

Fifteenth
NATIONAL CONVENTION
Socialist Labor Party of America

May 5–10, 1920



Published by
Socialist Labor Party of America
www.slp.org
2005

NATIONAL CONVENTION

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

May 5-10, 1920.

REPORTS, RESOLUTIONS, PLATFORM, ETC.



Published 1921
National Executive Committee,
Socialist Labor Party,
45 Rose Street
New York

Document
1927
112
1931

The modern revolutionist knows full well that man is not superior to principle, that principle is superior to man, but he does not fly off the handle with the maxim, and thus turn the maxim into absurdity. He firmly couples the maxim with this other, that no principle is superior to the movement or organization that puts it and upholds it in the field... He knows that in the revolution demanded by our age, Organization must be the incarnation of Principle. Just the reverse of the reformer, who will ever be seen mocking at science, the revolutionist will not make a distinction between the Organization and the Principle. He will say: "The Principle and the Organization are one."

Again, the modern revolutionist knows that in order to accomplish results or promote principle, there must be unity of action. He knows that, if we do not go in a body and hang together, we are bound to hang separate. Hence, you will ever see the revolutionist submit to the will of the majority: you will always see him readiest to obey; he recognizes that obedience is the badge of civilized man. The savage does not know the word. The word "obedience" does not exist in the vocabulary of any language until its people got beyond the stage of savagery. Hence, also, you will never

find the revolutionist putting himself above the organization. The opposite conduct is an unmistakable earmark of reformers.

The revolutionist recognizes that the present machinery and methods of production render impossible—and well it is they do—the individual freedom of man such as our savage ancestors knew the thing; that, today, the highest individual freedom must go hand in hand with collective freedom; and none such is possible without a central directing authority. Standing upon this vigor-imparting high plane of civilization, the revolutionist is virile and selfreliant, in striking contrast with the mentally sickly, and, therefore, suspicious reformer. Hence the cry of "Bossism!" is as absent from the revolutionist's lips as it is a feature on those of the reformer.

No organization will inspire the outside masses with respect that will not insist upon and enforce discipline within its own ranks. If you allow your own members to play monkey-shines with the Party, the lookers-on, who belong in this camp, will justly believe that you will at some critical moment allow capitalism to play monkeyshines with you; they will not respect you, and their accession to your ranks will be delayed.

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Report of the National Executive Committee to the 15th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, May 1920

Greetings:

Looking back over the four years that have elapsed since the last convention of the Party, one is impressed with the fact that changes have taken place that none could have anticipated within that short space of time, a period which in importance transcends any period of that duration in the world's history. The entire civilized world has been convulsed as if by an earthquake. The savage war, finally extending to the remotest corners of the earth, has so affected the complexion of the prevailing system, has so changed its processes, or rather it has so intensified and hastened the direction of these processes, as to render it impossible ever to return to the conditions prevailing prior to 1914. It has become clear by this time that capitalism proper, capitalism in its normal aspects, has gone forever. In its place there has been reared a system of society which, though essentially capitalist in so far as its relation to the working class is concerned, differs as much from the capitalism of pre-war days as the rotten ripe fruit differs from the ripening fruit. Death and pestilence, hunger and misery ravage Europe as a direct result of the war, the foul social atmosphere being surcharged with the putrid smell of the decaying, fast decaying capitalist system. On the other hand, Capitalist Imperialism, or nascent Industrial Feudalism, towers apparently supreme above the social misery and social decay of the old world, holding in its iron grip

the submerged working class, which so far (outside of Russia) in vain has sought to overcome the monster.

In America, the final stronghold, the backbone of Capitalist Imperialism, a like condition exists, with the difference that actual war does not exist, and the masses, though on the verge of starvation, have as yet not gone through that agony of hunger and misery which has fallen to the lot of the working classes elsewhere. The American Plutocracy, true to the ideals of imperialism, has, however, introduced a reign of terror among dissentients, which goes further than in most of the old countries. Being "illiterates" in all matters pertaining to the social sciences, economics, etc., the Imperialists of this country stand bewildered at the sight of the yawning abyss before them. Choking with wealth wrung from as exploited a slave class as ever existed, they tremble with fear and wonder at the rumblings already heard, even in this benighted country of untrammelled capitalism and labor fakerism. In superstitious awe they strike blindly about them, attacking in their despair the very foundation of that form of government which they never tire of holding up to the world as the last word in governmental arrangements.

The war and its aftermath have produced a darkness that has filled many with despair, and many others (formerly clear) with confusion. That which formerly, in the distance, was or seemed clear to them has now become a fog, though within grasp and

realization. Many of those groups and individuals who formerly pretended to be opponents of capitalism have not only dropped the pretence, but have become in fact the last barricades, the final support and chief hope of the Imperialists. In the name of Socialism these unspeakable wretches have slaughtered the workers, as witness Germany during the last one and a half years.

In all this darkness there has arisen a pillar of flame, a piercing ray of hope, a voice in the wilderness ringing around the world. Russia, czar-ridden and exploited, with a population groping in thralldom and misery, suddenly arose, Phoenix-like, from the ashes. Young Russia, shaking the shackles of centuries from off its strong limbs, stands today as that pillar of flame, as that piercing ray of hope.

* * *

We shall now review the events of the last four years as far as they concern the Party.

The national campaign of 1916 was conducted with great vigor. Tons of literature were distributed, our organizers were sent to almost every part of the country. That the result in point of votes and membership were no greater need neither dismay nor disappoint us. The S. L. P. is the young giant that must and will slay the monster capitalism, but it can not do so until that monster has exhausted its own possibilities—possibilities for good as for evil. So long as the capitalist parties, and their various caricatures, are able to poison or confuse the minds of the workers, so long must our work be that of the apostle—spreading our gospel far and wide as well as at definite points, knowing that somewhere it is striking fertile soil, some day to sprout forth. The time is fast coming, however, when the bourgeois parties are

losing their grip on the workers—more and more are these parties and their organs revealed as the handmaids of the vested interests, of nascent Industrial Feudalism. The time is fast coming, in short, when we may expect to be called upon to lead that working class to final victory.

One of the important acts of the last Party convention was the adoption of a statement on the question of unity between the S. L. P. and the S. P. The document adopted by the convention was endorsed by the referendum, and after much discussion and correspondence the proposed Unity Conference took place in January, 1917, in New York City. Five delegates from the S. L. P. and four from the S. P. (one of their delegates being unable to attend) attended this conference, which, by the way, was initiated by the S. P. The conference lasted two days (January 6 and 7) and resulted, as most clear-sighted S. L. P. men expected, in absolute disagreement. The S. P., true to its inherent bourgeois nature, naturally clung to its bourgeois reform program, and refused to recede an inch from its position as a buffer of the American Federation of Labor, the strongest bulwark of American capitalism. The S. L. P., on the other hand, true to its inherent Socialist nature, insisted upon a revolutionary program, including an unqualified recognition of industrial unionism as the sine qua non of working class emancipation.

The Unity Conference having come to an end, a period in S. L. P. history was concluded during which the seeds of future dissension were sown. So long as there was a prospect of unity, however remote, between the S. P. and the S. L. P., S. L. P. activity was bound to suffer. The S. L. P., however, in obedience to the mandates of the International Congress, cleared itself of all responsibility for a seem-

ingly divided movement. It said in substance: Whatever theoretic doubt there may be as to the genuineness of the S. P. as a party of Socialism, we are willing to lay that doubt aside to effect, if possible, unity between real and earnest Socialists. The S. L. P., quickly entirely disillusioned, finally gave the proper designation to the S. P. In 1908, through Comrade De Leon, the S. P. was branded as a caricature of Socialism, and in ringing words the challenge was flung out—"war upon all political parties and organizations that directly or indirectly impair the integrity of Labor....." Had this attitude been adhered to, much, if not all of the disturbances that have taken place within the Party during the last two years might have been avoided.

For if the Unity Conference had no other result, it certainly had a profound effect upon certain members whose many years' membership should have rendered them immune to the "afflictions" to which young and inexperienced members may be prone. However, this phase of the matter belongs under another heading in this report.

In April, 1917, as we know, the United States declared war against Germany. From that time our real troubles began. Due to the hardships imposed by the Act of October, 1917, our Lettish and German organs had to suspend publication. They did so in 1917. Our other papers were harassed, and finally in June, 1918, the second-class mail privilege of the Weekly People was revoked. The Party was indeed face to face with a situation that threatened its very existence. For the moment it looked as though all hope had gone. The internal turmoil (at that time at its climax) naturally increased the danger and the gloom. The often almost heart-breaking struggle was be-

gun and carried on, and so far we have succeeded in keeping our fighting organ in existence.

In other ways the war made its presence felt. Freedom of expression was curtailed, meetings were interfered with and a condition was created which made it practically impossible to do much else than keeping the organization alive, preserving it for the day that was sure to come. To this task the National Executive Committee, the Sub-Committee, and the National Secretary bent most of their efforts. This does not mean that we ceased our constructive work. We continued that along lines and within forms consistent with the new conditions. And had it not been for the disruptive assault on the Party in 1918, a good deal more could have been accomplished than was the case.

The Disruptive Assault on the Party.

This brings us to the internal troubles of the Party. As previously stated, the Unity Conference, though barren of any result so far as "unity" was concerned, upset the minds of men who ought to have been proof against temptations and weaknesses. It is almost axiomatic that the weak person who goes astray becomes the most designing and unscrupulous of men. Their very weakness renders it imperative (to them) that they bolster up their lost cause with something pretended—stage trappings and much show of fault finding.

Following the Unity Conference an attempt was made to commit the Party membership to a form of unity which had tentatively been agreed upon by the S. L. P. delegation at the Unity Conference, but which in reality was contrary to the instructions laid down by the membership of the Party. The National Secretary, scenting the danger, in his capacity as a delegate to the conference issued a statement which declared the

proposed form "suicidal and a playing directly into the hands of the S. P. officialdom".

Later Section Kings County introduced a referendum the purpose of which was to have the rank and file give definite expression as to its attitude on the unity question and the S. P. For despite the fact that the Unity Conference had definitely proven that unity with the S. P. was impossible, the pro-S.P. element in the Party, and those members who (never very clear on the S.L.P. anyhow) had grown weary and pessimistic, were bent on keeping up the demoralizing and obstructive unity agitation. No sooner had this referendum been introduced than the storm broke loose. On the one side the traditional S. L. P. view of the S. P. was maintained by the National Secretary and others, who properly designated the S. P. as a "bourgeois outfit," or to use the expressions of De Leon: "a bourgeois concern" and a "caricature of Socialism," or, as the Party's 1912 platform puts it: as belonging to "still lower layers of the same property-holding class, social layers that have sniffed the breath of Socialism and imagine themselves Socialists....." On the other side were the apologists of the S. P. who—either because they knew no better, or because of their shattered hopes as to unity—in their weakness turned against the Party that alone is worthy the name of Socialism. They "denied in toto" that the S. P. was a bourgeois outfit. (Seidel) To designate the S. P. a bourgeois outfit was to "apply epithets" to that party. (Katz)

The viciousness with which the Party's position was assailed began to raise suspicions that there was something more than a mere disagreement with the Kings Co. resolution behind this assault. Suspicions that a

plan was being formulated to steer the S. L. P. into the S. P. became stronger. The N. E. C. meeting in May, 1917, however, postponed any action which the pro-S.P. element might have contemplated. Though a sort of truce was declared at that N. E. C. session it soon became clear that the disrupters were merely resting on their oars, awaiting developments as it were.

Toward the election of November, 1917, it became apparent that an editorial attitude had been struck, entirely out of keeping with the traditions of the Weekly People and the S. L. P. Instead of exposing the S. P. as the enemy to the working class that it is, articles were printed which insidiously advocated the voting of the S. P. ticket. Instances were enumerated in the National Secretary's report to the N. E. C. in session, May 1918. When criticized on a certain specific point (when the now famous, or infamous, Becker letter was printed in the Weekly People in which united electoral action with the S. P. was urged, i. e., the S. L. P. to refrain from voting its own ticket) Mr. Seidel, the then editor of the Weekly People, managed to get in a couple of editorials attacking Mr. Hillquit, the S. P. candidate for mayor in New York City. This he did while almost simultaneously at a public meeting under S. L. P. auspices he practically endorsed Mr. Hillquit's candidacy—and Seidel was the S. L. P. candidate for mayor!

This dishonest and hypocritical attitude pointed strongly to a conspiracy. The traitorous acts of Mr. Seidel were brought out in bolder relief when his action and utterances about the S. P. earlier in the year were recalled to mind. Expectantly the loyal members were following the maneuverings of the ex-editor and his associates.

And soon the next bomb was exploded.

Shortly after the election Mr. Schlossberg, then a member of the Jewish Federation and N. E. C. member from that body, wrote a letter to Mr. A. Lee of the S. P., congratulating the latter in the most overflowing terms upon the "splendid victory" he had achieved, and the Socialist movement "upon all the magnificent victories achieved at the polls on election day".

He continued ad nauseam, stating also that "this was the first time that the two historic enemies, Capitalism and Socialism, met on the battlefield face to face at such close quarters and on the most burning issue of the day" and "when the returns registered the enormous figure of nearly 150,000 Socialist votes—150,000 Socialist votes counted and acknowledged by the official representatives of Capitalism—my pride in my class and in my American citizenship rose higher than ever" and finally he declares that "personally I have done my humble share [toward achieving this "Socialist victory"] and shall be happy to repeat it". Incidentally, the "burning issue of the day" was whether milk should be charged at 5 cents a bottle, or at 8 or 10, or whatever the exact figures were!! The "burning issue" was symbolized by distributing broadcast advertising matter shaped in the form of a milk bottle, with the inscription, "5 cents milk and Hillquit," or some similar inscription.

This letter cleared the atmosphere considerably. Much that had been a matter of conjecture, of implication, now became as clear as daylight. All pretence was thrown aside. The matter was taken up by the Sub-Committee, which in course of time put the case up to the Jewish Federation. The Federation refused to take proper ac-

tion in the matter and finally it became necessary to suspend the Federation. And now began those orgies of vituperation and slander against the N. E. C. and the National Secretary, which with some intervals have been repeated—as if after some stereotyped model—up to this very time. Particularly did the National Secretary receive his share. Epithets such as "boss," "autocrat," etc., were among the milder.

Before proceeding further chronologically it becomes necessary to revert to Mr. Katz and his activities. Since early in the summer of 1917 he was located in Jamestown where he was conducting a W. I. U. strike. A paper was published by the W. I. U. locals there called The Industrial Standard, of which Katz was made editor. In the issue of December 22, 1917, Mr. Katz delivered himself of the following (the occasion being a "welcome party" to him and his speech being a reply to the "welcome"):

"IN A BIG CITY LIKE NEW YORK, IN ORDER FOR THE WORKERS TO SUCCEED THEY MUST MOVE ON A LARGE SCALE. THEY HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED ON THE ECONOMIC FIELD THERE BUT HAVE POLITICALLY, AS WAS SEEN BY THE LAST CAMPAIGN."

(The "last campaign" referred to was the Hillquit cheap milk campaign so vociferously lauded by Mr. Katz's fellow conspirator, Mr. J. Schlossberg. It is worth noting in this connection that all along the trio—Seidel-Katz-Schlossberg—had acted in unison as against the National Secretary of the Party.)

From the above quotation, which we have underscored, it will be seen that Mr. Katz viewed the S. P. "victory" exactly in the same light as Mr.

Schlossberg. And there is nothing strange in this when one recalls his violent assault upon the National Secretary for referring to the S. P. as De Leon had referred to it, as the Party platform of 1912 referred to it, as, in fact, the Party has ever referred to it since the inception of the S. P.

Mr. Katz did not rest contented with merely praising the S. P. vote-chasing campaign of 1917 as a great political victory of the working class. He decided that he was going to go in for some of that sort of victory himself. In January, 1918, he caused Section Jamestown, S. L. P., to offer united action with the S. P. of Jamestown. For the sake of the record the letter is herewith reproduced in full:

"311 W. 4th St.,
Jamestown, N. Y.,
January 28th, 1918.

To the Members of Local Jamestown Socialist Party.

Comrades:

The Spring election is approaching; the question before the working people of this city is, if there should be a united effort made to wrest the political power in this municipal election out of the hands of the old parties.

A good deal has been written and said upon the question of united action of the working class. All agree that united action on the part of the working class is indispensable to its emancipation. The workers in Jamestown have doubtlessly learned the necessity of united action during the strike of metal workers. They have also learned the import of political action. Now, how can unity of action on the political field be brought about? We realize that the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party can not unite in Jamestown into one body, while the movement is divided throughout the country. But this much can be done; both Socialist parties can withdraw their candidates in this Spring election and let both parties together with the Industrial Unions put up a united ticket and thereby not only put up a united front in Jamestown, but start a movement for united ac-

tion throughout the land.

The Socialist Labor Party is prepared to withdraw its candidates this Spring election provided Local Jamestown Socialist Party is willing to do the same, thus make it possible for both parties to work together for the election of working-class candidates to be nominated by a mass convention of all Socialists and Industrial Unionists.

Yours fraternally,
Socialist Labor Party,
W. A. Little,
Secretary."

Note the reference to putting up a "united front," not only in Jamestown, "but start a movement for united action throughout the land". Contrast this grand unity scheme with the statement made by Mr. Katz about two years earlier in his articles entitled "With De Leon Since '89". Says he apropos of unity and the prospects for achieving same: "It is, after all, contrary to the laws of nature and a very unthankful job to try to unite fire and water." In 1915-16 it was hopeless to expect unity between the S. P. and the S. L. P. and the two parties were correctly likened to fire and water. In 1917 and after, unity was a sacred duty and a possibility and it is vigorously asserted that the S. P. is a party of Socialism; it is violently denied that it is a "bourgeois outfit".

