and then letters have to be sent to remind them to pay. I used finally to get sarcastic but to no effect. They paid no attention to it. It would sometimes cost nineteen cents to collect an account of twenty cents.

Amendments withdrawn, and motion carried 13 to 10.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Here is the resolution by Delegate De Lee, that the laws provide for the election of an auditing committee, composed of five members in and about New York.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The convention will remember that I asked, if the National Executive Committee were charged with the auditing of the books, if this method was preferable to that, and he said: no.

Moved that the proposition be tabled. (Carried.)

Moved that the National Executive Committee be instructed to appoint an auditing committee to audit all the books of the Party for the last four years, and have the report ready for the incoming executive committee to go into office in January, 1905.

An amendment was offered that Section New York elect a committee of five members to audit the books. (Amendment carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: As to Section Monroe County's resolution number 2, providing that a statement of the debate in convention be given with the amendments to the constitution to be submitted to referendum vote, the committee has not considered it.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Moved and seconded to table it. (Carried.)

DELEGATE RICHTER: I move that we insert in Section 3, Article VII:

“All delegates elected to the national convention must be reported to the N.E.C. before the first of April, their names and state shall be published in the official organ and at the same time the sections shall be called upon to make nominations from the list, of an auditing committee and a committee on constitution, consisting of five members each, and referendum vote shall be had by the whole party as soon as possible so that those elected on these committees can be present two days prior to the opening of the national convention and prosecute such business as is assigned to them.”

One part has been attended to, the auditing of the books. I don't know how the delegates feel upon this matter, since one part of it has been attended to, whether they approved of the required expenditure of waiting a day or two or not.

Moved that the matter be tabled. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I will read some resolutions received from Seattle, Washington:

“Resolved that Article VIII, Sect. 1 of the Party's Constitution be amended so as to read as follows:

“The Sections shall collect from each of their members 20¢ to be paid monthly to the State Committee (the purpose of this amendment is to strike out the word ‘tax’ and raise the dues to State Committee from 12¢ to 20¢.) That Sect. 2 be amended: The word ‘seven’ be stricken out and the word ‘fifteen’ be inserted. And the word ‘twelve’ be stricken out and the word ‘twenty’ be inserted. That all other points of the constitution that may conflict with these amendments be made to conform to them.”

As the matter had already been discussed and acted upon, the resolution was tabled.

“That Section Seattle is opposed to any change in the organization of the N.E.C. that savors of an experiment, that we fully appreciate the burden that the present arrangements put on Section New York, but deem the time not opportune for a change.”

Matter having been attended to, on motion the resolution was tabled.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

“That the name, ‘New York Labor News Company’ be changed to ‘Labor News Company.’”

A DELEGATE: I would like to hear from Kuhn as to this. I believe I favor the idea.

SECRETARY KUHN: It looks like a good suggestion; yet I don’t know, it might interfere with business connections we have formed, to cut out the words “New York.” Perhaps we better leave it as it is.

On motion the matter was tabled.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: from Winona, Minn., we have a resolution asking that action be taken to secure report to sections on matters of The People management, etc. A financial report of the Party and semi-annual auditing of the books, having been decided upon, the matter has been covered.

On motion it was tabled.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Here is the matter of the proposed name in California. We have not had time to consider this matter.

DELEGATE BOLAND: I move that this matter from California be referred to the N.E.C. with full power to use its own discretion. (Seconded and carried.)

A motion was made that detailed report be sent out to the sections every six months giving the membership the financial standing of the Labor News Company and The People.

Chairman ruled that this was the effect of previous action of the Convention, that the motion was a repetition and therefore out of order.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: As a member of the committee, I want to say we have arrived at Article VI of the Constitution. If the session would adjourn to meet to-morrow morning, the committee could get together and settle it within the committee.

Delegate Trainor asked to be excused. (Granted.)

On motion the session adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY—FRIDAY, JULY 8.

MORNING SESSION.

Delegate Kinneally elected chairman, De Lee vice-chairman.

Roll-call: Absent, Bohn, Friesema, Bilsbarrow, A.J. Boland, Herrschaft, Corregan, Gaffney, De Lee, Walsh, Gilhaus, Kihn, Mueller, French and Olsen.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Here is a proposition from Section Detroit:

“That all communications received by the Editor of The People for publication shall be published, and, in case their teachings are false, the false position of the correspondent shall be pointed out by the editor in editorial comment.”

It was moved and seconded that it be adopted as a constitutional amendment.

DELEGATE MEYER: The statement has been made that the Party is a party of propaganda. Out in Detroit we hold that it is a class party. We believe that questions that deal with the questions of the day are of vital importance, but we find also that, if you simply give the report of the occurrences of the day, they don't specify in which way we can utilize them to get at the overthrow of capitalism. As a result, while it is necessary to have all these questions handled, at the same time they should be handled from the standpoint of our class, through our press. Now the Editor should know how to handle such questions. He should be able to show where they vary from the principle. Simply to squelch such things means that you haven't got an organization that is capable of taking a determined stand. We find that while we try to squelch them from our organization they crop up in a different form. I don't see why we should cut them out as long as they deal with questions of the day. It has happened that I could not get any information as to whether my articles were wrong in principle; and if anything can hit me, if I don't stand for the working class, I want them to let me know. Corrections are things that must be made in order to place a man properly where he belongs. I want to know where I am wrong; I don't want to fight air. As a result it seems to me that such communications should be printed, and especially when a section has

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

deemed them worthy of publication. I am not speaking so much upon my article as upon the publication of such articles.

DELEGATE DE LEON: This matter comes up in the concrete manner when the Press Committee reports, so I move that the matter be laid over until that part of the Press Committee's report can be taken up. (Seconded and carried.)

Moved that the report of the Press Committee be taken up. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: The plan of the 34th Assembly District of New York, referred to this committee, for securing subscribers, we have considered. It calls for the establishment of a fund by voluntary contributions of 10 cents per month by the comrades, and with this fund sending three months' subscriptions free. It does not waste the money of any sections, but sends these subscriptions to people who have been called upon and their names secured. After the person has had this trial subscription, just before it expires, the comrades go around and secure the renewal. We recommend that the convention concur with the plan and it be referred to the N.E.C.

On motion, the recommendation was adopted.

DELEGATE BOHN: The next matter is the four comrades giving five dollars per month, etc., to increase the subscriptions to *The People*. These people must pay five dollars a month, thinking that the revolution is almost at hand, at most about six years off. They think the one thing to do is to get the people to read *The People*, and if every comrade would contribute five dollars per month the aim could be accomplished in a very short time. They are giving their money under a misapprehension, and therefore we recommend that the matter be referred back to the N.E.C., and they be authorized to turn the money back to the comrades, if necessary.

On motion, the recommendation was adopted.

DELEGATE BOHN: The next matter is the Wisconsin resolution:

"Whereas our German organ, known as *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung*,

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

has shown in the past by the contents of its articles and editorials, that it is not such a paper as will educate and organize the members of the working class, but, on the contrary, it contains a great deal of foreign matter not bearing on the class struggle, be it

“Resolved that some other comrade be elected editor of the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung.”

DELEGATE JOHNSON: Who elects the editor?

