Emergency Convention of Socialist Party
by "A Staff Correspondent"

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CHICAGO, Sept. 1 [1919].— Efforts of the so-called Left Wing faction to capture the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, which opened here Saturday morning [Aug. 30, 1919], were effectively frustrated Friday night, when it was decided by a conference of delegates to issue cards of admission to accredited delegates only. This thwarted the plans of the Left Wingers and made the accredited delegates — elected from states where there was no contest — masters of the situation.

The convention was called to order by Adolph Germer, National Executive Secretary. Seymour Stedman, Chicago, was elected temporary chairman.

The record showed that there were 136 uncontested delegates entitled to seats, and that there were 31 contests. The states having contests on were Nebraska, Oregon, Minnesota, California, and Kansas. This made the Committee on Contests the most important of all, and a plan was suggested whereby the committee would carry on its sessions in the presence of the balance of the delegates, in order that they might hear all the testimony and be able to use independent judgment in each case.

Before the convention assembled, Saturday, Left Wingers, led by John Reed, New York, who shouted, "Come on, Left Wingers," to the crowd outside the building, entered the convention hall and planted themselves in front seats.

Germer entered the hall and requested them to leave, but they refused. It was necessary to call an officer before they would retire.

In calling the convention to order, Secretary Germer said the section controversy led to a healthy movement, provided it did not go far enough to tear the organization in shreds and thus make it an easy prey for the enemy.

He bitterly scored Left Wing talk of capturing the party for revolutionary Socialism, thus implying that it was not a revolutionary party. There were thunderes of applause when he declared that the party had stood as true to its principles as any Socialist party in history.

CHICAGO, Sept. 2 [1919]. — The convention is getting down to business, with about 130 reliable delegates. G.A. Hoehn is a member of the Platform Committee. The report of the committee for investigating the fraudulent referendum vote charges was unanimously adopted. This committee consisted of William M. Brandt, St. Louis; Louis A. Arnold, Milwaukee; Otto Branstetter, Chicago; and Henry Askeli of the Finnish Language Federation.

The report of the National Executive Committee was read. It states, among other things, that some 2,000 Socialists have been arrested during the last few years, and that the era of persecution is by no means ended. It then gives an account of the "vicious, venomous, and uncalled for attacks" upon the party and its National Executive by the so-called Left Wing, and quotes Left Wing papers as declaring that their object is to disrupt the party. "We have no apologies to make," the National Executive Committee says, "to Left Wings or any of its wings. The National Executive Committee has tried to make the best of the most trying situation the party has ever faced. It welcomes honest criticism and difference of opinions. But for those who
have wrought ruin in their confessed attempts to 'rupture the party,' it voices the opinion of the honest members in saying that such conduct is a gross violation of Socialist ethics, Socialist solidarity, and Socialist principles."

Our esteemed friend, Harry Tichenor, who came here to take part in the Communist convention, "bolted" this convention after being with it but a few hours. Whether he joined the Wagenknecht [Communist Labor Party] convention or started a convention of his own, I am unable to say at this time.

CHICAGO, Sept. 3 [1919].— After stating that the administration might take the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President at this time as a challenge and that the move might operate to prolong his stay in prison, Attorney Seymour Stedman offered a resolution in the national Emergency Convention Tuesday [Sept. 2, 1919], tendering Debs the nomination with the provision that Debs himself was to decide whether such action would be wise at this time and whether he would accept.

The resolution was sent to committee for further consideration. Stedman told the convention that Debs was advanced in years and was in poor health. Referring to his possible nomination by some other body, he said, "I am not inclined to play politics with a man's life."

Stedman said that Debs' removal to Atlanta was regarded as irregular by some of Debs' lawyers, but that habeas corpus proceedings, if undertaken, might drag in court a year and prevent any other efforts for his release.

The convention sent a telegram to the Socialist Party in Italy, which is about to hold its convention, expressing comradeship and commending it for the "noble stand against the world war."

The referendum frauds, by means of which the Left Wing faction had tried to vote itself into control of the party, were really worthy of the most contemptible political tricksters that ever dishonored a party.

Case after case was given where the number of votes reported were in excess of the membership. In others the ballots were marked by a single individual and then signed with different inks and in pencil by the members.