Dishonesty and opportunism is written all over this letter. That such a letter should have emanated from an S. L. P. Section is a blot upon the Party's fair escutcheon. The S. P. was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity offered it and replied to that letter as follows:

"Jamestown, N. Y., Feb. 9th, 1918.
Socialist Labor Party,
W. A. Little, Sec'y.
Comrades:

In answer to your letter of Jan. 28th, I must inform you that, First, the Socialist Party is not a party of fusion or compromise.

Second, that we refuse to be car-

ried away by illusions, namely, that we could in Jamestown at this election wrest the political power from the hands of the ruling class, even if successful this Spring with all our candidates, we still would be unable to control the legislative power of our city, consequently, more education for the working class is our program.

Very glad to note that your party has learned, as you state, the import of political action, as well as a united front against our only enemy, the capitalist class; our hope is that your actions in the future will give justice to your statement.

The Socialist Party has a clean record and stands uncompromisingly for the abolition of the present system of wage slavery, inviting all workers to rally around its banner this coming spring election.

As for the union question that you try to raise I wish to state the following: that I believe that the Socialist Party has as many members as any other political party of this city belonging to, and taking active part in the administration of local unions.

The Socialist Party supported the recent strike (in this particular case a W. I. I. U. union), and will continue to support strikers in their fight for better living conditions to its utmost capacity, not however losing sight of the main aims of our movement, the abolition of wage slavery.

The Socialist Party can not withdraw its official candidates which you, a former member, know very well.

The S. L. P., which can not place in the field a political party ticket, except by petitions signed by non-Socialist and unaffiliated voters, has no logical reason why it can not support the Socialist Party candidates, nominated by Socialists, as its regular primary elections where a good many S. L. P.'s have the right to vote.

Yours for Social Democracy,
Socialist Party,
(Signed) C. Axelsohn, Org."

Imagine an S. P. local lecturing an S. L. P. Section on the utopianism of attempting to capture political power

from the capitalist class in isolated cities! To such base and demoralizing tactics had the "broader policy" reduced its advocates.

It should here be noted that Comrade A. H. Lyzell, an ardent supporter of Seidel, Katz, et al, and who at present writing is editor of *Arbetaren*, our Scandinavian organ, wrote in *Arbetaren* as follows:

"Concerning Katz I will say that there is absolutely nothing dangerous in the 'exposures' or the 'underground work' (underhanded); I am ready to defend it when or anywhere it comes up as a question by itself—defend it without departing one iota from the spirit of the S. L. P., and stand as straight within the S. L. P. as anyone."

The "exposures" mentioned refer to a letter Comrade Oscar Anderson of Jamestown had written to Comrade Borg, informing the latter of Katz's proposed political "Kuhhandel" (cow-trading). In other words, Comrade Lyzell fully endorsed the traitorous and disruptive proposal of Katz and Section Jamestown.

But let us now revert to Mr. Seidel and his activities.

Following the suspension of the Jewish Federation, Mr. Seidel and his friends (Palmer, Dr. Hammer, Basky, and the rest) began manipulating and maneuvering for the N. E. C. session in May, 1918. Somewhat earlier Mr. Seidel had written an article entitled, "Building up the Movement," which purported to present a new and great plan for "building up the movement" (the word "movement" no doubt having been chosen advisedly, it being vague and indefinite), which in effect was nothing but an insidious attack upon the S. L. P., combined with the proposal (not bluntly stated, of course) to throw all our energies into the economic field—that is to say, build up the W. I. I. U. and the S. L. P. will naturally grow. The result of

such a policy (even assuming that it was honestly advanced) would have meant nothing else than the destruction of the S. L. P. as a political party, and possibly the end of the W. I. I. U. Aside from its manifest dishonesty, the article had all the characteristics of rank opportunism. This article was attacked in the Weekly People, and an acrimonious discussion ensued. About the same time the National Secretary had written an article on the Russian situation, in which an attempt was made to analyze the Russian (Bolshevik) revolution from the S. L. P. standpoint. The outstanding features of that article were a re-statement of the S. L. P. position as regards the social revolution and the requirements for its success, and the conclusion that the Russian revolutionists could not possibly succeed unless the rest, or at least the dominant part, of the capitalist world likewise collapsed before the victorious hosts of labor. This conclusion has been reiterated by the Russian comrades themselves, Nicolai Lenin leading.* This article was venomously attacked by those who were only looking for an opportunity

*Since this report was written Karl Radek is reported to have made the following observation:

"At the conclusion of the Brest Treaty, the Soviet Government estimated the breathing spell afforded by this peace as a very short one; EITHER THE WORLD REVOLUTION WOULD SOON COME AND RESCUE SOVIET RUSSIA, OR SOVIET RUSSIA WOULD GO DOWN IN THE UNEQUAL CONFLICT—SUCH WAS OUR VIEW AT THAT TIME. AND THIS CONCEPTION WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SITUATION AT THAT MOMENT." (Underscoring ours.) "Soviet Russia." Feb. 12, 1921.

to attack the National Secretary as well as by an element whose minds and hearts resided somewhere in Europe while their bodies remained here. Mr. Seidel, of course, entered the contest, succeeding in making himself ridiculous, while pretending to "explain away" the scientific position outlined in the article referred to. And this same individual, who now pretended to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Russian Bolsheviks (as if there were any provocation and as if the Russian comrades needed that) only a few months earlier, in an editorial article, had declared that "the latter [Kerensky] will certainly retain the whip hand in Russia in any attempt at plunging the country into civil strife". (Weekly People, Sept. 15, 1917.) Incidentally, Mr. Seidel had not up to that time attempted to treat the Russian situation editorially in the Weekly People.

As intimated, this criticism of the National Secretary's article was chiefly prompted by a desire to discredit him, preliminary to making the assault the object of which was to remove an individual who was looked upon as an obstacle in the path of the unity mongers (to use a phrase current in British S. L. P. circles). The same pro-S. P. element also encouraged an element which thought the S. L. P. could perform no better act than to sink its identity into the W. I. I. U. The unity mongers (essentially pro-S.P. whatever their pretences) had no scruples in pretending to be heart and soul for the W. I. I. U., though most of them, in fact, had no more use for that organization than had their political paramour, the S. P., as subsequent events have clearly demonstrated.

Thus the struggle went on until the N. E. C. session in May, 1918. The National Secretary in his report to

that body called attention to the attitude and views of the then editor, pointed to specific acts and utterances which clearly showed his pro-S.P. bias, and concluded by stating that the time had come when either he or the editor would have to go, harmony at headquarters being absolutely out of the question. The editor in turn introduced a series of "charges" which, in point of absurdity and stupidity, were "ekalled by none," to use an Artemus Ward phrase. The National Secretary had, of course, no difficulty in exposing the utter hollowness, the stupidity of the "charges". After a lengthy discussion, during which Mr. Seidel succeeded in proving his utter incompetence, as well as his strong pro-S.P. tendencies, by a vote of 6 to 5 the N. E. C. finally decided to remove the editor. Those voting against his removal were: Mazanek (a dummy of the corrupt Basky), Stukis, S. Kontrin, A. Nasteff and M. Eisenberg. Of these Mazanek, Eisenberg, and Stukis are now out of the Party, and Comrades Kontrin and Nasteff strongly expressed their disagreement with the views of Mr. Seidel.

Comrade Olive M. Johnson was appointed acting editor by the N. E. C., and later the membership elected her as editor of the Weekly People. It has become evident that the Party has secured in Comrade Johnson an editor who is capable of expounding the Party's principles, and this in a manner that calls to mind the happy days antedating the advent of Seidel to the important post of editor. The Weekly People has again become the shining sword that gleams through the bitter darkness of the night of capitalism.

No sooner had the N. E. C. session come to an end than the friends of the deposed editor commenced a campaign of vilification and slander

against the N. E. C. and the National Secretary. Owing to difficulties the National Office had in getting the minutes of the N. E. C. session printed, the slanderers had for a while full sway. Had we been able to get these minutes out earlier the disrupters might not have secured even as much support as they did.

Already on May 21 (or before) had the disrupters decided upon their plans. Without waiting for the membership to get the minutes and other information concerning the action of the N. E. C., these people, barely two weeks after the adjournment of the N.E.C., had arranged what they were pleased to call a "banquet" in honor (!) of the deposed editor. The "banquet" was announced as an "important event for the Socialist Labor Party in particular and the Socialist movement in general". At this "banquet" plans were made to tour Mr. R. Katz in order to present the "editor's side"—a mission which Mr. Katz would seem singularly qualified to fulfill, seeing that he had no first-hand information as to what happened at the N. E. C. session and seeing that no minutes were at hand!

This disruptive anti-organization tour of Katz naturally became a veritable saturnalia of vituperation and viciousness, so much so that the reaction setting in caused the gentlemen to discontinue it. It has properly been branded as one of the most nefarious attempts ever made by a Party member to wreck the organization. If Mr. Katz had trafficked on his reputation in the S. L. P., he soon found out that S. L. P. men are not hero-worshippers—that the S. L. P. means more to them than any individual or group of individuals.

Meanwhile the disrupters in New York kept busy. A "committee" was formed to "investigate" the N. E. C. and the National Secretary, the "com-

mittee" being headed by Mr. Basky and being composed of the following sub-divisions: Section New York, Hungarian Branch New York, and the Lettish Branch New York. Insolent demands were made upon the National Office, which, of course, were ignored. The anarchy and disruption in Section New York increased and in order to avoid complete wrecking of the New York movement, the Sub-Committee was compelled to take action. It was decided to suspend and reorganize the Section on July 11, 1918.

Meanwhile, a discussion took place in the Weekly People, in which, strange to say, **not one of the leading disrupters took part, barring Caleb Harrison.** Neither Seidel, Katz, Basky, nor Dr. Hammer found it necessary to use the Party's organ for the legitimate purpose of defending their cause, if they had any. Perhaps the intention was to create the impression that their views were being suppressed. For the sake of the record we reproduce the following brief correspondence:

"1488 Washington Ave.,
New York, June 18, 1918.

Mr. Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary, Socialist Labor Party,
45 Rose St., New York City.
Dear Comrade:

I should like to have a copy of the charges which you brought against me at the recent sessions of the National Executive Committee. I desire to draw up my side of the case for the party membership. If you have not the facilities for making such a copy I shall be glad to copy the charges myself.

Trusting to hear from you on this matter, I remain,

Fraternally,
(Signed) Edmund Seidel."

"June 20th, 1918.

Mr. Edmund Seidel,
1488 Washington Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of June 18th received.

Enclosed find the matter requested.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary."

Needless to say, Mr. Seidel never drew up his "side of the case," thus confessing to his total bankruptcy in the matter.

The referendum on the matter closed on October 15th, 1918, and showed that an overwhelming majority of the Party membership sustained the action of the N. E. C. The vote was 1,102 in favor and 683 against.

One would think that after this decisive and definite expression on the part of the membership those who pretended to have the Party's interests at heart (though disagreeing with the view of the majority) would have subsided and acknowledged their defeat. It was "quite otherwise and to the contrary," however. The same ruthless campaign was kept up, notably in Chicago and Philadelphia. In the former, Caleb Harrison and Jacob Bobinsky seemed to be the leading disrupters, aided by other Section members and to some extent by members of the foreign language branches. In Philadelphia Robert McLure led the attack on the Party, going so far as to cause the expulsion of an old loyal Party member, George Anton, Sr. (who died shortly after), ostensibly for an offense against the Party (an outrageous lie), but in reality as a punishment for supporting the Party as against Messrs. Seidel, Katz, McLure, et al. In both cases it became necessary to suspend and reorganize the Sections. The N. E. C. Sub-Committee took action respectively February 20th and March 13th, 1919, and the N. E. C. subsequently endorsed its action.

During the latter part of 1918 it was proven that Section Jamestown

had offered a compromise with the S. P. of Jamestown. In effect it was proposed that the S. L. P. pull down its banner and join with the S. P. on the specious pretext of uniting on the W. I. I. U. to conduct a campaign together with the S. P. in order to capture Jamestown. The practical result of this proposal would naturally have meant the submergence of the S. L. P. The communications that passed between the S. L. P. and the S. P. we have already reproduced.* The slap administered to the Section in Jamestown measures the degradation it had fallen into under Katz's "strategical" leadership. Having been rebuffed by the S. P., the Section later put up a ticket, and the "wonderful" campaign in Jamestown was extensively advertised in the Weekly People and commented upon editorially by Mr. Seidel, Katz's bosom friend and other self. But strange to say, not a word was said about the proposed deal with the S. P. That remained a profound secret until the summer of 1918.

Because of this act the Section was expelled on December 19th, 1918, and this action was also approved by the N. E. C. Incidentally it should be noted that the Section was called upon to explain, justify or defend its action, but point blank refused to do so.

In his report to the N. E. C. in session May, 1919, the National Secretary reviewed the events of the year since the previous session, pointing to the fact that Mr. Seidel and most of his supporters had either joined the S. P. or its "offshoots".

At the 1919 session the N. E. C. also suspended Section Denver, Colorado. The Section had taken the stand that the Party should

withdraw as a political party, circulate petition lists for an amendment to the constitution designed to end capitalism, etc. It did not limit itself to circularizing Sections and members, but spread its "leaflet" broadcast. The whole action and attitude of the Section was so plainly anti-S.L.P. both in principle and action that without much discussion the N. E. C. took the above-mentioned action. The fact that the Section was practically dead at the time the N. E. C. took this action probably accounts for the fact that its suspension did not even create a ripple.

Shortly after the N. E. C. session in May, 1919, the stage was being set for another disruptive outbreak. In Detroit, under the nominal leadership of H. Richter, plans were being formulated to resume the work of the now thoroughly discredited Seidel and Katz. The pretext seized upon was the pamphlet "Mines to the Miners," it being charged that it was advocated therein to form an organization in competition to the W. I. I. U. The fact that the direct opposite was urged did not trouble Mr. Richter and his friends. The N. E. C. was charged with being a group of traitors to the working class. Simultaneously the usual orgy of slander and vilification commenced. The loyal supporters were abused and vilified, and, needless to say, no work was done, save what was achieved by the small group of true S. L. P. men who in the midst of reaction and anarchy sought to keep the S. L. P. banner unsullied. The statement of the "Section" was in course of time submitted to the N. E. C., together with a statement by the Sub-Committee, in which the falsity and viciousness of the charges were exposed and a demand made upon the "Section" to withdraw its

*See pp. 6 and 7.

slandrous charge of treacherous conduct against the N. E. C. While the N. E. C. was voting on the matter it developed that the original statement and "charges" were not the work of the Section at all, but that of the English group alone, which coolly had usurped the functions and authority of the entire Section, which consisted altogether of the three branches. Aside from this, it was proven that an individual who was a member of another Section, voted at "Section" Detroit's meetings, was elected on committees, etc. Special meetings were called without notifying all the members—in short, a state of corruption and anarchy was revealed surpassing even that prevailing in previously expelled or suspended Sections.

The N. E. C. was called upon to halt its vote on the matter already submitted, seeing the submission of the "charges" in the name of Section Detroit was a palpable fraud and imposition on the N. E. C. and the Sub-Committee. Finally, the N. E. C. voted to suspend and reorganize the Section.

It is gratifying to be able to state that since the suspension and reorganization Section Detroit has performed some splendid work. The Section is hustling and working for the S. L. P. as few Sections are.

And now to the last act (let us hope it will remain the very last) in this "drama" of dissension and disruption.

Despite the fact that Mr. Katz had been so thoroughly discredited; despite the fact that his traitorous acts had been so thoroughly exposed, Section Erie County, N. Y., admitted him as a "new" member (though claiming their right to confer membership upon the ground that since the Section had expelled him, in De-

ember, 1918, the Section had the right to re-instate him!). The Section's attention was called to the fact that its action was unconstitutional and withal a slap in the face of the Party and an outrage perpetrated upon the S. L. P. During three months the Section was patiently reasoned with, but of no avail. Having exhausted all efforts to bring the Section to reason, the N. E. C. Sub-Committee submitted the matter to the N. E. C., with the recommendation that the Section be suspended and reorganized. Vote on the matter closes April 29th.

As one reviews the events of these two exciting years many facts leap to the front. A few are enumerated:

1. As in previous eruptions, the disrupters, one after another, with unerring precision, center their assaults upon one or two individuals, notably upon the National Secretary. True to that characteristic of the anarchist and bourgeois individualist which causes them to look to individuals for the source of their troubles, the anarchistic disrupters in the Party single out the National Secretary, making him the target for their poisonous arrows. In this respect history repeats itself. Such epithets as "Czar," "Autocrat," "Despot," "Pope," and what not, hurled at De Leon in the past, are now applied to the National Secretary—for doing his obvious duty and for carrying out the instructions of the N. E. C. and the N. E. C. Sub-Committee. Apropos of this De Leon once said: "Look out for the man who sets up the shout of 'bossism'! when courteously defeated in argument. Next to, aye, even more so than material interests, conceit and vanity are the springs of all villainies."