DELEGATE GOERKE: The Volksfreund Publishing Association selects him and the N.E.C. approves or rejects him.

Moved to refer the matter to the N.E.C.

DELEGATE LEITNER: I hope that this convention will recommend that the editor be retained. He is not only the editor, but is also the business manager. Let the Party throughout the land come to the assistance of the paper, and then we can improve the paper. I find that that man stood straight upon principles and tactics from the first to the last. So I move that we recommend to the National Executive Committee the keeping in place of the editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung. (Amendment seconded.)

DELEGATE RICHTER: I am certain that we should not make a recommendation from this convention, without taking any definite statements as to where he is efficient or deficient. The Arbeiter Zeitung has improved considerable and has brought literature out in the German. The translation of What Means This Strike? has brought clearly before the working man the actual situation. I don't see, anyway, how it could be improved. Perhaps along the lines of literary style, but I don't think it is of such importance as to remove the present editor.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I would like Kuhn to inform us whether the N.E.C. has recorded any deficiencies or any other matter that would disqualify that editor.

SECRETARY KUHN: No. I take these complaints to mean that the Arbeiter Zeitung contains matter that is foreign to the work of the Party, that is to say he has to take in a certain amount of plate matter, but that is merely a financial question. They cannot afford the office force to avoid that. I desire to set the matter straight as to the editor. The election of the editor is by the N.E.C. unqualifiedly. The fact that a selection takes place by the Volksfreund Publishing Association is because the two papers are rather closely connected. The Volksfreund is a larger paper and contains more

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

matter, and for that reason the costs of the paper is {sic} divided among the two papers instead of being maintained from one alone. They have done the best they could under difficult circumstances. They have always followed closely the line laid down by The People.

Amendment carried. Amended motion carried.

DELEGATE BOHN: Here is another resolution from Wisconsin:

“Whereas, the Party to-day owns and controls a complete printing plant, and,

“Whereas, we believe that it would be more in keeping with the policy of our press, therefore, be it

“Resolved that the German organ of the S.L.P. known as the ‘Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung’ be transferred from Cleveland to New York, so that our own plant may publish the same instead of our permitting some private concern to do it for us.”

Regarding the transferring of the paper from Cleveland to New York, the committee recommends adversely, because of technical reasons.

Moved to concur in the report of the committee. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: Here is the Minkley communication to the Arbeiter Zeitung, translated. As this contained a great deal of material which should not go outside of the Party or even to the Party members, because it contains statements that are not true, we recommend that the position of the editor in refusing to publish it should be sustained: . . . ¹

The committee reports that the stories, etc., published in the Weekly People, were published in that manner by necessity at that time, and recommends that the editor be sustained upon that matter; but we think the matter of transferring the official matter from one paper to the other ought to be discussed.

DELEGATE DE LEON: With regard to the changing of the official organ, it is a technical matter and I shall not speak upon it. Regarding the books, we would have preferred not to publish any in The People. The reason we put them in The People was to save

¹ [The document omitted from the typewritten proceedings.—*Editor.*]

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

composition. There was no opportunity but to put them into *The People*, as in the case of *Bebel's Woman* and the *Pilgrim's Shell*. Regarding Franz von Sickingen, it was undesirable to have so much space given to it, but that was because of a technical reason. Relative to the *Pilgrim's Shell*, I am under the impression that it was a splendid advertisement of the future stories of Eugene Sue. As to the rest, they are no longer in the *Weekly*, by continued in the *Daily*.

Moved to concur in the recommendation upholding the editor of *The People*. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE MEYER: I offer an amendment, that we accept the recommendation of the committee in upholding the editor in publishing these articles, considering the explanation of the reasons why they were printed.

Amendment adopted and the amended motion carried.

DELEGATE BOHN: Relative to the changing of the *Weekly* into a *Sunday People*, the committee made no recommendation upon that matter.

DELEGATE RICHTER: I think the matter of changing the *Weekly* to the *Sunday People*—one to be a paper circulated within the membership of the Party, for the discussion {of} internal matters, is one that should be taken into consideration. It is harmful to publish those matters to those outside of the Party, yet the members want to know. Now I don't know whether it is advisable to transfer the *Weekly* to the *Sunday*, or whether a smaller edition should be made for that purpose, but I feel that something along this line should be adopted, if the policy should be established of a publication of all matters that are received for publication. I hold that they should not adopt a method of preventing the publication of matter.

Moved that we concur. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: Here is the Toronto communication, also a long communication, which criticizes the Editorial Department of

the Weekly People: . . . ¹

DELEGATE DE LEON: No one is in clearer sympathy than myself with the theory expressed by Richter. It is obvious that publication is the most desirable thing; but this implies the publication of another paper, which requires more cash. The publication of all matters cannot be adopted, in view of the fact that The People has to be both a propaganda paper and an official organ. In Germany a great many articles that would not be taken into the Vorwaerts are published in the "Neue Zeit." Bernstein's economics were absurd and tactically he was ridiculous, but the Social Democracy went to the expense of printing that whole book, and at the same time their propaganda went along uninterfered with. We cannot do that. Relative to the Meiko Meyer matter, it was very long and very incoherent, and even if we had a paper of that kind, I don't believe the editor would be sustained in publishing such matter as he sends in, because of their incoherence and because of their length. I have welcomed many an article against the Party policy. There is sometimes an advantage in the publication of an attack upon the Party, in so far as one has a target to hit. The Meyer article would have taken two pages, and no policy was attacked, it was purely the question of style.

DELEGATE LEITNER: If I am correctly informed, the Weekly People is made up of the Daily, and if the Sunday People was made the same as Toronto suggests, it, too, would have to be made up of the Daily, and those things could not be excluded from the Daily. I move that we continue to publish the Party papers in the manner that we now publish them, for technical reasons.

DELEGATE MEYER: I cannot see where we are saving anything by refusing to publish a separate party organ. During the last four years we had any number of statements published, and a great number of lampoons, so-called, and although they cost of the lampoons fell upon the ones starting them, the cost of the answers forced us to put up the money just the same. It is the same as the capitalist class; you cannot run away from it. We are putting our head in the sand like an ostrich when it sees danger. A monthly paper as is proposed here now is an entirely different matter from the Monthly People we had before. The Monthly People was nothing concrete, nothing tangible, nothing that applied to the common sense of the every-day man. It might be all right that those articles

¹ [The document omitted from the typewritten proceedings.—*Editor.*]

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

appealed to those people who have already learned to appreciate an abstraction, but they won't appeal to those whose knowledge is of hard facts. We can run away from facts, but their leaving us alone is another matter. Let us come down to the solid basis, and we won't have to complain of lack of enthusiasm among working men. As a result, let us consider that when we place a paper in the field, a Monthly People of that kind, we run a chance of having many more subscribers, and I am sure that every member will subscribe, even if it costs two or three dollars a year.

