

DEBS AND HANFORD NOMINATED

Convention Closes its Work Today—Trades Union Resolution Passed by a Vote of Two to One—Platform Adopted.

Yesterday the National Socialistic convention opened its morning session with Comrade William Maily in the chair. There was nothing slow about its progress and the serious work of the convention was transacted with but little display of oratorical fireworks.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION. The convention came to order promptly at 8 o'clock, and Chairman Sieverman immediately called up the report of the Press Committee, which was read by Delegate Simons (Ill.) chairman of that committee, as follows:

We would recommend for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau under the control of the National Office of the Socialist Party for the purpose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propagandist point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics.



Comrade Sieverman, of New York, wields the gavel.

Delegate Simons moved that in accordance with this recommendation of the Press Committee, that the convention recommend to the National Committee the organization of such a Bureau. The motion was seconded, and the question being put, was carried unanimously.

Delegate Simons then explained at some length the probable cost of plate matter, and stated that Comrade Strobell had gathered a great deal of practical information on the matter, as well as himself, and that either one of them would be glad to answer any questions which the delegates might wish information upon during the sessions of the convention.

The Committee on Platform was then called upon to render its report, and stated, through its chairman, that while they desired to report progress, they would not be ready to come before the convention until Thursday morning.

Chairman Sprague of the Committee on Resolutions then took the platform and completed the report which had already been partially rendered. He said: "Your committee, in completing its report, desires to move the following resolution upon the outrages in Colorado, and other phases of the class struggle:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalist rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attend it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that control and ascendancy of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various states, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organizations of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and terror, and assailed all the fundamental principles and the cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By subverting the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberty of the citizen, and that merely at the behest of the President.

the rounds of the delegates and was not a matter upon which the convention could act in any way, he would move on behalf of the committee to table the resolution.

The resolution of Comrade Spargo was seconded and carried. Delegate Spargo then read the resolution on the Russo-Japanese war, as follows:

Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and whereas, The working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of fraternity and solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization; and be it further resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the international Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace.

On motion, duly seconded, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

The New Jersey resolution regarding the compensation of speakers was next read by Delegate Spargo. It is as follows:

Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than his fitness in the prosecution of clean-cut Socialism; therefore, be it resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite predetermined salary or fee.

Committee reports favorably. On motion of Delegate Spargo the resolution was adopted. The following resolution was then read:

Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, including the standard of the working class the party represents; and be it recommended, That as far as possible, lecturers of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus dispersing the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued.

Committee reports favorably. Delegate Spargo: "Your committee reports favorably and moves the adoption of this resolution."

A lengthy discussion here ensued amongst the delegates in regard to the question of fees to be paid to speakers, there being a great difference of opinion as to the maximum and minimum to be fixed or as to what should be considered exorbitant. The question finally being put to a viva voce vote, on the adoption of the resolution the chairman declared himself in doubt, and a rising vote was taken, with the following result: Ayes, 65; nays, 51, and the resolution was declared adopted.

Delegate Spargo: "As the final part of our report I have to report upon the four trades union resolutions which were referred back to our committee from the trades union committee. The committee debated at great length upon each of the four resolutions. We finally decided to report back to this convention as follows: That in view of the fact that no matter how improperly the resolutions had been through the hands of another committee, had been reported favorably to this committee by that committee, we as a committee declined to make any counter or other recommendation after recommendations had been made by one committee to whom they were referred. That leaves the committee in this position: We did not desire to shrink from any responsibility that was ours, but we do say that, in view of the circumstances under which the resolutions came to us, that, as a committee, we will make no recommendation whatsoever, and as individual members of the convention that will leave us free to take whatever

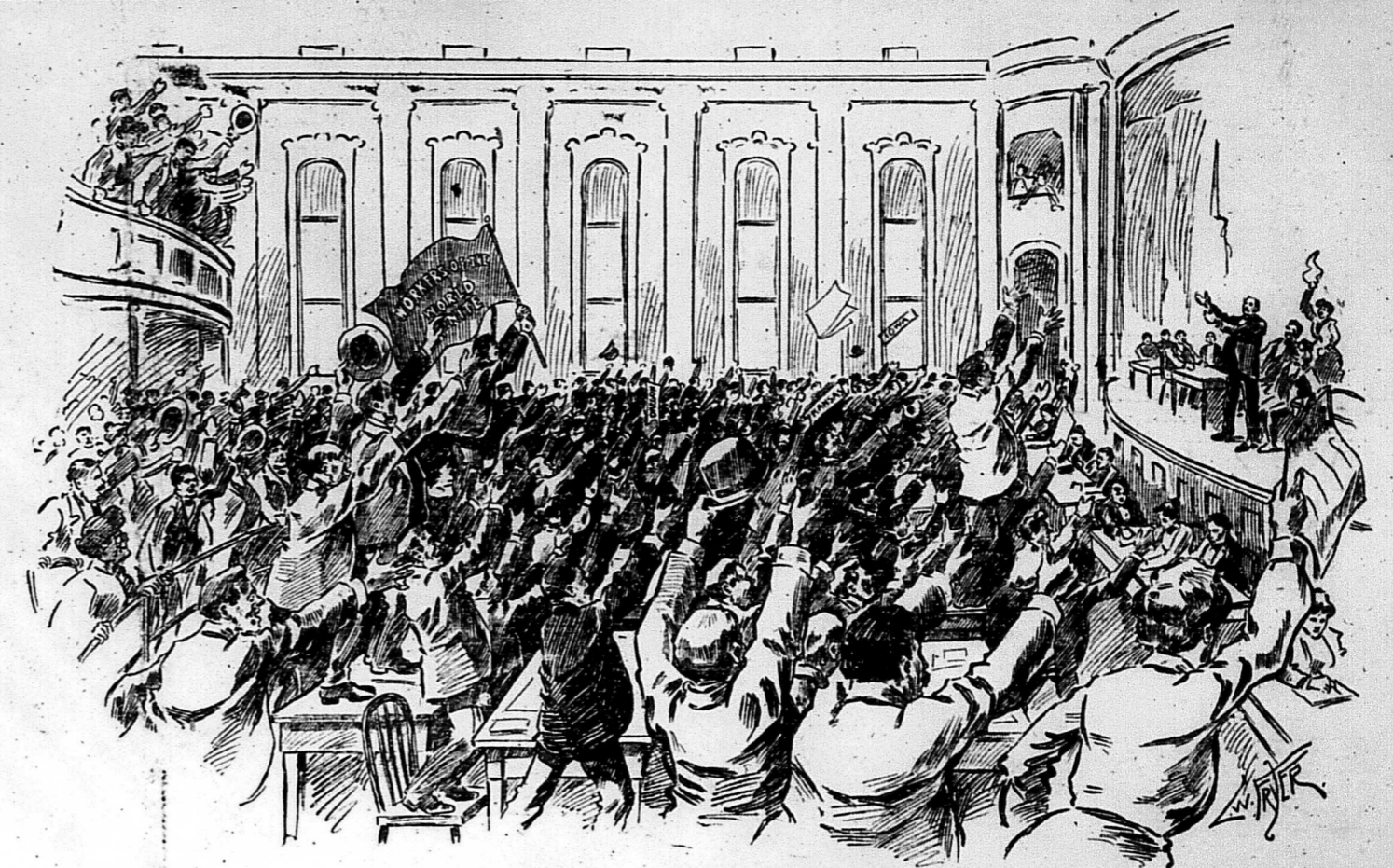
of Indianapolis, Ind., is wholly inadequate to meet the conditions presenting themselves as results of recent occurrences in the trade union movement; and whereas, The Socialist Party, as the party of the working class, recognizes the class struggle within society, as the active force in lining up the workers of the world in the militant organizations for the struggle of emancipation from wage slavery, patriarchy in the Socialist Party, and economically in such organizations as are used as instruments of the class struggle to the end of overthrowing the capitalist system of society; and whereas, Several economic organizations of labor have combined with capital in harmony of interest, combinations with the object of obscuring the issue and leading the working class astray to perform rearmament duties for capitalization and the prevailing order of things; therefore, be it resolved, By this convention the Socialist Party, recognizing the necessity of organization in economic fields as a weapon for the defense of the workers against the capitalist class, also recognizes the fact that in line with the declarations of all Socialist parties throughout the world, the economic organizations of the workers must be a constructive force for the conduct of industry in a Socialist commonwealth.

The Socialist Party therefore urges and appeals to the members of the working class that they join such industrial unions on economic lines, as well as together in solidarity, in which they will not be divided and split among by the conflicting interests of craft and guild divisions, and which also aim at the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth by combined political and economic action upon the lines of the class struggle, both the political and economic organizations to be used as instruments and means to that end. The Socialist Party also wishes to denounce before the workers of this land the treacherous, deceitful work of the organization between several labor leaders, so-called, and the capitalists of industry, such as the National Civic Federation and other like institutions, and brand these combinations as instruments of the capitalist class to perpetuate the system of today, and to use organized labor as a tool for that purpose.

THE TRADE UNION RESOLUTION. Thursday, May 5—Morning Session.

The convention met at 9 o'clock. Delegate Maily was chosen chairman for the day, and Delegate Barnes, of Pennsylvania, vice chairman. The business unfinished at last night's session was taken up, being the resolution on trades unions. A motion was made but lost to continue the debate until not later than 11 o'clock.