2. In each case one of two or both of the following features are common to most of the disrupters: Their

covert defense of and apologetic attitude toward the S. P. and their pretended solicitude for the W. I. I. U. And it is noteworthy that the leading "actors" among them have joined either the S. P., the I. W. W., or one of the so-called Communist parties, or the mongrel type of economic organization known as "Amalgamated" this or that union. Take the case of Mr. Seidel. While carrying on his "war" against the National Secretary, or more correctly speaking, against the Party, he was, as already pointed out, vociferous in his solicitude for the W. I. I. U., while at the same time doing his bit for the S. P. Yet, a few months after his expulsion he joins the S. P., joins forces with the so-called "Right Wing" faction, and is praised by the officialdom for his good work in defeating the "Left Wingers" in the Bronx—the very group he wanted to "split away" from the S. P., and on the prospect of doing which he was so anxious to effect unity between the S. P. and the S. L. P.!! So much did the officialdom think of their new acquisition that he was nominated for Assembly on the Bronx, N. Y., S. P. ticket, the officialdom going so far as to waive the usual several years' membership required to be a candidate for public office. Moral turpitude and corrupt oppor-

tunism could not be better illustrated!

Or take Mr. Basky. Vociferous in his solicitude for the Party and the W. I. I. U., he secures a job on the S. P. Hungarian sheet "Elore," and commences a campaign of vilification and slander against the S. L. P. and the W. I. I. U., from which he is later expelled. Dr. Hammer joins the S. P. and later becomes identified with the "Left Wing" or "Communist" groups. Lesser lights have joined the I. W. W., and in the case of the Lettish Federation several of the leading members and branches joined the "Communist" Party, exceptions being Comrades John Salaneek, R. Upit, G. Weinstein and others, besides the Branch of Boston and the majority of the members of Branches Seattle and San Francisco. In the case of Russell Palmer, assistant to the editor and a loud-mouthed shouter for the W. I. I. U., the evidence shows that he conspired to capture Local 25, W. I. I. U., Paterson, N. J., for the "Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union" (a Schlossberg nursling). He was later rewarded with a job in that organization. Likewise with Harry Rubinstein, who, while still a member of the Party, managed to saddle on the Party an expense of \$200 for legal defense. No sooner was he

*Mr. Seidel was subsequently elected to the State Senate (New York) and has apparently acquired all the habits of the "social patriot." According to the New York Call (April 9, 1921) he was recently called upon to preside over the Senate in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor and acquitted himself entirely to the satisfaction of the capitalist politicians. Says The Call in part:

"Senator Seidel's conduct in the chair was watched with great inter-

est by the old party lawmakers, who realized the unusual situation in a legislative body where only the majority members have the privilege of ruling the destinies of the State.

.....
 "Seidel's personal popularity in the Upper House has won for him a great host of friends and he, too, seemed to enjoy and appreciate the unusual advantage he had today of being placed in the position of acting Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York."

out of trouble than he quit the Party, began to slander and vilify the S. L. P. and the National Secretary, and aided the aforesaid Palmer in his conspiracy, and was likewise rewarded with a lucrative job in the above-mentioned organization.

Thus one could continue. But enough has been said to show the character of the crowd which in 1917 and 1918 wanted to save the S. L. P. from the "autocratic" grip of the National Secretary.

3. Sneaky tactics and moral turpitude are characteristic of a number of the disrupters. Mr. Seidel, for instance, did not hesitate to purloin correspondence from the National Office which he thought would serve his "cause". A similar example is found in H. Richter. This gentleman either steals, or uses a stolen letter (which he knows to be stolen), addressed to another party, thus stooping to one of the lowest acts an individual can commit. Such snake-in-the-grass methods appear to be a prominent feature of the propaganda of many of the disrupters.

Another thing common to the disrupters is their issuing of lampoons, one viler than the other. Their one common strain is the abuse heaped upon the national officers of the Party. Lampooning seems to be a recognized feature of disrupters from the days of the Kangaroos till now.

Vile slanders have been circulated about the National Secretary and the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, and members of the N. E. C. Thus it has been maliciously stated that the National Secretary put Mr. Seidel at the mercy of the federal authorities; we have been accused of lying down before the government, and so on ad nauseam. The utter wickedness of this propaganda is brought out in bold relief when it is recalled that those who falsely charged such acts

themselves actually committed and condoned the very thing they charged others with doing. An example is found in the letter which Mr. Katz wrote to the President of the United States in 1917, and published in the Weekly People, August 18th, 1917. In part it reads:

"These threats [of the manufacturers of Jamestown], if carried out, would seriously affect the **present peaceful relations between employes and employers in general** in this city, and have a tendency to cripple industry indeed.

"AT THE ART METAL COMPANY OF JAMESTOWN, WHERE GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS FOR STEEL FURNITURE FOR BATTLESHIP ARE NOW BEING EXECUTED, A STRIKE WAS AVERTED BY THE COOL-HEADEDNESS OF OUR ORGANIZATION." (Underscoring ours.)

Comments are superfluous.

For additional details concerning the events recited above we would refer to the documents issued by the National Office from time to time, and of which copies are available.

During all of this, and during the trying conditions created by the war, the N. E. C. and the National Secretary have been actuated by two chief purposes; to

(a) preserve the S. L. P. intact, despite assaults from within and without, strengthening the organization for the work it some day will finish, and

(b) to carry on as intense an agitation as the difficult conditions would permit.

The talk about "broadening out," getting in with big numbers, never deceived us. Trained in the S.L.P., believing firmly in the soundness of the S. L. P., both in point of principle and as an organization, and having an unwavering confidence in the future of our Party, we have kept our eyes straight on the goal and

scorned the siren's call. We hold to that De Leonistic view that smallness of numbers in itself is no cause for despair, nor do we believe that large numbers by themselves constitute a measure of success. Well has the great Lenine put this when he said: "The smallness of an organization never frightens me. What I do fear is the heaping together of heterogeneous bodies and then call that thing a 'party'!"

* * *

But let us leave this entire disagreeable business as a matter of history, drawing such lessons as we can therefrom, and proceed to a consideration of the general activities of the Party and the problems to be solved.

In somewhat over a year the Party has carried on an intense agitation in the Illinois coal fields, from two to four organizers having been active continuously, besides organizers from our Bulgarian and South Slavonian federations. Never before in the history of the S. L. P. has the Party exerted such an influence on large bodies of men. The spirit of the miners is running high; continuous clashes, not only with the mine operators, but with their lieutenants, the labor fakers, are beginning to open their eyes. The present phase of the struggle shows the fakers in wild flight, though nominally "victorious". The prospects, the results to be expected from our agitation among the coal miners, are so tremendous, so far-reaching as to cause us almost to hold our breath. Since Comrade Koch, the organizer in charge of the Illinois field, and Comrade French, the other organizer, are both delegates to this convention we shall not enter into further details. Comrade Koch has also been requested to furnish a written report for the information of the

convention. Besides Comrades Koch and French, Comrade John M. Francis has also been steadily employed in the Illinois territory since last May, and recently Comrade Cox, general organizer of the W. I. I. U., was put to work in Illinois for a few weeks, his salary and expenses being paid by the Party while at work there. Comrade Kuhn made a trip out to Illinois last summer to look over the ground and report at national headquarters. His reports were of such an encouraging nature that we decided to push the agitation still more vigorously, and in August Comrade Koch was placed in the field, giving him charge of the entire field.

The National Office plans to concentrate agitation as much as possible. Our experience has been that little is gained by making flying trips through the country. If the work is properly supported, we propose to have organizers cover certain territories, staying in a given locality a week or more, as the circumstances might require. Again, we intend to have one or more men, particularly qualified, devote their attention to already organized Sections with the view of getting these Sections to systematize their work, to get them to start study classes, urge them to train and develop speakers and organizers. Another important feature to be covered is to get as many tickets in the field as possible. In many states it is practically impossible to get on the ballot either because the laws require that only one party with the designation "Socialist" shall appear on the ballot, and where the S. P. has pre-empted the field in this respect the S. L. P. either can not get on the ballot or it must appear under another name—or because the cost of getting petitions signed, etc., is al-

most prohibitive. In Oregon the National Office is directly supporting the work to enable the comrades to get the S. L. P. ticket on the ballot. Though the difficulties are many and great, the prospects are that we shall succeed. In Michigan Comrade Charles Pierson is at work under the direction of the new S. E. C. The disrupters having been removed, the work is getting along there almost phenomenally.

An important feature of our agitation is leaflet distribution. In this respect we have cause to be grateful. In proportion to our numbers the number of leaflets distributed is very considerable. Under another head we shall give more details on leaflets printed and circulated.

Constitutional Amendments.

From time to time it has become clear that our constitution needs to be changed in certain minor respects. Some of the amendments which we propose here deal with the relation of language federations to the Party. The federations present certain problems that are not easily solved. Those problems arise, of course, mainly because of difference in language, which makes it difficult to keep the membership of the federations in closer touch with the English-speaking movement. There has been a tendency in the past to hold aloof from the English-speaking movement, but of late the tendency has swung to the opposite direction. Language federations are supposed to be recruiting agencies for the mother organization—at least that is the ideal. To what extent they fulfill that mission it is difficult to say, though the number of "graduates" is not overwhelming by any means. The suggestion emanating from different sides to do away with the federations altogether does not appear to us to be timely. The federa-

tions do perform an important function, and our hope must lie with their officers and the members drilled in S. L. P. principles—that they make every effort to drill recruits in the principles and policies of the S. L. P. Large numbers in a federation who do not understand the principles of the Party may readily become a danger to our organization.

The following amendments are proposed (new clauses or proposed changes are indicated in bold face):

Article II. It is proposed that Section 10 be made Section 9, and vice versa. There is evidently a mistake here in the order.

Article III., Sec. 4. In cities, towns, or other localities where there exists a Section of the Socialist Labor Party and a Section or Sections of any S. L. P. Language Federation, there shall be formed a central committee composed of delegates from said Sections, whose function it shall be to co-operate for the purpose of furthering the agitation of the S. L. P. in such localities in addition to such agitation which may be carried on by the respective Sections separately.

In case the creation of such central committee is not deemed warranted then arrangements should at least be made for having one or more elected representatives of the Language Branches attend the meeting of the Party Section and report to both the Section and the Branch of the doings of each.

To be amended as follows:

Sec. 4. In cities, towns, or other localities where there exists a Section of the Socialist Labor Party and a **branch or branches** of any S. L. P. Language Federation there shall be formed a **Propaganda Committee**: composed of delegates from said Sections **and branches**, whose function it shall be to co-operate for the purpose of furthering the agitation of the S. L. P. in such localities, in addition to such agitation which may be carried on by the respective Sections **and branches** separately.

Eliminate second paragraph.

Comment:

The official designation of federation sub-divisions is "branches." For this reason, and also to avoid confusion, it is proposed to change as indicated.

The term "propaganda committee" more correctly designates this committee. Besides, by calling it "central committee" it is easily mistaken for the general committee—an entirely different committee and with different functions and powers.

The paragraph which it is proposed to eliminate is in contradiction to the preceding paragraph, which is mandatory. The second paragraph practically nullifies the first. The second paragraph should be stricken out.

Article V., Sect. 4. The term of office of the members of the National Executive Committee shall be one year.

Add after "one year":

Commencing May first.

Comment:

There is not now any provision in the constitution covering this matter.

Article VIII., Section 1. The Sections shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of at least thirty cents, to be paid to the State Executive Committee.

Amend to read:

Section 1. The Sections shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of at least **thirty-five** cents, to be paid to the State Executive Committee.

Section 2. The dues shall be receipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Executive Committees at the rate of at least twenty cents each, and in the absence of such, to the Sections at the rate of thirty cents each.

Amend to read:

Section 2. The dues shall be re-

ceipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Executive Committee at the rate of at least **twenty-five** cents each, and in the absence of such, to the Sections at the rate of **thirty-five cents each.**

Section 3. Every State Executive Committee or Section shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of the membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the National Secretary, as well as Secretaries of State Executive Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

Amend to read:

Section 3. Every newly organized Section shall receive a free quota of stamps, to be measured by the size of the membership. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the National Secretary, as well as Secretaries of State Executive Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

Comment:

Amendments proposed to sections 1 and 2 would increase the price of dues stamps. The increased cost of living, and the increased cost of everything else, makes it necessary to increase the regular revenues of the National Office.

Amendment to Section 3 provides that newly organized Sections are to get as many stamps free as they have charter members. There seems to be no good reason for maintaining a standing indebtedness against a Section.

Article IX., Section 5. No member, committee, or Section of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested as far as practicable in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of the preceding section.

Amend to read:

Section 5. No member, committee, Section or language federation of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of the preceding section.

Comment:

The insertion of "or language federation" needs no explanation. The qualifying clause "as far as practicable" should be stricken out. To qualify the demand in the clause is to render it practically null and void. Who is to determine whether or not it is "practicable"?

Article XII., Section 1. Each federation shall pay a per capita tax of four cents per member per month into the national treasury.

Amend to read:

Section 1. Each federation shall pay a per capita tax of six cents per member per month into the national treasury.

Comments:

If Sections and State Committees are to pay higher dues, federations should likewise pay more.

Section 4. Sections or branches of federations shall be represented on the General Committees of the S. L. P. Sections, provided they pay the regular per capita tax, or by fraternal delegates.

Eliminate.

Section 5 to become Section 4, and Section 6 to become Section 5.

Section 5. Branches of federations shall be represented in the State Conventions of the Party, provided they pay the regular per capita tax to the State Executive Committees of the S. L. P., or by fraternal delegates.

Amend to read:

Section 5. Branch of federations shall be represented in the State Conventions of the Party by fraternal delegates.

Comment:

The changes proposed in sections 4 and 5 are calculated to do away with dual membership in the organization. It seems incongruous that a member of a federation branch may be also a member of a Section. It is impossible to control absolutely whether a member votes both in his branch and in the Section. Besides, there appears to be no good reason why this dual membership should be maintained.

Section 7. Delegates, whether fraternal or otherwise, must be able to express themselves intelligently in the English language.

Section 8. The basis of representation shall exclude those members of a federation who are members of a Party Section.

Section 9. Upon questions submitted to general vote of the Party, the members who belong both directly to a Section of the Party and a branch of a language federation, shall vote at meetings of the Sections only.

Eliminate the foregoing clauses (7, 8, 9.)

Comment:

In conformity with changes proposed in sections 4 and 5, and for the same reasons.

New section to be known as:

Section 6: No member of a federation language branch shall at the same time be a member of a Section of the Party.

Comment:

See comment for changes proposed in sections 4 and 5.

Section 10 becomes section 7.

Article XIII. International Socialist Bureau Representative. Section 1. The International Socialist Bureau representative shall be elected by the National Convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Eliminate.

Comment:

Since the Party has withdrawn from the "Second International" this paragraph has no longer either force or meaning.

State of Organization.

ARIZONA: During the year 1919 a Section was organized in Bisbee with more than 100 members. Due mainly to the fact that those in charge of the Section were hounded by henchmen of the powerful interests in the State, and due in part to the fact that the members were not thoroughly drilled in S. L. P. principles and tactics and because of our inability to send organizers to that distant Section, the Section collapsed after a few months' hard struggle. The seed sown, however, will sprout forth again. The formation of the Section was due chiefly to the efforts of Comrade Henry Gray, an indefatigable worker for the S. L. P., and who is still "on the job".

CALIFORNIA: There are five Sections in this State, as follows: Alameda Co., Los Angeles, Santa Clara Co., San Francisco Co., and Stockton. All of these Sections are doing good work. Section Stockton was organized in 1919, and is composed largely of railroad men. Comrade Jacob Ney, an "old timer" who recently returned, is in charge of the work there. About a year or so ago Section San Diego disbanded. The few members left (the Section was never large) were urged to join as members-at-large, which was done, with one or two exceptions.

There are language federation branches in the following cities: San Francisco — Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Scandinavian. The Lettish branch dissolved and some of the members joined the English Section.

CANADA: In Canada we have Sections in the following cities: Kit-

chener, London, and Toronto. We had a Section at Vancouver, B. C., which collapsed, in part due to the fact that members had to leave the city, and partly because of the reactionary laws (or rather "orders-in-council") introduced by the government. Splendid work is being done, particularly in the Kitchener-Toronto territory, with prospects of a Section at Hamilton in the near future. Our Canadian comrades are vigorous and uncompromising, and have exerted considerable influence at a time when all other so-called "socialist" or labor organizations drifted from their moorings, with anarchy and chaos prevailing.

COLORADO: In Colorado we have now only one Section left—a small one at Colorado Springs. As stated previously, Section Denver had to be suspended because of its anti-S.L.P. attitude, and as practically nothing was left of the Section, there has been nothing to reorganize with. Some of the loyal comrades left the city, and others have held aloof. At least one of the formerly active members joined the S. P. In 1916 there was an excellent opportunity for putting a ticket in the field, but although the National Office offered to pay all the expense connected with this, neither the organizer nor the members would lift a finger for that purpose. Those members who might have been willing were unable to do anything themselves.

We have a Bulgarian branch at Erie, Colorado.

The State lost a good member when Comrade W. J. Gerry of Colorado Springs died. He was a hard worker for the S. L. P.

CONNECTICUT: There are five Sections in Connecticut: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Rockville. Section Hartford is

the most active, but Section New London, through its organizer Comrade Frink, is beginning to push the work vigorously again. Bridgeport is not as active as a city of that size and industrial importance would seem to warrant, though the few comrades who are active are doing the best they can. Section Rockville lost one of its old and hard working members in 1917, Comrade Wm. Suessbrich.

The following cities have language federation branches: Ansonia (Scandinavian), Branford (Scandinavian), Bridgeport (Hungarian, Scandinavian), Hartford, New Britain, New Haven (Scandinavian), Stratford and South Norwalk (Hungarian).

GEORGIA: Section Thomasville disbanded after a couple of years' struggle for existence. The field in that state is hardly ripe for S.L.P. propaganada, certainly not without doing some persistent agitation. Whatever can be done is being done by the sympathizers and by Comrade Haselgrove who is a member-at-large.

