

REPORT OF THE
PROCEEDINGS

of the
SECOND CONFERENCE
for
PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

Held at
CLEVELAND, OHIO
December 11, 12, 1922

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1925

Second Conference for Progressive Political Action,
B. of L. E. Auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio,
December 11 and 12, 1922.

Morning Session, December 11, 1922.

Chairman Johnston opened the Conference at 10:30 A. M.
Call for Conference read by Acting Secretary Arthur E. Holder.

CALL

Conference for Progressive Political Action Cleveland, Ohio, December
11-12, 1922.

"GREETINGS:

Your organization is hereby invited to participate in the Second Conference for Progressive Political Action which will meet at Cleveland, Ohio, December 11-12, 1922, pursuant to resolution of the Chicago Conference of February last. The sessions of the Conference will be held in the B. of L. E. Auditorium, corner Ontario Street and St. Clair Avenue, which will be the headquarters of the Conference.

The organizations entitled to representation in the Conference were fixed by the Chicago Conference. The number of delegates to which such organizations are entitled has been fixed by the National Committee. Such representation is as follows:

DELEGATES:

National and International Labor and Farm Organizations, 3 delegates each.
State, Local and City Central Organizations of labor and farmers, 1 delegate each.
National Cooperative Societies, 3 delegates.
State and Local Cooperatives, 1 delegate each.
National Socialist Party, 7 delegates.
Farmer-Labor Party, 5 delegates.
Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, 2 delegates.
National Non-Partisan League, 3 delegates.
State Non-Partisan Leagues, 1 delegate each.
League for Industrial Democracy, 3 delegates.
Single Taxers, 3 delegates.
State and Local Organizations for Progressive Political Action, 1 delegate each.

VOTING STRENGTH:

On roll call, organizations are entitled to the following votes:
National and International Organizations—1 vote for each 10,000 members.
State and Local Organizations—1 vote each as represented.
Political Parties—As many votes as delegates apportioned.

You are urged to designate the number of delegates to which your organization is entitled and send credentials for the same to the Secretary as soon as possible. Admission to the meeting will be by card which will be issued to the delegates on receipt of credentials.

The recent election is epoch making. Its results surpass every expectation. They are largely traceable to the activities set in motion by the Chicago Conference. The farmers and industrial workers have demonstrated their strength and their political solidarity. The Cleveland Conference should solidify and give direction to this movement. It is extremely important that your organization be represented by the men best fitted to cooperate in this new movement for political and industrial democracy.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. H. JOHNSTON,
Chairman.

(Signed) FREDERIC C. HOWE,
Secretary.

After the reading of the call Chairman Johnston addressed the Conference as follows:

At Opening of Second Conference for Progressive Political Action Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio, December 11-12, 1922.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is with great pleasure I welcome you to this Second Conference for Progressive Political Action.

At our first conference in Chicago, February 20-22, 1922, I concluded my remarks at the opening of that conference with this modest suggestion—

"Let the organizations and groups represented here get together in the several States and work unitedly in the approaching primaries and in the fall election and elect men who believe in the fundamental American principle that 'government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people and not for the honor or profit of any man, family or class of men.'"

How well you heeded that suggestion and prompting, and how thoroughly you did "get together" will be gleaned from the concrete record of the results of the campaign which is given you in the report of the National Committee of the Conference and in which you and your associates at home will be enabled to see at a glance exactly what has been accomplished in the national interest.

I shall not trespass upon the contents of that report, but I do most respectfully urge you to study same most carefully.

Our first experiment is ended, our first preliminary skirmish in behalf of equal and exact justice has come to a close.

Through you and as a result of the efforts made by your associates and neighbors at home, the American people have spoken most emphatically. There is no room for doubt left.

Patriotic historians of the future will record the day, November 7, 1922, as the most important in the life of the American people since July 4, 1776.

On that day American citizens voted more intelligently than they ever did before. They voted with rare discrimination and magnificent independence. They not only brandished the "Big Stick" of outraged indignation, but they used it that day most effectively—so thoroughly in fact, that the predatory interests in and out of the present administration are still trembling with pain from the wallops they got on November 7, and they are quivering with fear as to what is likely to happen to them when the voting intelligence and independence of the people develop in every legislative and judicial district of our land.

On November 7 the stored up wrath of the people was let loose against the so-called captains of industry, the freebooters, the profiteers, the plunderers and the political puppets of the discredited Harding administration who have been masquerading as "statesmen."

The veil has been lifted. The shams have been exposed. The people have taken their measure, they have not only carefully card-indexed their limited capabilities but their monumental rascalities.

The workers and producers on the farms and railroads, in the mines and factories, in the shops, stores and schools did get together. They first saw that under the present regime they were being robbed for the benefit of profiteers, open shoppers, market manipulators, and political adventurers. Next they saw that this evil brood of national despoilers were aided and abetted at every turn by the administration at Washington and its spokesmen in Congress.

In your capacity as leaders of your producing groups and in your several communities, you helped your neighbors to see these great outstanding truths. Then you coupled with it practical wisdom. You urged them to do what they had never especially exerted themselves to do before and that was to get busy and take a hand in the primaries.

You showed them how helpless they were and how ineffective their ballots were on election day if they had no choice between two evils. The first place to make a choice is at the primaries. The right and the duty of selection of capable, trustworthy nominees precedes and is immeasurably more important than final election. Your efforts have borne great fruit. You have exposed the greatest iniquity of the slight-of-hand shell games in American politics, whereby candidates on both major party tickets have heretofore been hand-picked by the predatory, un-American, corporate interests.

Now that the people have taken a hand in their own welfare and ignored the clamorings from old party managers there is hope that our political and industrial future is safer than it ever was before.

This can be done most efficiently through the Primary System, and I hope you will be guided by the advice given by our National Committee in its timely admonition on "The Value of Direct Primaries."

If we would make progress safely and surely we must keep ever foremost in our minds that our work is largely an educational one. We must learn the magnitude of the evils that beset us. We must study the best methods of applying the best remedies to remove those evils.

There is no short cut, no easy path. Those who are entrenched have vast resources and they have no scruples about exercising their powers.

We must show our fellow citizens, who may not up to the present have given serious thought to the dangers confronting them that

(1) The land of the country is fast going into a centralized ownership or control through the private monopoly of transportation. Railroad Ownership of Government is now complete in all its details through the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments.

(2) Rapid concentration of wealth is creating sharp divisions of Society into the very rich who are arrogant and unscrupulous, and the propertyless whose ambitions and courage are constantly declining. An official report made public on December 8 states there are a million homeless men in the United States—men without a place to live—and the report covers 138 of our cities.

(3) Money and credit, the life blood of commerce, now flows only by permission of a small—a very small—group of super-financiers who dominate the international industrial activities of the World.

(4) Control of raw materials, machinery for production, unwise regulation of production and distribution of finished products is rapidly falling into the hands of the diminishing minority.

These problems are not all by any means but they constitute the major or bed rock causes of our modern unrest and lack of balance.

From these special privileges and monopolies all our lesser evils grow, and in their train monstrous inequality and injustice break up American homes, break down American hopes and destroy American standards of living.

While it is not consoling, yet we must remember that all these evils did not come upon us overnight; neither can they be removed by passing resolutions, issuing an edict or by the stroke of a pen of a superman.

As a matter of fact it is only recently that we workers in the industrial centres and our fellow workers on the farms and in the rural communities have recognized the fact that these evils constituted a common problem. Neither had we mutually learned that many of these issues had grown upon us silently and are to some extent an outgrowth of the modern development of industry due to the numerous inventions following the discovery of steam power.

Due to either our general ignorance or our lack of interest or our lack of energy after the day's work was done, or a combination of all these influences, neither of our groups have given sufficient attention, in the past, to the growth or the magnitude of the problems now confronting us.

A very deliberate and dishonest propaganda of partisanship and prejudice has also been kept in circulation to foster mistrust among the farm workers as against the city workers. Those who have manipulated this poison gas scheme of "Divide and Conquer" have chuckled with joy whenever they saw evidence that the farmer opposed the industrial worker, or vice versa.

Fortunately the dawn is breaking. We see each other now more clearly. We have struck up a speaking acquaintance. We are learning to talk the same economic language. We sympathize with each other when we are in trouble. We loan each other books and pamphlets—sometimes money if we have any. We visit at our State and local celebrations and exchange speakers at our forums, lyceums, conferences and conventions. We have learned to do our own writing and our own public speaking. We have demonstrated we can entertain and enlighten our own folks as well, and often much better, than a hired speaker with a questionable pedigree.

Something has even been done in Congress that has been productive of good. Due very largely to the demand of the farmers following the wicked deflation process by the Federal Reserve Board, the Sixty-seventh Congress allowed a "Joint Commission on Agricultural Inquiry" to be appointed. That commission has unearthed some useful facts and given them circulation. A

few of its members have been questioned by other members of Congress during debates. On December 21, 1921, the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Sydney Anderson, furnished some illuminating information proving that the economic interests of producers on the farms and in the cities are so intricately woven together and so thoroughly interrelated that it is physically impossible to injure one without it becoming an injury and a concern to all.

On that day the tariff—that hoary old fakir in politics—was being discussed. Prices of farm products were very appropriately mentioned and even the home consumption of farm products was injected—Mr. Anderson saying (Note Page 730, Congressional Record, December 21, 1921)—

“As a matter of fact, probably the greatest influence in the present situation as regards prices of agricultural products—is the lack of domestic consumption.

“In 1920 the domestic consumption of wheat declined as compared with 1919 from 6 9-10 bushels to 4 6-10 bushels per capita (note that with a decrease of 33 per cent), 230 million bushels less of wheat were consumed in America in 1920 than in 1919. Had it not been for the very large export in 1920 the price of wheat would have been very much lower than it was.”

“Mr. Green. Can the gentleman give any reason for that decline in home consumption?

“Mr. Anderson. It was due to the general conditions of unemployment and industrial depression. Go back for 30 years and you will find the consumption of wheat and beef are peculiarly susceptible to periods of industrial depression. A decline in consumption of beef and wheat has occurred in every period of industrial depression in our history.”

Mr. Anderson then went into a lengthy discussion of farm wages and farm income showing the farmer's average income in 1913 was \$444 and in 1920 it was \$465, but that in purchasing power the farmer's actual income of 1920 was reduced to less than one half what it was in 1913, the figures being—1913, \$444; 1920, \$219.

This is seemingly only a slight incident to record yet it has been worth millions in proving that the city or industrial worker has been right in contending that he is the best customer his neighbor, the farmer, has. These two industrial interests are an economic unit. What hurts one is bound to injure the other. What helps one is automatically a stimulant and help to the other.

What is true economically is equally true socially, spiritually and politically. It has taken our groups a long time to learn this truth, fortunately it has not taken so long a time to prove it.

When the “smart” speculator and “shrewd” banker deflated the farmer in 1920 and these two super creations were joined by the noisy open shopper who was hell bent to make “the laborer eat out of his hand” a great trinity of lunk heads was incorporated. They had a good time for a spell. They indulged in slander and abuse of labor men. They armed their thugs and called troops into action. They used every instrument of intimidation, legal and illegal, to crush the spirit of the rank and file. They have stopped at nothing. The Constitution and the Statutes were tinsel in their red hands, and now their day of reckoning is approaching.

The farmers and the industrial workers have discovered their joint power. They realize our American form of government is still all-sufficient, all-powerful. Its thoroughness is almost perfect, its usefulness unlimited, its cornerstone of equal and exact justice—still intact. It is to these vital and fundamental principles of honor, freedom and justice that we will turn in our dilemma. We will invoke them through our own chosen representatives and stand unafraid before the citadels of unearned wealth and the dastardly champions of special privilege.

We laboring people of the country and city have no selfish program. We would not and will not attempt to benefit at the expense of others. What we want and what we will have is Justice. Justice in prices and wages. Justice in industrial and political control. Justice in the security of life for all those who perform useful work and for those who are aged or who have been injured or maimed.

We are not mendicants seeking favor or blessing of any other groups, any parties, any institution. We have our limitations but they are becoming less. We have our shortcomings but they are becoming fewer.

We have consecrated our lives to the highest ideals of Fair Play in Industry, Honesty and Proper Representation in Politics, and Righteousness in Public Administration.

Thus there will be brought together in understanding and political fellowship those great constructive and productive forces upon whom the welfare of the nation fundamentally rests, and we shall move forward steadily and perhaps swiftly to that day “we long have sought and wept because we found it not.”

To those in sympathy with these precious concepts of a people's government we extend the open hand of fellowship. With those who oppose or hinder, we will be patient, hoping that time and experience will convert even those, that the new light displayed by these Conferences for Progressive Political Action will be all-sufficient to convince them that our plan is practical, safe and sane.

Letters and telegrams from friends and sympathizers were read by the Acting Secretary, as follows:

From
Martin F. Ryan,
General President,
Brotherhood Railway Carmen.
Hon. “Jack” Walton,
Governor-Elect,
Oklahoma.
J. Cleve Dean,
Railway Employes' Publicity Association,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.