At Wednesday night's session four speakers had spoken against the trade union resolution reported by the committee, and it was understood that a similar number would be heard at Thursday morning's session in favor of the resolution. That thereafter the



SCENE IN THE CONVENTION HALL WHEN EUGENE V. DEBS WAS NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT YESTERDAY.

which continued until the hour for adjournment had arrived. On motion duly seconded and carried the rules were suspended and the convention continued in session for one hour longer, at which time motion was made that the convention adjourn until the following morning, which motion was carried, and the further discussion of this matter will be found in Thursday's report of the proceedings of this convention.

N. B.—During the course of the debate on the trades union resolutions Delegate Ott (Wyoming) offered the following as a substitute for the four trades union resolutions before the house:



Comrade C. A. Binkett, delegate from Ohio.

of Indianapolis, Ind., is wholly inadequate to meet the conditions presenting themselves as results of recent occurrences in the trade union movement; and whereas, The Socialist Party, as the party of the working class, recognizes the class struggle within society, as the active force in lining up the workers of the world in the militant organizations for the struggle of emancipation from wage slavery, patriarchy in the Socialist Party, and economically in such organizations as are used as instruments of the class struggle to the end of overthrowing the capitalist system of society; and whereas, Several economic organizations of labor have combined with capital in harmony of interest, combinations with the object of obscuring the issue and leading the working class astray to perform rearmament duties for capitalization and the prevailing order of things; therefore, be it resolved, By this convention the Socialist Party, recognizing the necessity of organization in economic fields as a weapon for the defense of the workers against the capitalist class, also recognizes the fact that in line with the declarations of all Socialist parties throughout the world, the economic organizations of the workers must be a constructive force for the conduct of industry in a Socialist commonwealth.

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speakers would be equally divided between the two sides of the question. Delegate Ott, of Wyoming, had introduced a substitute Wednesday evening to the effect that the trade union resolution adopted at the Indianapolis unity convention in 1901 was wholly inadequate to meet the conditions as they presented themselves in the economic field, and that the working class were urged to join such industrial unions as aim at the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

Delegate Richardson, of California, stated that there are two propositions before the convention; first, shall this convention formulate an expression of the attitude of the Socialist party towards trade unions? And, assuming that this proposition carries, in what shape shall the expression be formulated? Therefore, he moved as a substitute for the matters before the house that the first vote taken in disposing of the report of the committee on resolutions shall be an answer to the question, "Shall the convention formulate an expression of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward trade unions?"

Secoinded. The secretary, being called on for information, stated that the matter before the house was the substitute offered by Delegate Ott.

Delegate Parks, of Kansas, spoke in opposition to the trade union resolution. At the same time he held in his hand a club painted white and partly red, used by him in propaganda speeches. He resented the slurs that had been cast upon Socialists who happened to be educated men, and called attention to the fact that if it had not been for Karl Marx the great book "Capital" would not have been written or the "Communist Manifesto." "What we want to do," he said, "is to unite all the workers of the world." So long as the working class can be divided into union men on the one hand and scabs on the other the condition that capitalism wants will be brought about. Union men have been heard to praise Roosevelt for the great things he had accomplished for the anthracite mine workers. "We are not a union party, we are a working class party, and we want that distinctly understood. What is unionism? Unionism simply begs for more wages. What is Socialism? We propose to abolish the wage system. When Marx wrote the 'Manifesto' he wrote an appeal to all the workers of the world to unite, and that 'Manifesto' became the platform of the working class, when the trade union move-

ment of Indianapolis, Ind., is wholly inadequate to meet the conditions presenting themselves as results of recent occurrences in the trade union movement; and whereas, The Socialist Party, as the party of the working class, recognizes the class struggle within society, as the active force in lining up the workers of the world in the militant organizations for the struggle of emancipation from wage slavery, patriarchy in the Socialist Party, and economically in such organizations as are used as instruments of the class struggle to the end of overthrowing the capitalist system of society; and whereas, Several economic organizations of labor have combined with capital in harmony of interest, combinations with the object of obscuring the issue and leading the working class astray to perform rearmament duties for capitalization and the prevailing order of things; therefore, be it resolved, By this convention the Socialist Party, recognizing the necessity of organization in economic fields as a weapon for the defense of the workers against the capitalist class, also recognizes the fact that in line with the declarations of all Socialist parties throughout the world, the economic organizations of the workers must be a constructive force for the conduct of industry in a Socialist commonwealth.

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The Socialist agitator should be able to teach the doctrines of the class struggle, economic determinism and surplus value. The class struggle is only one of the doctrines; trade unionism is only one of the forms of the class struggle. Carroll D. Wright said that labor produced something like \$10 a day, while the wages received were only about \$2 a day, and the club in the hands of the speaker was used by him as an emblem to illustrate the condition of labor. "The politician tells the laboring man that the interests of capital and the interests of labor are identical. The Socialist agitator should go forth and show that the interests of labor and the interests of capital are absolutely antagonistic and that there is a class struggle. Now, politics is the science of the governmental control of men. Socialism is the science of the administration of things. We do not want any politicians in this movement; we want scientific men. We do not want to put anything into our platform or pass any resolutions here to catch votes. We want to put in a statement of principles here that will appeal to the reason of the world. I am not opposed to unionism. I was once a member of the



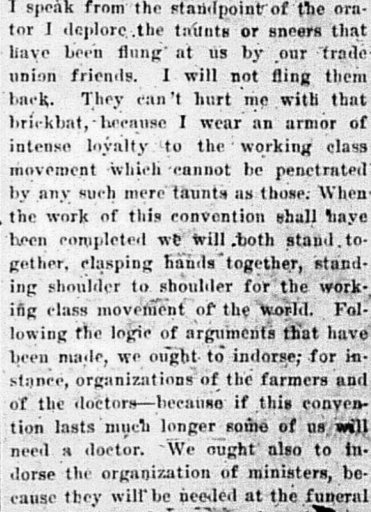
Comrade F. W. Waldhorst, of Alabama, is a bundle of energy and vim.

American Labor Union myself. There has been a slur thrown out at some comrades because they got their knowledge of Socialism from books. When I came out of the university the best I could do was to teach school at \$30 or \$35 a month, and I have been out among the proletarians of Colorado and elsewhere who made more than I ever made teaching school. We should point out to the worker that the union movement is but a means to an end, and that we have the organization that aims at the industrial freedom of the workers of the world."

Delegate Gibbs, of Massachusetts,

Spoke in opposition to the committee's report, but stated that he resented the insinuation that those who are opposed to this report are also opposed to the trade union movement. "I would not do one single thing to lessen or weaken the bonds of fraternal union which exists between trades unionism and the Socialist movement. I speak in opposition to this motion because I believe the time is coming rapidly, if that time is not already here, when the Socialist movement must cease making any special appeals to any particular part of the working class, and must recognize the fact that our sole mission is to the whole of the working class. It is perhaps unfortunate that I am obliged to speak from the standpoint of the despised professional. It is true that I am obliged to wear a longitudinal crease in my pants, but I do it for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a horizontal crease in your overalls. It is true that

I am obliged to wear a clean shirt for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a dirty shirt. It is true that I am obliged to carry around a professional title in front of my name for exactly the same reason that your fellows do not wear a title. But I want to say to you that when my grocer sends his bill he sometimes makes a mistake and puts the 'Dr.' after my name instead of in front; I am not proud of these things, however; these are simply the badges of my servitude. I recognize the fact, in other words, that my profession has been reduced to the dead level of the wage working class. I despise that term, for I am a working man myself. I learned the A-B-Cs of Socialism standing in the rag room of a paper mill at 11 years of age, when I was obliged to stand upon a salt box to reach the top of the table that I worked at, and I have been perfectly at home upon a salt box, a soap box, a shoe box, or any other old kind of a box ever since. In other words, my capitalist friends builded better than they knew, and that is the way they made a Socialist orator out of me. While I speak from the standpoint of the orator I deplore the taunts or sneers that have been flung at us by our trade union friends. I will not fling them back. They can't hurt me with that brickbat, because I wear an armor of intense loyalty to the working class movement which cannot be penetrated by any such mere taunts as those. When the work of this convention shall have been completed we will both stand together, clasping hands together, standing shoulder to shoulder for the working class movement of the world. Following the logic of arguments that have been made, we ought to endorse; for instance, organizations of the farmers and of the doctors—because if this convention lasts much longer some of us will need a doctor. We ought also to endorse the organization of ministers, because they will be needed at the funeral of capitalism. I am opposed to the motion in its present form. I believe should maintain our friendly and sympathetic attitude towards the trade unions, but we should simply from this



Comrade Gibbs, of Massachusetts, asks the chair a question.

time on 'gang our own gait,' hew straight to the line, and let the chips fall where they may."

Delegate Toole, of Maryland,

Opposed the resolution as reported, but on different grounds from those of the last speaker. "I am opposed to this resolution," he said, "not because I am opposed to trade unionism, but because this resolution ties the Socialist Party to one particular brand of trade unionism. I submit that organized labor continually shifts to meet the at-

DAILY APPEAL TO REASON.