The tabulation showed the most deliberate fraud, votes cast for one candidate being given to Left Wing slate candidates. The Cortland (N Y) Russian branch, for instance, reported 28 Hillquit votes for O'Hare for International Secretary. In some states where the State Secretary was a Left Winger, loyal branches complained of not being supplied with ballots, and thus losing their votes.

According to the report of the Secretary [Germar], the membership of the party has shrunk during the war from 117,000 to 42,217. Of course, most of the losses are due to the Left Wing secession.

The convention passed resolutions in favor of political freedom for Ireland and India.

It denounced the United States Congress for denying to Victor Berger the right to take his seat in the House of Representatives, to which he is undoubtedly entitled.

Another resolution adopted by the convention declares in favor of a general strike, to begin October 8th [1919], for the purpose of forcing the liberation of Thomas Mooney, Eugene V. Debs, and all other political and industrial prisoners.

Wednesday, September 3.

The national Socialist convention Wednesday [Sept. 3, 1919] passed unanimously a resolution demanding that Congressman Victor L. Berger be allowed to take his seat in the House of Representatives, and holding that the effort to keep him out was a direct attack on the right of the worker to participate in government. The resolution read as follows:

Whereas, The organized moneyed interests of the country are doing all in their power to prevent our Socialist representative, Victor L. Berger, from obtaining his seat in Congress; and

Whereas, The only offense he is charged with is that of adhering to the platform and principles of the Socialist Party, and it is, therefore, a direct attack upon the efforts and the rights of the workers to participate in government; and

Whereas, The success of the attack upon our rights will wipe out one of the bulwarks of constitutional representative government; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of the United States, in convention assembled, demand of Congress that it immediately seat Comrade Victor L. Berger, and that copies
of this resolution be forwarded to the Speaker of the House and to each of the members conducting the Berger hearing before the house.

Favor Free Ireland.

The resolution was adopted with enthusiasm after being amended so as to send copies to all members of Congress.

A resolution favoring self-determination for Ireland was unanimously passed. The resolution called for the withdrawal of the army of occupation in the Green Isle and demanded that the United States recognize the Irish Republic.

A resolution also was passed on the negro situation in this country, and denouncing mob violence.

There was wild applause when a telegram was read by the New York delegation announcing that in the Tuesday primaries in New York, the regular Socialists had won out in all the contested districts of the state save one by overwhelming majorities and in face of Left Wing attacks.

Blows Up Taxi Newspaper Lie.

Rising to a point of personal privilege during the morning session, Congressman Berger referred to a convention report in the Chicago Examiner, in which it was stated that a delegate had charged that he had ridden to the convention in a taxicab that was on the unfair list and that he had not defended himself. Besides the fact that no such incident had come up in the convention, Congressman Berger stated that he had not ridden in a taxi in 6 months and all he knew of any such story was that he remembered to have heard it in New York instead of Chicago, and that the man in the non-union taxi had been injured in a collision. The man in the New York taxi was none other than Samuel Gompers, he claimed.

Give Help to Striking Cigar Makers.

The convention Wednesday [Sept. 3, 1919] decided to meet squarely another Left Wing story, which was being circulated among the delegates in the form of a printed letter, that several of the state delegations were padded. Representatives from these states took the floor to welcome the chance for a defense, and a committee from the states in question was appointed to make a report.


A collection of $52.50 was taken Wednesday for the striking cigar makers in Chicago, following an address by one of their committee.

The convention completed the makeup of its committees by Tuesday noon [Sept. 2, 1919], and no session was held afternoon or night, so that the committee members might be free to give their undivided time to their committee work. The interest in the committee sessions was keen and a great deal of care and thought was put on the matters on which they were expected to report.

The most important committee is that on Resolutions, Party Principles, and Pan-American and International Relations, although the Committee on Constitution also has weighty matters to determine to the end that the structural weaknesses in party organization may be corrected and an indisputable structure built for the future.


Left Wing Splits.

The two factions of the Left Wing continue to hold separate sessions, and efforts to bring them to-
gether have been in part blocked by a clash of ambitions for leadership of John Reed, A. Wagenknecht, C.E. Ruthenberg, and others. These leaders all look glum over the way in which their air castles have tumbled apart.