W. J. Adames,
Editor,
Railway Carmen's Journal.
Frederic A. Pike,
Chairman, State Central Committee,
Farmer-Labor Party,
Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Secretaries and other representatives of local trade unions and other organizations also wired their greetings.

Mr. Edward Keating, member of the National Committee, was introduced to the Conference by Chairman Johnston. He then read the report of the Committee, as follows:

Report of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action to the Second Conference for Progressive Political Action.
Cleveland, Ohio, December 11-12, 1922.

The National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action makes the following report:

Immediately following its election in Chicago in February, 1922, members of the National Committee organized by the election of William H. Johnston, Chairman; Warren S. Stone, Treasurer, and Frederic C. Howe, Secretary, offices were opened in the Machinists' Building, Washington. The Committee worked in close association with the People's Legislative Service, and with the weekly paper, Labor, published in Washington, which has been of unmeasured assistance in the campaign just closed.

Your Committee acted in strict accordance with instructions laid down at the Chicago Conference. It left the initiative, for the most part, in organizing state and local movements to groups within the states themselves. It, however, sent representatives from Washington on several trips throughout the West to aid in the organization of state movements and in attempting to harmonize conflicting interests. Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh also made two trips to the Pacific Coast and participated in a number of state campaigns.

THE VALUE OF DIRECT PRIMARIES.

Special attention was given to the primary elections in the several states. In many states, voters were found to be indifferent to its use. The National Committee urged that every effort be made to bring about the nomination of satisfactory candidates and where that was impossible to nominate candidates by other means in sympathy with the programme of the Conference. Bulletins on Congressional candidates were placed in the hands of local organizations with instructions that efforts be made to pledge and to bring about the election of, or defeat of, candidates in the primary election.

Partly as a result of this stimulus of interest, your Committee believes that the primary has been greatly popularized. Voters have come to realize that through the primary ballot progressive candidates can be nominated. As a result of our experience, your Committee believes that

(1) In those states where good primary laws do not now exist, a demand for the enactment of such a law should be made upon the incoming state legislatures;

(2) In states where the primary laws are defective, efforts should be made to perfect them;

(3) The efforts of big business and politicians to abolish or devitalize the state primary laws should be defeated;

(4) Efforts should be made to secure a Presidential primary in those states where it does not now exist;

(5) It is important that the date of the primary election should be not earlier than September; that where registration of voters is required, it should be made as easy as possible, and no declaration of party affiliations should be required at the primaries.

Your Committee earnestly recommends that every effort be made by state and local organizations to agree upon a simple, direct and easily workable primary law, with ease of registration so that the public can readily express itself.

Your Committee worked in close cooperation with the executive officials of the railway organizations. Possibly the most effective work accomplished was accomplished through the instructions sent by the executives of railway labor organizations to local officers and local unions and through the activity of state federations of labor. A real political force has been brought into existence as a result. Hundreds, possibly thousands, of men have been trained in political action, and tens of thousands have been educated into the importance of the primary and the ballot and the importance of their use by the organized worker. Railway men especially, because of their standing in the communities and their activity, are an unusually effective political force.

LEGISLATIVE RECORDS

In order that the people in the several states should have reliable information as to the voting records of their Senators and Representatives in Congress, the National Committee prepared accurate tabulations of the votes of Congressmen which were mailed to labor and farm organizations, generally, a month before the primaries or conventions were held. These voting records were uniform in style. They were based on the most important domestic issues coming before the 65th and 67th Congresses. In our judgment, these records constituted the acid test of a Congressman's fidelity to the people's interests. They were sent to all local and state organizations; to all organizations of labor whose rosters were available; to progressive organizations of farmers, teachers and other bodies; to the press, and to individuals who were known to be alive to the spirit of the times. Over 100,000 of such records were sent to such organizations. The weekly paper, Labor, reprinted these records for home consumption and many hundreds more were printed by local trade unions and farm journals. For the first time in our history the voters of the country have had accurate information to aid them in reaching a decision. As indicative of their value, many of our correspondents demanded that the records be supplied in lots of 10,000 or more.

In addition to the legislative records, your Committee prepared and flooded the country with pertinent questionnaires. These were to be used by local organizations to secure pledges or expressions from candidates on pending questions. They were also used to ask questions during the campaign. These questionnaires have had a great educational influence, and have contributed largely to the election of men who are on record as sympathetic with the purposes of the Conference.

LABOR

It was fortunate for your Committee that Labor, the official organ of the standard railway organizations, worked in such complete harmony with your Committee. With a circulation in excess of 400,000, it has reached the most aggressive individuals and groups in the country. It reprinted special state editions with a total distribution of over 1,000,000 copies in the states of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Iowa. These special editions backed by the editorial support of Labor were of invaluable assistance in the campaigns in these states.

STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

A gratifying local enthusiasm was created by the Chicago Conference. Delegates at that Conference, upon their return home began to take steps to organize state and local conferences modeled upon the National Conference. While the files of the National Committee are not complete, it appears that organizations were formed in at least 32 out of the 48 states. A considerable number of these, however, were not fully representative or state wide. Such organizations have been created in the following states, to-wit:

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| California | Nebraska |
| Colorado | Nevada |
| Connecticut | New Hampshire |
| Delaware | New Jersey |
| Georgia | New Mexico |
| Idaho | New York |
| Illinois | North Carolina |
| Indiana | North Dakota |
| Iowa | Ohio |
| Kansas | Oregon |
| Kentucky | Oklahoma |
| Massachusetts | Pennsylvania |
| Minnesota | Texas |
| Missouri | Washington |
| Michigan | Wisconsin |
| Montana | Wyoming |

SUMMARY OF ELECTIONS

The achievements of the elections cannot be measured by the men actually returned to office. The Conference has had at least four other results:

- (1) It has brought together the industrial workers and farmers and demonstrated their common economic and political interests, and that they can and will unite their forces in the political field;
- (2) It has educated hundreds of thousands of men in the field of political activity and led possibly millions to scan the records of men and to cast their votes as independent citizens rather than as hide-bound partisans;
- (3) It has given a dignity and standing to the progressive movement that it never had before.

(4) In addition to the men elected who were supported by this organization, an atmosphere has been created which will cause many other men to be far more ready to serve the public interest than ever before.

This is in addition to the actual achievements which can be more or less directly attributed to the activities stimulated by the Chicago Conference. Twenty-one Senators were elected who may be listed as far more responsive to the public interest than their predecessors. Of these at least ten are outspoken progressives. Six new Senators were in the doubtful column. In addition, twelve undesirable Senators or candidates were defeated or retired voluntarily from the contest.

For the House of Representatives one hundred and thirty-seven new members were elected to the 68th Congress, forty of whom were listed as Republicans, ninety-four as Democrats, and three as Independents. Ninety-three undesirable members of the 67th Congress were defeated. In addition, thirteen withdrew or resigned their seats in the House. The latter were: Cannon of Illinois, Rodenberg of Illinois, Sweet of Iowa, Hardy of Texas, Walsh of Massachusetts, Fordney of Michigan, Burroughs of New Hampshire, Reavis of Nebraska, Siegel of New York, Sloop of Virginia, Mondell of Wyoming, Fess of Ohio, and Kelley of Michigan. These men were sometimes referred to as leaders. To this list may be added Campbell of Kansas and Stafford of Wisconsin,

who were defeated at the polls, as were also Copley of Illinois, Ireland of Illinois, Volstead of Minnesota and Steenerson of Minnesota. Most of these men are professedly hard-boiled partisans who favored class legislation for the financial and social blocs.

In the opinion of your Committee, approximately one hundred and forty Representatives in the Lower House have been elected who are either unqualifiedly representative of the desires of the Conference, or are men whose past record or declarations class them as progressive minded in the people's interests.

In addition to this, substantial gains were made in a number of state elections. In Wisconsin, Fighting Bob LaFollette carried with him an overwhelming progressive state administration. In Oklahoma, a similar state sweep was made. The governors of Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and Arizona were supported by local organizations and by the National Committee as well. The so-called Industrial Courts of Kansas were repudiated, as was the use of force and violence by state authorities during strikes.

Your Committee feels that the importance of state and local elections should be constantly kept in mind by local organizations. The state is the source of our government. If the state is progressive, if it is a training school of liberal ideas, if local organizations are active and aggressive, the representatives of these states in Congress will reflect the popular will.

NATIONAL PROGRAMME

The meeting recently held in Washington by the People's Legislative Service with upwards of 300 persons in attendance is evidence of the permanence of the progressive movement. Progressive Senators and members of the House formed a permanent organization; they appointed committees to work upon important political and economic questions and laid the foundations for a permanent People's Bloc.

The National Committee was provided with no finances by the Chicago Conference. It had to rely upon voluntary contributions. It prepared a budget and laid it before the railway and farm organizations. The total amount of its expenditures and bills incurred up to November 7 was \$16,548.97; the amount subscribed for the payment of these expenditures was \$5,177.38; the amount paid on outstanding bills was \$4,304.63; balance on hand \$873.15. Amount owing—\$11,371.14.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. H. JOHNSTON,
Chairman.

FREDERIC C. HOWE,
Secretary.

On the conclusion of the reading of the National Committee report, Chairman Johnston announced that the Committee on Credentials would report at the afternoon session which would reconvene promptly at 2 p. m. He also reported that the National Committee had appointed the following delegates on the Credentials Committee:

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

Herman E. Wills, Charles P. Howard, J. G. Brown, Eugene J. Brock, Otto Branstetter, Frederic C. Howe, Benjamin C. Marsh.

SECOND MEETING OF CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION, B. OF L. E. AUDITORIUM, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Afternoon Session, December 11, 1922.

The Conference convened at 2.15 p. m.

Mr. J. G. Brown, Secretary of Committee on Credentials, reported the following delegates were entitled to seats in the Conference:

| | |
|--|---|
| D. B. Robertson, B. of L. F. & E. | H. S. Kratzinger, Mo. State Legisl. Repr., O. R. C. |
| A. J. Lovell, B. of L. F. & E. | C. E. Lindquist, Mo. State Legis. Repr., B. of L. E. |
| R. E. Moore, B. of L. F. & E. | T. A. Austin, Grand Sec'y, Bro. R. R. Signalmen of America. |
| B. M. Jewell, Ry. Emp. Dept., A. F. of L. | Sidney Hillman, Amal. C. W. of A. |
| A. R. McDonald, B. of L. F. & E. | Jos. Schlossberg, Amal. C. W. of A. |
| A. B. Connors, Switchmen's Union. | Frank Rosenblum, Amal. C. W. of A. |
| T. C. Cashen, Switchmen's Union. | Dudley Field Malone, Farmer-Labor Party of New York State. |
| S. N. Berry, O. R. C. | Philip Silverstein, Fur Workers. |
| B. F. Newkirk, O. R. C. | Samuel Cohen, Fur Workers. |
| E. H. FitzGerald, Bro. Ry. Clerks. | D. C. Dorman, Nonpartisan League. |
| J. L. Langston, Oklahoma City, Trade & Labor Council. | A. E. Bowen, Nonpartisan League. |
| F. D. Mumby, Bro. Ry. Clerks. | Frederic C. Howe, Public. |
| J. G. Luhrsen, A. T. D. A. | Peter Beisel, St. Louis C. for P. P. A. |
| Robt. M. Lovett, League for Ind. Democracy. | Geo. W. Lawson, Minn. S. F. of L. |
| Ed. J. Evans, B. of E. W. | G. T. Lindsten, Minn. S. F. of L. |
| Ed. Cavan, B. of E. W. | Edmund T. Melms (by invitation). |
| A. W. McIntyre, B. of E. W. | E. C. Kidd, Indiana State Branch P. P. A. |
| James Barnes, Amal. Sheet Metal Workers. | A. E. Gordon, Indiana State Branch P. P. A. |
| W. J. O'Brien, Amal. Sheet Metal Workers. | P. A. |
| R. T. Wood, Missouri State Federation of Labor. | R. D. Cramer, Minn. Trades & Labor Assn. |
| F. A. Schuch, Train Service Political Assn. | Meyer Perlstein, L. G. W. U. |
| S. W. McKee, Train Service Political Assn., Alliance, O. | Salvatore Ninfo, I. L. G. W. U. |

J. N. Davis, Boiler Makers.
 B. E. Newlin, Indiana State Branch, Conf.
 for P. P. A.
 Wm. H. Johnston, Int. Assn. of Machinists.
 Fred Hewitt, Int. Assn. of Machinists.
 Arthur E. Holder, Int. Assn. of Machinists.
 Lillian Hersten, Women's Trade Union
 League.
 John Fitzpatrick, Chicago Fed. of Labor.
 D. Solomon, A. C. W. of A.
 J. B. Salutzky, A. C. W. of A.
 L. Markowitz, A. C. W. of A.
 Seymour Stedman, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 Morris Hillquit, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 Victor L. Berger, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Fed. of
 Labor.
 Geo. E. Roewer, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 B. Charney Vladeck, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 Otto Branstetter, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 James O'Neal, Nat'l Socialist Party.
 Denis Batt, D. F. of L.
 John W. Hays, I. T. U.
 John McParland, I. T. U.
 Charles P. Howard, I. T. U.
 Morris Kolchin, Amal. Clothing Workers,
 Rochester.
 Wm. J. Beardon, Upholsterers' Int. Union.
 Wm. Kohn, Upholsterers' Union.
 Wm. A. Shaw, Upholsterers' Union.
 John Moore, United Mine Workers.
 A. R. Watkins, United Mine Workers.
 James H. Dolsen, Int. Ladies' Garment
 Workers.
 Herman E. Wills, B. of L. E.
 Warren S. Stone, B. of L. E.
 A. C. Blainey, B. of L. E.
 E. H. Kruse, B. of L. E.
 E. J. Manion, O. R. T.
 Timothy Healy, Bro. of Firemen & Oilers.
 H. E. Smith, Bro. of Firemen & Oilers.
 L. F. Sprouse, Bro. of Firemen & Oilers.
 J. J. Forrester, Bro. Ry. Clerks.
 Geo. S. Levi, Bro. Ry. Clerks.
 David A. McVey, F-L Party of Cook
 Co.
 John J. Scannell, Mich. Fed. of L.
 J. B. Laughlin, Farmers' Labor Union of
 Am., Oklahoma.
 Gifford Ernest, F-L Party of Ill.
 Thos. Orton, Nebr. Prog. Party.
 Otto Pauls, Missouri Socialist Party.
 Joseph LaFontaine, Mass. P. P. A.
 John Kircher, Cleveland F. of L.
 Jack Bradon, World War Veterans.
 Mrs. J. J. Forrester, Women's Trade Union
 League.
 Geo. R. Patterson, Mo. State C. P. P. A.