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CIRCULATION STATEMENT. Sunday, May 1.....26,000 Monday, May 2.....28,500 Tuesday, May 3.....29,000 Wednesday, May 4.....29,500 Thursday, May 5.....30,000

LAST EDITION OF THE DAILY. This is the sixth and last edition of the Daily Appeal. The proceedings of today's session of the convention will be found in the regular issue of the weekly Appeal. As only six days' mailing list was provided for the Daily it will be impractical to issue another edition of the Daily. The Daily has been a success financially, and judging from the expressions of its readers they have been more than pleased with the efforts of the Appeal to give a complete and accurate record of the proceedings. The copies of the Daily Appeal should be filed away. They will prove interesting and valuable later on. The great campaign of 1904 can be said to be in full swing and every Socialist will feel like getting down to hard work. On to the Co-operative Commonwealth.

TO-DAY'S SESSION. At today's session of the convention the question of Municipal Program will be taken up and discussed. The committee having in charge the preparation of a Municipal Program will make its report. Other matters of general interest will be taken up. It will be necessary to elect a new National Secretary, unless Comrade Mailly can be prevailed upon to assume the burdens of the office for another year. Comrade Mailly has performed the trying duties of this office during the past year with fairness and with a comprehensive grasp of the needs of the hour. Should he conclude to retire it will be regretted by the entire membership. The Appeal trusts that he will stay with the ship during the great campaign now approaching.



By E. N. Richardson. You have a right to your opinion, but don't forget that the other fellow also has the same right. Socialists should forget that there are geographical lines—the interests of the workers of California are exactly the same as those of Maine, and Socialism stands for both. Socialism stands for the interests of every man who works. A great man, to my notion, is the man who keeps cool, calm and dispassionate under any and all circumstances. All good speakers may not be good thinkers, and all good thinkers are not good speakers. The man who says the most may not always know the most. We can't all view the world from the same viewpoint. The Iowa delegation held a circus in the parlors of the Revere House this morning for the purpose of transacting important business. As a result, Comrade Carrie L. Johnson, associate editor of the Iowa Socialist, now spells her last name T-R-I-L-L-E-R, Triller. "Thou shalt not take thy neighbor's job" is the eleventh commandment of unionism, said William Hard at the Hull House Woman's Club. Good. That leaves it this way: You can't take your neighbor's job; the capitalists, who own all the jobs, won't give you one—you can starve. And that, at least, will give the undertaker a job. Chicago has wrestled with the smoke nuisance for years—the Socialist convention disposed of it in a few hours. The Golden Rule is all right, and the Socialists have the only plan to put it into operation. It would be a monotonous world to live in if we were all alike. Suppose I do not agree with you, is that any reason why I should hate you? Chairman Sieverman politely informed the gallery that they were welcome to view the circus but must not applaud the performance. Penrose of Arkansas isn't saying much, but when the votes are counted in

DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Delegate Hillquit offered a resolution providing for the election of three delegates to the Amsterdam Congress in August, to be selected by ballot, and that the National Committee be authorized to issue credentials to as many as twenty delegates who might want to go at their own expense. The motion was finally amended to send one delegate. Considerable discussion ensued as to the advisability of incurring the expense. It was stated that the expense need not be more than about \$260 for a delegate. It was also moved to elect an alternate. Carried. The following nominations for delegate were made: Smith, of Illinois. A. M. Simons, of Illinois. Spargo, of New York. Hillquit, of New York. Herron, of New York. May Wood Simons, of Illinois. Hayes, of Ohio. Berger, of Wisconsin. Carey, of Massachusetts. Unterman, of Illinois. Mailly, of Nebraska. Lamb, of Michigan. All declined except Hillquit, Unterman, A. M. Simons, May Wood Simons and Spargo. A ballot was taken, resulting as follows: Hillquit.....46 Unterman.....37 A. M. Simons.....35 May Wood Simons.....14 Spargo.....15 According to custom the two lowest names were dropped. According to a motion that was adopted the candidate receiving the second highest vote should be elected alternate. Pending further balloting the convention adjourned until Friday morning, May 6, 1904, at 9 o'clock, when the Committee on State and Municipal Program will make its reports. In the meantime the National and State Secretaries will be given an opportunity to confer for the purpose of systematizing the work of the different offices. A full stenographic report of today's session will appear in next issue of the APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan. November it will be found that old Arkansas has saved its share of the wood. A divided working class can never win. A smile is oftentimes your most powerful weapon. Don't be afraid to change your mind—it's no disgrace. This is an age of progress. Men who won't vote for a job for every man don't deserve one for themselves. The trades union is the expression of the class struggle on the economic field. But your union can't give you a job; they don't own any jobs—the capitalists own them. The capitalists own the jobs—don't forget that. Hanford: "As long as there is a necessity for the trades unions there will be trades unions." Hanford: "Trade unionism was born of necessity." Barney Berlyn: "When we go on strike we haven't time to ask a striker whether he is a Democrat or a Republican." Victor Berger: "In Milwaukee we have a Socialist movement with two arms—a trades union arm and a Socialist arm." Let us forget that we were all born under the same blue sky.

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IN CHICAGO. Former resident, pointing to City Hall—that is an old landmark. Old resident—You'd better say, great graft mark. Chicago's army of job hunters is growing pretty fast these days. It is always interesting to hear the non-Socialist explain why he is not a Socialist. Nine out of ten workmen to-day are ripe for Socialism. The capitalists now own about everything but your votes. And it sometimes looks as though they had a quiet claim deed to those. Victims of their own ignorance—the working class. The interests of the working class are identical, but the workers' conception of those interests are not identical. That's why we are slaves. It does look to a man up a tree as though we didn't want to be free. Do your own thinking—never mind the gallery. The great mass of the workers are kept out of Socialism by a wall of prejudice. This wall can only be battered down by education.

THE HORRID THINGS! Our friends, the enemy, don't love us the least little wee, teeny bit, and sometimes they get real wrathful, and say things that don't sound nice a bit. For instance, like this: The pushers of the Socialist gang At present seem to be Just rotten ripe for some old game, to Dislocate such as me. They're filling up Chicago's streets, and Cramping her best halls, And everywhere a fellow goes, there's A dinky sheet that falls Into his hands, from heaven knows where, and He's got to sit and read How he lives on the fatted calf, And how the WORKERS feed; Oh fough! We must devise a way to Exterminate the crowd, Or they will tell too many things, They are so fresh and loud.

WITH HIS LITTLE VOTE. The father of his country Perhaps is Washington; And the people they all love him so, They say, "Like dad, like son." The cutest trick this great sire did When young and brave was he, Was to take his little hatchet And cut down a cherry tree. And when his father questioned him, He could not tell a lie, But sweetly, meekly, humbly said, "Dear father, it was I." And to-day our people tell, In school and church and book, What wondrous "pains" to save his soul Our dear George W. took. And now, when strikes and panics come, And other things of note, The workmen proudly should aver, "I did it with my vote."

"I did it with my little vote; I whacked down Reason's tree; I did it slick as anything—oh, There ain't no flies on me!" "I felled it, sir, I laid it low; Dear country, that is why We're up against some things to-day— But I cannot tell a lie." —M. J. C.

There are some people who profess a great antipathy to a feathered regime, and for fear that one may be thrust upon them, they diligently vote the old party tickets. But we can't understand why these same persons persist in splitting the air with a soul-rending screech every time an enterprising corn cob wedges its way into their vertebrae, or they roll onto a few briars and other little things that constitute the filling of their strenuous, capitalistic mattresses. People should lie quietly upon the beds they themselves make.

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ANENT PEOPLE, THINGS AND CONDITIONS

Debs and Hanford! Rah! Rah! Rah! Our dreams never will come true, the Chronicle declares. But we are living in hopes; and since the Chronicle is so kindly assisting us with its "ably edited" editorials, our hopes are growing.

Delegate: "What is before the house?" Chair: "Spargo is before the house." And the crowd surged in to—hear the big nominations. "The trades union movement cannot be organized on political lines."—Berlyn.

The pure, unspotted editor Cried "Grafting now must go." Then he pushed his pen for the dem-reps, And his own words did veto. When in doubt vote "NO!"

"Some trades unionists are class conscious, and others are only craft conscious."—Bertha Wilkins. "The working class, right or wrong—but right or wrong, the working class."—Hanford.

"Some speakers are worth \$200 per night—to keep still."—Spargo. How do you like "crows"?

"Are you suffering from 'chills of pessimism'?" There were roses galore at the convention yesterday, but they were not American Beauties—at \$6 per.

They have clear-cut Socialists in Oregon, all right. "I would rather have the Chairman call me down, than have you fellows use my time."—Gaylord.

"The trades union movement exists, not because you want it, or because I want it, but because the conditions have brought it about, and we've got to face it."—Carey.

G. W. Woodley of San Francisco, Cal., the "colored Comrade who knows 'What to do, and how to do it,' will speak under the auspices of the Third Ward branch at Thirty-fifth and State streets Saturday evening at 8 o'clock.

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THE GREAT RAILROAD LOBBY.

Some of the Things Which Congress Had Done for This Octopus of the East.