When the convention opened, the Left Wing faction expected confidently to be able to take possession. They were overbearing and insulting in their conduct, frequently interrupted the convention, and in other ways made themselves obnoxious. They had a printing machine with them and kept flooding the convention with mimeographed letters containing wild charges of various sorts. By Monday [Sept. 1, 1919] they saw they could not bully the convention, much less capture it, and it was then that they began to hold a convention of their own. The split in their ranks began almost from the start; the Russians and other language federation men getting together as a Communist Party. There are rumors that a split is also developing in this faction over the question of nationalism.

The Chicago newspaper reports of the convention outside of plenty of willful distortion, are badly mixed regarding the real situation. The Socialist Party is described as a bourgeois party, a reactionary party, etc. However, the convention is bringing out strongly the fact that it is absolutely four-square with the International Socialist movement, as it has always been. The party is being strengthened by the clarifying processes of the convention, and will go forth stronger than ever and able to measure up to its new importance in the political life of the United States, delegates say.

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Thursday, September 4.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was given enthusiastic endorsement Thursday [Sept. 4, 1919] in the national Socialist convention when it presented a supplementary report dealing with the suspension of the foreign language federations and the expulsion of offending state organizations.

The report was so overwhelmingly endorsed by the mass of the delegates that they waived all arguments in favor of any possible opposition during the time for discussion.

The report added a further factor of revelation to the story of the recent attempt to capture the party and pervert its purposes, and showed clearly that no official steps had been taken until it could be delayed no longer.

Delegate Beckerman, New York, declared if there had been weaklings instead of strong men on the National Executive Committee the past 2 years, there would be no Socialist Party today. He moved that the action of the National Executive Committee be approved, and the motion was seconded by Hoan, Wisconsin.

Had Two-Day Trial.

The report showed that there had been a 2-day trial, with the testimony taken down in shorthand, in the case of the language federations. The point was brought out that the federations had defied the party in an official communication saying that they "would brook no opposition to the stand they had taken."

In the case of the revocation of the Michigan charter, it was shown the Michigan state convention had adopted a clause in its constitution in violation of the national constitution, providing that any member or branch advocating legislative reform should be expelled. The report showed that under such a rule Socialists would be forbidden to oppose the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law.

Removed Political Clause.

The Massachusetts party was shown also to have repudiated political action by removing the political action clause from its state constitution.

The case of Ohio was still more flagrant, as the state convention had publicly endorsed a Left Wing organization and intercepted orders for convention stamps to the National Office. Its disruptive work went to the length of helping to set up a rival National Executive Committee, which at a meeting in Chicago had instructed the members of various states to send no more money to the National Office.

The report closed by giving the facts as to the referendum attempted by the Ohio Left Wingers,
which could not be legally sent out under the national constitution.

**Letters Reveal Selves.**

In the speeches following the report, the Secretary of the Italian Language Federation [John LaDuca] declared the action of the National Executive Committee was entirely justified.

**Show True Colors.**

The Left Wing faction led by John Reed, which has taken the name of Communist Labor Party, completely threw off its mast in a meeting on Throop Street, Thursday [Sept. 4, 1919], by striking from its platform a “political action” clause. L. Boudin, New York, active in the Left Wing movement, headed a bolt when political action was repudiated, declaring the convention was a lunatic asylum and that he was going home.

**Harmony in Meeting.**

The convention Wednesday [Sept. 3, 1919], no longer subject to the studied annoyances of the discredited Left Wing disrupters, finished its clean-up, and succeeded in making good progress. A general harmonious feeling pervaded the convention hall, and showed itself in the debates. Steps were taken to give the Socialist movement of the United States a clear understanding of what was attempted by the disruptionists and to meet some of the falsehoods sent out to mislead well-meaning party members.

**Hits Party-Owned Press.**

The report of the Press Committee was made by its chairman, Eugene Wood, New York. The report says that there were grounds to believe that the persecution of the Socialists would not diminish and that the party might be even made outlaw by the capitalist government. Owning corporations, with property rights that could be legally protected, were, therefore, the safer arrangement. A conference of Socialist editors was advised, and an improved news and cartoon service through combined resources urged. There are 10 Socialist dailies in various languages in the United States.