DELEGATE {L.A.} BOLAND: I am in favor of a new publication, and I think it is advisable, a publication once a month of matters of internal concern to the Party. Such things as official calls could be cut out of the Weekly and published in such a publication. I think that it could be easily arranged, treating of all matters that are of an internal nature, that it could support a circulation of two thousand, and be maintained for 25 cents a year.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: I have been up against the same criticism in Buffalo, more than once. I have heard the comrades roast the life out of the organ for containing too much of the official matter. I find that another kicks because the papers generally are devoted almost exclusively to propaganda, and the matter of tactics is too little considered. I believe that the maintaining and continuing of discussions of internal matters in our organs is correct; the opportunity is given to the outsider to see how the questions are being settled. I believe that opportunity is desirable. I believe we must have one paper for the Party members and the outsiders. I consider the Socialist Labor Party as merely a committee to vote on behalf of the working class and direct the course of the working class movement. This, in my opinion, is the character and the nature of our organization.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: As a general rule, I don't believe in being so careful about things on account of expense; but, to carry into effect the purpose of the argument of the delegate from Michigan, it would settle upon the Party not only the expense of answering lampoons, but also of issuing lampoons.

DELEGATE LUEDECKE: I move the previous question.

Motion carried.

DELEGATE BOHN: The next is the Meyer matter. The committee gave it a great deal of time and consideration, and reports that

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

the communication should not have been published, and consequently asks that the editor be sustained in refusing publication.

Moved to concur in the recommendation. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE BOHN: These communications were sent by Comrade Meyer some time ago. Comrade Meyer does not object so much to the fact that they were not printed, as to the fact that they were not sent back to him. The Editor informs us that contributors cannot depend upon an article being returned, and therefore they should have copies at home, if they want copies. If the editor keeps them for some months and then they are desired to be returned, he hasn't sufficient office force to hunt them and attend to them. On that ground also the committee sustains the action of the editor. The contentions of Meyer that his article should be published, don't seem to be sustained.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that we take from the table the matter which was tabled before this matter was taken up. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE DE LEON: In the first place, relative to the matter of stamps, the question brings up a matter of administration which it seems that the comrades don't realize. Articles come to The People; on one day we may have four to a dozen of them. It is impossible with our limited force to immediately handle and decide upon those matters, and the Party membership does not seem to know it. They give us a limited space, a limited cash, and then ask us to give them an unlimited service. The stamps may or may not come with the article. If we are simply compelled to return manuscript{s} attended with stamps, it means a keeping of books. When the letters are opened the stamps may drop out, and we find them on the floor and don't know which article they accompanied. We may receive an article and immediately decide upon it, or we may lay the article aside, and, in the latter case, when we finally come to it, and it is rejected, we want to know if it had stamps with it or not. I have again and again put in the Letter Box that no articles are returned. If they want a copy they must keep a copy themselves. Recently we received an article against a member of the Party. It was rejected. If we don't keep them, they may come with another article and say that that is what was rejected. We have no army of clerks to take {make?} copies of these rejected articles. The question is, whether this particular kind of an article should have been pub-

lished. The delegate stated that even if an article is bad, it should be published. The Connolly letter was false in sociology, it misrepresented The People, as to its attitude toward the ecclesiastics, nevertheless, notwithstanding all of the serious defects in the thing, that article was published and alongside of it were editorial comments. But what may be desirable at one time and in a certain case may be undesirable at another. We know how members of the church have been leaving the Party on account of the pressure put upon their wives. In view of all the facts, that Connolly article was reducible down to the church question. So what Meyer said should be done was done in that case. The reason that I didn't put his article in was that I, for one, could not understand it. If the article was short and incoherent—well, I don't know whether I would publish it; but if it is long and incoherent it is plain that it should be rejected. I said I couldn't understand it—well, I know what he is talking about. I rejected the article because it was incoherent and besides being incoherent it was so terrifically long. I labored at it, I turned it over to Ebert, and Ebert labored at it, and he gave it up. I can't handle it. I can't present an incoherent thought. If it was a magazine article, I doubt if an editor would be upheld if he published it. I say that to publish such things, whether endorsed by a section or an individual, and criticize them afterwards, is impracticable. We haven't the space, nor the office force.

DELEGATE MEYER: Comrade De Leon has taken the two articles together, but the fact is there are two different cases. I refer mainly to the one case, the International Congress. That there were quotations in foreign languages is natural, because I quoted the original, and I didn't want to translate it. But, as to incoherence, when a person has followed up a certain line of investigation, he reasons from that standpoint, and all those who have followed up the same line, understand him. To explain those points so that every one would understand would make it too long, so that, in order to make it short, we simply make reference to it. It is not incoherent; it is simply because he has not investigated. I have investigated things that Comrade De Leon had no chance to investigate, therefore that question of incoherence is answered. Now as to answering me, Comrade De Leon only stated that the matter was received, and I wanted him to state what would be done with it. The second article was written because Comrade De Leon had written several articles on the International Congress, arguing not to send a delegate to that Congress. I took up this question, and when I

took it up, I took it up as upholding our former policy. My article was written to uphold our policy, and gave the reasons for it. I admit that another article, which was short, was printed just before the vote closed, although it was sent in in time to have been printed at least a week or two earlier. Therefore, you see you give your editors a chance to throw it out, if you write to sustain a party policy, because the N.E.C. may oppose that policy. If you uphold this, you sanction the power of private individuals to do arbitrarily as they see fit. As to limited space, that is a flimsy argument. I have seen articles written that had no reference to the class struggle; articles, for instance, on love. As far as the length of the article is concerned, I could not say how much space would be taken up, but even though it was two pages of six columns, I think this question is important and more important than abstract articles on historical questions. Those stories, *The Pilgrim's Shell*, etc., have certain superstitions which should not have any part in our movement. I don't object to the publication of them, but I don't think they should take precedence over an article to be published, showing that we should maintain an established party policy. Now, as to the principle sometimes published in our Party press, or at least in our literature. In the "Genesis of Religion," by Sanial, the whole article was on the human heart, and Pepin came to Detroit and spoke about mind being superior to matter, and I criticised them. What became of the article? It went in the waste basket for all I know. You have allowed your organization to be carried off its feet and have allowed fanaticism to enter its ranks and take the place of the movement. The majority of the people may not see it. I see these things, but they are not light questions, and they will come back upon you. If you want to lead up to various things, you must develop a certain amount of length, and to shorten makes them less coherent. I know, and I realize that these questions may not interest the general public; so, therefore, I do believe that there is no need of putting such things in our Party organs, especially our daily organ; but if you don't allow discussion of such points as this you cut out a principle to build up a class conscious organization, and I do believe that they ought to be published, regardless of style or length.