Washington, May 5.—To-day there was called in the District Supreme Court the lawsuit brought by Joseph Millard to test the constitutionality of the so-called "Union Station Act," which donates nearly \$9,000,000 to the Pennsylvania railway, in order to enable that concern to build a \$4,000,000 union railway station, which will still belong to the railway company.

It was one of the holdest highway robberies ever perpetrated by a trust Congress. The suit mentioned is one instituted Aug. 12, 1903, at the instigation of various citizens' societies to attempt to stop the theft. The case will likely be "continued," as it has been every time it has been called since instituted. Just before the case is to be called, the corporation lawyers always have to "go fishing," or have some swell wedding to attend. The Supreme Court of the District is very accommodating and never permits a nine million dollar robbery to interfere with a corporation lawyer's fishing. The influence whichajoined Congress into perpetrating this robbery is plenty strong enough to get whatever is wanted from this accommodating court. So confident are the robbers, that a small army of men are already at work tearing down houses and making the grades for the undertaking, just as if no test suit was pending, involving the act.

Briefly, the "\$4,000,000" depot, will cost the people the following items and still will not be theirs: Cash donation to the Pennsylvania railroad.....\$3,000,000 Value of real estate donations, estimated by the commissioners of the district at.....4,167,131 Damages to be paid by the taxpayers for property now being destroyed.....1,800,000 Total.....\$8,967,131

This is the cost of the Pennsylvania railway station to the people, which station is actually estimated to cost but \$4,000,000. In other words, when the deal is completed, the Pennsylvania railroad will have their new station without cost and more than \$4,000,000 besides.

The story of this plunder is intricate as it is bold and has been developing for years. The founders of the city, Washington and L'Enfant, planned a magnificent stretch of ground lying between the Capitol and the White House as a "Mall" for the people. It has been splendidly laid out into a park.

But in 1874 the Pennsylvania railroad got permission to occupy the best of this ground, cutting it in two with their tracks from north to south and locating their railway station thereon. The corporation never paid a cent of rent in any form.

After occupying the people's park free for thirty years, getting free rent of property, whose value they themselves estimated at \$1,500,000, they suddenly conceived the notion of a new deal, a new central railway station at Garfield Park and abandoning the Mall.

In this the plot was formed. The first step was to induce Congress to make it a present of the title to the ground occupied on the Mall in consideration of the company erecting thereon a fine station to cost \$1,500,000. Congress jumped at the chance to give the railroad the title to the property. It was absolutely contrary to the secret intentions of the corporation to build the station there, but this was the first move of the pawns. They had "landed" the title to a million and a half worth of land.

The next step was the "merger" of the Pennsylvania and the Ohio railway systems. This merger, or trust, left Washington absolutely at the mercy of the Pennsylvania railway. No one can now get in or out of the city without riding over their lines, unless they walk. This merger was followed by the withdrawing of most of the "accommodation" privileges given to the suburban traffic along both lines. Rates were raised and the people howled for a while, but still continued to vote the tickets which made the thing possible.

The next step was a "junker." In August, 1901, Senator McMillan and the members of the committee which had in hand the improvement scheme of Washington were in Paris dividing time between the French gisettes and jaunts at the Parisian parks. Then A. J. Cassatt how into port and proposed to take the "commission" to Frankfort-on-Main and show them the "finest railway station on earth." They went and Cassatt "paid the freight!" Then Cassatt whispered in their ears that he "would build a better one in Washington" if they would help him out. He whispered some other things but the other whisperings were not reported. That junket was the best investment that Cassatt ever made for the Pennsylvania railway. In that junket the plot was laid for the robbery which became known as the "McMillan Terminal Bill."

The terms of that bill were: (1) Congress should buy back for \$1,500,000 the site of the proposed Pennsylvania station on the Mall that Congress had just given the corporation in consideration of their building a \$1,500,000 depot, which condition the railway had not fulfilled and didn't intend to fulfill when they stole the ground.

(2) Congress was to make another cash donation of \$1,500,000 to help out on the new building. (3) Congress was also to pay the cost of real estate necessary to be purchased which cost another \$500,000.

(4) Congress was to pay all the damages to property owners affected by the change which cost another \$600,000. (5) Congress was to pay the cost of the changes in South Washington which takes another \$500,000. (6) Congress was to meet other incidental expenses at a cost of \$1,000,000. (7) Congress was to donate Garfield Park to the railway for railway purposes without a dollar of consideration. On return for these "donations," amounting to nearly nine million dollars, the Pennsylvania railway was to build (for itself) a \$4,000,000 depot.

A large part of this robbery was to be assessed against the District taxpayers, who have absolutely no voice in the government and, if they had, most of them would vote to continue the same existing social conditions. Congress gave the railway corporation all they asked for and wondered why they didn't ask for more. The people, seeing the robbery, vainly brought suit to "test" the matter in a trust court.

They might as well have brought suit against the Devil and held court in Hell. The railway has utterly ignored the suit and has gone on about the detail consumption of the steal without the slightest fear that the "court" will go back on it. The rascality was foreseen years ago and the trust Congress were not "fooled," they permitted the robbery gladly and knowingly. Some years ago, when Mr. Bryan was in Congress, Representative, Bankhead, as the chairman of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds, made an attempt to induce Congress to buy a piece of ground for the new printing office. Bryan and others opposed and urged that the building be placed on the Mall by the Pennsylvania railway station or in Garfield Park. The railway lobby at once opposed and in the heat of debate Bryan charged that the railway intended to steal both the Mall and the park. Other corporation curves at the time substantiated Bryan's charge.

Now the prophecy has been realized; the corporation has stolen both the Mall and the park, but kindly sold back the stolen Mall for a million and a half dollars. This gigantic fraud is only one of a multitude of steals and robberies that have been perpetrated by what is known as the "Pennsylvania Railway Lobby." While this lobby is maintained by the Pennsylvania railway and is primarily for the promotion of steals for this company, it has been so skillful and so successful that it is often employed by other railroads and by other corporations, particularly local corporations, to "get things through." The leader is George W. Hamilton of the law firm of Hamilton & Colbert, but the "law" business is merely a cover for the real business of "fixing." The "law" sign is used for the same purpose that the Japs ran fire boats against Port Arthur—to conceal things. Wayne MacVough is the high-priced adviser of the "fixers." A son of Clerk McKinney of the United States Supreme Court is a part of the aggregation.

On the floor of the House J. W. Babcock of Wisconsin is the "strong man," and has never been suspected of having a conscience. He is a stalwart Republican and "arranges" things so that the Republicans will not interfere. Representative J. H. Bankhead of Alabama is the chief backer of Babcock. It was Bankhead who prevented the building of the printing office on public ground that the corporation wanted to steal. Bankhead is a Bourbon Democrat and fixes things with the Democrats. But one Democrat ever seriously rebelled. Congressman Cowherd made a gallant fight against the McMillan Terminal deal, but the corporation Democrats snatched him under and drowned his voice.

In this connection it is interesting to resume the various corporation bills which Babcock has "steered" in the interest of the Pennsylvania Lobby. Here is a collection of them from the Fifty-seventh Congress to the beginning of the one which has just been closed: FIFTY-FOURTH SESSION. First Session. To allow the Baltimore & Washington Transit Co. to enter the District of Columbia.....1450 To allow the Belt Line railway to amend its charter.....587 To amend corporate act of Capital Railway Co. to allow the Columbia Railway Co. to.....2908 To amend the charter of the Feking, Soldiers' Home Railway Co. to.....3417 To allow the Pintsch Compression Co. to lay pipes in the City of Washington.....1549 To amend the committee to report favorably upon the bill allowing the Falls Church & Potomac railroad to extend its lines in the District of Columbia.....3920 Engineer passage of bill to give the Standard Oil Co. permission to lay pipes in Washington.....5068 Second Session. To allow extension of lines of Metropolitan Railway Co. to.....189 To extend time for changing power of the Eckington and the Belt Line companies.....229 Secured passage of bill to allow the Washington & Glen Echo railway to enter the District of Columbia.....913 FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS. First Session. To amend charter of the Capital Traction Co. to.....414 To grant a right of way to the Washington & Glen Echo Railway Co. to.....53

To allow the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Co. to bridge the Mississippi River from the committee of the District of Columbia the bill to give the Baltimore & Potomac Railway an exclusive right to stand cars in the streets of Washington in front of its depot. The consideration of the measure covers many pages of record. This measure is reported more fully elsewhere.