**Cooperative Enterprises.**

A resolution presented by the Resolutions Committee on cooperatives called out an interesting debate. [Patrick] Nagle, Oklahoma, and others attacked stock selling and claimed cooperative undertakings took attention away from political duties. Beckerman, New York, told of 4 cooperative stores that his branch maintains and of the $10,000 worth of business a week done by them; [Abraham] Shiplacoff, New York, told of cooperative activities of his branch that strengthened the party propaganda.

Victor L. Berger said great care had to be taken to get the right managers, and told of a cooperative grocery in Milwaukee, with which W.R. Gaylord was connected, that met disaster.

“We should foster all activities, but be careful,” he said. “Until we get the ideas of cooperation into the minds of the people we can not have the cooperative commonwealth.”

On motion of [Louis] Waldman, New York, the resolution was made to include farmers as well as workingmen.

**Action on Mooney Case.**

Strong resolutions were passed on Mooney and Billings, whose imprisonment was accounted an international scandal. A speedy retrial of their cases was demanded, and members were urged to participate, wherever possible, in the one-day strike in October if it was carried out. Another resolution opposed the deportation of natives of India from the country. The drastic sedition laws that were a disgrace to their country were pointed out.

**Would Merge Yipsels.**

Motions by Shiplacoff, New York, and Berger, Wisconsin, were united and a committee of 5 provided to draft a proclamation to be sent to the membership on the work of the Left Wing toward the convention, and lists sent the state organizations setting forth the conduct of state delegates in refusing to at-
tend. [Valentine] Bausch, New Jersey, bitterly scored delegates who had taken expense money from the membership of his state, but did not keep faith in attending. The committee was composed of [James] Oneal, New York; Berger, Wisconsin; Wilson, Pennsylvania; and [Ross] Brown, Indiana.

**New York Socialists Win in Primaries.**

Much interest was taken by the delegates in the news received from New York relative to the Socialist Party primaries held in that state. Delegates were not inclined to underestimate the significance of the primary returns from New York state. It was agreed that the showing made Tuesday [Sept. 2, 1919] throughout the state where the Left Wing disruptionists contested the Socialist nominations and were defeated overwhelmingly was a solar plexus blow for the wreckers.

**Lose in Strongholds.**

The returns showed that it was right in the heart of Left Wingism that the Left Wing defeat was the most decisive. The Brownsville, Brooklyn district is regarded as the Left Wing stronghold, yet here they were snowed under, in spite of a most bitter and vituperative street corner campaign against the regular nominees and house to house canvasses.

In the 8th Assembly Manhattan district, also a Left Wing stronghold, and the stamping ground of Reed and others, the Left Wing defeat was just as bad, Louis Waldman walking all over the Lefters, after a bitter campaign. The district was formerly carried by the Socialists, who lost out by a narrow margin in the last election, when the old parties fused. The fact is pointed out by the New York delegates that the Left Wingers appeared to play into the enemy's hands, or at least that the old party job hunters were busy aiding the Left Wing campaign.

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**Friday, September 5.**

**Socialism and Unionism.**

Plans to bring a better understanding of Socialism in the trade union membership of the United States were adopted by the national Socialist convention, Friday [Sept. 5, 1919], as outlined by its Committee on Economic Organization. The convention is rapidly drawing to a close and the work of electing a temporary National Executive Committee was entered upon at the opening of the afternoon session.

The trade union report states that the American workingman has been more backward in the field of economic organization than the workers of other countries, but that "a considerable portion of America's labor is beginning to realize that the essential purpose of labor's struggle is not for increase of wages or a reduction of hours, but for the complete abolition of exploitation by the capitalist state and for the ownership and control of the industries by those who do the work."

Talk of harmony between capital and labor was likened in many cases to the harmony between the lion and the lamb. The workers of the country were congratulated on the way they have resisted attempts to betray their interests by declaration of truce.

The new National Executive Committee is instructed to create a department to foster closer relations with labor bodies, to prepare a series of pamphlets, provide press propaganda service, and supply speakers on Socialism for labor meetings. Hoehn, St. Louis, opposed any move that could be construed as meddling with the organized labor movement, saying that such tactics had injured the party in the past. In answer, it was pointed out by the committee that only the friendliest cooperation in time of strikes and otherwise was intended.