Moved and seconded that we seat the delegates whose names have been reported by the Credentials Committee. Motion carried.

The Secretary of the Credentials Committee reported further, recommending the seating of one delegate from the Single Tax Party of Ohio. Recommendation adopted.

On the matter of seating delegates from Local Labor Unions, the Credentials Committee presented a divided report. The Committee voted that delegates from Local Labor Unions as such should not be seated at the Conference. Mr. Brock and Mr. Brown dissented from the report of the Committee.

Mr. Patterson of the Missouri Conference for Progressive Political Action took exception to the recommendation of the Committee, that delegates from Local Labor Unions be not seated.

Mr. Howard of the Committee called attention to the fact that there are perhaps 50,000 or more Local Organizations in this country, and that the majority of the Committee did not feel that a recommendation should be made to the Conference to seat the representatives of all Local Labor Unions. He further stated that the Committee was willing to hear the claims of those delegates who had come some distance to attend the Conference.

Mr. Maurer of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor stated that he was opposed to adopting the recommendation of the Committee, not to seat the local delegates.

Mr. Wood of the Missouri State Federation of Labor called attention to several delegates from St. Louis, representing Local Labor Unions. He

Abraham Baroff, L. G. W. U.
 Daniel O. Collins, Detroit B. P. C.
 Esther Yarnell, N. L. of California.
 G. A. Hoehn, Labor Pub. Co.
 Thos. Van Lear, W. P. N. P. P. L.
 John Hagel, Oklahoma Leader.
 Rev. David William, League for Industrial
 Democracy.
 O. J. Meserole, League for Industrial De-
 mocracy.
 L. N. Sheldon, F-L Reconstruction League,
 Oklahoma.
 Earl Witt, F-L Reconstruction League,
 Oklahoma.
 George Wilson, F-L Reconstruction League,
 Oklahoma.
 A. D. Marimpietri, Amal. C. W. of A.
 Samuel Rudow, Amal. C. W. of A.
 Morris Blumenreich, Amal. C. W. of A.
 Leon Schorr, Jewish Soc. Labor Party,
 Poale-Zion.
 Isidor Zar, Jewish Soc. Labor Party,
 Poale-Zion.
 Morris Seskind, United Hebrew Trades.
 D. W. Gramling, Scott Co. Nonpartisan
 League.
 A. F. Coyle, All-American Coop. Commis-
 sion.
 W. A. Logan, United Auto., Aircraft & Ve-
 hicle Wkrs. of America.
 Samuel Adams, Am. Agri. Editors' Assn.
 Alex Kahn, Jewish Daily Forward.
 Harry Long, Jewish Soc. Alliance.
 R. F. Pettigrew, So. Dak. Farmer-Labor
 Party.
 M. S. Warfield, Order Sleeping Car Conduc-
 tors.
 R. O. Richards, So. Dak. Direct Leg. Org.
 A. F. Bentley, Farmers' Nat'l Council.
 Ed. Keating, "Labor."
 Jas. H. Maurer, Pa. State F. of L.
 W. W. Royster, Minn. State Leg., B. of
 L. E.
 Wm. H. Henry (by invitation).
 Benjamin C. Marsh, Farmers' Nat'l Council.
 E. J. Brock, Progressive Voters' League.
 John E. Sullivan, Columbus F. of L.
 Robert M. Buck, Farmer-Labor Party of
 Illinois.
 J. G. Brown, Farmer-Labor Party of Il-
 linois.
 E. N. Nockels, Farmer-Labor Party of Il-
 linois.
 Max S. Hayes, Farmer-Labor Party of Il-
 linois.
 Toscan Bennett, Farmer-Labor Party of
 Illinois.
 H. F. Samuels, Idaho N. P. League.

stated that delegates representing Local Labor Unions should be seated, especially those coming from long distances; he was opposed to the recommendation of the Committee.

Mr. Max Hayes stated that in his opinion the best thing to do was to seat these delegates and at the next convention draft a different call so local unions would not be misled.

Mr. Howard of the Committee stated that it was regrettable that the word "Local" was used in issuing the call for the meeting, that it was the intention of those who drafted the call not to extend an invitation to Local Trade Unions but only to local organizations for Progressive Political Action. He stated that he believed the Conference should go along with the Committee and accept the recommendation of the majority.

Mr. Hillquit of the National Socialist Party offered a substitute, that all delegates presenting credentials from Local Labor Unions outside of Cleveland, and whose credentials are already before the Committee, be seated with a voice but no vote.

Mr. Brown of the Committee defended the recommendations of the minority. He stated that in view of his understanding of the wording of the call, he advised several Local Unions in the city of Chicago that they would be entitled to representation in this Conference; that upon this assurance those delegates were elected, spent their money and were here. It was his opinion that the recommendation of the minority should be accepted as the best solution of the whole question.

Chairman Johnston spoke in defense of the call as issued, stating that it was not the intention to grant representation to the many thousands of Local Labor Unions, but only to local Progressive Political Action organizations.

Mr. McDonald of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen stated that there were many legitimate organizations who have sent two or three representatives and who would be outvoted by Local Unions if these delegates were seated. He stated that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen had only three representatives for 108,000 members.

The previous question was called. The Chair stated that the vote was on the motion of Mr. Hillquit that the delegates from Local Labor Unions from outside of Cleveland, who have come here and presented their credentials to the Committee be seated with a voice and vote on all questions except on roll call. The chair being in doubt, a rising vote was taken, resulting as follows:

For, 36; opposed, 62. Motion lost.

Mr. Hayes: The sense of my motion is to adopt the recommendation of the minority, Mr. Brown and Mr. Brock.

A point of order was raised as to a motion to accept the minority report when there was no minority report, and the chair ruled that the point of order was well taken.

Mr. Donnelly moved that this part of the report of the Committee, relating to delegates from Local Labor Unions, be recommitted. Motion carried.

A delegate moved that Mr. Brandt of the Cigar Makers' Union, Mr. Kelley of the Railway Federation of St. Louis and others, who had presented credentials, be now seated. The chair ruled that the motion was out of order, as the matter had been recommitted.

Mr. Brown of the Credentials Committee continued the report. He stated that the Committee had considered the matter of the voting strength of the various organizations on roll call and recommended that the voting strength of the organizations that had turned in their credentials be as follows:

| Organization. | Membership. | Voting Strength. |
|---|-------------|------------------|
| Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers..... | 87,000 | 9 |
| Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen | 108,000 | 11 |
| Order of Railroad Telegraphers..... | 75,000 | 8 |
| Switchmen's Union of North America..... | 10,000 | 1 |
| Stationary Firemen & Oilers..... | 20,000 | 2 |
| Order of Railway Conductors..... | 60,000 | 6 |
| Brotherhood of Railway Clerks..... | 125,000 | 13 |
| American Train Dispatchers' Ass'n..... | 5,000 | 1 |
| Electrical Workers..... | 100,000 | 10 |
| Sheet Metal Workers..... | 30,000 | 3 |
| International Ass'n of Machinists..... | 200,000 | 20 |

| | | |
|--|---------|----|
| People's Leg. Service, Ry. Emp. Dept., A. F. of L. | | 1 |
| Amalgamated Clothing Workers | 150,000 | 16 |
| International Typographical Union | 75,000 | 8 |
| United Mine Workers of America | 500,000 | 50 |
| Boilermakers' International | 47,000 | 5 |
| International Ladies' Garment Workers | 110,000 | 11 |
| International Fur Workers | 26,000 | 3 |
| T. A. Austin, Signalmen | | 1 |
| Sleeping Car Conductors | | 1 |

Moved and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted. Motion carried.

Mr. Ruthenberg of the Workers' Party stated that his credentials had been presented to the Committee, that no report was made on same, and wanted to know when report would be made.

Mr. Brown of the Committee stated no credentials had been received.

Mr. Keating moved that if there are credentials they be not received, because this Conference did not want representatives of the so-called Workers' Party present.

A delegate asked Mr. Keating if he would give his reasons. Mr. Keating stated that he made such motion because the Workers' Party was un-American. He further stated that this convention stood for the constitution and the flag, and that the Workers' Party did not stand for the constitution and the flag. In addition to that, the leaders of the workers' party—which in his opinion was a workers' party in name only—were doing everything in their power to disrupt legitimate labor organizations. He stated that in his judgment the party was officered and managed by representatives of the private detective agencies controlled by Burns, Thiel and Pinkerton.

Motion made and seconded that only credentials of organizations who received an invitation to this convention be considered by the Credentials Committee.

Mr. Hillquit stated that the motion was decidedly out of order; that the National Committee stated in its call that the credentials presented by organizations not invited would be passed upon by the Credentials Committee, and that some particular organizations may have been overlooked.

Mr. Cramer of the Minnesota Trades and Labor Association stated that in view of the attacks made on the Workers' Party it would only be doing justice to state to this convention that in the city of Minneapolis the Workers' Party has not been a disrupting force; that they had worked in concert with the political ambitions of labor in the last campaign, etc. He stated that there was only one question to be decided here and that question is: Is this Workers' Party made up of working men and working people? He stated that the fact of the persecution this organization has suffered at the hands of Wm. J. Burns and the Federal Department of Justice should be a credential for them to sit in this conference.

Mr. Forrester of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks: As I understand it, all organizations not receiving the call will present their credentials to the Committee.

Chairman Johnston: The chair has ruled that the whole matter is referred back to the Committee.

Chairman Johnston: The next order of business will be the election of a Chairman and Secretary of the Conference. (At this point Mr. Johnston asked Mr. Evans to take the chair.)

Mr. Newlin placed in nomination the name of Wm. H. Johnston as Chairman. Nomination was seconded by Mr. Samuels. There being no further nominations, the chair declared nominations closed and Mr. Johnston unanimously chosen Chairman of the Conference.

Mr. Howe nominated Arthur E. Holder as Secretary. Hearing no further nominations, the chair declared nominations closed and Mr. Holder unanimously elected Secretary of the Conference.

Chairman Johnston: The next order of business is the appointment of a Sergeant at Arms, and I ask Delegate A. W. McIntyre to act as Sergeant at Arms.

Appointment of Committees.

Chairman Johnston appointed the following to serve on the Committee on Organization and Finance:

Morris Hillquit, Benjamin C. Marsh, H. E. Wills, Sidney Hillman, J. G. Luhrsen, Timothy Healy, B. F. Newlin, I. D. Mumby, A. R. McDonald, H. F. Samuels, W. W. Royster.

The following were appointed to serve on the Committee on Program and Resolutions:

David B. Robertson, James O'Neal, Edward Keating, Arthur E. Holder, John McParland, E. H. FitzGerald, Robt. M. Buck, Warren S. Stone, D. C. Dorman, J. B. Laughlin, A. R. Watkins.

The following were appointed to serve on the Press Committee:

C. C. Houston, A. F. Coyle, J. F. McNamee, Phil E. Ziegler.

Telegram was read from Mr. Samuel Adams of the American Agricultural Editors' Association, expressing regret at his inability to attend the second Conference and wishing the convention every success in its deliberations.

Moved and seconded we adjourn, to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, and in the meantime the committees proceed to complete their reports so as to submit same to the Conference in the morning. Motion carried.