Second Session. Secured consideration of bills to amend the charter of the Eckington & Soldiers' Home Railway Co., the Maryland & Washington Railway Co. and the Belt Line Railway Co. to.....1680 Called up a resolution concerning the sale of gas in the District of Columbia.....1701 Worked for passage of a bill to incorporate the East Washington Heights Traction Co. which was introduced after defeat of rail bill.....5121

Called up a bill to relocate certain tracks of the City and District of Washington Co. to.....2241 Asked consideration of bill to incorporate the Washington & University Railway Co. to.....2242 Asked consideration of a bill to extend the lines of the Metropolitan Railway Co. to.....2243

Called up a bill to amend the charter of the Washington Heights Traction Co. to.....1732 Secured passage of a bill to amend the charter of the Capital Traction Co. to.....1727 Called up for consideration bill to incorporate the Washington Telephone Co. to.....3049

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DEBS AND HANFORD NOMINATED

(Continued from Page 1.)

tacks of organized capital. It is only a short while ago that the old Knights of Labor went to pieces because it did not meet the industrial conditions that obtained. I also submit that the present conditions are such that the trade union pure and simple, that the blind policies laid down by the American Federation of Labor are not such as to meet the present industrial conditions. If the trade union movement is carried on the present lines laid down by Gompers it will be wrecked in its opposition to capitalism; that it is at the mercy of organized capital; that between the courts and the injunctions and the militia and the manufacturers' associations, the near future sees the smash of organized labor, and if this convention ties the Socialist Party to that peculiar brand of trade unionism we go down in the wreck of trade unionism pure and simple. I am in favor of trade unionism, but I am in favor of a form of trade unionism that meets modern industrial conditions, and I say this, that the form of trade unionism which does not declare for the ballot is puerile, childish and not worth the support of a body of Socialists. We must do one of two things—either leave the trade union movement to take its own course and fight it out on the industrial field, we taking no action on it whatever, or we must declare that the Socialist party, the organized revolutionary proletariat itself, will take charge not only of the political movement, but of the trade union movement as well. In the language of Dan-ton, 'We must dare, and dare, and dare again.' It is up to us, comrades, whether we will rise to this occasion, whether we will go forth from this convention determined, inspired by all the martyrs of the past. Let me refer you to the condition in Colorado to-day. I want to say that until that condition arose in Colorado I would have been in favor of a resolution like this, but I was more impressed by what a delegate from Colorado told me to-day, that when he was brought up to the bull-pen they told him if he were a Gompers Social-

Parks' club, amid laughter and applause. In the name of the workers of this country I thank those excellent lawyers and doctors who constitute themselves an advisory board to wear the trade union movement. We do not understand English, but we do understand this fact, that the economic movement of the working class, whatever its mistakes, its limitations, the errors of leaders or the form of organization, the economic movement of the working class in the shape of the trade union movement is the expression of a protest of me and my brother at the machine. Call the union what you will, be its form of organization what it may, but when my brother and I, working in the factory, say to our master, 'We want more,' we are giving the first expression of the awakening consciousness of the working class. It is well for you who do not know the daily struggle of the working class in the shop—it is well for you to rap us over the knuckles for our mistakes. We thank you for it, but remember this, that whatever you say or may not say about us, we workers are confronted not with a vote next year, but we are confronting our master in the factory every day, and not only once a year. And we have the courage not to go out on a street corner and deliver lectures on a stick, but we have the courage, we of the trade union movement who are Socialists, to fight our bosses in the factory every day, and then at the ballot box. The trade union exists because of the economic division of society, in which the labor power of the workers is sold at such prices as to reduce the workers to a level where they are incapable of reaching the heights of the Socialist philosophy. We of the trade union movement who are Socialists seek to protect our class from being forced down into the lower levels of animal degradation. We meet the conditions, we compete, we of the trade union movement that are Socialists, while you people are writing books and giving us philosophical dissertations on a stick. We are defending our class, preserving its manhood, guarding it against such degradation as would make it impossible even to understand the gentleman from Kansas (referring to Delegate Parks). There is our position. It does not matter to us of the trade union movement what you do, but it will be a sorry spectacle, and it is a sorry spectacle that that portion of the working class who rise to Marx's appeal and unite in defense of themselves must plead with you for recognition. The trade union movement will exist whether you wish it or not. When I go home and go into the shop and confront the conditions there, and beside me is some poor, ignorant workman who has risen to the point where he appreciates the forces pressing upon him and says to me, 'Jim, let us make a stand for better conditions in this factory,' I will hand him over Karl Marx. (Laughter.) Yes, I will talk Socialism to him, but at the same time I will stand beside him as he fights for the preservation of his manhood and to keep my class from the lower levels. You men that have spoken against us, and you women, what would you do in the case of a street car strike here in Chicago? Would you ride or would you walk? (Voices: 'Walk.') Exactly; you would walk. You cannot avoid it; that is what you would do. Will you ride on the street cars and stand for a cent? No. You will refuse to ride and you will stand for the trade unionists that are making that contest."

Delegate Farrell, of Ohio.
"I do not consider myself more capable than others to talk intelligently on this question, but I may have had more experience in the trade union movement than some here, because I have been an active trade unionist for the past fifteen or eighteen years. I want to say that I stand before the convention as a trade unionist, one who carries a paid-up card in one of the biggest organizations in this country; but I want to say also that I stand here first of all as a member of the Socialist Party of America and then as a Socialist of the world. At the last meeting of Local Dayton that matter was brought up and thoroughly discussed and the members that attended that meeting were practically every one a man who carried a trade union card, and they took action there instructing me to advocate the wiping out of all trade union propositions or resolutions or any other resolution that appealed to any particular trade or branch of the working class. The conditions that existed twenty-five or thirty years ago were different from those of to-day. The employers' association to-day is organized as it has never been before. My work in the Socialist movement has been hampered because of my activity in the trade union movement, and I want to say that my efforts in

the future shall be in the interests of Socialism, because the trade union movement can never solve this problem definitely, it can never obtain the permanent settlement of the struggle that is now on. The Socialist movement advocates a definite and permanent settlement, and for that I believe we ought to work first, last, and always, and assist the others so far as we can, but that is all. I believe that is the proper thing for this convention to do, taking everything into consideration. I do not want to see this convention divided, I want to see all factions leave this hall when we adjourn, united, and united in the cause of Socialism.

Delegate Gaylord of Wisconsin
raised the point of order that it being 11 o'clock, under the former motion no further discussion could be had, but the Chair ruled that the motion to that effect was not carried, and the discussion was continued.

Thereupon Delegate Gaylord offered the following resolution and moved its adoption as a substitute for the resolution as presented by the committee:

The Socialist Party of America recognizes that the trade union organizations are an essential part of the labor movement, and are absolutely necessary for the purpose of upholding the standard of living and resisting the encroachments of capitalism under the present economic system. We heartily commend them in their efforts to organize the working class for that purpose and declare that it is the duty of every Socialist who can do so to join his respective trade union.

A motion to table the above resolution was lost, and in favoring the adoption of the resolution offered by him Delegate Gaylord said:

"Now, we have heard various comrades plead for peculiar things. One has asked that the intellectual should be ignored, or implied such a plea. Another has asked that the trade unions should be ignored, a plea directly made by the speaker who just preceded me. Others, both on the floor and in groups on the outside, have advocated that the farmers be ignored. Others will say that unorganized labor also should be ignored, and possibly some other economic group should be ignored, and thus we secure the ignoring of the whole working class. Now, what do you want to do that for? Let us rise for a little while to a little higher level, if we can, and get a view of the whole field. This substitute motion puts it before this convention as represented in various ways. We do not recognize the whole of the working class in our proper persons here to-day, and that is the reason we do not expect to elect our candidates. There is a labor movement which for the present as an actual fact is bigger than the Socialist Party of America or the International Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, physically and materially on the principle of economic determinism we are not so big yet as the entire labor movement. Let us recognize that fact. If we do not, it will do us and others will take our place. (Applause.) I mean ourselves—not the Socialist philosophy nor the Socialist movement. We are responsible in a sense for the great ideal which we are here to represent. We are responsible in a sense also to the ideal and fact of the labor movement as a whole. Let us get that clearly in our minds. What does this labor movement include? Who should be consciously represented in it or in a gathering trying to represent it? Elements every one of which are really represented here to-day, economic groups every one of which has its representative on this floor—the intellectuals, the organized trade union movement, the farmers, the unorganized labor and if you please I dare say there may be one or two specimens of genus homo, if some of us like myself were to be frank and admit it. I don't know where my home is."

"Now, then, let us look for a moment at the facts as we get the whole field in view. First there is the Socialist Party. We will be not too modest and put ourselves first. We claim to be class conscious, we claim to be intelligent. That is what consciousness means. First of all, we know that we know ourselves, and from that we get to know other things and get to know the sense of the whole situation. We therefore have a right, I think, to put ourselves first, and most representative, as this body in the persons present proves. Now then there are other elements intermingled. Next I put in my opinion the organized labor movement. At once we see sections in this—the great eastern movement, as I think we may well call it to-day, the A. F. of L., and the great western movement, the A. L. U., and then the other great local and state trade unions, some unaffiliated, some affiliated but not nationally, some affiliated nationally and not internationally. "Shall we here to-day representing the most intelligent groups of the working class, I believe, refuse to recognize the fact of this great labor movement? What do we gain by that? I do not plead for the recognition of any local union, I do not plead for the A. L. U. nor for the A. F. of L., although I

carry a card in one of those. I plead for the recognition of the fact that economic groups exist within the labor movement next in intelligence I believe as proven by their organization, to the Socialist Party. (Applause.) Do you want to lose what will be lost—whatever it is, I am not discussing what it is—by ignoring that fact? What for? I recognize it. Don't ignore it. Open your eyes. It is there, whether you like it or not it is there, and most of us really like it. (Applause.) I recognize it, and point to it—you will not misunderstand me—with pride.