**To Increase National Dues.**

The question of increased dues consumed a large part of the morning session, but all were agreed that more money was necessary to meet present needs and opportunities. It was finally decided to make the dues to the National Office 10 cents, to the state 15 cents, and to charge members 50 cents a month in order also
to have local funds to meet the work.

**Rank and File Not Blamed.**

The motion to adopt the supplementary report of the National Executive Committee, carrying with it the convention's approval of the expulsion of the offending state organizations and the suspension of a number of the language federations, was passed by the convention Thursday [Sept. 4, 1919] by a vote of 95 to 8, but not before the convention, in a spirit of magnanimity, had permitted an amendment by the opposition, made by [Oliver C.] Wilson, Illinois, assuming that the rank and file of the federations had not been primarily guilty and instructing the incoming National Executive Committee to reorganize them.† The amendment was agreed to by a vote of 63 to 40.

Delegate Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee wanted the housecleaning to be lasting and offered an amendment which called a spade a spade, but the immense patience of the convention of the preceding days had given away to a sentimental desire to spare the feelings of those in the convention who had been doing Left Wing service, and he did not press it.

**Sick at Heart.**

As matters stand, the regular Socialists have won victory after victory throughout the entire convention and all that comes out of it will reflect their loyalty to the International movement. In speaking on the unpleasant duties that devolved on the National [Executive] Committee, Delegate [James] Oneal, New York, who read the report, said that not a single member of the committee, when it came time to vote on the action of the committee, but felt sick at heart at the necessity of their action. “We served the party at the most trying time of its history,” he said, “and we had to be guided by the constitution.”

For the second time in the course of the convention, Thursday [Sept. 4, 1919], the convention hall rang with uncontrolled cheering. It was at the conclusion of the reading of the new party manifesto, prepared in large part by Morris Hillquit, New York, who is still in a sanitarium. The first cheering was heard the day the referendum was set aside.

†- Contrary to the implication of this sentence, O.C. Wilson was a member of the SPA's "Regular" faction, not of the residual Left Wing (later the Committee for the 3rd International), which was headed by Illinois delegates Louis Engdahl and Bill Kruse. It should also be noted that there were originally 200 delegates to the 1919 Chicago convention, a fact which puts the apparent decisiveness of a 95 to 8 vote into perspective.

**Asks for Working Program.**

The manifesto came from the Committee on Program and it was explained by Chairman [Algernon] Lee that, as there was no campaign this year, it was felt that a manifesto and not a platform was called for. He also proposed that the convention elect a committee of 7, from the membership at large, to prepare a standing declaration of principles and working program, the same to be acted on by the 1920 convention of the party. A 1920 campaign book was proposed and met with favor.

The manifesto was read to the convention by Delegate [John] Block, New York. It began with the words:

> The capitalist class is making its last stand in history. It was entrusted with the government of the world. It is responsible for the prevailing chaos. It has become a dangerous impediment to progress and human welfare.

The document was listened to with rapt attention and there were bursts of applause from time to time. The cause of the war was laid bare and the factors that led up to it.

**The Manifesto in full appears on the front page of this week's issue of St. Louis Labor.**

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**The Closing Scenes of Enthusiasm.**

The closing scenes were of the liveliest sort. Cheers were given for Eugene V. Debs, for the party itself, and for the newly adopted Socialist manifesto. To give the enthusiasm of the big hall full of delegates free play, Eugene Wood, well known magazine writer, was called to the stage to lead in the singing of “The Internationale,” the stirring Socialist anthem.

The closing hours were full of accomplishment, made possible by the desire on all sides to make the work of the convention complete and praiseworthy.
The proposed proclamation, which is to go out to all the state movements, was read by Lee, New York, and adopted. It gives a clear statement of the efforts to capture the party by the Left Wing and will acquaint the states as to just what part their delegates played in the affair.

Hogan Mexico Delegate.