ILLINOIS: There are now 11 Sections in Illinois. Most of these are in the mining regions. Some of them were formed during the summer and fall of 1919 as a direct result of our agitation among the coal miners. But for the "strategical" fight that has to be waged there, more Sections would probably have been formed. However, Comrade Koch, organizer in charge of the Illinois field and delegate from Illinois to this Convention, will be able to give more details.

Section Cook County had to be re-organized, as already stated. Due to the internal struggle the Section is not doing as much work as it ordinarily would be doing, but there are prospects of improvement.

There are a number of language branches in Illinois: Argo (South

Slavonian), Benton (Bulgarian), Chicago (Hungarian, Scandinavian, South Slavonian), Christopher (South Slavonian), Frankfort Heights (Bulgarian), Granite City and Madison (Bulgarian), Moline (Scandinavian), Mount Olive and Orient (South Slavonian), Peoria (Hungarian), Waukegan (Bulgarian), Zeigler (Bulgarian, South Slavonian).

INDIANA: There are two Sections in this State—Indianapolis and Evansville. Besides, there are prospects of organizing one at Terre Haute, and when the work among the coal miners of Illinois is extended into Indiana there ought to be several more formed in the near future. Evansville is in a weak condition as a consequence of the W. I. U. strike a few years ago—though the Section was never very large. It is expected that an organizer will be sent through the state in the near future.

Language federation branches: Blandford (South Slavonian), Clinton (Hungarian), Fort Wayne (Bulgarian).

KENTUCKY: Louisville is the only Section in this state. The members of this Section have been harassed of late by federal agents, and at least one is threatened with deportation. The Section is holding together and is doing what little work it can under very difficult conditions.

IOWA: There is no Section in this state, but there are a number of members-at-large and sympathizers, notably in Clinton. We had a ticket in the field in 1916, and it is hoped that we will be able to get on the ballot this year also.

There is a Bulgarian Branch at Mason City.

MARYLAND: Section Baltimore is still the only Section in this state, but it is doing work of two Sections of average activity. There is some

splendid material in the Section and it is adding new members to its ranks from time to time.

MASSACHUSETTS: There are five Sections in the state: Boston, Lynn, Pittsfield, Springfield, and Worcester. Pittsfield, however, is practically extinct as a Section, and Worcester appears to be in a weak condition. The state needs an organizer to devote some time to the industrial centers. Section Boston is, of course, the leading Section and is doing splendid work.

The following branches (all Scandinavian) are in the state: Beverly, Boston, Brockton, Cambridge, Dorchester, Lynn, Quincy, Springfield, Waltham and Worcester.

MICHIGAN: There are two Sections in this state: Detroit and Lansing. There was a small Section at Grand Rapids, but owing to the fact that several members left the city, the Section lapsed. As already stated, Section Detroit was reorganized early in the year, and since the reorganization splendid work has been done. It promises to become one of our most active Sections. There is an English and a Greek branch. Comrade Pierson is now touring the state, and there are prospects of organizing several Sections. Flint seems ripe for a Section now.

Language federation branches: Detroit (Bulgarian, Hungarian, Scandinavian, South Slavonian—2), Flint (Hungarian, Bulgarian), Hamtramck (South Slavonian), Jackson, Lansing, and Pontiac (Bulgarian).

MINNESOTA: We have one Section at St. Paul and another at Alborn. The latter is in a farming district and the members live far apart. Section St. Paul is doing good work. There has been talk for a long time of forming a Section at Minneapolis, but nothing has come of it. There are prospects of forming Sections at

Winona and Duluth, though it will be necessary to send an organizer to these places to effect organization.

Language federation branches: Minneapolis (Bulgarian, Scandinavian), St. Paul (Bulgarian, Scandinavian), W. Duluth (South Slavonian).

MISSOURI: In this state we practically have only one Section—St. Louis. The Section at Kansas City collapsed, but there will undoubtedly soon be another Section there. Section St. Louis is doing as good work as can be expected under the circumstances.

There is a Bulgarian and a Hungarian federation branch at St. Louis.

NEBRASKA: Section Omaha, which had a nominal existence, lapsed a couple of years ago, but it is now being revived. It promises to be stronger than before. Educational work has been done there and the members-at-large have been quite active.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Our little group at Manchester is still holding together, though unable to do any work for the Party.

NEW JERSEY: There are eight Sections in this state, some of them in a rather weak condition. The most active are Newark (Essex Co.) and Paterson (Passaic Co.). The other Sections are: Bergen Co., Camden, Elizabeth, Hudson Co. (Jersey City, Hoboken, etc.), Mercer Co. (Trenton), and Plainfield. An organizer is needed in this state.

Language federation branches: Elizabeth (Hungarian), Hoboken (South Slavonian), Newark (Scandinavian, South Slavonian), W. New York (South Slavonian).

NEW YORK: This state has suffered considerably from the work of disruption during the last two years, though the membership is about the same, probably slightly increased. The State Committee was partly dis-

rupted, due to the fact that several of the S. E. C. members, including the State Secretary, were among the members who were left out through the suspension and reorganization of Section New York. The disruptive work carried on in this Section has already been dealt with. During the last year or so Section Erie Co. (Buffalo) has been kept in constant turmoil through the activities of such individuals as Wm. J. Dodge, Frank Herzog and Rudolph Katz. The first mentioned, who had once resigned and rejoined, resigned in the latter part of 1919. Had he not done so he would undoubtedly have been expelled for disruptive tactics. The case of Mr. Katz is too well known to need further attention. Through the vicious and underhanded work of this gentleman the Section finds itself at this time in opposition to the Party. As stated, the N. E. C. at this writing is considering whether or not it should be suspended and reorganized.

The state plans to put an organizer in the field. Sections in Greater New York are particularly active and the present State Committee and its secretary Comrade Orange are alive to the possibilities.

The following Sections are in the state of New York: Bronx, Erie Co. (Buffalo), Jamestown (about to be reorganized), Kings Co. (Brooklyn), Monroe Co. (Rochester), New York, Onondaga Co. (Syracuse), Rensselaer Co. (Troy), Schenectady, and Utica. Section Westchester County (scattered over a wide territory including Yonkers, Mt. Vernon and Pleasantville) collapsed, largely as a result of the disruptive propaganda carried on in New York and vicinity.

Language federation branches: Brooklyn (Scandinavian, Hungarian), Buffalo (Scandinavian), New York (Bulgarian, Hungarian, Scandinavian

and South Slavonian), Jamestown (Scandinavian), Lackawanna (Bulgarian, Hungarian).

OHIO: There are seven Sections in this state: Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo (Lucas Co.), Dayton (Montgomery Co.), and Youngstown. In the past Cleveland has been doing most of the work, but recently (due mainly to the fact that Comrade French was sent through the state) the Sections throughout the state have been more active, particularly in Youngstown. In this latter Section we have fresh material, full of enthusiasm and capable. With an organizer in the field the state ought to give a good account of itself.

There are Greek branches at Cincinnati and Akron, and also a Ukrainian branch at Akron. All of those are doing good work, the Ukrainian branch in particular being very active.

Language federation branches: Akron (Bulgarian, Hungarian, Scandinavian and South Slavonian), Barberton (Bulgarian and South Slavonian), Cincinnati (Bulgarian, South Slavonian and Hungarian), Cleveland (Bulgarian, Hungarian, Scandinavian, and South Slavonian), Dayton (Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian), Dillonvale (Hungarian), Lorain (Hungarian). (This branch originally withdrew from the Hungarian Federation, became a Section of the Party, but withdrew again in January, 1920, to rejoin the federation as a branch, whereupon it disbanded a couple of months later.) Mansfield (Bulgarian), Massillon (Bulgarian), South Lorain (Bulgarian), Toledo (Bulgarian, Hungarian), Youngstown (Bulgarian, Scandinavian, and South Slavonian).

OREGON: There are two live Sections in this state: Astoria and Portland. Both are doing good work. Through a State Central Committee

(organized for the purpose) the Sections are planning to carry on a state-wide campaign, one object being to get the S. L. P. on the ballot. With support from the National Office the Oregon comrades ought to succeed.

Language federation branches: Portland (Bulgarian and Scandinavian).

PENNSYLVANIA: The state has Sections at Allegheny Co. (Pittsburgh), Altoona (weak), Beaver Co., Erie, and Philadelphia. Section Columbia collapsed owing to the savagery of a mob during 1919. Comrades were maltreated, and one of them, C. E. Manuels, reduced to a condition from which he will suffer a long time. All this happened at a meeting which the Section had arranged for W. W. Cox, who at that time was in Columbia for the W.I.I.U. We were planning to prosecute the local authorities, but we found it practically impossible to secure legal talent, and the matter was at last dropped upon suggestion of Comrade Manuels, upon whom the actual work of pushing the case would have devolved.

The state suffered considerably from internal disruption. R. McLure, who in 1918 was State Secretary, was an ardent supporter of ex-editor, at present S. P. member, Seidel, and as stated previously, it was chiefly due to this person's vicious influence that Section Philadelphia (then seat of the S. E. C.) was suspended and reorganized. Later the S. E. C. seat was removed to Pittsburgh, where it is in capable hands.

Sections Reading and York were dropped from the rolls. The former ceased to be active as a direct consequence of the disruptive propaganda carried on by McLure, Seidel, Harrison, and others. Comrades Hinkel and Homan, so far as we know, were

the only ones to join as members-at-large. With the new S. E. C. the prospects of building up the state are good.

There are language federation branches as follows: South Slavonian at Conway, Farrell, Monaca, Philadelphia, and Slovan. Scandinavian at Philadelphia and Warren.

RHODE ISLAND: There is still only one Section in this state, namely, Providence. The Section is active, however.

There are Scandinavian federation branches at Pawtucket and Providence.

SOUTH DAKOTA: The Section which we had in 1916 at Sioux Falls lapsed after a brief existence. Though it promised well it never accomplished anything of lasting value.

TEXAS: There are still no Sections, but we have several members-at-large throughout the state.

UTAH: Section Salt Lake City, which was lingering for some time, became defunct a couple of years ago. Several of the most active members left the city. We have sympathizers, but no members in the state.

VIRGIN ISLANDS: Shortly after the acquisition of these islands by the United States a Section was formed at St. Thomas. The material, however, was very green, the members having a very limited understanding of the Party's principles. It existed less than a year. Considerable literature was sent to the islands, however, and the seed sown may bear real fruit some day.

VIRGINIA: There are three Sections in Virginia—Newport News, Norfolk Co., and Richmond. None of these Sections is very active, though individual members here and there do good work.

WASHINGTON: This state has Sections at Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma. All of these Sections are do-

ing good work. The brutality of the authorities, here as elsewhere, has done much to retard our progress. The members are alive to the possibilities, however, and keep incessantly at it.

We have language federation branches at Seattle (Scandinavian and South Slavonian), and at Spokane. There is also a Lettish branch at Seattle.

WISCONSIN: We have a good Section at Milwaukee, which, however, is mainly composed of German-speaking members. It is hoped that an English-speaking element will be attracted, and that an English branch will thus be formed.

There are federation branches at Milwaukee (Bulgarian and South Slavonian) and at Wouwatosa (Hungarian).

W. VIRGINIA: We have no Sections in this state, but there is a South Slavonian branch at Colliers.

Language Federations.

In 1916 the Party had affiliated to it six language federations, namely: Hungarian, Jewish, Lettish, Scandinavian, South Slavonian, and Ukrainian. It now has four: Bulgarian, Hungarian, Scandinavian, and South Slavonian. The following reports submitted by the federations give an idea of what those federations are doing for the Party and what their membership and resources are:

Bulgarian Federation.

(Annual Report for 1919.)

Membership:

We ended the year of 1918, as reported last year, with 31 regular groups, with a membership of 816, and 168 members-at-large, or a total of 984—of which 854 were in good standing. With the ending of the year, however, four of the groups were disorganized, namely, Toronto, Hamilton, Ontario, Burnham, Ill., and Benton, Ill. Thus, we began the year of 1919 with 27 regular groups with a membership of 692, and 114 members-at-large, or a total of 806,

and at the end of the year we had 32 regular groups with a membership of 1583, and 306 members-at-large, or a total of 1889, of which 1549 are in good standing; an increase of 1083 members.

Pamphlets printed:

During the year of 1919 we have printed 31,706 copies of 9 different pamphlets, namely: Yearly Almanac, 4,978 copies; Individualism vs. Socialism, 3,550; Industrial Unionism (reprinted), 1,914; Soviets at Work, 3,882; Song Book (reprinted), 3,202; Toward Marxism, 3,947; Marxism and Darwinism, 3,060; History of the Russian Revolution, 3,500, and the Mines to the Miners, 3,673.

Rabotnicheska Prosveta:

At the beginning of the year we had 3,063 prepaid subs for the paper; at the end we had 6,560—an increase of 3,497.

Financial Report:

Receipts, \$30,003.96; expenditures, \$19,892.66.

Secretary-Treasurer,

(Signed) Theo. Baeff.

Granite City, Ill., March 23, 1920.

Hungarian Federation.

New York, N. Y.,
Dec. 23, 1919.

Comrades:

In the following the National Office of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation acquaints you with the condition of the federation in a brief report.

The last emergency convention of the federation, held in November, 1918, cleared away certain misunderstandings that existed through the actions of the former officials and the sub-committee, between the federation and the Party, or rather the National Office and the Sub-Committee of the Party. As you are aware, some matters were by this convention referred to the National Convention; otherwise the federation has strictly adhered to the principles of the Party and has endeavored to propagate same to the fullest extent of our capabilities among the Hungarian workers.

During the year two factors have greatly retarded the progress of our movement: First, the authorities have prosecuted our membership and in

many localities blacklisted them, causing the weaker members to get scared and retire from activity and thereby weaken the activity of the respective branches. The second cause is the propoganda carried on by the various so-called radical movements. Although they have not succeeded in leading astray our members, they have succeeded in staying our progress. Nevertheless, under existing conditions we believe that the federation held its own despite all the adverse conditions. A third factor is also causing some harm; it is that Hungarians in large numbers are leaving America. At the present writing we are as yet not able to say whether this will cause serious conditions for the federation; we believe, however, it will not.

The federation a year ago had 17 branches with an approximate membership of 350; since then we have increased our branches to 20 and the membership has grown to about 675. The official organ, A Munkas, a year ago had a circulation of 1,950 and was a semi-monthly. On May 15, 1919, we have made it a weekly and have at present a circulation of about 3,200. Our literature department during the year has been increased by the addition of two pamphlets: "Two Pages from Roman History" and "Mines to the Miners". At present the "High Cost of Living" and "Money" are on the press. The approximate value of the literature department is about \$8,000; the liability on same is about \$300.

The finances of the federation from November 1, 1918, to November 30, 1919, were as follows: Balance in 1918, \$151.89; income for the above period, \$9,501.85; total, \$9,653.74. Expenditures for the period, \$9,321.66; balance on hand on Dec. 1, 1919, \$332.08. We bought during the year 6,300 dues stamps. This would average 420 good-standing members for the year. At present, as seen from the above, the membership is larger, as it has steadily increased during the year.

Of other noteworthy events we have informed the National Office during the year.

Since the last convention the federation is governed by a National Executive Committee consisting of 7 members elected by the membership

from any city where there is a branch, an advisory committee of three, the national secretary, and the editor.

Fraternally submitted,
(Signed) Frank C. Zermann,
Secretary.

A controversy, not involving Party principles or tactics, arose between the Hungarian Federation and the National Office of the Party. It involved a sum of money turned into the National Office treasury by Branch Lorain of the Hungarian Federation upon its withdrawal from the federation and upon its becoming a Section of the Party. The federation contended that the branch dissolved and that according to the federation by-laws the entire sum should have reverted to the federation. It was pointed out that in the first place the branch did not dissolve, and secondly, that any sub-division of the Party has a right to donate any amount it sees fit to the National Office of the Party. The N. E. C. sustained this view at its 1919 session. Copies of the statement adopted by the N. E. C. on this matter are available.

Scandinavian Federation (As of Dec. 31, 1919.)

The total membership of the Scandinavian Federation on December 31, 1919, was, according to the reports from our 36 branches, 629, of which 515 were members in good standing. The corresponding figures on December 31, 1918, were 743 and 545 respectively.

Pamphlets printed:

During the year of 1919 we have printed 2,000 copies of Daniel De Leon's "Two Pages from Roman History". We have also printed 10,000 leaflets, "Socialism," and 10,000 leaflets, "S. L. P. vs. S. P."

Financial standing:

Receipts, \$3,324.44; expenditures, \$3,089.10; balance on hand Dec. 31, 1919, \$135.80.

Owing to the attitude of the editor

of Arbetaren, Comrade Lyzell, and because of his declared solidarity with ex-editor, at present S. P. member, Seidel, a bitter controversy has been going on within the Scandinavian Federation during the last year or two. The Scandinavian Federation convention which met last fall nevertheless re-elected Comrade Lyzell editor of Arbetaren, and took other action contrary to the best interests of the Party. Thus, it sustained the expulsion of Comrade Carm, whose real "crime" was that he exposed and attacked individuals in the Chicago branches who had supported Caleb Harrison and his fellow disrupters. The convention also sustained the action of the Lake View (Chicago) branch in engaging as speaker the said Harrison, who with others had been expelled from Section Cook Co. at the time of its suspension and reorganization. The referendum in the federation sustained the acts of the convention.

The N. E. C. has recently decided not to approve the election of Comrade Lyzell as editor, considering one holding his views incompetent to be editor of a Party organ. The federation will be called upon to elect another editor.

South Slavonian Federation (As of September, 1919.)

Agitation:

During the latter part of the year several organizers were kept in the field, for which purpose \$2,339 was expended.