"I have been speaking of the organized labor. Now, there is the unorganized, and in this we may include at once the intellectual groups of various sorts; they are not organized as such. They will be probably before a great while and that will then bring them into the organized field. Then there is the great mass of unskilled factory workers; next to that there is the great mass of common labor drifting here and there, the driftwood on our modern economic sea. After them—perhaps ahead of them I should say—come the farmers. In the city I am closer to the other group than to the farmers and I put them first but perhaps the farmers should come next to the organized labor, though as an economic group they are not yet organized. If they were organized as an economic group I should say recognize them next to organized labor. But you need to recognize them. They are there and must be recognized in your working program. This is the survey of the whole field I am trying to give you for the purpose of getting down to business on this particular point."

Assistant Secretary Clark, of Nebraska, is one of the busiest delegates in the convention.

Delegate Siobodin of New York
Offered the following amendment to the substitute resolution of Delegate Gaylord and moved its adoption:

"Socialist political action first, and the trade movement next are the main weapons to be used by the working class for the purpose of bettering its condition and achieving its own emancipation. The trade unions are born of the struggle of the working class for the better life and of the capitalist class for greater profits. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their trades and to promote there the spirit of solidarity and identity of the interests of the entire

working class. We recognize, however, that the main activity of the trade unions is confined within the narrow limits of the daily interests of their trades and industries.

"We call on the members of the trade unions who realize the fact of the class struggle which the working class is fiercely waging against the capitalist class for a larger share in the product of labor. While the trade unions are of great advantage to the working class in the struggle against exploitation of labor, they cannot alone abolish this exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end when the instruments of production will be owned by the entire people for the equal benefit of all. Every trade unionist who realizes this should join the Socialist Party and assist in arousing the working class to political action, so that it may secure the powers of government and, by abolishing wage slavery and establishing the co-operative commonwealth, achieve its own emancipation."

Delegate Phelan of Illinois
Moved that the amendment offered be laid on the table, but the motion was defeated, whereupon Delegate Spears of Illinois spoke opposing the adoption of any trade union resolution in the Socialist movement on the ground that the trade union movement is the outcome of a development to-day on behalf of the workers just the same as the trust is the outcome of an economic development on behalf of the capitalist. The speaker opposed comparison of the situation of the working class of America with that of England and Germany because the conditions are entirely different, and admitting that the argument might have some force as applied to the foreign situation, insisted that under the conditions in this country the working class could not be measured with the same measure. "I have had experience," the speaker continued, "in trade unions. I know what it is to be up against the labor faker in the chair backed up by those who want to throttle any Socialist agitation in the trade unions. Resolutions in trade unions are not worth the paper they are written on, my friends. (Applause.) Concessions? What concessions have you got? What concessions except what the capitalist may give you out of fear. Nothing else. Some one has said that our only hope is in the trade union movement. My friends, if that is our only hope we have got a dismal outlook for So-

cialism. I do not want to waste my energies in the trade unions when I can do far more by showing that we stand for the whole working class first, and the union next."

Delegate Hanford of New York.
"With the single exception of possibly Comrade Gaylord of Wisconsin I do not think that the speakers have dealt at all adequately with this question. We seem to go on the basis that the so-called Socialist Party of the past went on that the trade union is only for us to take or leave, or do what we please with it. We know perfectly well that the Socialist movement is not that kind of a movement. We go out

and tell men and women that you have got to come to Socialism for your salvation, but why can't we understand that in the time intervening until the day when Socialism shall come to pass a man has got to live in order to establish Socialism, and that the race has got to survive or there will be no race to enjoy Socialism. (Applause.) The trade union movement deals with this question here and now. True, not for all, but for as many as it can and it is going to continue. You can read the history of the last hundred years, and I can tell you that had it not been for the force brought to bear by the trades union movement in resisting the encroachments of organized capitalism there would have been no working class to go into Socialism. (Applause.) Now, let us recognize that as a fundamental fact, and I doubt if anyone here can dispute it, and I know that it cannot be disproved.

"Now, let us see what the Socialist Party in this country did. Only a few years ago they adopted and put in resolutions which were unanimously adopted substantially the remarks which were made by the eloquent comrade of Illinois (Spears) and by several other comrades here. They unanimously adopted a proposition like this: 'This bogus trade unionism lies impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class,' and so on. There is a page of that resolution, and then at the bottom they said, 'Let the Socialist watchwords everywhere be: "Down with trade unionism pure and simple," "Away with the labor fakers," "Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P."'" And what became of the men that passed that resolution? (Cheers and applause.) All there is left of the organization that composed that resolution is this little old red book. (Applause.)

"This question of trade union is not at all a question of whether you like it or dislike it. It is here, and don't you think for a minute that because of the Lattimers or the Hazletons that you will even put a brake on the wheel of progress of the trades union movement. Their very defeats will make them stronger. Their defeats in the last analysis will be found victories. Are you going out on the stump and tell these trade unions that because some particular organization is officered by a labor faker that its body is composed of labor fakers? If you do that will you be allowed to talk to that organization on the line of educating them in Socialism? Not on your life. What you have got to do is to say this: 'You know the truth perfectly well, and that is, that in the trade union men may be corrupt, officers may go wrong, but you do know that the rank and file will not consciously go wrong except for one reason, and that is lack of light to see the right.' When you have said that then you can put the light before them. They have got to make mistakes, but the organization that survives to-day, even though wrong, will be right tomorrow and still survive." (Applause.)

Delegate Hayes, Chairman of the Committee, presented the following supplementary report of the Committee,

which he stated he believed would meet with the views of the delegates:

The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only resist the exploitation of labor if it cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

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The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist Party. The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement.

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles.

Delegate Dingo of Missouri seconded the adoption of the amended resolution presented by the Chairman of the Committee. Delegate Maurer of Pennsylvania spoke in opposition to the resolution, followed by Delegate Berlyn of Illinois, who spoke in favor of the resolution as reported by the Committee. Walsh of Montana opposed the resolution.

Delegate Spargo of New York, upon a question of information, stated that before the question was closed he desired to submit an amendment to the main resolution, and as the hour set for adjournment arrived, Delegate Berger of Wisconsin had the floor speaking in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

Adjourned to 1:30 p. m.

FIFTH DAY.
Afternoon Session.

Chairman Mally called the meeting to order at 1:45 p. m. and immediately recognized Delegate Berger, who had still six minutes left from the ten minutes allotted him in which to speak upon the subject, and continuing the delegate said:

Delegate Berger of Wisconsin.
"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: I said before lunch that the economic movement of the labor class is co-ordinate to the political movement of the labor class and that you cannot neglect one without crippling the entire movement. I will say further that owing to the attitude of the Socialist Party towards the trade union movement there are delegates on the floor here to-day who would never have become Socialists had it not been for the attitude of our party. Now, comrades, in conclusion it has been agitated here that the trades unions have no right to speak for the men who are not organized. Now, one of the comrades gave me a very good pointer on that when he said, 'If a million or a million and a half of men organized in the trades unions have no right to speak for the unorganized men, what right do we 23,000 organized have to speak for the entire laboring class?' I think that is a very good point, indeed. We have the right and they have the right. Now, comrades, I have promised to give part of my time to Comrade Titus and accordingly I will yield the floor to him." (Applause.)

Delegate Titus of Washington.
"I have been listening here to this discussion and the people who are opposed to this trade union resolution have struck me as being entirely impracticable in their arguments. (Applause.) I want to ask you what would happen to the labor class if there were no trade unions? (Applause.) It is a fact that under present conditions, under capitalism, the motto must be 'Get all you can.' (Applause.) Now I want to disassociate myself entirely from the impossibilities. (Applause.) Not that I disassociate myself thereby from those who stand for the strictest Marxian program but I believe in getting what you can under present conditions before seeking to abolish the whole thing.

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in opposition, and then in response to repeated calls from the floor of the convention a motion for roll call was voted upon and carried.

The Secretary then read the trades union resolution as finally returned by the Committee, and a roll call of states was then had with the following result: Yeas, 107; Nays, 52, and the resolution was declared adopted amid enthusiastic and long continued applause.

PLATFORM.

The Committee on Platform, through Delegate Herron, Chairman, presented the following as the result of its deliberations:

I.

We, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great proprietary interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of

the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to secure the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of na-

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tional boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The laborers of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything made is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inborn forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist Party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to public employment and bettering the conditions of the workers' children, for the equal suffrage of

men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain of advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering, and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end, we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. (And we appeal only to what we, and the men and women whom we represent, are ready to give and have given.) Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

G. H. STROBELLE.

M. W. WILKINS.

THOS. E. WILL.

BEN. HANFORD.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

WILLIAM MAHLEY.

H. F. TITUS.

Immediately upon the close of the reading motions were made in various parts of the hall that the platform be adopted as read.

Delegate Taft, of Illinois, called attention to the appeal contained in the last paragraph, and addressed to persons outside of the working class, but who were invited to cast their lot with the Socialist Party, and suggested that the idea involved was slightly out of place in a Socialist platform. On motion the platform was unanimously adopted.

NOMINATIONS.

Nominations for President and Vice-President were then called for.