DELEGATE GOERKE: I don't want to appear as an authority upon literary style, so it appears to me that the only way in which this convention can settle the question is to have the secretary read two or three pages from that Meyer article.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE DE LEON: From what Delegate Meyer has said, I have jotted down five points that may look like holes in my argument. He said his article which was published was published two weeks later in the Weekly than in the Daily. An article presented in the Daily after Tuesday, cannot go into the Weekly which reaches the sections the next Saturday, so that article cannot possibly appear until the next Weekly, so that it actually appears nearly two weeks later in the Weekly than in the Daily. The article was actually published as soon as possible after its receipt, and it could not appear any earlier. He should have sent it in earlier. The next shot is on the article on Love. Meyer says it was also a long article. That article on Love was about one-third of a page. Of course it was not a short article; but it was hardly to be compared with an article that would occupy two pages. Now relative to Sanial, I opposed Sanial. He was utopian. His "Genesis of Religion" was wrong, but that was published by Pierce. Sanial was an absolute utopian except on statistics. He delivered a series of lectures, and not a word of them went into The People. But I couldn't attack the Labor News Company on account of the "Genesis of Religion." We couldn't have one department of the Party at issue with another. Meyer's article was so incoherent, it was so vague, and, as the N.E.C. said, it went all over creation.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: I consider it very unfortunate that this matter has resolved itself into a contest with Comrade Meyer on his personal matter. It might appear as an attempt in this convention to endorse the policy in just handling one individual. The National Editor should have authority. He should have knowledge enough to pass upon articles that would come before him. All of the members cannot be up to the standard of {the} National Editor, and we ought to feel it a good thing to have him there to cut out anything foolish that should slip into our articles. At the time of the Little Kang movement, it was thought that the editor just sat down in New York and blue-penciled everything. I have had an article in the hands of the editor for some time, and I don't know whether it will ever come to the surface or not; but I know now that I would be ashamed to see an article I sent at that time in print.

DELEGATE MEYER: It has been said that the individual may not see the danger that is behind his article. The fact is, that the editor may not see the danger, and there they get right in the same position. So there you got it to go to work and place us upon a basis of organic unity, and without that you have one man rule. How can

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

I appeal to any one? No matter how right the individual may be, he is cut off from bringing his opinions. Remember you are tackling a serious matter. If you have a party press, let it be a party press in fact. You rob the membership of the right of consideration or the right to show the correctness of their stand. As to the Love article, I just take one article, but there were more of them. Take all of those articles and you will find how much room is wasted that might be used for such matter as the International Congress.

Moved the previous question. (Carried.)

Motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee that the editor of *The People* be sustained in refusing publication to the Meyer letters. (Carried.)

Moved that the proposition of Section Detroit, that all communications received by the Editor of *The People* for publication shall be published, and, in case their teachings are false, the false position of the correspondent shall be pointed out by the editor in editorial comment, be laid on the table. (Seconded, and carried by 26 to 3.)

Letter was then read from Delegate Stodel of Connecticut, saying that the sickness in his family was not as severe as reported, but that he would be unable to return to the convention.

Letter also from Connecticut, expressing a desire to get a speaker from among the delegates to act as State Organizer during the campaign.

On motion the matter was referred to the N.E.C.

Moved that we suspend the rules and continue the session until the work of the convention is finished. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: The next thing is the Connolly matter. As this has all been read before the convention, and as the articles are long, I don't think it necessary to re-read it {them?}. The committee has had the matter under consideration, and we recommend that the action of the Editor of *The People* be sustained.

Moved that we concur. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: The committee received a resolution from the Massachusetts delegation, requesting that the Party platform be printed in every issue of the *Weekly* in larger type. The committee recommends that it be so done and the Editorial Department be so instructed.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Recommendation adopted.

DELEGATE BOHN: The Committee on Party Press has finished its report. I now wish to report for the Committee on Mileage.

The Mileage Committee wishes to report:¹

These are ready to be ratified, with the exception of one item, upon which I desire to make a statement as a minority of the committee. Comrade Cox handed in his mileage to and from New York, \$21, each way. Comrade Cox, as some of you know through The People, made arrangements with the N.E.C. and sections along the route and agitated along the way and received his expenses. These seem to have covered expense and mileage. One section has reported to the committee through one of its members who is a delegate that the sum given was given as salary. Another reports that the sum given was given as mileage, and it thought that his mileage would be paid in that way. Cox requests that the \$21 be given him as salary. As I am a minority of the committee and don't want to take upon myself any responsibility, I turn it over to the convention.

DELEGATE BRANDBORG: I wish to state that the majority took this view; that Cox had come and returned; the fact that he had spent time and did work and made or lost something that way on the route was not the business of the committee.

It was moved that the money received by Comrade Cox while on the road in transit be considered expenses. (Seconded.)

DELEGATE COX: This is a matter pertaining to myself and Veal. When we expected to make the trip, the object was to make that money for the state of Illinois, but, owing to lack of funds, Comrade Veal could not make the trip. We didn't anticipate that there would be money in the mileage fund, and by making that tour, we intended to save the mileage to the state. On that trip the money I received from the sections paid my expenses. I turned this bill in to the Committee on Mileage, and if I received this \$21 for my fare to New York I intended to take it back to my state committee, and I informed the Mileage Committee that I was satisfied

¹ [The first portion of the report omitted from the typewritten proceedings.—*Editor.*]

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

that the state committee would give it to me as wages for my work on that tour.

DELEGATE BOHN: That is not the way I understood it before. As this now appears, I shall vote for the motion.

Motion carried.

DELEGATE BOHN: Meyer Stodel of Connecticut came to the convention and remained one day. He did not put I any claim for mileage and your committee has not taken any action in regard to allowing him any.

Moved that the Stodel matter of mileage be referred to the N.E.C. (Carried.)

Moved that the final report of the Mileage Committee be concurred in. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The Committee on Constitution has a resolution that we haven't had time to act upon, and agree to refer the whole matter back to the convention without any recommendation. The Missouri State Executive Committee submitted the following: "The state shall be the basis of representation, each state to be entitled to one delegates for every fifty members in the state (in the year of the convention) and one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. Any state having less than fifty members to be entitled to one delegate. A territory to be treated as a state."

Moved that the proposition of the Missouri State Executive Committee be adopted.

DELEGATE DINGER: I wish to point to the fact that Ohio would be entitled under that rule to four delegates. There are states in the West which cast a big vote who haven't near the organization of Ohio.

DELEGATE BOHN: I wish to favor this motion. It is membership that counts, they do the work of the Party, and they have the right to manage the Party. Looking at the organizations, and their votes, in the different cities and states, we see the city of Cleveland, with its organization, polling about five hundred votes, and Section Milwaukee polling over three thousand. A vote has no significance at this stage of the movement.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE CORREGAN: Under the proposed method, there is an opening for packing a convention, and I will vote against it. Under the present method, basing our representation upon the vote of the Party in the states, you have something fixed, something you can't meddle with; whereas, with this you can make a basis of representation. I don't believe in this, I want something certain. The vote we know. We only have to pick up the World Almanac to find how many delegates the states were entitled to.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I offer an amendment, that in the event of dispute regarding the delegation of any state, it shall be settled upon the basis of the stamps sold by the National Secretary in the year previous to the convention.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: Suppose some fellow with a lot of money goes in and buys up a lot of stamps?

SECRETARY KUHN: There is a remote possibility of what Comrade Corregan has referred to, but the amendment overcomes that, because it states that the stamps counted must be taken for the previous year.

An amendment was offered that the basis of representation be ascertained on December 31st of the year preceding the convention. (Seconded.)

Amendment carried, and the motion as amended carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: There is a proposed clause to follow Section 5 of Article II, proposed by the Fraternal Delegate of the S.T. and L.A.

"No applicant shall be admitted to membership who has been expelled from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance."

DELEGATE DE LEON: In effect, this would give the S.T. and L.A. jurisdiction over the members of the Party. It would follow that if a member is expelled from the S.T. and L.A., he would be expelled from the Party.