Adjourned at 4.10 P. M.

Morning Session, December 12, 1922.

Chairman Johnston called the meeting to order at 10.30 A. M.

Mr. Howard of the Credentials Committee submitted an additional report, recommending the seating of the following delegates with one vote for each delegate:

| | |
|--|--|
| U. G. Applegate, Wyoming Conference for P. P. A. | James Cahill, Pressmen, Chicago. |
| Judson King, Popular Government League. | John G. Clay, Teamsters' Council, Chicago. |
| John M. Baer, North Dakota Non-Partisan League. | Kate O'Hare, American Vanguard. |
| F. E. Tillquist, Firemen and Enginemen, Minnesota. | Carl Mullen, C. P. P. A., Lake Co., Ind. |
| R. W. Frazier, North Dakota Non-Partisan League. | Glen Turner, Non-Partisan League of Wis. |
| Norman Thomas, League for Ind. Democracy. | Western Starr, Farmer-Labor Party, D. C. |
| Louis S. Gannett, N. Y.—Nation. | J. B. Lindsay, National Single Tax Party. |
| Tom Ayres, South Dakota Non-Partisan League. | Arnold Camm, National Single Tax Party. |
| Alice Lorraine Daly, Women's Div. Non-Partisan League. | George Edwards, National Single Tax Party. |
| Morris Berman, by invitation. | Lillian Hershstein, Fed. of Women's High School Teachers, Women's Trade Union League of Chicago. |
| J. N. Davis, Boilermakers' Int. | Jerome T. De Hunt, American Labor Party. |
| Albert Saether, District 108, I. A. of M. | Julius Gerber, American Labor Party. |
| N. L. Sheldon, Okla. City Typo. Union. | W. T. Harris, West. Va. S. F. of L. |
| Thos. Donnelly, Ohio Fed. of Labor. | Geo. H. Allen, Ingham Co. Mich. P. V. L. |
| J. P. Kelly, Mo. Pac. Sys. Federation. | H. F. Samuels, Non-Partisan League of Idaho. |
| W. M. Brandt, Cigarmakers, St. Louis. | Edward O'Flaherty, N. Y. C. Sys. Federation. |
| Lloyd J. Lowe, Teamsters, St. Louis. | Augustus Nash, Int. Y. M. C. A. |
| | Louis Weyand, Boilermakers. |
| | Henry Ohl, Wisconsin. |

Moved and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted. Motion carried.

Mr. Howard reported further that the Committee on Credentials was of the opinion that the policies of the Workers' Party of America and the Young Workers' League of America are not in harmony with the declarations and aims of this Conference, and recommended that the following representatives of these organizations be not seated:

Harry Gannes, Young Workers' League of America.
C. E. Ruthenberg, Workers' Party of America.
W. F. Dunne, Workers' Party of America.
Caleb Harrison, Workers Party of America.
Ludwig Lore, Workers' Party of America.

Chairman Johnston stated that if there was no objection the recommendation of the Committee would be adopted.

Delegate Cramer took exceptions to concurring in the recommendation of the Credentials Committee not to seat these representatives.

The final report of the majority of the Credentials Committee showed the Committee to be of the opinion that delegates representing local trade unions were not entitled to seats in the Conference as representatives of such

local organizations. The Committee, however, extended invitations with all rights and privileges to all visiting delegates who presented themselves, provided the organizations they represented came within the declared policies of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

Committee
on
Credentials.

H. E. WILLS, Chairman.
CHARLES P. HOWARD, Vice Chairman.
J. G. BROWN, Secretary.
E. J. BROCK.
OTTO BRANSTETTER.
FREDERIC C. HOWE.
BENJAMIN C. MARSH.

Chairman Johnston appointed the following delegates to serve on the Committee on Nomination of National Committee:

E. J. Manion, Fred Hewitt, R. T. Wood, Thomas Donnelly, John Baer, Abraham Baroff, J. J. Forrester, E. H. Kruse, Wm. Van Horn, Alice Lorraine Daly, James Maurer.

Chairman Johnston requested Delegate Laughlin, of Oklahoma, to address the Conference while the Committee on Organization and Finance was completing its report.

Mr. Laughlin, who represents the Farmer-Labor Union of Oklahoma, gave a very interesting talk on the conditions of the farmers in the southwest section of the country. He stated that land tenantry was rapidly increasing, and described the condition of the average farmer as almost unbearable. He said of the farmers who had nothing to rely upon save their farms, not more than 20 per cent of them were able to pay their taxes the past two or three years, to say nothing about interest and running expenses of the farm, many of them having lost thousands and thousands of dollars. Laughlin stated that the Farmer-Labor Union had a membership of 200,000 to 300,000 and that the farmers were rapidly learning to exercise their power, learning to cooperate with the trade unions, and learning the lesson of economics and politics; that they were willing, anxious and ready to cooperate in carrying out a progressive program adopted by the Conference. He stated that during the recent railroad strike, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the farmers in his territory, they contributed hundreds and hundreds of truck loads of provisions to the striking shopmen and stood by them in every way possible. In Mr. Laughlin's opinion, the great crying need of the American people today is the salvation of the agricultural industry.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE.

Mr. Hillquit, Chairman of the Committee on Organization and Finance, submitted the following report. He stated that the report was unanimous on the part of nine members of the Committee; that Delegates Marsh and Wills were engaged on the Credentials Committee and took no part in the deliberations.

Suggested Plan of Organization of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

1. **Purposes.**—The Conference for Progressive Political Action is an organization created for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the United States, United States Senators, Representatives to Congress, members of State Legislatures and other state and local public officers who are pledged to the interests of the producing classes and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government. (Adopted as reported.)

2. **Membership.**—Membership in the organization is open to bona fide labor organizations, progressive organizations of farmers, cooperative societies, liberal political parties and groups, and to other organizations and individuals who are in accord with the purposes of the Conference. (Adopted as reported.)

3. **General Meetings.**—General Meetings of the Conference shall be held annually, and each meeting shall determine the date of the succeeding meeting. The place of such meeting shall be fixed by the National Committee at least sixty days in advance of the meeting date. The National Com-

mittee shall also be authorized to call special meetings on reasonable notice whenever in its opinion such meetings are required. (Adopted as reported.)

4. **Representation.**—Representation at the General Meetings of the Conference shall be as follows: Every national or international organization of labor, farmers or cooperative societies shall be entitled to three delegates; every State Federation of Labor, every State Legislative Board of the Transportation Organizations, and every General City Central Body of Labor shall be entitled to one delegate; every state organization of the Conference for Progressive Political Action shall be entitled to three delegates. From any state in which there are no state organizations of the Conference, local organizations shall be admitted with one delegate each; every state organization of farmers and local organizations where there are no state organizations, and every state cooperative society shall be entitled to one delegate; all political parties and groups and other organizations admitted to the Conference not above provided for, shall have such representation in the General Meetings of the Conference as the National Committee may from time to time determine. The National Committee shall be authorized to extend invitations of membership in the Conference to such additional organizations and to such individuals as it may select. Applications for membership in the organizations not so invited shall be passed upon by the General Meetings of the Conference. (Adopted as reported.)

5. **Voting.**—At the General Meetings of the Conference, all motions and resolutions shall be voted on by viva voce vote or by a show of hands, except that upon the demand of at least thirty delegates, the vote on any question before the meeting shall be taken by roll call. Upon a roll call vote, each national or international organization of farmers, workers or cooperative societies shall be entitled to one vote for every ten thousand members in good standing or fraction of such number; every other organization shall cast as many votes as the number of delegates to which it is entitled. Individual members shall have no vote upon roll call. (Adopted as reported.)

6. **Contributions.**—To defray the expenses of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, the State Federations, State Legislative Boards, and City Central Unions shall be asked to contribute quarterly amounts equal to at least one per cent of their total income from dues or per capita taxes; all other organizations affiliated with the Conference shall be asked to contribute sums equal to at least one-half of one cent quarterly upon the number of their members in good standing. The National Committee is authorized to solicit additional contributions and donations from its affiliated organizations and from others. (Adopted as reported.)

7. **National Committee.**—Every General Meeting of the Conference shall elect a National Committee of twenty-one, as representative as possible of the various groups constituting its membership. The National Committee shall have power by majority vote to increase its membership; to choose officers and subcommittees, including an Executive Committee; to employ organizers and clerical help; to publish literature and do all things necessary to carry out the general purposes of the Conference. The National Committee shall meet at least once every three months. A majority of the Committee shall constitute a quorum to do business. (Adopted as reported.)

8. **State Conferences.**—As soon as practicable, the National Committee shall call Conferences of farmers' organizations, labor unions, cooperative societies and other progressive political forces, including individuals, in each state of the Union, for the purpose of perfecting permanent state organizations. Such Conferences shall be composed of the State and local organizations of farmers and workers, local cooperative societies and Ward or Assembly District organizations of the progressive political parties and groups represented in the Conference. Each of such organizations shall be entitled to one delegate. The mode of voting at such State Conference shall be the same as herein provided for General Meetings of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, except that on roll call votes each non-political organization shall be entitled to one vote for every thousand members in good standing, or fraction thereof, and political organizations shall be entitled to one vote for every 2,000 votes cast for their candidate for the office of Governor in the last preceding election. State political organizations affiliated with this Conference, which are already organized, shall be allowed to continue their existing forms of organization and methods of work. Organizations within the different states affiliated with this Conference may take the initiative in constituting such State Conference unnoticed to the National Committee. (Adopted as amended.)

9. **Rights and Functions of State Conferences.**—The State Conferences thus called by the National Committee shall elect their own officers and State Committees and shall organize the progressive political forces within the State for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of public officers who are in accord with the aims and objects of this Conference. Each State Conference shall decide upon the question whether the nomination and election of candidates pledges to the program of the Conference in such State can be best accomplished through the primaries of the old Parties or by the method of independent political action. In cases in which the decision is in favor of concerted action in the old party primaries but such method does not result in the nomination of progressive candidates, the State Conferences shall, if possible, make independent nominations. (Adopted as reported.)

10. **Local Conferences.**—The Conference, or where no State organization has been perfected, the National Committee of the Conference, may organize City, County or other local Conferences upon the same basis and for the same purpose and with the same rights and functions as the State Conferences, within their respective territories. (Adopted as reported.)

11. **Political Designations.**—In any State, or political Subdivision of a State, in which such Conference shall decide to follow the method of independent nominations and elections, the organization may adopt a distinctive political name or designation in compliance with the requirements of the State law, but in all such cases, the organization shall continue to function as part of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and shall designate itself as such on its stationery and in its literature. (Adopted as reported.)

Respectfully submitted,

Committee
on
Organization
and
Finance

MORRIS HILLQUIT,
SIDNEY HILLMAN,
JULIUS G. LUHRSEN,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
B. F. NEWLIN,
W. W. ROYSTER,
A. R. M'DONALD,
H. F. SAMUELS,
I. D. MUMBY.

Delegate Stedman asked whether it was mandatory for the Conference or National Committee to call State Conferences.

Mr. Hillquit replied that there was a mandatory provision in the report, providing for the initiative to be taken by the National Committee.

Mr. Hillquit stated the report should be taken up section by section, as many delegates may have suggestions to make.

Chairman Johnston announced if there was no objection the report would be considered and acted upon seriatim, beginning with the first section.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 1, **Purposes.**

Moved and seconded that Section 1 be adopted. Motion carried.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 2, **Membership.**

Moved and seconded that Section 2 be adopted. Motion carried.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 3, **General Meetings.**

Moved and seconded that Section 3 be adopted. Motion carried.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 4, **Representation.**

Delegate Max Hayes expressed the opinion we were opening the way for a dangerous practice by including in the constitution authority to invite individuals to sit in the National Conference without representing anyone or anything except themselves, and that he would vote to strike out all reference to individuals as being permitted to sit in the convention.

Delegate Berger moved to strike out from the Committee's report the words "and to such individuals."

Delegate Applegate stated that if the intention was to give the right to the National Committee to invite these people and give them a vote in the Conference, it would be very objectionable.

Mr. Hillquit replied that the Committee's report gave the National Committee the right to invite individuals; that the report provided further that all motions and resolutions shall be voted on by a viva voce vote or by a show of hands and therefore every individual or representative could vote similarly. He stated that on roll call, it was expressly provided that individuals shall have no vote. He said the Committee had in mind the fact that we were born as a conference of individuals and that in our formative

stages it might be well to leave the door open to some outstanding and beneficial figures of this kind to participate with us.

A delegate raised a question as to representation of City Central Bodies and said that he would like to have the Committee specifically state what "City Central Body" means.

Mr. Hillquit replied that the intention of the Committee was to confine it undoubtedly to labor bodies representing all industries in a given locality and that it might be well to make it clearer by saying every general City Central Body. He said that if the other members of the Committee had no objection he would be glad to designate it as "every general City Central Body."