Delegate Herron (N. Y.): "Mr. Chairman, and Comrades of the convention, in rising to make what I believe will be the unanimous nomination of this convention, I would like to preface that nomination with a statement of what has come to me in watching the proceedings of this convention, and in watching the general development of the Socialist movement, for the two years since our Indianapolis convention. I think I can go away from this convention very much of an optimist concerning the future of the working class of America. There are greater struggles before us, or before especially those of you who are in the ranks of labor, than perhaps we know. Here in America the conditions of labor on the one side, and of capital on the other side, are intensifying with a rapidity and sharpness that no Socialist economist would have prophesied twenty or thirty years ago. More than in any other nation of the world, the lines of economic conflict, the lines of definition between the working class and the capitalist or possessing class, are being clearly drawn, and drawn by the experience of the working class itself; and I have no doubt, although this is not the place for prophecy, but what the great international or world catastrophe—if it is to be a catastrophe—of the capitalist system will be precipitated here in America. (Applause.) I have no doubt but what, in the spread of the commonwealth of labor around the world, that the sun of that co-operative commonwealth will rise here on the American continent, and in this republic. (Applause.) And therefore it has seemed to me more urgent than anything else that the working class of America should become conscious not only of its struggle, not only of itself, of its class, but of its opportunity. There is a sense in which, we might say what Marx once said to the workers in the International at Brussels, and say it with more truth, that the destinies of the workers of the world, for perhaps the next two or three centuries to come, are pivoted upon the solidarity and the intelligence and the character of the organization of labor here in America. (Applause.) And it has seemed to me therefore important that here, above almost every other country, the working class, with the pressure of the struggle upon it, and with the preceding advantages of the public school, such as they were—that the working class here in America is better prepared than perhaps in any other nation to work out its own salvation and its own destiny. For in the end the workers of the world will never be free until

they free themselves by their own united action. (Applause.) No matter what others who may gladly give themselves to the workers' struggle may do, in the end all freedom of all good that is handed down by one class unto another class historically has proven delusive. In the struggle of the Paris Commune, in the struggle of the Lollards in early England, with their ideals of a certain sort of social democracy, and in all history, the subject peoples have maintained a positive gain or a positive freedom wherever they have gained that freedom for themselves; and whenever they have lost, and whenever they have been betrayed, it has been because their cause was committed to other hands than their own. (Applause.)

"Now, I say that the proceedings of this convention and the development of the Socialist movement within the last two or three years, have given me a feeling of infinite relief, especially since I have been here. I feel that the heart and the brain of the working class are sound. I feel that the working class can be trusted in America to work out its own destiny. (Applause.) I feel that it will keep faith with its opportunity and its responsibility for the emancipation of the workers of the world. I am sure that, in the intensifying struggle that will bring upon us, in the next four or five years, things of which we do not now dream, that may try men's souls and bodies and faith, try the whole manhood of men as possibly men were never tried in human history—I feel that when that crisis or that day of judgment comes the working class Socialist movement of America will be as great as its cause, and that it will rise up to match its opportunity. (Applause.)

"Now, there is no man in America who more surely and faithfully incarnates the heart-ache and the protest and the struggle of labor for its emancipation or more surely voices that struggle than Eugene V. Debs. (Great applause.) And, Mr. Chairman, and Comrades of the convention, I count it as among the great joys of my life—I do not say honors, because I have had none with them long ago (applause)—I count it among the great joys and opportunities of my life to stand before you to-day and nominate Eugene V. Debs as the candidate of the Socialist Party of the United States for President in our coming national campaign. (Prolonged applause.)

Delegate Carey (Mass.): "Mr. Chairman: I am a representative of the working class—a class that has aroused themselves to the point where they make expression of protest against their masters, and during that protest between ourselves and between those of us that are in immediate conflict with our masters day after day, there come divisions between us, and sometimes one of us who are making protests against our masters in a certain unscientific fashion may differ with a certain other one. But this is the issue. The issue is that every time we protest against our masters, we stand with those who in the last analysis stand for our class. (Applause.) And whatever may be the difference between myself and anybody else in certain immediate struggles, whatever may be the differences, the ultimate means by which we of the trades union movement judge a man is not because he tells us he loves us, but because he has proven that he has stood with us in the hour when we needed him. (Applause.)

"I am here to second the nomination of my Comrade Herron, and I am here to warn the convention against criticisms that may be born out of the unhappy discussion on the trades union movement that we have just passed through, but to tell you—and I think I can speak for any trades unionist here (is there any who would object to that?)—that my Comrade Debs represents us in the trades union movement of this country; (applause) that he has gone down to death because he dared in the struggle of my class, in the attempt of my class to protect themselves against a degradation that would rob them of the power to express themselves, and dared to defend us. (Applause.) And whatever may be urged against him by the capitalist press or their satellites, I remember that my Comrade Debs, in the hour when my class were at the point of absolute extinction, that he stood with us and chose the silence of the jail rather than to prostitute himself against us. (Applause.) I tell this convention again that through all of the unhappy efforts of the Socialists, and of that particular portion of the Socialists who have had unhappy experiences, as I have had them, in that struggle there is this name that the working class conjure by. Not that this man is an angel—not that he can read the palm of your hand and tell you whether you are going to be President or not. No. Not that he understands the transformation of value into active capital—although he does; but because my Comrade Debs in the issue between the working class and the capitalist class stood in the breach when it cost something to stand there. (Applause.) And I care not what else you may do, I care not what else you may say, I care not for the scientific analysis of the unity of multiplicities' (laughter), but I can tell you this, that to a working class who peer through the grim windows of a factory, or in the darkness of the mine, or upon the thundering railroads that carry them to death, too often, there is one name that brings a thrill of hope to the working class, wherever they may be, whatever may be the trade union they belong to, and that is Eugene V. Debs of Indiana." (Cheers and continued applause.)

Delegate Wilkins (Cal.): "I know that I voice the sentiment of the Socialist Party of the Pacific coast when I say I count it a joy and an honor to second

the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States." (Applause.)

The Chairman: "You have heard the nomination of Comrade Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States."

Delegate Hayes (Ohio): "I move that the nominations be closed, and that Eugene V. Debs be declared the nominee of the Socialist Party for President of the United States."

The motion was seconded from all parts of the hall, and amid the cheers of the delegates the vote was taken declaring Eugene V. Debs the candidate of the Socialist Party of America as President of the United States. The Chair appointed Comrades Hillquit, Hayes, Berger, Steiman, Will Elouten and Titus as a committee to escort Comrade Debs to the platform. Mr. Debs not being in the hall, a short recess was taken to enable the committee to find him and notify him of his nomination.

Delegate Titus (Wash.) nominated as candidate for Vice-President of the United States Benjamin Hanford of New York, speaking in part as follows:

"Some of our capitalist critics have thought that we were incapable, but there is one thing that we have done, representing the working class, we have worked freely together, we have expressed our minds, and we have come to a common mind. This is the only place where such freedom is possible on the American continent in a political convention. (Applause.) We have made no mistake thus far. I have felt, and I think every member here feels the increasing consciousness of membership in a great movement of the world. I think we began to thrill with the common consciousness of a common destiny, and with the highest mission that has ever been committed to any class in the world—its own emancipation and the emancipation of the rest of humanity with it. (Applause.) I have heard it mentioned on the floor of this convention and before that some man or men, some choice among men who were not members of the working class should be made to be placed upon our ticket. I enter a most emphatic protest against any name upon our ticket that is not truly representative of that class that holds the destiny of the world in its hands. (Applause.) We are in a formative period. Our party—I had almost said was not yet fully integrated. I believe it would be a mistake to say that. Perhaps one week ago we might have said it truly, but no man could have attended this convention without becoming convinced that this is a party thoroughly integrated, truly unified. It can not be destroyed, unless it makes some stupendous blunder. (Applause.) We have had a working man's convention. Every issue that has been presented here has been decided in the interests of the working class. We have a workman's platform, and we have a working man at the head of our ticket (applause), and I propose another representative workman to be associated with Eugene V. Debs. I propose the name of a man who is known from one end of the Socialist world to the other; who has long been associated with the triumphs of Socialism and the struggles of Socialism; who has suffered for Socialism, suffered for what he believes to be the interests of his own class; a man not of the west, to which I belong, but a man of the Atlantic coast, and I hope his nomination will be made as spontaneous as that of the head of the ticket. I present the name of Ben Hanford, of New York." (Cheers and continued applause.)

The nomination of Comrade Hanford was seconded by Delegates Berger (Wis.), Hillquit (N. Y.), Richardson (Cal.), and Dilno (Mo.). Delegate Rowley (Ohio): "In behalf of the Comrades of the State of Ohio I desire to move that Comrade Ben Hanford be made the unanimous choice of this convention as our candidate for Vice-President."

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted, and Benjamin Hanford of New York declared the nominee of the Socialist Party of America for Vice-President of the United States.

The Chairman: "The Chair will take the liberty of appointing Delegates Carey (Mass.), Sieverman (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.), Berlin (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Hazlett (Cal.), and Richardson (Cal.) to escort Comrade Hanford to the platform. (Applause.) The committee appointed by the Chair then escorted Comrade Hanford to the platform, where, after the enthusiastic applause which greeted him had subsided, he said:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long way around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long way around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.)

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many other Comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other standpoint, than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time. (Loud applause.)

"In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that whenever the party told me to do something, I always did it, no matter whether I liked

it or not. (Loud applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right or wrong. (Loud applause.) I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about nineteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype typesetting machine. They put one of them in a printing office, and one man got a job operating it, and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there before this machine was brought in. Well, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing offices I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of any enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and waste my time as others among the workmen had done, instead of becoming despondent, I occupied all my time reading a book or a paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.)