Moved that it be tabled. (Carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Here is another, to follow Section 7, Article XI:

"All General Organizers employed by the National Executive Committee shall also be members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and shall at all agitation meetings addressed by them,

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

propagate the principles of the S.T. and L.A. in conjunction with those of the Socialist Labor Party.”

DELEGATE JOHNSON: Wouldn't that create classes within the S.L.P.?

DELEGATE BERRY: I don't know why a man should not be a member of the S.T. and L.A. I have known of men speaking for the S.L.P. who were opposed to the S.T. and L.A. They all ought to advocate the S.T. and L.A., and I am in favor of the passage of that amendment.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I have heard it said that I am against the Alliance. This says that all general organizers employed by the N.E.C. shall also be members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. All that has been said by Berry is irrelevant, for the reason that a member of the S.L.P. may go around and speak for the S.T. and L.A. and is forbidden by the Alliance from being a member of that organization. It is not that an organizer fails to speak for the S.T. and L.A.; if he does he ought to be recalled, but this clause does not refer to that; it limits the qualifications of the organizers, and according to this no organizer can be taken by the S.L.P. until he is a member of the S.T. and L.A. Now we decided yesterday that non-wage workers may be admitted to the Party. The constitution of the Alliance excludes non-wage workers. It is possible that I may step out of the editorial room, and then I cease to be qualified for membership in the Alliance (although I am, technically now). I may be willing to go on the stump for the Party, but the N.E.C. cannot employ me, because I am not a member of the Alliance, and I could not be a member because I am not wage worker. We should not bind the hands of the N.E.C. by any subordinate organization. If the Alliance expels a man who is already in the Party, he should be removed from the Party, but the Party's court should not be subservient to that of a subordinate organization. Therefore I offer this amendment: “All general organizers employed by the National Executive Committee shall propagate the principles of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in conjunction with those of the Socialist Labor Party.”

DELEGATE BERRY: I offer this addition to the amendment: “and, if eligible, shall be a member of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.”

Seconded.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELEGATE BERRY: For myself, I have gotten tired of men talking about the S.T. and L.A. when they don't mean it. They try to make you believe that they are in favor of it, but they won't join it. If there is anything in this world that I have no use for, it is the hypocrite, and this amendment to the amendment knocks out the hypocrite. It does not debar the man, if there is any constitutional limitation that precludes his membership in the Alliance.

Amendments and amended motion carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: We have a proposition from Illinois, as follows:

“Whereas, the Socialist Labor Party has no systematic system of keeping account, and record of its membership throughout the country, etc., therefore be it resolved that it is recommended to the N.E.C. to issue and furnish a ledger and membership account book to all State Executive Committees and Sections at cost.”

Moved that the resolution be adopted. (Seconded.)

An amendment {was} offered that we {the convention} refer the matter to the N.E.C.

DELEGATE COX: I will state that this was given to me and I was instructed to bring it before the convention simply as a starter. We do not want that system which we proposed to be adopted, if another is better, but we do want a system established throughout the Party.

Amendment carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: Your committee was instructed to draw up an order of business to be followed by the sections. We haven't had time to consider this matter.

Moved that the matter of the drawing {up} of an order of business for the sections be referred to the N.E.C. to be carried out. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BERRY: Comrade Duffy and I drew up this resolution relative to the situation in Colorado:

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

COLORADO RESOLUTION.

Whereas, In the State of Colorado for some time past, especially during the past year, such evidences of anarchy and brutal, murderous outrage exist perpetrated upon the working class by the capitalist class government of that state acting in conjunction with the capitalist class Citizens' Alliance, that the attention of the civilized world has been challenged; and

Whereas, Not in despotic Russia nor in the dominion of the bloody Turkish Sultan, nor in semi-barbarous China have these hideous occurrences taken place, so subversive as they are of all civilized conceptions of Government and social order; and

Whereas, The heinous conduct of the ruling capitalist class of Colorado, acting through their servile tools, Governor Peabody and Adjutant-General Bell, proves that capitalist class to be a brigand class of lawless desperadoes, who in their mad race for profits, gained in the exploitation of the working class in wage slavery, will go to any extreme of violence and outrage, even wholesale murder, incendiarism, mayhem and the forcible deportation of defenceless citizens in violation of the constitution(s) of Colorado and of the United States; and,

Whereas, the conduct of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners in seeking redress from the wrongs of one set of the political representatives of the capitalists, the Republican party, by turning to the other set, the Democratic party, is an act of treachery to the working class calculated to blur over the class struggle and blind them to their class interests; and

Whereas, The working class citizens of Colorado have in their folly played into the hands of this obscene capitalist class, by putting in possession of that class the mighty weapon of government, in alternately electing the pledged supporters of the capitalists class, the Democratic and Republican parties; and furthermore give evidence that they have failed to read the full lesson of capitalist government as evidence in their endorsement of that ash-barrel conglomeration, the multi-named Kangaroo, Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party whose representatives when elected to office in the East have voted and supported the appropriation of funds for armories to be used in repressing the efforts of the working class in their struggle for freedom, and who furthermore have repeatedly fused with the Democratic and Republican outragers of the working class, thereby committing themselves not alone to scabberding but also to Peabodyism with all that that implies; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party, assembled in Eleventh national convention, addresses itself to the workers of America, those of Colorado in particular, and calls upon them to learn the lesson written in the blood of their class, to wit, that these brutalities can be ended only by putting an end to the capitalist system of wealth production, based upon the private ownership of land and capital; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon all members of the working class to bestir themselves to the end of abolishing the system which breeds Colorado outrages, by organizing on the scientifically correct lines of the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

On motion the resolution was adopted.

DELEGATE MEYER: The statement was made in the report of the National Executive Committee that Section Detroit could not

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

continue the "Wage Worker." Relative to that statement I want to read this explanation:

"A correction, or modification, of the report of the National Secretary {sic} on The Wage Worker: The statement that Section Detroit could not continue 'The Wage Worker' because of financial and physical burdens, must be modified to do justice to Section Detroit. Section Detroit could have continued the Wage Worker, and it could have carried the burdens if it had been inclined to establish a press, in preference to a national basis for the S.L.P. as such. Much work done for the National organs and much energy directed towards backing up our National Executive Committee in the work the Party had entrusted to them, might have been spent for The Wage Worker, and it would have guaranteed it a safe existence, but Section Detroit considered that its organ, and its existence was subject to, and not superior to the existence of the S.L.P. and its established institutions. Even previous to The Wage Worker, another paper, 'Der Herold,' was offered to Section Detroit but the section refused to accept it because we did not wish to divide our energy. It was found later, however, that if we had accepted 'Der Herold,' we would have been saved from the opposition that that organ, later on, led up against us, to combat the S.L.P. and its principles. Hence, we were particular not to make the same mistake in regards to The Wage Worker, even though we knew, by the experience derived from the previous existence of the 'Arbeiter Zeitung' or the 'Tageblatt,' what dangers we were encouraging when we accepted or established within the Party a competing paper before the national organs as such, were absolutely self-sustaining. Hence, to safeguard the S.L.P. and its press, did Section Detroit, mainly, discontinue The Wage Worker."

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that this be spread upon the records as the explanation of Section Detroit. (Seconded and carried.)