Radnicka Borba:

The number of subscribers increased during the said year from 3,068 to 4,432. The paper is published in 4,700 copies, with the exception of the First of May and Labor Day editions; of the first 8,000 and of the second 6,000 copies were published.

Literature:

During the same time six pamphlets—three of which were translated—were published and two repub-

lished. Calendar for 1919 should be added.

Financial Report:

Balance on hand July 1, 1918, \$286.67; receipts, \$35,385.84; expenditures, \$32,832.35; balance on hand July 1, 1919, \$2,840.35.

A subsequent report (December 31, 1919) shows a membership in good standing of 975 and 30 branches.

Jewish Federation: This federation, as previously reported, was suspended in 1918 for aiding and sustaining the disrupter Schlossberg. There has lately been talk of reorganizing the federation. The success of this undertaking depends, of course, upon the suitability of the material, some of which appears rather doubtful.

Letkish Federation: This federation practically withdrew a few months ago. Several of its leading members aligned themselves with the "Communist" parties. For quite some time the federation had caused dissension within the Party, particularly over its branch in Boston. As the federation voluntarily withdrew (with exception of the branches in Seattle and San Francisco, and members here and there, besides the branch in Boston) there seems to be no need of going into further details.

Ukrainian Federation: This federation, judging it by its leading members, promised well, but it soon appeared that the organization had hardly more than a paper existence. However, there is a good branch at Akron, and active individuals here and there.

The following foreign language papers are being published:

A Munkas (Hungarian S. L. F.), Arbetaren (Scandinavian S. L. F.), Organosis (Greek), Rabotnicheska Prosveta (Bulgarian S. L. F.), Radnicka Borba (South Slavonian S. L. F.), Socialisticna Zaya (Slovenian), Proletar (Czecho-Slovak).

The two last mentioned are published at Cleveland under the direct supervision of the editor of Radnicka Borba.

Party Membership.

The membership in 1916, measured by the sale of dues stamps, was about 2,000. Four years later our membership has been increased by 3,000. In other words, we have now approximately 5,000 members. The increase has mostly been in the Federations, these holding a majority of the total membership. Such a progress, in spite of the war, in spite of governmental persecution, in spite of the internal fight, speaks well for the S. L. P. indeed. With continued efforts, with renewed faith strengthened by the accumulating evidence testifying to the correctness of the Party's principles, we shall continue to forge ahead.

Party Press and Literature.

The struggle to keep our fighting organ alive has been a terrific one. We have previously pointed to the fact that the second-class mailing privilege was revoked in 1918. This assault resulted in increasing our weekly expenses by about \$60. In addition to that, prices of everything that goes to make up a newspaper have gone sky high. Wages have almost doubled. But the most serious problem has been that of getting newsprint paper. The problem here is three-fold: (a) The difficulty of getting paper at any price; (b) The difficulty of getting the sizes (in rolls) which our press will take; (c) The tremendous increase in prices. To illustrate this increase: A carload of paper which in 1917 cost about \$1,000 in 1920 costs about \$6,000. The last carload of paper was contracted for last August or September at a price of approximately \$3,000. By keeping tab on developments we

were able to close the contract shortly before the latest unprecedented rise in price took place. When the carload was delivered (in January, 1920) that carload of paper was worth \$5,000, and had to be insured at this amount, its replacement "value". We were fortunate in these respects, viz., that we saved about \$2,000 and secured a supply of paper that would see us through another six or seven months. In between getting our regular supplies of paper there have been weeks of veritable agony and suspense. There have been weeks when one or two days before going to press we had no idea where we were going to get paper from. At this moment the situation looks darker than at any other.

When we purchased our last carload we had to advance from other sources the \$3,000 which the paper cost. Having no surplus capital we had no choice in the matter. This \$3,000 is gradually being replaced in proportion as the paper is consumed. If we are to contract for a new carload of paper (which if done would be in July or August) we shall have to advance \$6,000. Where to get that amount is a problem. For even if we could replace such an amount again, gradually we have no such amount available. It will be one of the most serious problems of practical importance to be met and solved during the next few months.

As one contributing remedy the Weekly People subscription price should be raised to \$2 or \$3.00 per year. To whatever extent such an increased price will help to reduce the problem, that help will not be felt immediately. But something has to be done, and this is one of several plans we may have to put through.

The machinery of the plant, i. e., the old book press and linotype machine, is practically worn out. To

continue to use it much longer will result simply in an increasing cost of production and in a decreased output. At this writing we have purchased a new book press—a good second hand Michle press, which will be thoroughly rebuilt and which in certain respects will be even better than a new machine. Delivery of this press will be in about three weeks. The price is \$5,500 put on our floor with motor and all attachments. The discount for cash payment, and allowance on the old press (fit only for the junk heap) brings the price down to \$4,700.

With this new press installed we can almost quadruple our production of books, pamphlets and leaflets. Furthermore, in case of extreme emergency, i. e., in case we can not get newsprint paper in rolls and assuming that we can get it in sheets (which in fact is easier to obtain) we could print our papers on this new press. But permanently that could not be done except at a considerable expense.

We repeat, and we can not impress the fact too strongly, the newsprint paper question is the most serious problem that has confronted the management of the Party plant. The situation is desperate, though not hopeless.

Our sale of literature has increased greatly, particularly during the last two years. We have printed great quantities of leaflets and pamphlets—greater quantities than most would suspect.

Labor News Sales, year ending March 31, 1919.....	\$7,708.21
Labor News Sales year ending March 31, 1920	10,224.90
Weekly People Sales year ending March 31, 1919....	7,550.72
Weekly People Sales year ending March 31, 1920....	9,597.14
In the case of the Weekly People	

the increase to a considerable extent is due to the fact that the increased subscription price of the paper made itself more felt during the last year than during the preceding. To a much more limited extent this applies to pamphlets and books also.

Appended hereto is a list of pamphlets printed since May, 1916, and up to April, 1920. The pamphlets and books, varying in bulk from 16 pages to 400 pages, number over 178,000.

Americanism (Olive M. Johnson), 32 pp.	3,000
Anti-Patriotism (Herve), 32 pp. (May-June 1916)	6,000
Berger's Hit and Misses (De Leon), 104 pp.	2,000
Burning Question (De Leon), 48 pp.	10,000
Crises in European History (Bang), 56 pp.	5,875
Class Struggle (Kautsky), 32 pp.	1,000
"Daniel De Leon," first edition, 336 pp., 14 ill., 500; second edition, 360 pp., 16 ill., 1,000....	1,500
Fifteen Questions (De Leon), 128 pp.	7,000
Free Trade (Marx), paper, 48 pp.	500
Historical Basis of Socialism in Ireland (Brady), 40 pp.	3,000
High Cost of Living (Petersen), 56 pp.	3,000
Historical Materialism (Engels), 32 pp.	3,000
Industrial Unionism (Debs), 32 pp.	2,000
Industrial Unionism (De Leon-Debs), 36 pp.	12,000
International May and Labor Day (Reinstein), 32 pp.	4,000
Manifesto of the S. L. P., 1920, 48 pp.	3,000
Mines to the Miners, 16 pp.	16,000
Mines to the Miners, in Italian, 16 pp.	6,000
Marx on Mallock (De Leon), 32 pp.	5,000
Karl Marx (Memorial), 32 pp.	1,000
Paris Commune (Marx), 128 pp.	1,500
Russian Soviets and American S. L. P., 32 pp.	4,500
Religion of Capital (Lafargue), 32 pp.	4,000
Reform or Revolution (De Leon), 32 pp.	9,550

Socialist Reconstruction of Society (De Leon), 48 pp.	12,000
Socialism vs. Anarchism (De Leon), 40 pp.	2,000
Socialism (Holmes), 16 pp. ...	9,000
Taxation (Goerke), 32 pp.	5,000
Trial of Ferrer (Angulo), 48 pp. 500	
Two Pages from Roman History (De Leon), 96 pp.	2,450
Value, Price and Profit (Marx), 96 pp.	4,000
What Means This Strike? (De Leon), 32 pp.	13,000
Withdraw from Russia, 16 pp. 10,000	
Working Class (Kautsky), 32 pp.	1,000
Woman under Socialism (Bebel), 400 pp.	1,000
Wage Labor and Capital (Marx), 64 pp.	1,000
Woman and the Socialist Movement (Olive M. Johnson), 48 pp. 3,000	
Total,	178,375

Since 1916 we have printed 2,626,100 leaflets, of which 109,000 were in foreign languages (not including what may have been printed by language federations). At March 31st, 1920, we had on hand approximately 313,000 leaflets, which means that in four years we have actually distributed over 2,313,000 leaflets—and this entirely exclusive of what our language federations have distributed or sold.

We feel we have cause to be proud of this record. The oft-repeated charge that the Party is doing nothing receives a rather effective refutation by this demonstration of just one line of our activities.

In addition to the foregoing, we printed about 4,150 Sue books of different bulk. In this connection it should be mentioned that almost all of our printed Sue books stock burned while stored at our binders, Thos. Y. Crowell Co. We were amply covered by insurance, however, and the amount claimed (somewhat over \$1,412.00) was paid us.

Among the important publications of the last few years stands out the book "Daniel De Leon". This work

is excellent not only as a biography of De Leon, but as a history of the labor movement (and more particularly of the S. L. P.) during the last 30 years. A new improved edition is just off the press and is now in the hands of the binder.

Toward the end of the year 1918 Comrade Henry Kuhn was engaged to edit and compile the editorials of Daniel De Leon. To this tremendous task Comrade Kuhn has applied himself with the energy of one many years his junior. Obviously, Comrade Kuhn has found it necessary to do other work for the Party as the occasion required it. This important work should be prosecuted until finished. Comrade Kuhn submitted a report to the N. E. C. at its session in 1919. A copy of this report is appended hereto together with additional notes covering the work to date. (First report was printed in N. E. C. minutes 1919, the second in the N. E. C. minutes 1920.)

National Campaign.

As previously stated, we plan to carry on as vigorous a campaign as our resources will permit. A call has been sent out for a \$50,000.00 Campaign Fund, and other methods will be devised for raising funds. With our new press installed, and hoping for the best so far as the paper situation is concerned we ought to be able to make a good showing of ourselves.

It will be a physical impossibility for the National Secretary to conduct the national campaign work besides attending to his regular duties, which are many as it is. In 1912 Paul Augustine had Charles Chase to assist him. In 1916 the present National Secretary had Boris Reinstein for four or five weeks. It is suggested that Comrade Henry Kuhn be engaged for the specific purpose of conducting the actual campaign in

conjunction with the National Secretary, Comrade Kuhn to devote his entire time to this.

The International Situation.

The international situation is of vital interest to our movement. While the S. L. P. is in America, body and mind, we can not, and do not wish to ignore developments abroad. Nor have we done so in the past. In 1919 the Party through referendum vote almost unanimously decided to withdraw from the so-called second International. Whatever may have been said in favor of this organization in the past it had become thoroughly clear that it no longer, not even remotely, represented the true class interests of the workers. In fact, wherever consistent adherents of the organization had an opportunity to assert themselves, it was almost invariably as defenders of the retreating capitalist forces—it became, in fact, the last stronghold behind which capitalist imperialism entrenched itself. The classical example is found in Germany. Clearly, the S. L. P. could have nothing in common with such an element.

In the early part of the year 1919 a call was issued by the Moscow congress of what has become known as the Third International. While in accord with the essence of this call (or program) the S. L. P. can not accept certain tactical details insisted upon therein, for which reason we have been unable to see our way clear to join it formally. The N. E. C. at its 1919 session adopted a series of resolutions which among other things covered adequately our relations with the old as well as with the new International. These resolutions were overwhelmingly adopted by the Party membership through the referendum. Copies of the resolutions are available.

In 1917 Comrade Boris Reinstein

left for Europe with credentials from the Party to attend the Stockholm conference then scheduled. Comrade Reinstein, as you will recall, was also our representative on the International Socialist Bureau. As far as we know Comrade Reinstein is now in Moscow, participating in the work of the Soviet Government. Only two communications have reached us since he left, the last one being in May, 1918.

The situation in Europe appears complex. The European working class, as a whole, has unquestionably broken definitely with capitalism and its traditions. But the new orientation (outside of Russia) is as yet not distinctly Socialist. A great deal of confusion both as to the nature of the goal as well as to tactics prevails. It has been our endeavor to help clarify the situation by sending our S. L. P. literature wherever possible and whenever opportunities arose, and the results are noticeable. From several countries there have been indications that the S. L. P. and De Leon are playing a greater role in social reconstruction than is generally admitted. In Russia we know that Lenine has acknowledged De Leon as the one Socialist that has really contributed to the science of Socialism since Marx. Lenine has publicly and repeatedly acknowledged his debt to the genius of our great Daniel De Leon. In France Boris Souvarine (an admirer of De Leon and an ardent revolutionist) is preparing a biography of De Leon and a summary of his works and the principles now embodied in the S. L. P.

Through Comrade W. H. Mills of Baltimore the National Office is keeping in touch with the Socialist movement in several South American countries. Considerable literature has been sent to Spanish-speaking

countries, and the Weekly People is being sent to several papers in those countries. Comrade Mills is well versed in Spanish, and he has devoted considerable time and energy to the work assigned to him.

Thus we see the influence of the S. L. P. is world-wide.

Conclusion.

The Party stands at the threshold of this campaign vindicated in every important respect. All other parties claiming to be Socialist—if they have not stood still or gone still further back—have been compelled to revise their programs toward ours. Ours is the program that alone will lead to success. And while we are as firm **and unyielding** in point of principles as the Rock of Gibraltar, we are not immovable as the rock. We move as circumstances, as material conditions make possible. And, as De Leon put it, we move by chart. And the S. L. P. never blinds itself to the reefs or the shoals. With hands firmly gripping the rudder we are steering in a straight line for the haven—the Industrial Republic of Labor.

May we have will as we have wisdom to continue until the task is done.

Fraternally submitted,
National Executive Committee,
Socialist Labor Party,
Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary.

Report of the Editor of the Weekly People

To the Fifteenth Convention of the
Socialist Labor Party, May, 1920.

To the National Convention of the
S. L. P.

Greeting:

From my own experience of previous years, when I used to come to New York as a member of the Na-

tional Executive Committee or as a delegate to the convention, I know that the report of the editor is generally a disappointment to the delegates. Unless there is trouble in the Party or complaints about the editor's actions or rulings there is very little to report. The National Secretary, of course, has to deal with the Party's internal events, but the Weekly People itself constitutes a weekly report of the events and happenings which affect the activity of your editorial office. However, the circumstances under which I took office were so unique, and the two years I have had charge of the paper have been so portentous, that a summary of the events and circumstances may not be amiss.

The trouble in the Party which led to my election as editor will, of course, be dealt with at length in the report of the National Secretary and lies entirely outside of my province. Up to the time of my election as **Acting Editor** in May, 1918, I had viewed this trouble as one of the rank and file, and had been drawn only partially into the vortex of it during the few weeks of the winter of 1918, while I was out in the Middle West speaking for the Party and the Woman's Socialist Labor Club. During those few weeks I came to realize, if I had not realized it before, that the trouble was not "a fight at headquarters," that its roots and branches had extended into nearly every Section of the Party, and that the poison of the compromise and letting down the bar policy, the tolerance with "radicalism" in general and the Socialist Party in particular, was spreading through the veins and was undermining the health of the whole Party. I found whole Sections, notably those at Chicago, Jamestown, Buffalo, and Detroit, either alienated from the

Party or in a state of turmoil which showed deterioration.

I had been sent out by headquarters, which, of course, meant "the National Secretary and the Sub-Committee," but I never had, to the best of my remembrance, exchanged one word with Comrade Petersen upon the unity question or the wrangle which grew out of it, nor with any other member of the Sub-Committee, with the exception of Comrade Zimmerman, who, I am certain, considered me disgustingly lukewarm concerning the whole matter. The truth was that I had for a number of years been heavily engaged in studies which had prevented me for the time being from throwing myself into Party work with the ardor of previous years. In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that my whole effort while I was on the road was spent in a nearly futile—under the conditions and circumstances—effort in attempting to revive the activity of our Sections, and in spite of the fact that I never spoke on the dead and damned unity question or the "trouble at headquarters" unless the subjects were forced upon me,—in spite of all this I found that I was looked upon as an agent of Petersen, and by the time I returned to New York I was put under the ban as being an "administration tool" who had been sent out to fight Seidel.

When I returned to New York, just in time for the meeting of the N. E. C., I had my own firmly made-up opinion—based on first-hand evidence—as to the disintegrating influences at work in the Party, and my mind was made up also as to the causes thereof—LACK OF S. L. P. PROPAGANDA AMONG THE RANK AND FILE OF OUR OWN MEMBERSHIP AND LACK OF SOUND S. L. P. TEACHING IN

THE COLUMNS OF THE WEEKLY PEOPLE. The whole situation was utterly disheartening. I have been an active participant in every struggle of the Party from the time of the Kangaroo jump in 1898; for many years I had to stand the storm and stress of such attacks as a member of the N. E. C., but I never had witnessed a struggle so disheartening from the Party side as this so-called Seidel disruption, and the reason was that the disruption issued from the very heart and brain of the Party—its official organ, the Weekly People.