Delegate Moon of Missouri spoke against adoption of the motion to strike out, saying that he did not believe it would be a good policy for this organization to deny the right of the National Committee to invite to sit with us in our deliberations men who in their judgment would advance ideas for our betterment. He believed the Committee's report should stand, with the interpretation given by the Chairman.

Chairman Johnston announced that the motion by Delegate Berger was to strike out reference to individuals in the Committee's report. The motion to strike out was lost.

Delegate Berger moved that every State legislative group elected by a State body affiliated with this Conference and composed of at least five members shall be entitled to one delegate at the general meetings.

Considerable discussion followed on the motion, Mr. Hillquit saying we all hoped that in the near future every State would be able to show a large delegation in the Legislatures elected by bodies affiliated with this Conference and if the motion was adopted we would have to hire a large square in the city to accommodate them.

Chairman Johnston announced that the motion was to give representation to State legislative groups who are affiliated with this Conference. The motion to amend was lost.

Chairman Johnston. The motion now is on the adoption of the Committee's report. Report of Committee unanimously adopted.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 5, **Voting.**

Delegate Scannell of Michigan moved to amend the Committee's report where it says "ten thousand" or fraction by adding the word "majority."

Mr. Hillquit stated that the Committee had that motion and considered it, and same was rejected on the ground that such an amendment would disfranchise several organizations.

Chairman Johnston stated that the motion was on the amendment offered by Delegate Scannell to add the word "majority." Motion lost.

Chairman Johnston: The motion now is on the adoption of the Committee's report. Report of Committee carried.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 6, **Contributions.**

Delegate Applegate stated he would like to have the Chairman explain each item as to how it would apply to each organization.

Mr. Hillquit stated that the Committee had provided for two classes of voluntary contributions as a moral obligation. On this basis national or international organizations that have a definite membership and receive per capita dues or assessments are asked to contribute one-half cent quarterly or two cents a year upon the number of members in good standing. Thus an organization with 100,000 members would be asked to contribute \$500 quarterly or \$2,000 a year. An organization with 10,000 members would be asked to contribute \$50 quarterly or \$200 a year. If a City Central Union, a State Federation or a State Legislative Board, bodies which do not receive direct dues or per capita taxes in substantial amounts, a different basis was provided based upon their income. Whatever income they have from dues or per capita taxes, no matter how derived, they are asked to set aside one per cent of the total—one cent on the dollar—for the support of this Conference, so that if such a body has an annual income of \$10,000 from dues or per capita taxes, \$100 is asked in four quarterly payments of \$25 each.

At this point Secretary Holder read the following report, concerning the finances of the Conference:

CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION.

Acting Treasurer's Report as of December 9, 1922.

Receipts:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers..... | \$500.00 |
| Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen..... | 1,060.00 |
| Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes..... | 658.44 |
| Amalgamated Clothing Workers..... | 750.00 |
| Switchmen's Union of North America..... | 22.03 |
| Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers..... | 125.00 |
| Order of Railroad Telegraphers..... | 200.00 |
| Brotherhood of Railway Carmen..... | 250.00 |
| Brotherhood of Electrical Workers..... | 150.00 |
| International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union..... | 150.00 |
| International Association of Machinists..... | 1,080.81 |
| American Train Dispatchers' Association..... | 100.00 |
| Interest from bank..... | 1.15 |
| Contributions individuals and local organizations and for literature | 586.55 |
| Total receipts..... | \$5,733.98 |

Disbursements:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Frederic C. Howe, Secretary to Conference..... | \$1,100.00 |
| Benjamin C. Marsh..... | 119.60 |
| Margaret E. Seltzer, Clerk to Secretary..... | 1,244.25 |
| Alice Seltzer, Typist..... | 348.00 |
| Temporary clerk hire, office supplies and petty expenses, telegraph | 311.35 |
| Andrew J. Walker, stationery..... | 200.00 |
| People's Legislative Service..... | 500.00 |
| The Trade Unionist, printing..... | 15.00 |
| International Association of Machinists, printing..... | 19.85 |
| LABOR (subscription included in contribution)..... | 1.00 |
| Rent, miscellaneous expenses Chicago Conference, Feb. 20-22, 1922 | 220.65 |
| Postage..... | 658.26 |
| Expressage..... | 35.65 |
| Rent..... | 90.00 |
| Bank balance..... | 870.37 |
| Total..... | \$5,733.98 |
| Total amount of disbursements..... | \$4,863.61 |

Bills Payable:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| To "Labor" for special editions as follows: | |
| 80,000 copies to Indiana at \$8 per thousand..... | 640.00 |
| 75,000 copies to Michigan at \$8 per thousand..... | 600.00 |
| 66,000 copies to Minnesota at \$8 per thousand..... | 528.00 |
| 75,000 copies to Wisconsin at \$8 per thousand..... | 600.00 |
| 30,000 copies to North Dakota at \$8 per thousand..... | 240.00 |
| 70,000 copies to South Dakota at \$8 per thousand..... | 560.00 |
| 75,000 copies to Iowa at \$8 per thousand..... | 600.00 |
| Frederic C. Howe, Secretary of the Conference..... | \$3,768.00 |
| International Association of Machinists for printing..... | 500.00 |
| People's Legislative Service..... | 1,494.85 |
| International Association of Machinists for postage..... | 4,665.79 |
| Total..... | \$10,875.14 |
| Cash in hand..... | 870.37 |
| Total deficit..... | \$10,004.77 |

Secretary Holder stated that since these monies have been received there have been some additional pledges from several organizations—B. of L. E. \$1,500 and B. of L. F. and E. \$1,000, and lesser amounts from some other organizations.

Chairman Johnston: The motion now is on adoption of Section 6 of the Committee's report. Report of Committee carried.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 7, **National Committee**.

Moved and seconded that a Committee of three be appointed to find a meeting place for tonight, if necessary. The chair appointed the following to act on this Committee:

Delegates Weyand, A. F. Coyle, Wm. Shaw.
Adjourned at 12.30 P. M., to meet at 2 P. M.

Afternoon Session, December 12, 1922.

Conference called to order at 2.20 P. M. by Chairman Johnston.

Mr. Hillquit resumed report of the Committee on Organization and Finance, again reading section 7, **National Committee**.

Moved and seconded that the Committee's report on Section 7 be adopted. Motion carried.

Mr. Hillquit then read Section 8, **State Conferences**.

Delegate Wilson, of Oklahoma, stated there was a provision in the Committee's report allowing the National Committee in calling a State Conference to name the representatives to attend the Conference, and he objected to it. He said the local organizations knew what representatives they wanted to invite, while the National Committee did not know.

Mr. Hillquit replied that it was not left to the discretion of the National Committee to pick out some organizations and to omit others, but that it was mandatory to include all local organizations of farmers and workers, local cooperative societies and Ward or Assembly District organizations of the progressive political parties and groups represented in the Conference. He stated the main idea was that the National Committee should take the initiative where the organizations in the States do not; also that if a State had an organization perfected the National Committee was not to interfere.

Delegate Stedman offered an amendment to provide that "Organizations within the different States affiliated with this Conference may take the initiative in constituting such State Conferences unnoticed to the National Committee."

Mr. Hillquit: "If I hear no objections from any other members of the Committee I shall declare it acceptable to the Committee."

Delegate Turner stated that in his opinion the National Committee should be given a reasonable length of time in which to call these State Conferences, suggesting four or six months to call the convention in the regular way and then if not called to permit the other method of organizing.

Delegate Connors stated he did not think it a good plan to permit a group of men and women to organize a branch of this Conference as they might start a local organization in the community, and, on the strength of being a member of this Conference, build up a rival organization.

Delegate Wood of Missouri was of the opinion it was unfair and somewhat dangerous to give the National Committee authority to tell each State whether they should call a State Conference or not. He insisted on the right and authority for the representatives in Missouri to call a State Conference at any time conditions warranted, and that therefore he was in favor of the amendment offered by Delegate Stedman.

Chairman Johnston understood the intention of the Committee was to insure that a representative Conference would be held; that the purpose was to get the States properly organized in a representative way rather than in a limited way, as in the past.

Chairman Johnston: The motion is to adopt the report of the Committee on Section 8, including the suggested amendment of Delegate Stedman. Report of Committee, as amended, carried.

Mr. Hillquit read Section 9, **Rights and Functions of State Conferences**.

Moved and seconded that Section 9 of the Committee's report be adopted. Report of Committee carried.

Mr. Hillquit read Section 10, **Local Conferences**.

Moved and seconded that Section 10 of the Committee's report be adopted. Report of Committee carried.

Mr. Hillquit read Section 11, **Political Designations**.

Moved and seconded that Section 11 of the Committee's report be adopted. Report of Committee carried.

Mr. Hillquit: That concludes the report of the Committee.

Moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted as a whole, as amended.

Delegate Ohl moved that there be included in the proper place in the Committee's report a declaration that the Conference favors an independent dues paying individual membership organization and that the groups affiliated with this Conference proceed with that purpose in mind.

Chairman Johnston stated he understood that the question raised by Delegate Ohl was before the Committee on Resolutions in several forms and that the Committee would be called upon to report immediately upon completion of the report of the Committee on Organization and Finance.

Delegate Ohl believed the subject belonged with the Committee on Organization.

Chairman Johnston replied: If it was desired to inject that subject in the Committee's report it would be necessary to reconsider or rescind some of the report, and he did not think it was germane at that time.

Chairman Johnston announced: The motion is to adopt the report of the Committee on Organization and Finance as a whole, as amended. Report of Committee as a whole carried.

Chairman Johnston: I feel authorized by the convention to extend our heartfelt appreciation to the Committee for its report. Mr. Hillquist replied that the Committee "appreciates the appreciation" very thoroughly.

Address of Senator-elect Wheeler of Montana.

While waiting for the Committee on Resolutions and Finance to complete its report Chairman Johnston asked Senator-elect Wheeler of Montana to address the Conference as it would be a pity to let him get away without hearing a few words from him.

Senator Wheeler gave a highly enjoyable talk, saying that he was elected to the United States Senate by the farmers and workers of Montana, that he hoped we would not hold the fact that he was a lawyer against him, as most of his practice in Montana has been keeping a lot of laboring men out of jail.

Two years ago, he said, the railroad men and labor generally endorsed him for Governor on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by about 35,000 votes; that his opponents said that if he was elected Governor of Montana, the mines, mills and smelters would close down and the banks would foreclose their mortgages on the farms, etc. They spent something like \$1,000,000 to defeat him and his associates, and after they were defeated all the mines, mills and smelters closed down, the banks foreclosed their mortgages on the farms, and the price of wheat went down, even though we had a high tariff on wheat.

In touring the State he told a story that was supposed to be true, about a young man being examined for citizenship. Among the questions asked was, "Who is Governor of Montana?" and the young man replied "Wheeler." The Judge asked if he wasn't mistaken about that, and the young man replied that the people were told that if Wheeler was elected the mines, mills and smelters were going to close down, the banks were going to foreclose their mortgages on the farms, etc., and so "I think Wheeler must be Governor."

Senator Wheeler said the working men and farmers supported him in the recent campaign because he had served them in the legislative halls in Montana and because of the fact that he was United States District Attorney during the war and refused to be stampeded by the big interests of this country and send everybody to the penitentiary because they dared to express their honest opinions with reference to what was the cause of the war. He said that finally he was requested to go to Washington and resign as United States District Attorney, but not until he had worked with some of the labor leaders and had found out that when there are strikes in Montana they are not always called upon for advice and counsel by laboring men. He said that some of the men who had worked to the head of some of the labor organizations were nothing but Pinkerton and Burns detectives, who were there for the purpose of destroying the unions. He warned the workers that what they had to fear were the detectives on the inside of their organizations, not those on the outside.

He said that after he had resigned it was suggested that he be appointed a Federal Judge down in Panama. He suggested to the Attorney General that he did not have a judicial temperament and that if he was to be ostracized or exiled he would prefer to go to Siberia, because he understood that men did not live very long in Panama.

Senator Wheeler said he came to this Conference for the purpose of seeing how such meetings operate in the East; that he found human nature a good deal the same, except that in Montana they had bankers who were more progressive than our working men in the East.

He said that sometime ago when attempting to make an address in a neighboring city he was surprised to find that the opposition wanted to welcome him with a rope and decorate him with tar and feathers. They followed him to the station at 2 o'clock in the morning and again wanted to decorate him with tar and feathers and a rope, when he said he had a perfectly good wife and five babies and did not want to see his "wife's husband" become a martyr to the cause to that extent.

Senator Wheeler said he was going to the United States Senate, expecting to line up with the progressive Democrats and the progressive Republicans, and do what little he could for the farmers and laboring men and the common people of this country in general. He said that they were going to be handicapped in a great many ways; that the people should not believe everything they read in the newspapers, because they would probably be misrepresented in their views and in their speeches in the Senate; that they did not expect to be able to do a great deal, but they were going to try.