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: You remember that your committee was instructed to define the officers whose membership in the Party is enjoined by the constitution, and to define what constitutes a pure and simple union. There is a draft of such a proposition here in my hands, and we can simply read it: "The doing of any work for a pure and simple trades union is defined to be holding an office, in the sense of the above section."

DELEGATE CORREGAN: I have probably had as much experience in pure and simple trades unions as any of you. I went into that organization and worked in it, and afterward I found that I

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

had simply built up an organization that was a weapon in the hands of the fakirs against the working class. They will use you in every way, and all the assistance you give to the union, all the effort you give to them, redounds to the benefit of the labor fakir. I would not raise my hand to help the best strike that the pure and simplers will inaugurate. I have organized labor unions, helped them, given them my time and labor, and those organizations are the first to turn against the workers. I would not lift my hand to help them and I don't believe any member should. If they go out on strike and the capitalist beats them, the sooner they will come to us as their proper guides. If you help them to win a strike the labor fakir will get the benefit. I am opposed to any member acting as a committeeman, if he does, and the strike fails, the fakirs will lay the blame upon the Socialist. As to what a pure and simple trades union is, every thing is a pure and simple trades union except what has been endorsed by us. That is the only organization that is not a pure and simple trades union—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

SECRETARY KUHN: Several times this point came before the N.E.C. The one that is freshest in my mind came from San Jose, California. A member was employed in the shop, and the shop stewardship every one working in that shop by turn had to take. Does the term "officer" include shop stewards? If it does, he would have to resign from the Party.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move the amendment, that a discussion be opened in the columns of *The People*, as to what shall constitute officers of pure and simple unions under the purview of the constitution, and that the correspondents use not more than one hundred words to the article. I believe that a discussion of that sort will do good in every way.

Seconded.

DELEGATE BERRY: I hope the amendment will be killed, with all due respect to the comrade. I don't believe in it. And I believe that we should say to the members of the S.L.P. upon that question, that they have no right to do anything for the pure and simple unions. I am opposed to carrying on this discussion in *The People*. It will ultimately lead to breaking down the barrier that we have established against the pure and simple unions. There is no question as to what is a pure and simple trades union. I know that

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

there are some who cannot get out of pure and simple trades unions; but there are more that don't dare to.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Do you believe that the average reader of *The People* knows what you brought out?

DELEGATE BERRY: I don't know, but I believe in saying to our members: Here is what you have to do, there, get up to that mark or the world is wide outside.

DELEGATE COX: I am opposed to Comrade De Leon's amendment. Delegate Biltsbarrow suggested the original that Section St. Louis introduced four years ago, and his argument brought out that he thought there were some positions in the pure and simple unions that could be taken. I have not been thrown out of my job, as Comrade Berry and Corregan have, but my conduct has been along the same lines. I have fought them from start to finish. I have not attended their meetings for over two years, nor paid any fine. I wanted Comrade Biltsbarrow to show what was a pure and simple office. I claim that a person cannot do any work without it redounding to the benefit of that union. The committee work done in the mine redounds to the benefit of the fakirs. Due to this fact, I am ready to take the stand here and now that a member of the S.L.P. has no business with any transactions at all in the pure and simple union.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: If this amendment is passed it leaves the matter debatable. Let us, before we adjourn, adopt a resolution in no uncertain terms, that any office, any position, even when a strike is on, shall not be taken, because it redounds to the benefit of the fakirs.

DELEGATE MEYER: I won't defend the pure and simple union, but I know, also, by experience that occasions may arise where a member has got to work in the shop, not through the union, but through the men in the shop to uphold the men working in the shop. I have been called upon time and time again to act as shop committee. It is not a very easy matter to get out of it. I did get out of it, but, when they find that you have to get out of it, it is a pretty hard matter to say what will be the result, then it may mean that your livelihood is taken away from you. You may have to look for another job; but, when you get to another place, you are thrown out of a job—you condemn a man to death simply through a matter of that kind. It is not a job that concerns the union, but simply the man in the shop. Remember this is a weightier question than you

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

imagine. Let a patient discussion be gone into before it is decided definitely.

DELEGATE DINGER: We are taking up the time of the convention. This question has been argued thoroughly in the last national convention, and I believe that the Socialist Labor Party, in convention assembled, should take a stand. We know what is necessary, if a man must accept a job.

DELEGATE DE LEON: There is nothing to settle, as far as that goes; we have had a proposition in the constitution that settles that question. But these arguments should reach the new men. I would not feel justified in opening the columns of *The People* to the discussion upon what I consider a constitutional provision, especially right after a convention. Such a discussion would not be proper.

Previous question moved and seconded.

Amendment of De Leon lost by 23 to 5.

Motion carried by 28 to 3.

DELEGATE DE LEON: I move that a discussion be carried on in the official organs, each letter not to occupy more than one hundred words, upon what is an office in a pure and simple trades union.

DELEGATE BRENNAN: I am in favor of having this matter discussed in the columns of *The People*. The rank and file has not heard the discussion here. I consider that it is necessary.

DELEGATE RUTHER: There are many, I think, who do not see the necessity of withdrawing from the office. I was one of those four years ago who opposed it because I could not see how it would benefit us to take that stand. Now I can see why it is necessary, why they should take that stand. Because I have been brought up in the pure and simple trades union, it had trades unions, and we built up lodge organizations, and, then, when it came to a clash of the "Plank Ten Affair," we were brought to the decision that the working class must take political action. We saw that we had to pass out, then we went to pieces; and then they said Ruther busted up the Central Labor Union. To-day the Central Labor Union of Holyoke is wholly disorganized, and we don't regret it.

Motion carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: The proposed clause is: "Every eco-

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

nomic organization that is not endorsed by the Socialist Labor Party or affiliated with it is defined to be a pure and simple labor organization.”

Carried.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: As to the National Secretary, we recommend that the term of office shall be four years. As it now stands, Section 2 of Article VI, says it shall be the same as that of the members of the N.E.C., and we have changed their term to one {year}.

On motion the recommendation was adopted.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: For the removal of the National Secretary, the committee recommends that the same method be adopted as that provided by clause b. for the removal of members of the N.E.C., that is, “Upon the application of three state committees made to the National Executive Committee and ratified by a referendum vote of the whole membership of the Party.” And, in case of vacancies the N.E.C. should fill the position temporarily, until it can be filled by general vote of the whole party.

On motion, adopted.

DELEGATE GOERKE: I have here a resolution proposed by the Ohio delegation:

“Whereas, the necessity of maintaining our German official organ is obvious, and,

“Whereas, Party ownership of our Party press is a correct principle to be followed, therefore, be it

“Resolved, that this convention calls upon the Party membership to do all in their power to support its *Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung* in a plant owned and controlled by the Party.”

Moved to adopt.

SECRETARY KUHN: Is that mandatory upon the N.E.C.?

CHAIRMAN: No, it simply means that they take advantage of whatever opportunity is presented to them.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Motion carried.

DELEGATE BERRY: I would call attention to the necessity of adopting a standard size for the page of the publications of the Labor News Company, as for instance, "Woman Under Socialism"—a standard size of page and better paper and larger type should be used.

Moved that the matter be referred to the N.E.C. (Carried.)

Moved that New York be the seat of the N.E.C. (Carried.)