Thus matters stood when the N. E. C. met and E. Seidel was removed from the editorship, and I was elected, temporarily, to take his place. I was not at the meeting at the time; I was never consulted; the first notice of my election came to me with a sneer, and the sneers and slurs that I was a Petersen tool, Petersen's rubber stamp, came to me repeatedly that day and for months thereafter. Let me tell you something in confidence: If Petersen wanted a "tool" of his in the editorial chair and if he can be proven as careless in all other things as he was in the selection of this "tool," then he is not worthy the confidence the Party has placed in him. Petersen had never once "sounded" me on Party matters; he might even have had reasons to feel I was over-tolerant with the unity discussion. The only thing Petersen or any one else of the administration knew about me was my previous record in the Party. Nor did any of the members of the Sub-Committee or the National Executive Committee sound me nor even consult me, officially or unofficially—with one exception. The only N. E. C. member that asked me during the N. E. C. meeting whether I would be willing to serve was Com-

rade Paulsen, and to him I stated that though I would be willing to help out in an emergency, I knew I had neither the training nor other qualifications of an editor. There is small doubt but that the entire N. E. C. felt the same. Together we were simply trying to meet an emergency, to bridge over until the Seidel question was settled and the Party could act.

Certainly the opposition looked forward with great glee to sure and sudden disaster. Palmer immediately resigned as editorial assistant, and it was openly announced that we would have to shut up shop in a couple of weeks. Of course, I was only to be a rubber-stamp anyhow; Petersen would now run the Weekly People to suit his fancy, and as time went on letter-box answers and editorials were blamed on him and on various other people, even going so far that some were laid at the door of Comrade Corregan way out in Syracuse. But, as the boys say—there was no such luck. If I had hoped and expected help in this line, I soon found that Comrade Petersen was much too busy with his own work and his own trouble—which came in fast and furious after the 1918 N. E. C. session. He has never offered to write either editorial or other matter, except the few signed letters or articles which have appeared; he has never ordered me to write certain things nor told me how to do it. Advice and aid I have always received when I have asked for it—he has never been too busy for that. Orders I never received, nor looked for.

I have gone into this matter at some length not wholly for the sake of past history, but to do my best to dispel an impression which is abroad to this very day—the rubber-stamp theory, the notion that no one can

get along here that is not a pliant tool of Petersen—a notion created by the Seidel-Katz crowd. This I feel should be dispelled before it works any more harm to the Party. Let me use an example.

Last February I arranged to get away for a few days' rest and with a friend and comrade I ran up to Boston. Instantaneously it was buzzed about that I had been sent up to work for the administration—presumably to influence the election of convention delegates or to influence the opinions of prospective delegates. The notion is preposterous. Comrade Petersen, I believe, did not even know where I was going, and for my part I ran away to get a few days' respite from Party matters. Such suspicions of the Party's chosen officers are not only stupid, they are wearing; they are certainly not conducive to inspiration for the best work and the best efforts. I don't say they are characteristic of the feeling in the Party—far from it—but they exist in isolated instances as an aftermath of the late disruption; and in order to secure the best possible harmony in the work during the coming campaign, I have desired to impress this matter upon the delegates, so that wherever this ridiculous idea of bossdom sticks up its head it may be caved in. Remember that "boss" is the first word hurled at any one who stands straight and acts in an uncompromising manner whenever the Party is assailed.

For better or for worse, I was left to work out my own problems, to write my own editorials, to pass judgment on other material for the paper. Seidel and his supporters were right for once: the N. E. C. could not have chosen a greener thing for editor than I was. I knew nothing about writing editorials, nor any

other responsibilities. I knew only one thing—and if Seidel had known that one thing his administration might have been less of a fiasco. I knew who could write editorials. I knew who had made **The People THE BEST SOCIALIST PAPER IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD.** I turned directly to De Leon, not to imitate him as a pigmy would a giant, but I turned to him for help and inspiration. I literally soaked myself in his pamphlets and editorials. I spent every spare moment in running back over the treasures of the Daily People; I consulted De Leon on every knotty question that turned up, and I found he had an answer for each, even the ticklish ones which arose as a result of the war. When my own vocabulary or expression or argument seemed to fail me, I quoted—quoted paragraph upon paragraph of nearly forgotten gems of thought.

So the Seidel-Katz crowd had proved themselves bad prophets. The People did not “croak”. On the contrary—and I hope it may not be taken as exaggerated self-esteem—I think we are justified in saying that “from all reports” the interest in our Party organ has revived. It is, as it always has been, the best Socialist paper in the English language—and let me emphasize that I do not consider it of particular credit to any one that it is. We have the “dope”—to use an expressive slang term—and I consider that it would be far harder to conceal the sound S. L. P. material in an S. L. P. paper than it is to bring it out. The People is being read—we know it. Miss Phalor and I know that we are watched week by week by several thousand critical S. L. P. watchdogs who are ready to swallow us. We know it, for if there appears even “a misplaced comma” we are quite sure to

hear of it. The People is being read by our members as it should be. Nor is this all. I think the delegates will bear me out that there is a marked revival of interest in the rest of our literature.

The summary of my disheartened feeling when I returned from my tour in May, 1918, was this: “Our people have stopped reading our literature.” Not only did they not read much of The People—as a general rule—except the “tearing down the movement” discussion which gave them the “blues,” but they were forgetting our classics, those who have ever known them. I found our people soaked in the war stories of the capitalist press; I found they had turned to radical papers and magazines for interpretation of events—in sheer desperation, I have no doubt, at not finding what they really expected in The People. Hence I made up my mind to one thing. If I could do nothing else I would at least try to revive the interest of our members and readers in the Socialist classics and in our best literature, and good literature in general. I opened the treasure house of the Daily People and started to select one De Leon editorial a week. I started a book review column, selecting carefully—for I desired the review of a book to be considered a recommendation in itself—new and old books for the worker’s bookshelf. These reviews never failed to bring some orders even when the book was not further advertised. With the help of other departments we started to get up new book ads as attractively as possible; the National Secretary has taken the matter up and new and attractive book ads and a careful system of advertisement has developed in the Weekly People by mutual aid. The Labor News Notes are the latest development of this work.

The results have been most gratifying. The receipts of the Labor News have risen nearly \$4,000 in two years, and I am sure I am justified in saying that had the manager had the proper facilities to turn out books and pamphlets results would have been far greater. The sale of the Sue books has had to stop, and several of our best selling pamphlets have been repeatedly out of print. I don't say that the credit is predominantly due to the work of the Weekly People, but it is the result of the harmonious and systematic working together of all the departments at headquarters, and as far as our share in the revival has been concerned it was due to a conscious determination to attempt to bring it about.

The problem of an assistant in the editorial office appeared during the first year so nearly insolvable that it came near bowling me over. There is no need of reciting the tale. I will only say that after nearly a year of struggle with impossible conditions I was extremely fortunate in securing Comrade May Phalor of Columbus, Ohio. I need not speak of her work—it speaks for itself—and the comments which have come in from the outside about her writings have shown me that others feel as I do.

In this connection I desire to express my appreciation of the kind aid of Comrade Kuhn. Not only during spells of my first year when I was alone in the office did he willingly jump in to do any odd job I asked him to do, but he has ever been ready to fill any emergency, particularly during my recent illness. It is true that Comrade Kuhn is in the employ of the Party, but this makes it no easier to jump into work which does not belong to one's routine.

As a whole, matters have gone

surprisingly smooth. The croakers soon stopped, and the prophets of evil sought new pastures. Some little grumblings there have been over my rulings in a few cases of disgruntled individuals, but only a few times have I had to appear before the Sub-Committee for ruling or advice and there has never been any need of going any further.

The strain which we have been subjected to in this office from the "outside" has been even worse than that from the inside. The amended espionage act came into force about the same time as I took office. Prison bars, police raids, or what was worse, the attack from a crazy mob stared us in the face every moment. We did not know how far our soundness and general sanity would be a protection. Sound principles are no protection against hysteria. Our only fortification was the Party's impregnable position, and with this we felt fortified. We knew that we could be attacked and crushed only by lawlessness, and before lawlessness we had no right to back down—that would be to betray the Party's trust. We lost the second class permit, not on my counts however, but on previous ones. A number of issues of the Weekly People were held up for a time, one only permanently. This, however, kept us constantly in hot waters. We were never informed why we were held up. Hence we did not know what was considered "seditious" and what was not. We could only guess. This uncertainty was conducive to fostering a habit of speaking out ever plainer. It became increasingly hard to keep one's temper relative to arbitrary officials. We were up against a double problem. The S. L. P. could not afford—like the S. P.—like the S.P. again in the recent Albany trial—to compromise one iota on principle.

Nor did we. We can face future history and future Internationals head erect. On the other hand, we could not afford to let the Party suffer shipwreck for the sake of the joy of indulging in raging at the storm. "In law," De Leon used to say, "it is not a question of what you say, but how you say it." Every word and sentence had to be weighed and considered. I can't say that I followed the motto of Seidel—"when in doubt strike out". I generally considered many times before I struck out anything I really cared to have said, and often, for fear that my position had a tendency to make me too cautious, I would consult Comrade Phalar, or worry Comrade Kuhn or Petersen or anyone else I could pin down. But there was one thing I never hesitated to strike out: that was mere words, loud, big words, screamings and ragings at the unremediable situation such as has constituted the principal bravery, and r-r-revolutionary "dope" of the S. P., its Call and other papers, and even more so the detective-inspired so-called "Communist" press. If any one has felt hurt because some darling phrase has fallen victim to the blue pencil, remember this, and remember always to impress this particularly on our new converts: the S. L. P.—to borrow Lenin's expression—must never become intoxicated with the revolutionary phrase. Our mission was not to fume at the war and the war lords and their tools; ours was to teach its lessons, to show the collapse of capitalism and the duties of the workers in relation to the reconstruction. There was a time when I used anything, even quite extensively capitalist newspaper articles, in order to get that message across. It is only fair for me to add, however, that I have had very little loose

phraseology to contend with from our contributors; most of them have shown how thoroughly they had been trained in the school of De Leonism.

All in all I think we have a right to congratulate ourselves on our success in being able to pilot through these two hard years, and particularly have we a right to congratulate ourselves on the revival of spirit and activity within our own ranks and the changed spirit towards us and conception about us from the workers on the outside. It is this we must take advantage of in the coming campaign. The sale of our literature should more than double in the next few months—our message should reach where it has never reached before, and if it does reach, we will be certain to gather an abundant harvest from the seeds we have sown.

The S. P. during the last year or so has been split in twain, the "Left Wingers" who soared up so high and with such a blast of bassoons have come down slop stick in a total collapse. The politicians have run back to the S. P., like Bo Peep's little lambs, dragging their tails behind them. A number of their leaders stand unmasked as agent provocateurs. The timid have been frightened away and the fools have crawled into the rat-hole. We have tried our best to camp on their trail as they went along. The old S. P. is in a worse state of deterioration than ever, and I firmly believe that were it not for the name of Debs, with the prospect of a big vote through the sentiment stirred up for this "martyr," the S. P. would separate still further into its various component elements. The Labor Party is taking its share, nevertheless; the Non-Partisan League is taking its; the Committee of 48 will take its; and a possible new liberal party will take

its chunk. Our membership must strain every energy during the coming year so that the corruption and muddle-headedness which the S. P. scatters about be not permitted to sink further into the deep layers of the working class.

There is one thing I wish to mention before I close. I have always felt that there has been too much aloofness between the Federation organs and the Weekly People. Lately, however, we have to our pleasure traced, increasingly, translations of Weekly People articles in various federation organs. The Hungarian Munkas gets our World News summary weekly, etc. All that is good and we hope this relation will continue and increase. The federation papers should keep their readers informed about the important matters which appear in the Weekly People. But this is not all. They can read our paper. We can not read theirs. It should therefore be the duty of federation editors or federation secretaries to keep us posted as to important matters—particularly relating to the labor movement—in their home countries. Some time ago Comrade Nasteff wrote us a most timely report of events in Bulgaria. He promised more, but I have not received more so far. This report was eagerly read by our readers. A Greek comrade has written most interesting contributions about the movement in Greece. These were valuable. We should have more articles of this kind. Only our federation comrades can supply them, and it should be their duty to supply them. Don't worry if the English is not smooth and polished. We will see to that part of it. I desire to appeal to the federation delegates to work for such co-operation between the foreign language organs and the Weekly People.

The revolution is knocking on the door and we know that the S. L. P. and the W. I. I. U., and these two organizations alone, are fit to carry it to a successful issue.

May we all gather such inspiration from this convention as will give to the ranks at home, who are watching our deliberations, an enthusiasm which will carry the message of the S. L. P. to every workingman and woman in the land.

I know that S. L. P. men and women are not dismayed by the smallness of our numbers. We know that the ranks of a sound revolutionary movement must necessarily remain small almost to the day of the revolution. We know that our progress must be measured, not so much by the increase of our converts, as by the increase of the effectiveness of our propaganda among all layers of the workers in stirring their old-fogy notions and ideas. As a fitting inspiration for our work here today and the near future, let me conclude with the words of Wendell Phillips uttered in 1852 regarding the "small," "isolated," "fanatical," uncompromising abolition movement, which even then—about ten years only prior to the abolition of slavery—was pronounced a total failure:

"Give us time, and talk is all-powerful. We are apt to feel ourselves overshadowed in the presence of colossal institutions. We are apt, in coming up to a meeting of this kind, to ask what a few hundred or a few thousand persons can do against the weight of government, the mountainous odds of majorities, the influence of the press, the power of the pulpit, the organization of parties, the omnipotence of wealth. At times, to carry a favorite purpose, leading statesmen have endeavored to cajole the people into the idea that this age was like the past, and

that a 'rub-a-club agitation,' as ours is contemptuously styled, was only to be despised. No matter where you meet a dozen earnest men pledged to a new idea,—wherever you have met them, you have met the beginning of a revolution. Revolutions are not made; they come. A revolution is as natural a growth as an oak. It comes out of the past. Its foundations are laid far back. The child feels; he grows into a man, and thinks; another, perhaps, speaks, and the world acts out the thought. And this is the history of modern society." Fraternally submitted,

OLIVE M. JOHNSON,
Editor WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Resolutions Adopted

To El Partido Socialista Internacional of Argentina:

Whereas, the Socialist Labor Party in national convention assembled in New York City, on this 9th day of May, 1920, has listened with attentive and sympathetic interest to a translation of the report made by El Partido Socialista Internacional of Argentina to all Socialist parties of the world, it extends its fraternal greetings to El Partido Socialista Internacional and recognizes it as the real political party of Socialism in Argentina, and proposes and invites closer relations of amity, confraternity, and unity of effort to the end that real Socialism may be propagated in the countries of both North America and South America for Socialist unity in the Western Hemisphere.

Resolution on Economic Organization.

Whereas, There exist today in the United States two conceptions of what an economic organization of Labor should be; and

Whereas, One conception—that held by the American Federation of Labor and kindred unions—is that the organization should concede the right of capitalists to own and control industry, and should be built upon narrow craft lines for the sole purpose of protecting its members in their employment and of securing petty improvements in the conditions of Labor; thus becoming a mere "watch-your-job-and-boost-your-pay" organization; and

Whereas, The other conception—that held only by the Workers' International Industrial Union—is that the economic organization of Labor should deny the right of capitalism to continue in the ownership and control of industry and that it should be built upon industrial lines, not only with the aim of more effectively co-operating in the daily struggle against the employing class, but for the supreme purpose of taking possession of the industries and operating them in the interests of society as a whole; and

Whereas, "Neutrality" toward economic organizations of Labor on the part of a political party of Socialism is equivalent to neutrality toward organizations that endorse and support the system of private ownership of the social means of producing wealth, the system which the Party is fighting; and

Whereas, The bona fide or revolutionary Socialist Movement needs the economic as well as the political organization of Labor, the latter for propaganda and as a civilized means of registering public opinion through the ballot; the former as the only conceivable organized force without which all ballot is impotent, and which force is essential for ultimately locking out the capitalist class from the industries; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor

Party do all in its power to show the fallacy of craft unionism, and urge the workers to organize industrially on the principles of the Workers' International Industrial Union.

Resolution on the Third International

On May 4, 1919, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of America, in annual session assembled, adopted resolutions on the subject of the International Relations of the Party, and, based upon the information then at hand, resolved to withdraw from the so-called Second International while favoring attachment to and affiliation with an International truly representing the world's Working Class interests. Affiliation with the Third International, then in process of formation and about which no reliable and certainly no official information was available, was deferred. These resolutions, since referred to a referendum vote of the Party's membership, were almost unanimously adopted and stand today as the expression of the said membership upon that subject.

Another year has passed. The Third International, organized at Moscow, its existence authenticated by numerous pronouncements in the Socialist press of the world—though the Socialist Labor Party is still without direct official communication on the part of its officers—according to press reports and alleged official pronouncements and manifestos appears to have taken, upon matters of tactics and methods, and upon matters of the endorsement of organizations in countries outside of Russia, a position that requires careful analysis and consideration on the part of the Socialist Labor Party of America.

Under date of September 1, 1919,

there was issued over the signature of "G. Zinovieff, President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International," and later published in the Socialist press, a Manifesto, which, in the absence of any other authentic utterance, must be regarded as a guide whereby to define the position taken by what is generally designated as "The Third International".

At the outset, this Manifesto, dwelling upon the coalescence of the revolutionary elements in "France, America, England and Germany," the statement is made that "The anarchistic-syndicalist groups and the groups that now and then call themselves simply anarchists are thus also joining the general current. The Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes this most heartily," and then, proceeding, the statement is made that "In America, and also to some extent in England, the fight for the Soviets is led by such organizations as the I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World). These groups and tendencies have always actively opposed the parliamentary methods of fighting".

From this it would appear that the Third International, over the signature of the President of its Executive Committee, "welcomes most heartily" to its ranks Anarcho-Syndicalists and Anarchists pure and simple; that, therefore, membership in or attachment to the said Third International implies bedfellowship with Anarchy and Anarchists, and that these elements, always regarded as the mildew upon the revolutionary Labor Movement, shall henceforth be regarded by and within that Movement as co-workers in the work of the Socialist Reconstruction of Society.