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania, while the coal strike was going on there, and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it needed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men, or 5,000 men, or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other comrades who were with me, and they did so because the men knew that the Socialist Party was in sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists. (Applause.) Now, there was another party that would like to have sent its speakers down to that field, but they would not have been favorably received, and that was the Socialist Labor Party, and that party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades union. (Applause.) Now, you think it is terrible when trades unionists make mistakes, but good Heaven, I would like to know down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make one. (Laughter and applause.) They have troubles, but, Lord, look at the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) And they are like us again in this further respect: They have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong to-day they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right."

"Now, Comrades, you have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus has pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth ever had before. All previous revolutions, none of them ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they may be, for all time. (Loud, continued applause.) This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. (Loud cheering and applause.) To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you let your hearts be as true as steel, be sealed to the very back, put your soul and your heart and your whole power into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country."

Comrade Hanford was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheering and applause at the conclusion of his speech, and when quiet had been restored the Chairman called up the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, which was read by Comrade George D. Herron, Secretary for the United States. The report in full is as follows:

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU, BY THE SECRETARY FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Comrades of the National Convention: The International Socialist Bureau was formed as a result of the Paris convention of 1900, and of previous conferences between the national representatives of the Socialist movement of Europe. The purpose of its formation was to constitute an International Bureau, through which the Socialist movement of the various nations of the world might communicate with each other, and cooperate with each other in mutually understood programs, and so far as practicable, in united action.

Brussels was selected as the seat of the International Bureau, and semi-annual meetings have been held since the Bureau's formation. But it cannot be said that the Bureau has as yet accomplished much beyond keeping itself on record, or beyond the rather unimportant discussions of details that have occurred at its semi-annual sessions. Perhaps its most significant

action has been the securing of concurrent action on the part of the Socialist members of the different European parliaments concerning the war between Great Britain and the Boers. Resolutions were introduced by Socialist members into the national legislative bodies at Berlin, Rome, and Brussels, that created no little discussion, and considerable British indignation and protest. As a result, many public meetings of protest were held throughout the continent.

While, of course, the resolutions had no effect upon the war or its outcome, the pedagogic or propaganda result was very valuable. Some discussion has also been occasioned by the resolution passed by the Bureau concerning the lynching of negroes in the United States. I feel obliged, however, to decline personal responsibilities for the resolution as it was worded. It is very different in statement and substance, and is much more extreme than the report which I sent to the Bureau upon this subject.

But, on the whole, it does not seem to me that the International Socialist Bureau has as yet been at all equal to its opportunities. It is not worth while for Socialist men—all of them everywhere in their own national movement—to gather together from the ends of the earth twice a year to hear statistical reports and minor discussions. But it is immeasurably worth while that the International Socialist movement be fused into one great dynamic world-body; that the Socialist movement of all nations shall act together as one voice, and one power, in every great question in every nation; that it shall hold and be the balance of power which every nation must reckon with. The poet's dream of the federation of the world and the parliament of man, is germinal in the International Socialist Bureau, and it is only by the recognition of this, and by a larger sense of the Bureau's opportunities and significance, that it can justify and develop its being.

I am afraid it will become the member from the United States to speak with such emphasis concerning the possible need and importance of the Bureau, as the Socialist movement of this country has taken practically no interest in the Bureau's existence, and has paid nothing toward its maintenance. There seems to be some confusion even of the International Socialist Bureau, which is, in theory, in perpetual session, with the International Socialist Congress, which meets upon the call of the Bureau, and is a convention, not a Bureau, and which meets this coming August in Amsterdam, and to which this convention should elect delegates.

We should also at this convention adopt, or recommend, some method of making a regular annual contribution for the maintenance of the Bureau. All that has been paid is the sum of 251 1/2 francs in 1901, and that was by a private individual, and for the Social Democratic Party, before the present unity of the Socialist forces had been accomplished.

The Socialist movement of the United States, as a movement, has paid nothing at all in the four years since the Bureau's formation. I would recommend that the sum of 1,000 francs, or \$200.00, be settled upon as our present annual contribution.

Fraternally submitted, (Signed.) GEORGE D. HERRON. On motion, duly seconded, the report of the International Socialist Bureau was accepted.

THE TRADES UNION RESOLUTION

By ERNEST UNTERMAN.

The trades union resolution, brought before the present national convention of the Socialist Party, led to a very heated discussion. The unnecessary feeling injected into the arguments was due mainly to the fact that from the very beginning the impression was created, by speakers on both sides, wittingly or unwittingly, that a vote against the trades union resolution would be equivalent to a vote against trade unionism.

But the vote against the resolution does not more imply a vote against trade unionism than a vote for it implies the transformation of the Socialist Party into a trades union party.

As a matter of fact, the majority of those who voted No on the resolution, were in favor of expressing themselves in favor of trades unionism, but they were opposed to the form in which this expression was conveyed.

Another bias was created against the so-called intellectuals in the Socialist Party, and the real issue became still more clouded in consequence. One speaker brought the discussion down to the point of absurdity by declaring that the whole argument of the opposition to the resolution reduced itself down to the stick which one of the speakers swung in the air while arguing. With the same reason the opposition might have replied that the arguments of many speakers on the affirmative reduced themselves down to sneers at the intellectuals. It did not seem to occur to those speakers that in slurring the so-called intellectuals they were slurring the whole scientific basis of the Socialist movement. They

were repudiating on the convention floor the work of a Marx, an Engels, a Liebknecht, a Kautsky, and others, whom they praise and celebrate in their general party activity. Nor did it seem to occur to them that many intellectuals have come from the rank of the trades unionists, that many intellectuals are now members of trades unions, and that many of the intellectuals now in the American Socialist movement have been through as hard a mill as any proletarian can ever go through. Many of these intellectuals are still depending for their living on the sale of their labor power, chafing in the galling chains of wage slavery, and they need no information on the bitterness of the economic class struggle from any trades unionist.

The trades union resolution contained nothing that had not been said and written time and again by those very intellectuals. Therefore, many did not recognize the necessity of a special resolution on this subject.

My main objection to such resolutions is that they express outside of the Socialist platform, that which should be expressed in the platform itself. Instead of a special declaration explaining our attitude toward trades unionism, our platform should clearly state the position of the Socialist Party to all classes of proletarians, whether organized or unorganized, whether working in the field or in the factory, in the office or in the shop, whether working with hand or with brain.

In short, I hold that the best trade union resolution we can adopt is the Socialist platform.

BOASTS OF HIS CRIMES.

The Hired Thug of the Colorado Fuel Co. Openly Boasts of the Protection and Pay Which He Receives from the Capitalists.

Pueblo, Colo., May 5.—Oreste Pagnini, hired assassin of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, has at last come out in the open, admitting his connection with the big corporation and brags of the benefits and personal privileges which accrue. In his cups last night he said: "As long as I have the C. F. & I. and the Pueblo police behind me, I do not need to be afraid of any newspaper." Pagnini is the coward who assaulted Editor Charles Demoli of the defunct Labor paper of Trinidad, the alleged agitator whose influence among the Italian laboring men is not to be equaled in the state of Colorado. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company believed that it could not do a better turn than to put this troublesome gentleman out of the way, and put its hired slinger, Pagnini, on the trail. As yet his efforts have been unsuccessful, but the trend of events tends to prove that he has not yet completed the job on which he was sent out. In his drunken stupor of last evening the corporation hiring admitted many things which looked bad for his cause. Among other statements he made the following: "I am the captain of the slugs. There are some people whom we do not care to kill, these we kidnap. Our Pueblo jobs are not nearly finished."

For several days he has been playing in with the newspaper men and it is believed that he is about to pull off another trick. He has practically succeeded in placing all of the local reporters under obligations to himself so that in case anything happens in which he figures as a principal protection will be forthcoming. Those who have refused to come to time he has placed on the death list, which is daily growing. To-day it includes at least a half-dozen prospective victims, many of them among the most prominent residents of southern Colorado.

Pagnini last night flashed \$1,000 in \$50 bills and remarked as he threw it on a bar while treating the newspaper men that there was plenty more where that came from. Every one of these silver certificates was from the Western National Bank. His bondsman in the assault charges brought by Demoli and supporter is hand in glove with the Pueblo police. In his actions and in his conversation he disclosed indisputably that he was a hireling of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Yesterday afternoon Pagnini in the Log Cabin bar of this city made a general offer of \$4 per day and transportation to any man who would go to Denver and vote for Speer, the Democratic nominee for mayor in the approaching city election, and the choice of all the corporations big and little. He offered vouchers and guaranteed all who took him up on the proposition that they would lose nothing by the transaction.

While on the spree of last night he made the boast openly and in the presence of patrolmen, reporters, outside spectators and others that he could shoot up every light in the tenderloin district without being molested by the police. He is proud of the fact that he has the protection of the local authorities and boasts of it on all occasions. Circumstances have forced him into the open and while in future his methods may be as underhand as previously still he will be taken by the public in general for exactly what he is worth.

Comrade Katsuyama, of Japan, attended the banquet and, surrounded by comrades with a short