Delegate Bilsbarrow arrived and, in excuse of his absence during the morning, said he had been sick. (Excused.)

Moved that we proceed to the nomination and election of the National Secretary. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BERRY: I nominate Henry Kuhn.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: I place in nomination Comrade Reinstein.

Delegate Reinstein declined and Kuhn was elected by acclamation.

Delegate De Leon was elected unanimously as Editor of The People.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I move that the National Executive Committee be authorized to act as a Committee on Style and to harmonize any matters of the constitution that, in the adoption of this convention don't dovetail. (Carried.)

Moved that the N.E.C. be empowered to fill any and all vacancies that may occur upon the National Ticket. (Carried.)

SECRETARY KUHN: The question of funds comes before this convention. Some \$700 have been used from the National Agitation Fund for the Mileage Fund. Some steps should be taken for the raising of funds to conduct this National Campaign. I see no way for immediate action other than the one of subscription lists.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I move that the matter of raising a campaign fund be referred to the N.E.C. (Carried.)

DELEGATE BOHN: I understand that there were some criticisms made about me not being at the session last night. I waited

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

for a long time down there for the State Convention of New York to adjourn, then, thinking there would be no session, I went home. (Excused.)

Delegates Goerke, Cox and Richards were excused on the same grounds.

Moved that the N.E.C. be instructed to publish the proceedings of this convention, if it has ways and means.

SECRETARY KUHN: In that respect we can proceed in the same manner that we proceeded with the 1900 Convention report, securing orders and raising funds before publication.

Motion carried.

DELEGATE COX: Now, before you close, I have something to read to you, a poem, handed to me by Jeremiah Devine, of Erie, Pennsylvania, to be read at this convention:

“OUR DUTY.”

We have heard the call of Labor,
And we hasten to obey:
Each one sworn to do his duty
In the conflict of To-day;
For we see in the near Future
When Our Class at last shall rise
From the sleep of Superstition,
With the Truth before its eyes.

So we've raised aloft our banner,
And proclaimed from shore to shore—
“Only by united action”
Labor'll rule forever more.
Speed the Social Revolution.
Send the message far and wide:
'Tis the time for word and action,
Strike at Wrong from ev'ry side.

Long has Labor borne oppression—
Silent in her hours of pain;
But—she calls to-day, my comrades,
Rise! and break the wage slave's chain;
Strike the blow! Be firm, consistent,
Comrades, of the S.L.P.—
With the fearless Arm and Hammer,
If at last you would be free.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Then, the Socialist Republic
Will arise at Freedom's dawn,
And the rule of the Oppressor
Will be ended: ever gone.
Thus we look into the Future,
Full of Hope, that Right shall stand,
For we know 'tis by the ballot
That Our Class can rule the land.

DELEGATE BILSBARROW: What I want to state now is something that could not have been brought up under any head of business. When in Chicago about two months ago, I had a talk with Shaynin, and the matter of Frank Lyon as the Manager of the Daily People came up for discussion. Shaynin told me that Lyon had been getting jobs from people, doing the work and keeping the money, and the National Secretary brought him up to the office and he confessed that he had been knocking down on the Party. Shaynin said he knew that this matter would be explained here in the convention, and if the National Secretary will do so, or the convention thinks it is in order to do so, I will be very much pleased.

DELEGATE PASSANNO: I, for one, would like to hear the merits of the case.

DELEGATE BOHN: I move that the National Secretary be called upon for a statement in reference to the matter stated before this body by Comrade Bilsbarrow. (Carried.)

SECRETARY KUHN: There is a statement to be made upon that subject, and it was my intention to make it in executive session, but we had a peculiar situation; there was a long wrangle as to who should be permitted to remain, the time became so limited that to interject that matter would perhaps have knocked out the whole purpose. Through a chance remark of a compositor, working in the basement, Comrade Baldwin inferred there was something the matter with a job from a certain customer. Baldwin thought the customer was a new one, but the compositor said: "Oh, no. We have had him for some time." But a few days after Baldwin had stated the matter to me, after giving it some thought, it seemed very strange to me, and I instructed Comrade Baldwin to follow the matter up. He did so. First by going to that customer. The customer began to fence; didn't want to give any information. Baldwin reported back to me and I devised a plan whereby pressure was brought to bear and that customer gave part of the information. The plan had been that the work went into the shop and the collections were made by Lyon direct. Then Lyon was summarily dealt

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

with and Baldwin was placed in charge of the mechanical department. It must be said that Lyon was not then the Manager of the Daily People. He was simply in charge of the mechanical department. As to the repayment of the money—I didn't say how much it was,—we found at that time as near as we could get at it that it must have been close to \$300, and the time must have been something like four months, but when I took Lyon to task, he admitted there was another small amount. The N.E.C. instructed me to see Mr. Patterson, our attorney. I asked Lyon to go along. He at first balked, but afterwards came along. We went into conference, and then Mr. Patterson had a long talk with Lyon, and he then said he would see to it that the amount was made up. I reported back to the N.E.C. and the N.E.C. decided, under the circumstances, it would be unwise to make any noise about it. The N.E.C. reasoned in this way: that when such information got abroad at that time, impressions would be created in the minds of hundreds of members all over the country that nobody was safe. They had probably looked upon Lyon as trustworthy, and they would go to the conclusion that nobody could be trusted. Proceeding from that view point, the N.E.C. decided to say nothing and took what steps I explained to you. While this matter is up, I might say this much in addition: When Lyon first came, he proved an excellent man in many ways; a hard worker, he was working day and night. He conducted himself excellently, but, in the course of time, he got into rather questionable company. It seemed that he was made of rather light timber, anyhow, with a good many tastes to gratify. Perhaps De Leon can give you more information. Comrade De Leon could not understand why Lyon should act in so peculiar a way toward him. In the light of all that has happened, I would almost come to the conclusion that Lyon was afraid of Comrade De Leon, he seemed to hold off, as it were. That feature of the Lyon episode seemed to be most interesting in the light of all that has happened.

DELEGATE DUFFY: Is Lyon still a member of the S.L.P.?

SECRETARY KUHN: No, he is not, so far as I know.

DELEGATE LEITNER: He is not a member of Section Houston.

SECRETARY KUHN: After the N.E.C. had decided that it was not wise to proclaim the matter from the house-tops, they asked me to confer with Lyon and impose upon him the absolute duty to keep away from the Party. I did so and he promised.

DELEGATE DE LEON: The case with Lyon certainly confirms a large experience I have made with these men. The first illustration

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

was when Wilshire and Owen landed in this city from the West. They had swapped wives. Because I disapproved of wife trading, they began to look upon me as simply conservative. Of course I was thrown together with Lyon, and more than one remark of Lyon was, to me, filthy, and pretty soon I had nothing to do with him except strictly official. Soon I had, through Comrade Hossack, a letter which stated his animosity toward me. Lyon had been doing good work up to a certain point, nevertheless, his attitude and further things that Hossack informed me of, caused me to go before the N.E.C. and tell them what I thought of Lyon. There is something about crooked men, they seem to smell us long before we find them out. It seemed that Lyon was a pivotal man, and if anything was done to displace him, it would be fatal to us. If I had known then, as I know now, I would have realized that he could have been spared very well. Then, when I went on the stump, going to Chicago, St. Louis, etc., on the way I received a letter from Comrade Kuhn, confirming our apprehensions. I mentioned that it seemed that we were going to have some more trouble, and when I came back, it seemed that the matter blew over. Lyon had had a falling out with Hossack. The letter of Lyon came up and Lyon took back water. When the discovery was made, it simply confirmed everything that Hossack had indicated at the time. There was no N.E.C. except this kind of an N.E.C. With a proper N.E.C. it would have come before the committee. In a position like this, particularly with the form of management by the N.E.C., with the experience one gathers you make up your mind, although you cannot describe or define the reason, that some man is a crook. If you push your opinion, some one will say: Where is your evidence? It was simply a case of moral weakness with Lyon. With a proper N.E.C. that whole matter would have been completely handled.