He said that in his section of the country the farmers were broke, the banks were failing and that unless the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railroads desisted from the stubborn attitude which they have assumed toward the railway strikers a lot of the banks would be broke and a lot of farmers would be broke, because of the fact that the farmers could not get the first crop they have had in five years to market. So, he said, the first thing that he was going to attempt to do was to see that those railroad companies furnished the farmers with cars, and that the only way they could furnish the necessary cars was by taking back in their employ and settling with the machinists and other shopmen's unions throughout the Northwest. (Applause.)

Mr. Johnston thanked Senator Wheeler for his splendid talk and added that we felt Mr. Wheeler would give a good account of himself, along with his associates, in fighting the people's battles in the United States Senate.

Report of the Committee on Nominations.

Mr. Jewell, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

"We, your Committee on Nomination of National Committee, beg leave to submit the following report:

"Your Committee, in giving consideration to the personnel of the National Committee for the ensuing term, is not unmindful of the unstinted efforts of the members of the present Committee in carrying out the instructions of the Chicago Conference and the splendid achievements accomplished at the recent national election under its direction. With the exception of Miss Agnes Nestor of the Women's Trade Union League, which organization we are informed does not desire to be further represented on the National Committee, we are proposing the names of all of the members of the present Committee and the names of eight additional representative men and women to constitute the National Committee for the ensuing term. Their names are as follows:

- Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland, Ohio.
- William Green, Secretary, United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.
- William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.
- Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York City.
- Joseph A. Franklin, President, Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Kansas City, Kans.
- E. J. Manion, President, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, St. Louis, Mo.
- Edward Keating, manager of "Labor," Washington, D. C.
- Morris Hillquit, New York City.
- Benjamin C. Marsh, Farmers' National Council, Washington, D. C.
- J. G. Brown, National Secretary, Farmer-Labor Party, Chicago.
- George H. Griffith, National Non-Partisan League, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Frederic C. Howe, New York City.
- Miss Alice Lorraine Daly, Non-Partisan League, South Dakota.
- Basil M. Manly, Director, People's Legislative Service, Washington, D. C.

J. B. Laughlin, Farmer-Labor Union, Oklahoma.
 H. F. Samuels, Progressive Political Action, Idaho.
 John M. Baer, Non-Partisan League, North Dakota.
 D. C. Dorman, Non-Partisan League, Montana.
 Benjamin Schlesinger, President, International Lady Garment Workers' Union of America.
 James Maurer, President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa.
 D. B. Robertson, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Cleveland, Ohio.

Foregoing report was signed by the following members of the Committee:

Committee
 on
 Nominations.

E. J. MANION.
 FRED HEWITT.
 R. T. WOOD.
 JOHN M. BAER.
 THOS. J. DONNELLY.
 ABRAHAM BAROFF.
 J. J. FORRESTER.
 E. H. KRUSE.
 WM. VAN HORN.
 MISS DALY.
 JAS. MAURER.

Delegate Lindquist placed in nomination the name of R. T. Wood as a member of the National Committee, in view of Brother Wood's excellent work during the recent campaign in Missouri, which nomination was seconded by another delegate from Missouri.

Delegate Hillquit stated that the National Committee of 21 had the right to add to its number, and suggested that the incoming Committee be instructed to add the name of Mr. Wood.

Delegate Maurer offered to simplify matters by withdrawing his name in favor of Delegate Wood.

Delegate Wood stated that he would waive his candidacy in favor of Mr. Maurer.

Delegate Patterson of Missouri spoke in favor of Mr. Hillquit's suggestion.

A delegate suggested the name of Mr. Jake Bradon of the World War Veterans as a member of the National Committee.

Chairman Johnston: The motion is to adopt the report of the Committee. Report of Committee adopted.

Address of Delegate Morris Hillquit of the National Socialist Party.

There being a few minutes left, Chairman Johnston asked Mr. Hillquit for a few words and he replied substantially as follows:

"It seems to me that as we are approaching adjournment it might be well to attempt to draw a summary of our accomplishments. We represent different groups, we represent different ideas, we represent perhaps in a way different political conceptions and ideals. It is therefore quite natural that our achievements as well as our prospects will be viewed differently by different members of this organization. For one, and speaking probably for the group that I represent, I want to say that I am highly gratified with the progress made by us and am full of hope, full of confidence and full of faith for the future of the movement which we inaugurated last February and in which this is the second step.

"When we met last February we were an unorganized aggregation of individuals, invited by a group of persons on their own initiative. We had certain views but we had no organization—nothing definite to accomplish. Within the short time that has elapsed we meet now as an organized body; we meet now as the representatives conservatively estimated of 3,000,000 organized workers and farmers, and 1,000,000 or 1,250,000 voters represented by the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party. We represent a social and political force in this country which should not be overestimated, because it is a powerful force and we have it no longer in a fluid and indefinite state but as a definite organization with the power of numerous labor bodies, farmers' bodies and political bodies back of it.

"We may not have adopted the best, the most inspiring, resolutions or programs that were possible, but we have brought together this element, harmoniously sitting down and working for the general and mutual salvation.

I think one of the great things that we have achieved is that we have brought together men and women from all walks of life—members of the labor movement, the farmers' movement, cooperative societies, and liberal organizations of all kinds—and we have sat down together not to discuss our respective theories and try to show to each other the advantages of our respective panaceas, but we have sat down together in actual, practical work and we have accomplished something.

"I might say to you right now that I am not one of those who claim a very large share of the credit for the elections of last November; I am not one of those who may be highly elated by the results. I welcome the results; I welcome them as an awakening political consciousness, as an awakening liberalism. I don't want to conceal my sentiments; I don't want to conceal the sentiments of the group I represent. I state frankly that we are not here for any personal advantages of our own. We don't want office; we don't want preferment; we represent no interests of our own. What we are here for is in conjunction with all of you to bring about a political condition which will take the government of this great and powerful and wealthy country from the hands of the exploiters, from the hands of the interests, and put it into the hands of the people as a whole—the farmers, the workers, all who add to the welfare and the happiness of the nation by some contribution of hand or brain—and to say that we don't care how this is brought about, so long as it is brought about.

"We are convinced that we have made the initial step. But these gains or these victories in the old party primaries, we are convinced are temporary. We are convinced that the workers of this country will eventually go by the road which has brought power and progress to the workers and the farmers of the other countries of the world. We are convinced that just as the Labor Party of England has 142 members in the House of Commons, is today the opposition party in England, will tomorrow of necessity be the governing party, and will take over the legislative and administrative machinery in order to root out all social injustice, in order to establish a proper, sane, reasonable and equitable economic and political order—so will the workers of America eventually establish a political party of their own.

"I want you to know that this is my sentiment, my hope and inspiration. But personally I take the position that progress is always made safely and slowly, step by step. We can go no faster than we are allowed to go; and so I say let us continue being helpful to each other; let us make progress step by step, day by day, year by year; let us increase our power; let us increase our facilities for political power, and the right way will undoubtedly be found.

"I am speaking here not only for the official delegates of the Socialist Party; I am speaking also, I am sure, for those numerous representatives of labor unions who share our point of view. I think I can say that we will remain with you without ultimate aim, without any ultimate personal or partisan aid of our own; all we want is an opportunity for service, an opportunity to participate in the daily struggles with the workers and farmers of this country for better things economically and politically—an opportunity to participate in the struggles which eventually will result in elevating the producing class to a point where full and complete social justice will be done. From this point of view and with this idea in mind, I believe that we have made tremendous progress and hope and trust we will continue to work together and progress. I am confident that the great cause for which we are all united will triumph. (Applause.)

Chairman Johnston: I am sure we have all enjoyed the remarks of Delegate Hillquit and share his hope for a better understanding and a greater degree of unity and solidarity among the producing classes of America.

While most of us at times become impatient with the progress we are making, I cannot help but think we are moving forward. It is a most encouraging sign when so many men and women representing different schools of thought with different points of view can meet together and submerge their divergent views and agree to work together for the common good.

A few years ago a conference of this kind was impossible. However, we are learning to understand each other. Most of our trouble is due to misunderstanding. We are all engaged in the same struggle—the struggle for a higher civilization and a better social order—striving to establish a condition where the humblest child of man will have an equal chance in the race of life.

Let us march on, working together in the spirit of true Brotherhood, awakening the great mass of the people to a realization of their fundamental rights and their power to obtain those rights.

**"REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM AND RESOLUTIONS AT
THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 11-12, 1922.**

"PLATFORM.

Mr. Keating, Chairman of the Committee, submitted what a majority of the members of the Committee authorized him to say was the shortest platform ever proposed in the history of American politics, as follows:

"On behalf of producers and consumers, we demand:

- ✓ "1. The repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law, and operation of the railroads for the benefit of the people. The public control of coal mines, water power and hydro-electric power in the interest of the people.
- ✓ "2. The direct election of the President and Vice-President by the people and extension of direct primary laws in all States.
- ✓ "3. That Congress end the practice of the courts to declare legislation unconstitutional.
- ✓ "4. Enactment of the Norris-Sinclair Consumers and Producers' Financing Corporation bill designed to increase prices farmers receive, and reduce prices consumers pay for farm products, and the creation of an independent system of food producers' credits.
- ✓ "5. Increased tax rates on large income and inheritance, and payment of a soldiers' bonus by restoring the tax on excess profits.
- ✓ "6. Legislation providing minimum essential standards of employment for women; equality for women and men while improving existing political, social and industrial standards and State action to insure maximum benefit of Federal maternity and infancy acts.

"RESOLVED, That the Conference for Progressive Political Action as a leading factor in securing the election of progressive United States Senators and Members of the House request such members to act as a People's Bloc and to work for the People's Progressive program, and that the Chairman and Secretary of this Conference call such progressive members together as soon as the new Congress convenes to organize them for effective action."

"Respectfully submitted,

"EDWARD KEATING,

"Chairman of the Committee on Program and Resolutions.

"ARTHUR E. HOLDER,

"Secretary of the Committee on Program and Resolutions."

After reading the report of the Committee, Mr. Keating made the following statement:

"I might add that the majority of the members of your Committee did not feel that it was necessary to place before this convention the great number of resolutions submitted to the Committee. The majority considered their appointment to mean that they were to go out and bring back to this convention the kind of declaration that members of the Committee believed should be made, after they had considered all of the suggestions and resolutions submitted, and that is exactly what we have done; but if any gentleman who submitted a resolution to our Committee feels that the Committee did not act wisely, then it is his privilege to present the matter to this convention. I move the adoption of the report of the Committee."

Delegate Buck rose as a minority of the Committee on Program and Resolutions and moved that the convention instruct the Committee to report not only on the platform but separately on each of the 13 resolutions submitted to it.

* NOTE: After an animated discussion by many delegates, this majority report was adopted by the conference with an amendment as follows:

("Delegate Hillquit moved that the majority report be adopted and referred to the National Committee, with instructions to amplify same by adding appropriate planks on the subjects of coal, child labor, civil liberties, amnesty for war time prisoners, rights of organized labor, and financial imperialism.") For further details refer to the discussion as herein recorded.

Delegate Wood moved that the matter be separated and that the platform read by the Committee be considered separately from the resolutions submitted.

Delegate Forrester offered an amendment to the report of the Committee under the head of demands, to insert that we demand the adoption by Congress of the resolution introduced in the Senate amending the Federal Constitution in respect to child labor.

Mr. Keating suggested that the amendment offered by Mr. Forrester was in order and one which the Committee would recognize. He hoped that the convention, after acting upon the report of the committee, would have an opportunity to pass upon Mr. Buck's motion, but hoped that the convention would vote it down.

Chairman Johnston stated he was trying to determine whether or not the adoption of the Committee's report would in any way prevent the resolutions being called up; that Mr. Keating had just said that it was not his intention or desire to prevent the motion being considered to take up the resolutions, and ruled that the motion to separate would not be in order.

Delegate Ohl said he would like to ask just what was the recommendation of the Committee.

Mr. Keating replied that the majority of the Committee recommended that the convention adopt the declaration of principles and stop right there; that so far as the resolutions were concerned, no further action be taken on them.

Delegate Hillquit asked what motions were before the house.

Chairman Johnston replied that there was a motion to adopt the report of the Committee and an amendment offered by Mr. Forrester to include a reference to the child labor bill.

Delegate Hillquit moved to substitute that the Committee be instructed, in addition to the recommendation already made, to report the action of the Committee on the resolutions submitted, together with grounds for such action.

Delegate Thomas seconded Mr. Hillquit's motion, saying that we wanted a short report, but did not want a short report if it ignored the resolutions presented.

After considerable discussion the chair announced that the question was on the substitute offered by Delegate Hillquit, that the Committee on Program and Resolutions be instructed to report on the resolutions submitted to them, together with the action of the Committee. Motion carried.

Chairman Johnston announced that the question now was on the report of the Committee on Program and Resolutions.

Delegate O'Neal rose to ask if it would be proper for him, as a minority member of the Committee, to present a minority report, which report consisted of a program that the Committee had unanimously agreed upon last night but which was cast aside in the afternoon session in favor of the brief document submitted by the Committee.