Daniel Hogan, Arkansas, was made the party delegate to the Socialist convention in Mexico, to be held shortly. Delegates were named to attend the American Freedom Convention in Chicago, September 25-28 [1919], after J. Mahlon Barnes, managing director of the National League for the Release of Political Prisoners, had addressed the convention.

Tsarism as Practiced by Administration.

The government was asked to change its policy toward immigrants held for deportation as not in accord with the American ideals of liberty and justice. The resolutions held that the deportation of men under ukase of the American Department of Labor differed little from like practices in Russia under the Tsar. Many of these men, it is said, were locked up under the pretext of crushing anarchy, but every tradition of liberty was being trodden under foot and the men, many of them, held incommunicado month after month under pretext of being deported.

Italy Releases Politicals.

One of the most protracted debates of the afternoon was over a proposal to affiliate with the Moscow International. There were debaters in plenty on both sides of the question, but when the matter was finally put to vote the proposal was defeated, 2 to 1.

J. Mahlon Barnes, in his talk on amnesty, said that King Emanuel had just released 40,000 political war prisoners, and had released a large number previously, but the administration of the country was bringing all our traditions under a cloud by clinging tenaciously to the thousands it had locked up because of the war, among them many Conscientious Objectors.

The government took every means to keep the people uninformed on the subject. Letters sent out by his organization had not been delivered. In one case, 2300 letters, each containing a 3-cent stamp, and later 8000, were believed to have been hidden away in the Chicago post office. Follow-up letters were sent, and only 5 persons were found to have received the first letter.

Two Thousand Political Prisoners.

Papers have been suppressed and refused the mails and other unscrupulous means taken to keep the people from learning the truth. There were about 2000 political prisoners, and a current number of Pearson's Magazine showed that there had been 150,000 courts martial with most of the sentences brutal almost beyond belief.

The New Constitution.

The new constitution was adopted Friday [Sept. 5, 1919] forenoon. It contains a definition of political action that cannot be dodged. Another provision is that members must make efforts, where necessary, to secure citizenship. It also provides that hereafter the members of the National Executive Committee shall be elected at the party conventions, where their qualifications can be judged at first-hand.

The election of the new National Executive Committee, who are to serve only until the new constitution is ratified, took place just prior to the noon adjournment Friday. A new board will be chosen at the 1920 convention.

There was a genuine surprise when the members of the old National Executive Committee, one after another, refused to stand for re-election. There was reluctance to allow them to retire, but as they had stood the brunt of the Left Wing battles and the fighting was now over, they claimed they were entitled to a rest.

Only one member of the old board is on the new National Executive Committee — James Oneal. But Oneal did not accept until the convention, by unanimous vote, insisted that he withdraw his declaration. This he did, and he headed the list of members of the new committee.

Berger of Milwaukee, in declining renomination, declared: "I am in this work for many years and all
I ev'en got out of it was a 20-year sentence."

The New National Executive.

The new and temporary, or interim, board, then elected, was made up as follows:

Edmund T. Melms, Wisconsin; William M. Brandt, Missouri; James O'neal, New York; William H. Henry, Indiana; George E. Ro wer, Jr., Massachusetts; Oliver C. Wilson, Illinois; and John H age, Oklahoma.

The following alternates were named: Algernon Lee, New York; John Doerfler, Jr., Wisconsin; Victor Anella, Massachusetts; John Shaw, Illinois; Birch Wilson, Pennsylvania; Martin F. Plunkett, Connecticut; and Charles Sehl, Pennsylvania.

The new Committee on Appeals consists of Judge [Jacob] Panken, New York; Block, New York; Crawford, Pennsylvania; Daniel W. Hoan, Wisconsin; Wood, New York; Oscar Ameringer, Wisconsin; and W.F. Kruse, Illinois.

Seymour Stedman, Illinois, heads the delegates to the American Freedom Convention.

The feeling amongst the delegates at the close of the convention was one of congratulation that the emergency convention had passed through all the perils that beset it and had come out with flying colors.

The failure of the Left Wing movement also was a source of congratulation. Both the Communist League [sic.], made up of the suspended nationality groups, and the Reed-Katterfeld faction of the Left Wing, known as the Communist Labor Party, went through the form of holding conventions, but they fought like cats and dogs and kept splitting off as different leaders lost control.