DELEGATE LEITNER: On behalf of the S.E.C. that recommended Lyon, I want to say that I found him upright and honest, almost to ridiculousness. I would not be surprised if the beating he got at Beaumont had something to do with the weakness of that man.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: When was it that this whole thing came out?

SECRETARY KUHN: It must have been in January or December.

DELEGATE REINSTEIN: For my part, I would not be surprised that he was one more of the victims that broke down under the

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Daily People management. But there is a lesson to be drawn from the experience with Lyon. Comrade Curtis of Buffalo was a compositor. He came to New York and secured a job from Lyon, and after awhile I got letters from him against Lyon. When he returned, he didn't beat around the bush, but came right out and said that Lyon had allowed Big Six to get control of the basement. When I heard that I was astonished. I thought that what he told might be influenced by his having been discharged by Lyon. I must admit that I owe an apology to Comrade Curtis. There is a lesson to be drawn. I believe that it is necessary to act in some manner to prevent occurrence of such matters, that is, letting labor fakirs get control of the basement of our printing plant. So I move that this convention instruct the next National Executive Committee not to let any Big Six men into the basement, except in absolute emergency.

SECRETARY KUHN: I am glad that that motion has been made by Comrade Reinstein, because it enables us to take up this feature of the case. That has gone throughout the country, and inasmuch as some delegates present are not clear upon that feature, I will say what little there may be to say on it. When we began taking job work, it became necessary to have job compositors, and there were none of them to be had except members of the union. The Daily People remained an open shop all the time. The job department was organized. The S.T. and L.A. held that no matter what the conditions were, we should employ members of the S.T. and L.A., and we asked them if they had any, and they said: No. They admitted that they had none, yet demanded that we put them on. It meant give up the paper or discontinue the line upon which we were moving. In the course of time the job department was given up, and it then became possible to make a different arrangement. It then became possible for us to get the members of the Party down into that basement. Comrade Corregan went downstairs as the foreman, and we had two compositors who were members of the Party and they were put on. Prior to that time we had changed the press man. We had a press man there who gave satisfaction in so far as work was concerned. He knew how to run a press, but we suspected that he was hand in glove with the enemies of the Party. Finally the idea occurred to me that Comrade Winauer might be broken in. He was a machinist. He had been working for some time in Hoe's, the makers of the press, and it was tried, and, after some experience he could handle the work. Now there is going to be an-

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

other change. As soon as the funds are at hand Corregan will have to go out on the stump, and then we may have to get a member of Big Six. Now as to the question of employing members of the S.T. and L.A., we have had some bitter experience along that line. A local of the S.T. and L.A. was organized in the basement, and from what I know of it, it became a ridiculous affair. As soon as some of those men became any good and acquired enough speed and accuracy to hold their own in another office they pulled up stakes, joined Big Six and sued the Party for back wages. That is the experience we have had with that crowd. Again, I have spoken to members of the Typographical Union here in New York and some of them have told me that it is simply impossible for them to leave that organization, because the organization controls the jobs in this town, and that just as soon as they would leave their job and that organization and go into The People, they would be absolutely dependent upon that job. If they were to lose that job they would be unable to secure another. Many printers are not any too sober; they would look for five or six paydays in the week. It got to be so absurd that the Manager complained to me and I said stop it; cut it short. On the day it was posted that there would be but one pay day, they came on with signed statements that they must have advanced payments or the place would be closed down. We had to get out the paper, hence had to give way temporarily, but the practice was finally stopped.

DELEGATE CORREGAN: Ever since I have been in New York I have always been wanting some one to take my place. My home is in Syracuse. I will say this, that any man who is experienced on the floor downstairs can take my place. There are no secrets; no one down there is the savior of the Party. The mechanical manager was looked upon as the great savior. De Leon told me that he felt that if he or Lyon had to quit, he would resign because the thought the maintenance of the plant depended upon Lyon. I knew that Lyon was not so absolutely necessary. My department is easily filled, if the man is available.

Moved that the matter be laid on the table. (Carried.)

DELEGATE PASSANNO: There is a matter I wish to have information on. It is in reference to Connolly. I would like to ask if there was any thought of Connolly working on the Daily People when he came here?

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

SECRETARY KUHN: In his first letter, announcing that he would settle in America, Connolly said he was a tile layer. When he first came here it was said he was a laborer. Next he was a linotype operator. The N.E.C. never discussed the matter of employing Connolly in The People office or upon the machines.

DELEGATE DE LEON: Since this thing is up, I may as well go on record here. The matter of Connolly's earning his living in America was discussed by Kuhn and I in the Daily People Building. Connolly's first coming here was discouraged by the Party. With our previous experience, we thought that an agitation tour by a stranger could not possibly be made a success. Then we had a letter from Connolly. He argued that we didn't seem to have a correct idea of how useful it would be, not so much to the United States, as in the British Isles to help the "Unholy Scotch Current." I went before the N.E.C. and after I read the letter and made the argument, they decided to have Connolly come. Connolly came and made that tour that you know of and returned. Then we got a letter that he was coming back to America to stay. He wanted some one to meet him at the arrival to give him the necessary funds to keep him up until he could find a job. I, for one, abstained from writing to him at all. I could not say: Don't come; it is dangerous. Nor could I say to him: Come. When he arrived, he arrived penniless, but before he arrived he said he was a machine operator. Connolly arrived and he hung around and was not offered a place. Then he moved away. While he was here he saw me frequently in the office. When he went to Boston, he sent a very violent letter, and it seemed that he thought he should have been given a job, and it was wrong that he was not given a job. I brought the matter to Lyon and Lyon said he couldn't give him a job, that if he had been a compositor he would have said all of the time that he was a compositor. Consequently, I did not answer that letter of Connolly's either, because, if I had I would have had to read him a lecture. So far as anything was said, nothing was said to justify him in thinking he would get a job in The People office. Upon the matter of the Editorial Department, I made it clear to him that there was no opportunity for his employment in that office.

The business of the convention having been completed, Chairman Kinneally, with a few words upon the work that had been accomplished, the stand that had been taken, the step forward that had been made since the convention of 1900, and the Party's work

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

of the future, prepared for the adjournment.

Thereupon Daniel De Leon was called upon for a speech. He answered with observations of our experience and our future prospects.

Henry Kuhn being called upon, spoke of the action demanded of our organization by the conditions confronting the Party.

The convention adjourned with three cheers for the Socialist Labor Party.