Socialist experience and Socialist reason rebel against such a position,

a position, moreover, that seems to be in violent conflict with all that hitherto we have been permitted to learn about the Russian Socialist Movement, the position it took and the course it pursued. But the Manifesto, such as it is, and with all its ramifying implications, is now before us and it is upon that we must speak, and, speaking, do so in language unmistakable and defining with clearness and emphasis just where we stand. Needless to say that acceptance of the position outlined in the said Manifesto implies the complete abandonment of all the Socialist Labor Party of America has ever stood for, the abandonment of its goal by implication and inferential reasoning, as well as the direct abandonment of its tactical position. It implies even more. It implies the surrender of its judgment upon American conditions, of the policy to be pursued upon the basis of these conditions and the surrender of that judgment to another influence that can scarcely be presumed to be posted upon these conditions.

The Socialist Labor Party is a product of the American Labor Movement. It represents today the highest, the most advanced expression of that Movement in principles as well as in tactics, both of which have been evolved in storm and stress, in endless conflict and friction with the reactionist, the trimmer and compromiser, and the "bull-in-the-chinashop" direct-action idiot.

In point of principle the Socialist Labor Party openly and fearlessly proclaims the revolutionary RIGHT of the Working Class. It recognizes clearly the character and function of the political State; it knows that, in a class-divided society, the political State MUST become an instrument of CLASS RULE and that, under

capitalism and capitalist economic preponderance, the political State must and will be dominated and manipulated by and for the capitalist class and against the working class; it knows that, as economic evolution and industrial development awaken and consolidate the masses of the working class, there will arise the power that will set itself against the class-ruled political State—the integrally organized useful occupations of the land, the future constituencies of the Industrial Republic, the class-conscious Industrial Unions—as now exemplified by the Workers' International Industrial Union—the power that will eventually substitute it and thereby end class rule and with it capitalism.

In point of tactics, based upon the principles sketched above, the Socialist Labor Party has ever traveled the straight and narrow path of No Compromise. It has not sacrificed principle to numbers, votes, temporary gain, or popular acclaim. It has not placated the pure and simple trade union reactionist—it has fought him. It has not allied with the pure and simple politicalist Socialist Party and its "parliamentary idiocy"—it has fought it. And it has not "welcomed most heartily" the Anarcho-Syndicalist I. W. W., but has fought it bitterly, relentlessly, without respite and without quarter and shall and will continue to so fight it with all the power at its command to prevent the marplot from foisting its pernicious doctrines and methods upon the American Labor Movement.

In the light of American conditions the Socialist Labor Party holds that he who wants Socialism must first want class-conscious working class organization on the industrial field and that, without such organization, there can be no working

class emancipation and no abolition of capitalism; that he who calls himself a Socialist and refuses or fails to help in the task of organizing the working class on the industrial field—where alone the MIGHT of the working class can be gathered—is either one who knows not what he wants nor how to get it, or he is a faker and a fraud who does know but finds it convenient for reasons best known to himself to dodge the obligation.

No sane movement of men will seek to shape its course with utter disregard to surrounding conditions and the course and policy of the Socialist Labor Party is and has been shaped with regard to the conditions that surround us in America—conditions historic and social, industrial and political. In the light of the historic and political conditions of the land we condemn, utterly and without the slightest reservation, the Anarcho-Syndicalist, anti-political I. W. W. position of "direct action," "sabotage," "strike at the ballot-box with an ax," and general perversity. That position, we hold, is not only vicious, since it implies a first-hand resort to physical force, but it is absurd. The idea of winning over the American working class to an abandonment of political action and political propaganda is puerile. Such is the lay of the land in America, that any organization which places itself in such a position at once becomes a club in the hands of the capitalist class for assailing the Labor Movement, as has been amply demonstrated. It has been demonstrated in the case of the I. W. W., which is today very largely used by capitalist reaction partly as a scare-crow to frighten the "public" with, as ought to be plain to any intelligent person who reads understandingly the publicity campaign connected with it,

and partly as an arsenal wherefrom to draw weapons against the Labor Movement. And it has more recently been demonstrated in the case of the burlesque imitation "Communist" movements, which, taking a more or less open direct action and physical force position, and seeking to line up "most heartily" with the anti-political I. W. W., were off-hand wiped off the slate by the capitalist political State and then served it as a handy instrument to smite the general Labor Movement.

Pitiful in the extreme is the position in which these innocent imitation "Communists" appear in the light of events. Honeycombed with police spies, their very platform declarations reputed to have been written by operatives of the Department of Justice on the strength of which they were later raided, arrested and often deported, these raids made successful by the circumstance that, under police guidance, the Communists were made to call meetings all over the country on one and the same day, on January 2d, there to land like fish in a net, as was brought to light in the proceedings of the Boston Federal District Court—the picture presented is one that again re-emphasizes the S. L. P. warning that the Labor Movement in America does not lend itself to and must not descend to the level of rat-hole conspiracies. Aiming as it does and must to gather the mass of the workers, it can only do so in the open, openly and in full daylight proclaiming its aims and methods, and said methods in keeping with the fundamental law of the land.

Furthermore, in the light of our social and industrial conditions we condemn, utterly and without the slightest reservation, the pure and simple politicalist Berger-Hillquit Socialist Party, not only because of its

position of "parliamentary idiocy," in that it expects or professes to expect to bring about Socialism by purely political action and dodges or sidesteps the obligation to help organize the working class on the industrial field, but for the further reason of its overt and sometimes covert alliance with the Civic-Federationized craft unions of the land, that bulwark of American capitalism, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, its more or less open flirtation with Anarcho-Syndicalist I. W. W.-ism. A trimmer and a compromiser, it seeks support everywhere, with the pure and simple craftist, the pure and simple bombist, the rent striker, the milk-exploitee, the political prisoner—all is fish that comes to its net with votes, or cash, or both.

Seeing that Socialism implies the centralization and co-ordination of the productive powers; seeing further that the organizing of the working class into integral industrial unions is absolutely essential to accomplish the emancipation of the working class; seeing this, and considering the fact that Anarcho-Syndicalism means the disintegration and destruction of the forces of the working class, preventing the marshalling of these forces into industrial unions; seeing also that the pure and simple political attitude of the Socialist Party can only lead the workers into the shambles—seeing all this we unqualifiedly denounce and condemn Anarcho-Syndicalism as well as the pure and simple political Socialist Party—the obverse and reverse of the same medal—as organizations whose methods and tactics border on insanity.

It is in the light of all this that the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America, assembled this ninth day of May, 1920, declares:

1. That if we are to regard the

aforesaid Manifesto signed by G. Zinovieff as an official emanation of the Third International, there can be no affiliation on the part of the Socialist Labor Party with such a body in spite of the fact that we find ourselves in full and unqualified sympathy with Soviet Russia, are mindful of the role that destiny has given her to play and of the tremendous moral influence she is bound to exercise upon the Socialist Movement of the entire world. But we shall not and will not abandon our time-tried tactical position, regarding such abandonment in the light of a desertion of all we stand for and a desertion of the American working class. Moreover, we shall not and we will not have our tactical position and the policy based thereon dictated by anybody outside of ourselves and our own judgment drawn from the knowledge of the conditions that surround us and OUR task. And, finally, we reject absolutely and unqualifiedly, in keeping with the Socialist Labor Party's entire history, any bedfellowship with Anarchism and Anarchists, now and hereafter, and we shall not and will not enter any International that harbors it and them.

We declare that however much we endorse the revolutionary activity of the "Bolsheviki" of Russia; however much we recognize the pioneer work for the world revolution of the Soviet Government of Russia; however much we admire the bravery and splendid activity of the entire Russian proletariat, we can not because of sentimental or other appeals subscribe to or acknowledge the right of the Russian Socialist revolutionary organizations to speak for the revolutionary Proletariat of the world or to prescribe the tactics or point out the true revolutionary organizations for our country. We hold that however much we recognize the wisdom

of the Russian revolutionists from a purely strategic point of view in launching the Third International, as opposed to the caricature which the Social Patriot crowd attempted to continue by their meeting at Berne, we nevertheless hold that the Third International, splendid as it may be as a rallying point for the world revolutionary proletariat during this period of chaos and disorder, is not and can not be a true International until the various organizations of the respective countries of the world desiring affiliation have been able to meet together by duly elected and accredited representatives, and at such a meeting facing their co-representatives and rendering an account of their actions in the face of the collapse and onslaught of capitalism—render an account of how they have kept the revolutionary banner aloft. We declare that at such a future meeting of world claimants for revolutionary honor the Socialist Labor Party of America is ready to meet the revolutionists of the world and face such claimants from our own country.

Our National Executive Committee is hereby instructed to bring copies of this declaration to the knowledge of every member of the Socialist Labor Party and of every Socialist organization on the face of the earth and to provide translations thereof wherever thought necessary, so that our position in this matter may become known to the Socialist movement of the world.

Resolution on Capitalist Reaction.

The manifest disintegration of the capitalist structure, both on its economic and its political side, the signs of which are becoming ever more obvious to mature minds, has induced among the beneficiaries, supporters, apologists and other hang-

ers-on of the capitalist system a state of mind which, commingling fear and apprehension with ferocious hatred, seeks and finds a vent in political persecutions to an extent unheard-of in the country's history, in judicial outrages, in attempts at the subversion of the country's political institutions by legislative enactment, in the suppression of strikes by executive governmental action backed with virtual unanimity, by the judicial and legislative branches of the Government. The Political State, an instrument in practically undisputed control of the capitalist class, runs amuck and has come to a point where it seeks to suppress and to punish not only the overt acts of opponents to capitalism, but endeavors to ferret out opinions and prevent their academic expression.

Efforts are being made to dominate our public schools and all other educational institutions in the spirit and by the methods of the Spanish Inquisition and to introduce therein the spirit of militarization; the so-called public press, the pulpit, and every other avenue of information are made, in the main, to serve the ends of our plutocracy by open subsidization; armies of spies are penetrating every corner of the country, mingling with the people and reporting every shade and shift of popular opinion, with the inevitable result that these reports are so shaded and shaped as to justify the existence, and even demonstrate the need of the spy.

We are passing through a period of black reaction. Like a ferocious animal at bay, the capitalist class, with its back to the wall, is striking venomously and indiscriminately at everything and everybody that even seems to oppose its rule of ruin. The spectacle is typical of usurpation that sees its dominancy questioned, and, apprehensive to a far greater extent

than is warranted by actual conditions, is by its very panic condemned to add to the number of its foe. In the last analysis it is fear of the working class that shapes this phase of capitalist psychology; it is the slow, glacier-like, irresistible upward surge of that mass in which the capitalist class scents impending disaster to its system of exploitation and usurpation.

But, since a "state of mind" never is made up of just one single strand of emotion, there is still another side to the picture. Prior to America's entrance into the world war, and more so after its entrance, the American capitalist class climbed the pinnacle of financial pre-eminence. Dominating the natural resources of a continent, having at its disposal an industrial equipment of enormous proportions to which it could hitch a labor supply practically limitless and of high efficiency, stimulating agricultural production by suitable propaganda, and enticing by the same means nearly every dollar in every hidden stocking to come out and join the offensive—American capitalism began to dominate the earth. A debtor nation was transformed into a creditor "nation."

The war having come to an end, the state of mind acquired with all the other acquisitions manifested itself in an era of wild and reckless speculation. To the soaring of prices made inevitable by the constant depreciation of gold, by inflation of credit, plus all the other war causes, was added a veritable Mad Dervish dance of profiteering. Its pockets bulging with stolen goods near to bursting, the capitalist class reached out for more and ever more with insatiable greed, its insane course calling to mind the Bourbon's cry: "Après moi, le deluge"—after me, the deluge.

If, at such a time and under such

conditions, a ruling class is faced with world-wide unrest, if it sees its very existence challenged by a new force arising day by day, the challenge not yet fully articulate, but unmistakable as to its presence, its nature and its ultimate end, if it sees the danger of the fruits of its ill-gotten wealth turning to ashes on its lips at the very moment of dazzling success, both its panic and its ferocity become perfectly intelligible.

Who will doubt the correctness of the picture here presented and who will question the facts? And it is in view of these facts and their import to the working class of the land that the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America, assembled on this seventh day of May, 1920, directs the attention of America's working class to these facts and to the situation that flows from them. To meet that situation the overwhelming numbers of the working class and its economic indispensability are the main factors that come into play. But these factors are of no avail without comprehensive organization coupled with intelligent action.

In view of this, be it

Resolved, That we call upon America's working class to rally with us under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party on the political field, there to proclaim that the capitalist mode of production having outlived its usefulness to society, and having become a clog to its further development upward to a higher form of civilization, must make way for the next stage in social evolution—the co-operative or social mode of production with the instruments of production in possession of ALL the people undivided, not rent into antagonistic class fragments, but united upon one common social purpose, the advancement of the human race; there to proclaim the RIGHT of the

working class to advocate, to pave the way for and to bring about, the inevitable social transformation by constitutional means and methods, insisting upon the maintenance of that right in spite of capitalist reaction; and there to fulfill one of the chief functions of a true political party of Labor, namely, to help gather and organize the hosts of Labor on the economic field into class-conscious industrial organizations so that the MIGHT of the working class may be ever ready to sustain its RIGHT: and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the members of the working class speedily to awaken to the situation that is confronting them, to meet that situation—which today expresses itself in capitalist persecution of the vilest and most ferocious kind, and may tomorrow find expression in attempts to forbid even the organization of the workers—by rapidly gathering and consolidating their immense numbers in industrial organizations based squarely upon the lines of working class interests such as is already exemplified by the Workers' International Industrial Union, to the end that, as capitalist disintegration proceeds, the eternal interests of the human race may be safeguarded by the presence of an economic power that will be capable, during the oncoming period of social transformation, to assist the same and to lead it without undue friction through channels of orderly and systematic procedure to its final destination—the emancipation of humanity from the thralldom of capitalism.

Labor, craft-divided, its units in constant conflict of jurisdiction with one another, is powerless against capitalist reaction and is endangering the interests of the working class, the more so since the craft union is only too often used as a direct in-

strument of capitalist machination and chicanery.

Labor, industrially united, fired by one ideal and animated by one purpose, is all-powerful and capable of grappling and coping with capitalist reaction;—indeed, when all is said, it is the only force that can do so. The Industrial Union, foreshadowing as it does the future constituency of the future Industrial Republic, the repository of all power in the time TO COME, for and by that very reason is the source of all potential power in the time THAT IS.

National Platform Adopted

The world stands upon the threshold of a new social order. The capitalist system of production and distribution is doomed; capitalist appropriation of labor's product forces the bulk of mankind into wage slavery, throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle, and momentarily threatens to engulf humanity in chaos and disaster. At this crucial period in history the Socialist Labor Party of America, in 15th National Convention assembled, reaffirming its former platform declarations, calls upon the workers to rally around the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, the only party in this country that blazes the trail to the Workers' Industrial Republic.

Since the advent of civilization human society has been divided into classes. Each new form of society has come into being with a definite purpose to fulfill in the progress of the human race. Each has been born, has grown, developed, prospered, become old, outworn, and has finally been overthrown. Each society has developed within itself the germs of its own destruction as well as the germs which went to make up the society of the future.

The capitalist system rose during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, by the overthrow of feudalism. Its great and all-important mission in the development of man was to improve, develop, and concentrate the means of production and distribution, thus creating a system of co-operative production. This work was completed in advanced capitalist countries about the beginning of the 20th century. That moment capitalism had fulfilled its historic mission, and from that moment the capitalist class became a class of parasites.

In the course of human progress mankind has passed, through class rule, private property, and individualism in production and exchange, from the enforced and inevitable want, misery, poverty, and ignorance of savagery and barbarism to the affluence and high productive capacity of civilization. For all practical purposes, co-operative production has now superseded individual production.

Capitalism no longer promotes the greatest good of the greatest number. Private production carries with it private ownership of the products. Production is carried on, not to supply the needs of humanity, but for the profit of the individual owner, the company, or the trust. The worker, not receiving the full product of his labor, can not buy back all he produces. The capitalist wastes part in riotous living; the rest must find a foreign market. By the opening of the twentieth century the capitalist world—England, America, Germany, France, Japan, China, etc.—was producing at a mad rate for the world market. A capitalist deadlock of market brought on in 1914 the capitalist collapse popularly known as the World War. The capitalist world can not extri-

cate itself out of the debris. America today is choking under the weight of her own gold and products.

This situation has brought on the present stage of human misery—starvation, want, cold, disease, pestilence, and war. This state is brought about in the midst of plenty, when the earth can be made to yield hundred-fold, when the machinery of production is made to multiply human energy and ingenuity by the hundred. The present state of misery exists solely because the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange. Private property in the means of life has become a social crime. The land was made by no man; the modern machines are the result of the combined ingenuity of the human race from time immemorial; the land can be made to yield and the machines can be set in motion only by the collective effort of the workers. Progress demands the collective ownership of the land on and the tools with which to produce the necessities of life. The owner of the means of life today partakes of the nature of a highwayman; he stands with his gun before society's temple; it depends upon him whether the million mass may work, earn, eat, and live. The capitalist system of production and exchange must be supplanted if progress is to continue.

In place of the capitalist system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers, who assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the So-

cialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a Socialist industrial union, as now exemplified by the Workers' International Industrial Union, in keeping with their political aims.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting Industrial Self-Government for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a government in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

!Reports of Committees Adopted

On Party Press and Literature.