The chair ruled that it would be in order. Delegate O'Neal then read the following report:

MINORITY REPORT

Of the Committee on Program and Resolutions
At the Cleveland Conference December 11th and 12th, 1922.

DECLARATION

The November elections have overwhelmingly vindicated the plan of action adopted at Chicago upon February 20-22, 1922, by the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

The American People, thoroughly aroused by the injustices and wrongs which they have endured, retired from office in unprecedented numbers the reactionary defenders of special privilege. Furthermore, through intelligent action, as recommended by the Chicago Conference, they secured the nomination of an exceptionally large number of candidates pledged to promote the interests of the common people and to support fundamental economic and political reforms. These progressive nominees received the support of the people and almost without exception were elected.

The American people must not, however, be deceived by this initial success. It is but the beginning and a demonstration of the power of united and intelligent political action.

The forces of reaction and exploitation still control not only the Executive and Judiciary but also both houses of Congress.

The dire distress of agricultural and industrial producers continues unabated and has in many respects become even more oppressive. Millions of farmers are on the verge of bankruptcy and millions of workers have had their wages reduced to a starvation level by ruthless governmental decisions, or by the arbitrary action of private employers. The distress of the farmers has reduced the opportunity for industrial employment, and

In turn the reduction of the purchasing power of industrial workers had enormously curtailed the market and consequently the prices for agricultural products.

The reactionary forces that for the time control the government are still pursuing the policies that have already wrecked American industry and agriculture and caused widespread bankruptcy and nation-wide unemployment. This blind and stupid policy, if not speedily arrested, is destined to cause national disaster.

During recent months, the great powers of the government, including the army, the courts and the entire machinery of the Department of Justice, have been placed at the disposal of private employers to crush organizations of labor and deprive individual workers of their constitutional rights. The infamous Daugherty injunction, issued in violation of the Federal statutes and the Constitution, marks the climax of this reign of bureaucratic tyranny.

Such excesses reveal the desperation of those who know that the people will not much longer patiently endure their oppressions. Fearing the righteous anger of the people those in power are now engaged in packing the Federal Courts with reactionary judges as the last bulwarks of special privilege.

The American people have turned the tide of reaction, but they must go further and prepare to deal constructively with the great economic and political evils that have developed during this long period in which the enemies of the people have controlled the government.

To this end we propose to support:

AGRICULTURE

1. Immediate relief and permanent rehabilitation of American agriculture—including reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and the Federal Farm Loan systems so as to make credit available to agricultural producers at reasonable rates; promotion of cooperative marketing and finance; stabilization of agricultural prices; elimination of gambling in farm products and other necessities of life; and destruction of monopolistic control of grain and cotton exchanges, packing houses and other primary markets, and to this end we unanimously endorse the Norris-Sinclair bill.

RAILROADS

2. We demand the repeal of the Cummins-Esch law and the passage of a substitute which will insure to labor the wages and working conditions necessary to maintain an American standard of living; enable the railroads to earn a proper return, but only on money actually invested; which will definitely eliminate the "water" in the capitalization, and lift the burden of extortionate rates from agriculture and industry.

We direct the attention of the people and the Congress to the fact that the railroads are now asking the Interstate Commerce Commission to disregard the original cost of their land holdings and to recognize and to officially approve claims for at least six billion dollars of "unearned increment."

This means that instead of allowing the railroads what the land originally cost them the Commission will be asked to allow the values added through the growth of the community and which values have been created by the presence and the industry of the people.

We are led to believe that only action by Congress can prevent a majority of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission recognizing this preposterous claim, which, if it is allowed, will enable the railroads to collect dividends of not less than a million dollars a day on values which do not represent a single dollar of investment.

We direct the attention of the people and the Congress to the fact that the railroads are now, and have been for some time past, paying unreasonable prices to supply houses controlled by the same interests that dominate the railroads. In this way the cost of operating the railroads has increased by many hundreds of millions of dollars per year. A concrete example is contained in the announcement just made that the coal trust during the month of August forced a 40 per cent increase in the price paid by the railroads for coal, thus adding not less than 200 million dollars per year to the coal bills of the railroads of this country, every penny of which must ultimately be paid either by the users or by the employees of the railroads.

We direct the attention of the people and the Congress to the fact that the railroads are now urging on the Interstate Commerce Commission certain plans for consolidation and reorganization of railroad systems which give little or no consideration to the public interest. If these reorganizations and consolidations are permitted to go through as the railroads have planned, then vast sums will be added to the book values of the roads and of course the people will be expected to pay dividends thereon.

We recommend and urge the re-enactment of the Newlands Act for the mediation, conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes not otherwise mutually adjusted by railroad executives and employe representatives of the standard railroad labor organizations; with the further recommendation that the original Newlands Act be amended so it will include all branches of labor employed upon railroads; it being our judgment, based upon experience, that the Newlands Act proved to be the most effective legislation ever enacted for the peaceful and honorable adjustment of railroad labor disputes.

We especially direct the attention of the people and the Congress to the fact that the present chaotic condition of railroad transportation—which President Harding in a message just transmitted to Congress confesses has inflicted widespread suffering and the loss of tens of millions of dollars on the people of the United States—is directly traceable to the following:

(a) As a result of a conspiracy entered into by the great financial interests which dominate the railroads to crush railroad labor organizations the equipment required to move the business of the country has been permitted to degenerate into such a state of disrepair as to jeopardize the lives of employes and render impossible the proper movement of trains. The millions which should be devoted to the upkeep of equipment are being criminally wasted in a brutal endeavor to establish an industrial autocracy.

(b) The President and his Attorney General are directly responsible for this appalling situation because they have refused to enforce the laws enacted by Congress in relation to safety appliances and locomotive inspection. The enforcement of these laws by the officials sworn to uphold them would afford immediate relief to the farmers and business men now facing bankruptcy as a consequence of the paralysis of transportation and in addition preserve the lives of railroad employes and passengers.

While recognizing that it is the immediate duty of Congress to afford the people relief from the oppressive provisions of the Cummins-Esch law in harmony with the suggestions herein enumerated, it is our conviction that a permanent solution of the nation's transportation problem can only be secured by public ownership of railroads and their democratic control through a board of operation and administration, properly balanced and thoroughly representative of all interests involved, such as management, labor, farmers, and manufacturers, thus freeing our railroads from the autocracy of the banking interests and manipulated by politicians and thereby insuring their operation for public service instead of private profit.

President Harding should call the new Congress in extra session at the earliest possible moment in order that it may give immediate attention to these pressing problems relating to agriculture and the railroads.

COAL INDUSTRY

3. Nationalization of the coal mines of the nation is an imperative necessity. The disorganization of the industry, the human and material wastes, the lack of co-ordinating supply to demand, the chronic unemployment of the miners, the excessive prices charged for coal and the uncertain and meager wages paid the miners are crying evils that cannot be solved without nationalizing the mining industry.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

4. Hydro-Electric power is the motive power of the future. Its ownership and use are an issue of great importance to the people of the nation. Whether the great water power sites now belonging to the people shall be developed in the interest of the people, or shall fall into the hands of private corporations, as is now being attempted in the case of the Colorado river, is a matter of grave concern. We believe that for the purpose of flood control and irrigation, as an aid to agriculture, and development of electric power, the common interest will be best conserved by public ownership and development of the nation's power sites. No questions of compensation or investing interests are involved in the nation's power sites and they should not be permitted to complicate the problem by voting these sites into private hands.

JUDICIARY

5. Abolition of the tyranny and usurpation of state and federal courts, ending the abuse of the power of injunction and the nullification of acts of Congress and state legislatures.

PRIMARIES

6. A nation-wide campaign in the various states for direct, open primaries for all elective offices, including the Presidency and Vice-Presidency; for effective Federal and State corrupt practices acts and absent voters' laws.

We also urge that all restrictive legislation in the states that make it difficult, costly or almost impossible for a new political group or party to obtain a place on the ballot, be repealed. All laws that seek to give any particular parties a special monopoly should be repealed.

WOMEN

7. Laws providing minimum standards of employment for women, including an eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven, a living wage, and such safeguards as may be required in view of women's physical differences from men.

Equality for women and men, secured by means which shall permit of no sacrifice or retrogression in political, social, or industrial standards already won for either sex. The state action necessary for the state to receive in full all benefits of the federal maternity and infancy acts.

CHILD LABOR

8. Amendment of the Constitution to confer upon Congress full power to eliminate the evils of child labor.

WAR AND IMPERIALISM.

9. Measures designed to curb, and if possible to eliminate, the twin evils of war and imperialism.

We propose that the government of the United States shall dedicate itself to peace rather than war. To this end we favor:

Control by the people of the war-making power through popular referendum whenever Congress, except in case of invasion, shall vote to declare war.

Opposition to compulsory military training in every form.

Take the profit out of war by manufacturing all ordnance and munitions in government plants.

Drastic reduction of present excessive expenditures for military and naval purposes, amounting to more than twice the expenditures of any other nation, before the late conflict, as being an encouragement to imperialism, grossly wasteful of the public funds, and provocative of war.

We ask the support of all fathers and mothers for these latter measures, reminding them that under existing laws their sons may be taken from them by conscription without further congressional action.

TAXATION

10. Enactment of a retroactive tax on stock dividends which shall reach recent issues authorized by the Standard Oil and other profiteering corporations. Also the re-enactment of the excess profits tax and the amendment of the inheritance tax so as to curb the menace of swollen fortunes.

SOLDIERS' COMPENSATION.

11. An adequate bonus for the men who served in the world war, the necessary money to be raised by a tax upon those who were piling up millions while our boys were

fighting over ours. The necessary information on which to base such a tax is to be found in the archives of the national treasury.

Delegate Laskey moved that the minority report be tabled.

The chair announced that the motion was to lay on the table the minority report. Motion defeated.

Delegate Jewell stated that the railroad men believed there was included in the 10 or 12 words contained in the majority report all and more than was included in the 250 or 300 words in the minority report, concerning the railroad question, and that the railroad men had unanimously accepted it.

Delegate Forrester agreed with everything that Mr. Jewell had said in respect of the railroad problem, but that he wanted to amend the majority report to demand the enactment of the Federal amendment that we already have before Congress, which would prohibit labor of children.

Delegate Weir moved that the majority report be accepted, with the understanding that additional items may be added to it; also that the minority report be incorporated in the permanent record as an explanation of the majority report.

Delegate Starr took the floor in support of a resolution that he had presented to the Committee on Program and Resolutions last night.

Delegate Messerole moved that both reports be resubmitted to the Resolutions Committee, with instructions to include the majority railroad plank approved by the railroad men, and that a new report be made; that all resolutions not accepted by the Committee be reported to this Conference for action.

Delegate Hayes of the Typographical Union moved that the minority report that was read to the convention be laid on the table. Motion carried.

Delegate Hillquit moved that the majority report be adopted and referred to the National Committee, with instructions to amplify same by adding appropriate planks on the subjects of coal, child labor, civil liberties, amnesty for war time prisoners, rights of organized labor, and financial imperialism.

Delegate Forrester asked, if this motion was adopted, what would become of the amendment offered by him to insert a demand for adoption of the resolution providing for an amendment to the Federal Constitution in respect of child labor.

Chairman Johnston stated that Mr. Forrester's amendment still stands, to provide for the child labor amendment.

Chairman Johnston announced that the question was to adopt the motion offered by Delegate Hillquit, that the majority report be adopted and referred to the incoming National Committee with instructions to include certain additional planks. Motion carried.

Chairman Johnston announced that the Committee appointed at the morning session had secured the Ball Room at the Winton Hotel, where this evening's session would be held at 8 o'clock.

Adjourned at 6 P. M.

Evening Session at Ball Room, Winton Hotel, December 12, 1922.

Conference called to order by Chairman Johnston at 8:20 P. M.

Delegate Branstetter offered the following statement on behalf of the Socialist Party delegation concerning exclusion of the representatives of the Workers' Party:

DICTATORSHIP BY WORKERS' PARTY.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY delegation wishes to express its dissent from the reasons offered by a delegate yesterday for the exclusion of the delegates of the Workers' Party.

We do not believe that the representatives of the Workers' Party are agents of the employers. Nor can we agree with the sentiment that the Workers' Party or any other organization should be excluded because it is alleged to be "un-American." It ill becomes any member of a labor organization to resort to the phrases used by the most reactionary interests in creating prejudice against organized labor.

The Socialist Party delegation therefore does not share the views offered by the delegate in question as a reason for excluding the delegates of the Workers' Party. It does believe, however, that actual experience has shown that the disruptive tactics of the Workers' Party justify the exclusion of this party from representation. It further believes that by rejecting the principles of democracy in favor of dictatorship the Workers' Party is recorded against the declared principles of the Conference and hence is not entitled to representation.