Your Committee on Party Press and Literature feels that the Party membership can not but be impressed by that portion of the National Secretary's report which refers to the difficulty of obtaining newsprint paper. To maintain the continuity of the Weekly People issues is without doubt one of the most important duties of the Party at this time. Carrying on a National Campaign at this crucial period makes it doubly imperative that the supporters of the Party provide the necessary facilities for publishing the great mass of leaflets, pamphlets and books now needed and for which there will be an ever increasing demand.

We therefore recommend that

the Press Security Fund be entitled "The Press Security and Print Paper Fund" and that Sections be urged to elect a collector whose duty it shall be to collect for this fund and remit as promptly as possible.

Referring to the report of the Editor of the Weekly People, we note the request for closer editorial co-operation with the language papers and would recommend that the various Editors be urged to translate and use important material from the Weekly People and, in turn, to furnish the Weekly People with translations of interesting or instructive matter concerning their respective peoples.

Pamphlet on Co-operative Movement.

Whereas, The A. F. of L. officialdom, together with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' official newspapers, the S. P. Call, many leading members of the S. P., and leading newspapers of Top-Capitalism, have energetically entered upon an "educational campaign" to convince the American working class that co-operatives, with their so-called "cheap" buying features, will solve the ills which accompany and so painfully illustrate the "benefits" of Class Rule; and

Whereas, The capacity for evil of the combination seeking to plant this latest booby-trap is such that steps must be taken to meet and refute their arguments and the persuasive influence flowing therefrom; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Fifteenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party instruct the National Executive Committee to have prepared a pamphlet or leaflet exposing the fallacies of the Co-operative Movement, so that argumentative ammunition may be furnished those who will be called upon to oppose

this final attempt of the Ruling Class to render harmless the growing anger of the proletariat against the system of wage slavery.

Publication in Book Form of "Anarchic Tendencies."

Whereas, Section Baltimore, S. L. P., has noted, with much interest, the very able series of articles, entitled "Anarchic Tendencies and Constructive Forces in the Labor Movement"; and

Whereas, Section Baltimore feels that these articles are so timely that their value will not have been thoroughly taken advantage of if now allowed to slumber; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Fifteenth National Convention of the S. L. P., That the National Executive Committee be, and hereby is instructed to have published in book form this series of articles, so bound that the book will have an appearance equal to the dignity of its contents. (Committee recommends that matter be referred to the N. E. C.)

On National Campaign.

(1) We recommend adoption of the raising of a \$50,000 Campaign Fund, all customary means to be used in acquiring the above sum.

(2) We recommend concurrence that Comrade Henry Khun be elected as campaign manager.

(3) In connection with recommendation 2 we add that a National Campaign Committee be formed of which Comrade Kuhn shall be the chairman. This National Campaign Committee shall consist of 8 members and the chairman, elected from the Party and every one of its subdivisions.

This National Campaign Committee shall devise plans that proper State and Local Campaign Committees be formed similar to the above. It is intended that all the organizers sent out by the Party and by all

sub-divisions should be systematically employed in the best interests of the movement.

(4) If feasible, one of our national candidates to tour the country by automobile. We also recommend that States use this method as far as practicable.

(5) Posters for national distribution and also the creating of language leaflets for national distribution.

(6) To have one day or week set aside by the Campaign Committee for the purpose of national distribution of printed matter having to do with the election.

De Leon Memorial Day.

Resolved, That December 14th of each year be dedicated by each Section of the Socialist Labor Party and its Language Federations as a day of celebration in commemoration of the service to the workers of the world of Daniel De Leon.

On South American Socialist Movement.

Whereas, Socialism, as embodied in principles, tactics and goal is essentially the same in every land; and

Whereas, Proponents of its philosophy and tactical methods realize that propaganda for the dissemination of its principles is equally important in all parts of the world; and

Whereas, It is deemed expedient for the Socialist Labor Party to cooperate in every way possible with organizations on both the political and economic fields which teach and practice the principles and methods of Socialism as propagated by the Socialist Labor Party to the end of unifying the organized world movement aiming at the attainment of Socialism; and

Whereas, A political party known as the International Socialist Party exists in the Argentine Republic of

South America which holds in all essential particulars an attitude identical with that of the Socialist Labor Party, that is to say, a real Socialist attitude; and

Whereas, There exists side by side and working harmoniously with and supporting it a powerful industrial (syndicated) economic organization known as the "Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina," which closely corresponds to the Workers' International Industrial Union; and

Whereas, Communication has been established between the S. L. F. and the Partido Internacional Obrera and with the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina, tentatively, for purposes of united work in the Western hemisphere; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party shall proceed to take steps toward establishing a more intimate community of interest and effort, with a view to possible unity of the above-named political and economic organizations for more effective propaganda along identical lines in the countries of North America and South America.

Resolution on Centralization.

"Whereas, the Socialist Labor Party of America, planted upon the basic principle of the materialist conception of history, embracing the law of progress and in harmony with the law of evolution, has ever endeavored to keep pace evolution, adjusting itself to conditions as they arise, it has won a world-wide record, a front-rank position in the International Socialist Labor Movement as a clear-cut revolutionary political party;

"Hand in hand with science, forging ahead, it has been able to stand the test of all the charlatans seeking to discredit it. It has also frustrated the ruling class in that they are un-

able to find cause to suppress, but have succeeded by persecutions and intimidations, consequently weakening our forces, it therefore behooves us to make special efforts to strengthen the weak points;

"Whereas, One source of weakness lies in the fact that there are now several subdivisions of the Party, each maintaining a headquarters in different localities, each publishing a paper and other literature with an expense that could be wonderfully reduced by concentration;

"Concentration into a centrally located national headquarters for all these subdivisions would save much of the money now paid out in rentals and reduce the many calls for sustaining fund to a minimum, thus strengthening the forces for educational and propaganda work;

"Resolved, therefore, That the coming National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party take immediate steps to establish a national headquarters for all these subdivisions."

The committee recommended:

"That in view of the far-reaching consequences involved in this proposition, impossible to be passed upon by the convention without extensive data as to cost, as well as to the advantage to be derived from the proposed concentration, the matter be referred to the N.E.C. with instructions to elect a special committee to ascertain all the facts bearing thereon, and prepare a report not later than within one year from date, such report, with recommendations of the N. E. C., to be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership."

Resolution by California State Convention, held April 25, 1920.

We, the delegates to the California State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, held in San Francisco, Cal., April 25, in convention assembled desire to express our full-

est approval of the general policy of the Party during the past four
pursued by the administration of the years.
Socialist Labor Party in its efforts
to uphold the principles and policies

I. Shankman, Chairman.
Emile Coschina, Secretary.

AMENDMENTS TO THE PARTY CONSTITUTION ADOPTED AND APPROVED BY REFERENDUM.

- 1.—Art. II, Sec. 10 to become Sec. 9 and vice versa 1377 37
 2—Art. III, Sec. 4:

In cities, towns, or other localities where there exists a Section of the Socialist Labor Party and a Section or Sections of any S. L. P. Language Federation there shall be formed a central committee composed of delegates from said Sections, whose function it shall be to co-operate for the purpose of furthering the agitation of the S. L. P. in such localities in addition to such agitation which may be carried on by the respective Sections separately.

In case the creation of such central committee is not deemed warranted then arrangements should at least be made for having one or more elected representatives of the Language Branches attend the meeting of the Party Section and report to both the Section and the Branch of the doings of each.

Amended as follows:

Sec. 4. In cities, towns, or other localities where there exists a Section of the Socialist Labor Party and a **branch or branches** of any S. L. P. Language Federation there shall be formed a **Propaganda Committee** composed of delegates from said Sections and **branches**, whose function it shall be to co-operate for the purpose of furthering the agitation of the S. L. P. in such localities, in addition to such agitation which may be carried on by the respective Sections and **branches** separately.

Eliminate second paragraph.

- | | | |
|--|------|----|
| 3—Art. V, Sec. 4: Add words "Commencing May First" | 1449 | 20 |
| 4—Art. VIII, Sec. 1: Increase dues to Sections to thirty-five cents from thirty cents | 1443 | 13 |
| 5—Art. VIII, Sec. 2: Increase dues to twenty-five and thirty-five cents from twenty and thirty cents | 1374 | 64 |
| 6—Art. VIII, Sec. 3: | 1375 | 67 |

Every State Executive Committee or Section shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of the membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the National Secretary, as well

as Secretaries of State Executive Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

Amended to read:

Section 3. Every newly organized Section shall receive a free quota of stamps, to be measured by the size of the membership. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the National Secretary, as well as Secretaries of State Executive Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule

1432 32

7—Art. IX, Sec. 5:

Article IX., Section 5. No member, committee, or Section of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested as far as practicable in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of the preceding section.

Amended to read:

Section 5. No member, committee, Section or language federation of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of the preceding section

1450 27

8—Art. XII, Sec. 1: Increase Federation dues from four to six cents

1456 34

9—Art. XII, Sec. 4:

Section 4. Sections or branches of federations shall be represented on the General Committees of the S. L. P. Sections, provided they pay the regular per capita tax, or by fraternal delegates.

Eliminated.

Section 5 to become Section 4, and Section 6 to become Section 5

1426 25

10—Art. XII, Old Section 5:

Section 5. Branches of federations shall be represented in the State Conventions of the Party, provided they pay the regular per capita tax to the State Executive Committees of the S. L. P., or by fraternal delegates.

Amended to read:

Section 5. Branches of federations shall be represented in the State Conventions of the Party by fraternal delegates	1440	24
11—Eliminate Sec. 7, 8, 9, Art. XII, to conform with changes proposed in Sections 4 and 5.....	1409	47
12—Add new Section to be known as Art. XII, Sec. 6: No member of a federation language branch shall at the same time be a member of a Section of the Party	1387	79
13—Art. XII, Sec. 10: To become Sec. 7, to conform with changes	1394	41
14—Eliminate Art. XIII relative to representation in International Bureau	1252	192
15—Amend Art. V, Sec. 10, by adding: Two-thirds of the (15) Sub-Committee members shall be actual wage workers	1423	42
16—Art. II, Section 11: On readmission of expelled members. Add new paragraph:		

Art. II, Sec. 11, new paragraph:

“An expelled member may be re-admitted to membership if his application for reinstatement is endorsed, first by the Section having expelled him, and, second, by the National Executive Committee.

“In case the expelling Section is or has been located in a State having a State Executive Committee, the N. E. C., in the event of its endorsement of such application, shall forward the same to such S. E. C. for submission to a general vote of the membership in such State for final action; but if the Section having expelled the applicant is or has been located in a State not having a State Executive Committee, it shall be the duty of the National Executive Committee finally to dispose of such application. The same procedure and differentiation as between organized and unorganized States shall be adhered to in the case of expelled members-at-large applying for re-admission.”

1441 22

17—Art. VII. Sec. 2: Strike out entire Section and substitute as follows:

Art. VII, Sec. 2, substituted for old Sec. 2:

“The State shall be the basis of representation, each State to be entitled to one delegate for every fifty members and one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof; but the apportionment shall be made on the average membership for the last twelve months of the year next preceding. Any State having less than fifty members to be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a State.”

1453 14

18—Art. XII, Sec. 3: Add after word “thereof” in third line the following: “as provided in Art. VII, Sec. 2.”	1413	21
19—Art. XI, Sec. 8: Strike out and renumber succeeding paragraphs accordingly	1395	45
20—Art. XII, Sec. 2: Insert word “major” before the word “fraction”.	1426	13
21—Art. V, Sec. 14, paragraph d: Eliminate words “or suspend”	1384	69
22—Art. XII, Sec. (last) New Section: “The units of organization shall be known as branches. Branches shall have jurisdiction over their own members in conformance with Art. II, Sec. 7-11 inclusive	1423	13

Other Acts of Convention Approved on Referendum.

Resolutions on International Relations. (Third International.) (See page 38.)	1357	176
Resolutions on Relations with Spanish-speaking countries. (See page 37.)	1491	5
Resolutions on Economic Organization: reaffirming resolution adopted in 1916. (See page 37.)....	1501	32
Resolutions on “Capitalist Reaction.” (See page 42.)	1496	13
Party Platform. (See page 44.)	1534	4
Weekly People: Increase subscription price from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per annum	1519	21
December 14th (Daniel De Leon’s Birthday) of each year shall be dedicated to the memory of Daniel De Leon. (See page 47.)	1474	24
Resolutions on Centralization. (See page 48.).....	1311	224
For National Secretary: Arnold Petersen	1439	98
For Editor Weekly People: Olive M. Johnson	1490	43

APPENDIX

I.

The convention nominated W. W. Cox of Missouri and August Gillhaus of New York for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States respectively.

The official count gave our candidates a total vote in the States mentioned of 44,271 as compared with 14,398 votes in 1916. It should be born in mind, however, that we were on the ballot in five more States in 1916. The potential S. L. P. vote in 1920 would have been a great deal larger than the one officially recorded, though it is idle to conjecture. The S. L. P. is not primarily concerned about the size of its vote at this stage, but those who are wont to point with derision at the "small S. L. P. vote" would do well to bear the above facts in mind.

The Party succeeded in getting on the ballot in the following States:

Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington.

The following were the States where we attempted, but failed to get on the ballot:

Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Wisconsin, Virginia.

In the last mentioned State our failure to get on the ballot was entirely due to the carelessness and stupidity (if not worse) of the state officials, our ticket having been accepted

to be placed on the ballot by the Secretary of State.

More than \$20,000 was collected for the campaign from members and sympathizers.

II.

The Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation appealed to the national convention the decision of the N. E. C. of the Party not to approve the election of A. H. Lyzell as editor of *Arbetaren*. By a vote of 42 in favor and 6 against (the six being the Scandinavian S. L. F. delegation) the convention sustained the N. E. C. The dishonest and pro-S.P. element (plus the usual odd number of sentimentalists and muddleheads) got together in an illegally called "convention" at Boston, July 3, 1920. The leading participants and endorsers of this "convention" were Lyzell, Bjorkman, Bjorklund, Furstenberg, Malmberg and sundry small fry traitors. These neo-"Kangaroos" have acquitted themselves after the fashion set by the original "Kangaroos" of 1899-1900. They usurp the name of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation, illegally retain property, books, etc., all of which at this writing is still a matter of litigation. This last disruption closed the attempt to capture the S. L. P. for bourgeois compromise and confusion initiated by Messrs. Seidel, Katz, Schlossberg, et al.

Arnold Petersen.

June 4, 1921.

PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

A perfect understanding of Capitalism is necessary to a clear comprehension of socialism.

Under Capitalism Society is divided into two classes of people, as follows:

A possessing, or Capitalist Class, among the members of which is distributed in unequal shares and various forms the ownership of the whole existing wealth, including land, the machinery of production and the commodities that must be consumed in the sustenance of life;

A dispossed, or Proletarian Class, whose members own nothing but their labor power, which is useless unless it can be exerted upon Nature through the machinery of production.

Since machinery is owned exclusively by the Capitalist Class, each proletarian must sell his labor power to a capitalist or to an association of capitalists in order to obtain the necessities of life.

Of the wealth produced by his labor power the portion which he receives is called "wages"; the other portion is appropriated by his employer and is called "profit."

Wages naturally depend upon competition among workers, and this competition increases with the displacement of labor by machinery. Each capitalist conducting his own business with a sole view to his own immediate profit, regardless of the present or future public welfare, no provision is made for the re-employment of the labor displaced.

Not only, then, is the rate of wages steadily falling, but the number of proletarians who must starve in enforced idleness, is constantly increasing. In other words, the struggle for existence among the workers, becomes more intense as invention supplies the means of greater abundance with less effort.

But while Progressive Competition is the law of wages, Progressive Concentration is the law of capital.

First, as a tool develop into a machine, the artisan is driven from his shop, into the factory of a small capitalist. Then, as the machine develops into a greater machine, the small capitalist is driven out of business by his more powerful competitor; and so on until the greatest capitalists, unable singly to possess themselves of the vast machinery required to carry on industry, unite into Corporations, which in turn unite into Trusts, Concentration in productive industry necessitates a corresponding concentration in the distributive agency, i. e., commerce.

Thus does Individual Capitalism develop into Collective Capitalism, less and less competitive; while Individual Labor develops into Collective Labor, more and more competitive. A point at last is reached where the class struggle culminates; a point where "To be or not to be" is the question for the majority of the people. The end is in sight. The issue is plain. "The dispossessors must be dispossessed." The instruments of Collective Labor must be owned collectively by the whole people—that is, by the Cooperative Commonwealth; "a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the factors of modern civilization."

How shall this great social revolution be accomplished?

In any form of Society the economic organism depends for its development and preservation upon its political organ; the organ which, under the name of "government" is simply the public agent of the economic rulers. In capitalism, government is necessarily the right arm of the Capitalist

Class; its function is to promote by all means the interests of that class, to promptly obey its commands, and especially to protect at all hazards the very fundamental of the capitalist structure, namely capitalist ownership of the means of production. Were government the organ of collective labor instead of collective capitalism, the capitalist structure would fall and the Socialist structure would rise.

The proletariat must, therefore, constitute itself into a political party of its own class, in order to possess itself of the government, which, adapted to the changed requirements of the modified social organism, will no longer be, as it ever was in the past, a class executioner, but will be transformed into a public executive of the administrative measures adopted by a free people.

HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members-at large, may proceed as follows:

1. Seven persons, five of whom must be actual wage workers, may form a "Section," provided they acknowledge the platform, constitution and resolutions of the Party and belong to no other political party. But if more than seven propose to organize a "Section" then at least three fourths must be actual wage workers.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find

six others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members-at large by signing the application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and answering other questions on the application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application for the use of individual members as well as all other information, apply to the undersigned.

Arnold Petersen, National Secretary,
45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.