Mr. Keating replied, stating that he had previously referred to the Workers' Party as "un-American" and that the statement just made fully sustained the charge. Any party which rejected democracy in favor of a dictatorship was not American and should not be recognized by representatives

of American labor. The resolution of the Socialist party also admitted that the delegates of the so-called Workers' Party should be excluded from this convention because the object of the organization was to disrupt trade unions.

Chairman Johnston announced that the Conference would now take up the special order of business—consideration of resolutions which were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 1—Anti-Alien Registration.

Mr. Keating, Chairman of the Committee, read resolution No. 1 as follows:

"This conference believes that President Harding's proposal requiring all aliens to register is un-American in spirit and is calculated to injure the trade unions in their effort to organize the workers.

"By compelling workmen to register with public officials they are intimidated and kept out from all legitimate activities of the trade union movement and from any movement for bettering their conditions, which is not approved by the administration in power."

Introduced by Alexander Cahn.

Mr. Keating stated that the recommendation of the Committee was non-concurrence.

Delegate Vladecka of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party stated that while his name does not appear on the foregoing resolution, he was instrumental in introducing it. He then spoke in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Howe stated that he hoped the resolution would not be disposed of technically, saying that he did not know whether it should be made a part of our declaration of principles or not, but he had probably come in contact with more aliens than any man in the room and was 100 per cent with the sentiments of the last speaker. He stated that the suggestion to list aliens was simply a suggestion to list men who work with their hands, that the next step would be to list all men who may be considered dangerous, and the next step to have a card index somewhere in the government at Washington, against which would be filed numerous letters, secret service complaints, etc.

Secretary Arthur E. Holder stated that as a member of the Committee he voted to nonconcur in reporting this resolution, because he did not want to pack the calendar with too many subjects but now the subject was before the Conference that restraint was removed. He emphasized the expressions given by Mr. Howe, and stated that the whole proposal was to cast suspicion upon every working man and woman, foreign born and native; that he did not propose for the sake of any political agent or employer to let them have his finger prints, photograph or signature. The whole purpose of the proposed alien registration act was to harass labor and devalue trade unions. Mr. Holder hoped the resolution would be carried by unanimous vote.

Mr. Keating stated that there was not a man on the Committee on Resolutions who was not opposed to this proposition of registering aliens, and that the reason these resolutions were opposed or set aside by the Committee was that they did not want to unnecessarily burden the program with propositions that were being supported by every liberal organization in this country. He expressed the hope that the vote would be unanimous in favor of the resolution.

Chairman Johnston: The motion is to concur in the Committee's recommendation (which was nonconcurrency in the resolution). Committee's report was lost.

Chairman Johnston stated that the motion now was to adopt the resolution. Motion carried unanimously.

"RESOLUTION ENDORSING INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION"

Mr. Keating then read resolution No. 2 as follows:

"Whereas, Labor is being more sorely oppressed today than ever before by Wall St., the 'open shop' interests and the political agents of these enemies of progress, and the farmers are being very unjustly 'deflated' by these same reactionary interests, and

"Whereas, In periods of inflation prices invariably advance more rapidly than wages and in periods of deflation wages are decreased more rapidly than prices and in like manner prices on the products which the farmer buys advance more rapidly than the prices on the products which he sells in these periods of inflation and during periods of deflation prices on the products which the farmer sells decline more rapidly than the prices on the products which he buys, and

"Whereas, Wage earners constitute the vast majority of the consumers of the farmers' products, making it necessary for wage earners to prosper, if the farmers are to prosper, and

"Whereas, Labor and Capital are both necessary in order that production may be brought out and thereby should work together in industry on the basis of a practical partnership, whereby each will receive that share of the fruits of industry to which each is justly entitled, and

"Whereas, Due to the tenaciousness of the present economical situation, which is afflicting both Labor and the farmers, the time has undoubtedly arrived when Labor and the farmers should jointly present a sound, practical and defensible solution to this chief economical evil, which is that the producers of wealth, both industrial and agricultural, do not receive their full share of this production, and

"Whereas, The application of such a solution to be really effective must be made by progressive political action, therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Executive Board of the Indiana Progressive Political Action Committee, assembled this 12th day of November, 1922, that in view of the foregoing facts and conditions, that as the fundamental principles of this general solution of the Labor Problem, which we must immediately seek and as a basis for this practical partnership between Labor and Capital, which must sooner or later be established, if we are to have industrial peace and prosperity, we submit the following:

"1st.—All wages to be established in their correct ratio to prevailing prices and commensurate with the net profits of industry by a scientific, economical method, whereby the ratio of wages to profits will always remain constant, and

"2nd.—In all industrial matters Labor be considered the equal of Capital in every respect, and be it further

"Resolved, That we instruct our delegates to the National Conference for Progressive Political Action, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 11-12, 1922, to present this resolution to that Conference and ask that a special committee be appointed from that Conference to study carefully the foregoing fundamental principles of Labor and report not later than Feb. 15, 1923, to the Executive Committee of the National Conference a practical plan for the application to industry of these fundamental principles, which can be established by political action and that this Executive Committee be empowered by the National Conference to accept, amend or reject the report of this special committee, as per their best judgment, which action shall thereof become the law of the National Conference, and which decision shall be sent by the National Secretary to Secretaries of all State Progressive Political Action Organizations and also published in 'LABOR.'

"Presented to the Executive Board of the Indiana Progressive Political Action Committee by Ray Vern Maple, 1301 Naomi St., Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Adopted Nov. 12, 1922, and signed by

"State Chairman, C. E. MAUZY,

"State Secretary, RAY VERN MAPLE,

"1301 Naomi St., Indianapolis, Indiana."

Mr. O'Neal moved (which was seconded) that the resolution from Indiana be referred to the National Committee. Motion carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 3, DECLARING FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY BY FARMERS AND WORKERS

Mr. Keating then read resolution No. 3 as follows:

"Resolved, That the Conference for Progressive Political Action hereby declares for independent political action by the agricultural and industrial workers through a party of their own.

"Submitted by delegates from

"The Farmer-Labor Party of the United States,

"J. G. Brown, E. N. Nockels, Max S. Hayes, Toscan Bennett, Robert M. Buck."

Mr. Keating stated the Committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

Delegate Buck asked Mr. Keating to read the minority report, which was read as follows:

"The undersigned, a minority of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform, recommends the adoption of the resolution numbered Resolution No. 3 by the Committee, declaring for independent political action by the agricultural and industrial workers through a party of their own.

ROBERT M. BUCK."

Mr. Keating also read a statement by Mr. O'Neal as to his negative vote on resolution No. 3, as follows:

"I vote not to concur in the Farmer-Labor resolution which urges the organization of an independent labor party, not because I am opposed to such a party but because I do not think that the organized masses are yet ready for an independent party of the workers."

Delegate Buck moved to substitute the report of the minority for the report of the majority. He then spoke in favor of the minority report, saying that the delegates who introduced it could see no hope for labor or the farmers through fiddling with the old parties, who were owned and controlled by the crooks of Wall Street. He believed that the people of the United States were ready for a party of and by labor.

Delegate Ohl said that labor in Wisconsin was committed by a referendum vote of the unions to a new political organization. He said that the peo-

ple back home were looking to this Conference for an expression on the subject and that we should be courageous enough to say just exactly where we stand.

Delegate Bowen of North Dakota explained that he came from the National Headquarters of the Non-Partisan League to speak upon this subject. He called attention to the fact that in North Dakota today the Republican Party machinery was in the hands of the farmers and laboring men and that they had used that machinery to send Messrs. Ladd and Frazier to the United State Senate. He called attention to progressive victories in Washington, Montana, Minnesota, Nebraska and other states, where the farmers and laboring men have used non-partisan tactics. He said the workers and farmers in North Dakota were going to continue to use non-partisan political action until such time as there is a different sentiment from that prevailing today.

Delegate Cramer stated that the workers and farmers in Minnesota were through with the Republican and Democratic Parties, and that they wanted their candidates nominated on an Independent Farmer-Labor ticket.

Delegate Brown expressed the opinion that this whole matter resolves itself into a question of tactics; some people feel that the best results can be accomplished through non-partisan action, while others feel that the time is ripe for independent political action. He said that so far as the Farmer-Labor Party delegates were concerned they were interested in seeing the workers and farmers united for independent political action.

Delegate Orton of Nebraska, after reviewing the recent campaign in that state, said he could see no reason why a new party in Nebraska could not be as successful as the balance of power ticket.

Delegate Evans of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was positive that the best thing we can do is to proceed along the same lines that we have been following.

Delegate Wood asserted that the workers and producers in Missouri had gone on record in favor of the formation of an independent labor party, although they went into the recent primaries and attempted to nominate their own candidates in the old parties. He hoped this Conference would adopt the resolution under consideration, thus establishing a condition whereby all of the progressive thought in this country among the workers would have expression.

Delegate Fitzpatrick held out no hope for the workers in the old parties; that instead of making progress we have been going backwards. He expressed the hope that the Conference would adopt the resolution, thus rallying the men and women of America through the creation of an independent political party.

Delegate Jewell was enthusiastically in accord with the report of the Committee on Organization this morning and was in favor of same now, for the reason that we have already acted independently in the best interest of this Conference. He called attention to Section 9 of the report of the Committee on Organization, giving to each State Conference local autonomy on this question. In the interest of progress and in the interest of accomplishing the ideals and purposes for which this Conference was organized, he urged that the minority report be rejected and that the majority report be adopted, non-concurring in the resolution.

The previous question was called for and the chair being in doubt, called for a rising vote, resulting as follows:

For putting the previous question..... 59

Opposed 47

Chairman Johnston announced that the motion now is on the adoption of the minority report made by Mr. Buck of the Committee on Program and Resolutions, carrying with it the resolution favoring an independent political party.

On vote the motion appeared to be defeated. However, a division was called for, resulting as follows:

For minority report..... 52

Opposed 64

Minority report was lost. A roll call vote was asked, but there were not the required number of delegates to sustain it.

Chairman Johnston announced that the motion now is on adoption of the Committee's report, recommending nonconcurrency in the resolution. Report of the Committee adopted.

Delegate Vladecka moved that all remaining resolutions be referred to the National Committee for consideration and action.

Delegate Buck as a minority member of the Committee moved adoption of resolution No. 4, dealing with recognition of the Russian government by the government of the United States, stating that he wanted to speak on the motion.

Delegate Robertson raised a point of information as to whether a motion to refer was debatable, and the chair ruled that it was not.

Chairman Johnston announced that the motion now is to refer all of the remaining resolutions to the National Committee for consideration and action. The chair being in doubt, a rising vote was called for, resulting as follows:

For 67
Opposed 39

Motion to refer all remaining resolutions to the National Committee carried.

(NOTE:—See Appendix for all remaining resolutions.)

Delegate Vladecka stated that he was not aware of the resolution for the recognition of Russia, else he would not have made his motion to refer.

Closing Remarks by Chairman Johnston.

"As indicated in my opening remarks, when we called the first Conference it was with considerable fear on the part of some lest the Conference would fail to reach any understanding and fail to accomplish any purpose worth while. Those who came with some skepticism in their minds are now realizing that a great deal has been accomplished and that the city workers and producers on the farm have been brought closer together than at any time in the history of our country.

"So it is with this meeting today. We should not go away disappointed or discouraged, for there is no question but what we are heading in the right direction. For 30 years I have been preaching independent political action. I have never voted an old party ticket in my life. I know from 30 years' close study and application to organization work that we are proceeding along sound lines, and we should take the immediate step that is most practical, the most sane, in order to secure the greatest results.

"What is in store for us I cannot predict. I think I see something beyond the immediate present. I recognize that the time will come for a change, but I do not agree with Brother Buck when he says the people are ready. If the people are ready for a radical political movement, why have they not been voting the Farmer-Labor ticket and the Socialist ticket, representing a class-conscious party? We should recognize that the people are not quite ready. We must educate them and get them to understand our point of view on this subject. What are we doing? We are building up an organization for the people in every State, and we are not going to take the step tonight that should be taken possibly next week or next year. We have brought into being a force, an organization, that will grow step by step along evolutionary lines. You can't force the growth of a political movement or a trade union any more than you can force the growth of a plant or a child. You can only move just as fast as the great rank and file moves. No, the people are not ready, but we should help make them ready. While we have not set the world afire, we have laid the foundation. The only people who are sad and disappointed with the movement are the people who have not put an ounce of energy into it to make it go. In every State where the workers have taken hold of this movement and followed the policy outlined last February, results can be shown that should gladden the heart of any man."

At this point one of the delegates asked whether they would receive copies of the proceedings of this meeting, and Secretary Holder replied that they could not be furnished without funds, the Conference already being \$10,000 in debt. Chairman Johnston then asked if the delegates would not kindly help the Committee make up this deficit. He stated that one brother thought his organization would make a good donation and expressed the hope that others would do likewise. He said if everybody would give a little it would help wonderfully.

As a result of the foregoing, Delegate Morris Berman of New York subscribed \$20.00 and the delegates accumulated \$113.05 more, making a total donation of \$133.05.

Conference adjourned at 11 p. m.