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## YOU ARE DEPENDENT

upon the capitalist class for a chance to earn a living as long as you allow that class to retain its complete hold on industry. If you would obtain

## THE RIGHT TO WORK

you must identify with the rest of the working class in proper Union. What kind of organization is needed, and what to it we should be permitted to end the awful conditions in the mines and industrial plants of the United States is outlined out and explained in

## THE WEEKLY PEOPLE 45 ROSS ST., NEW YORK CITY

The Weekly People, being the Party-owned mouthpiece of the Socialist Labor Party of America, aims at increasing democracy through the union, for industrial union and revolutionary working class political action. It is a complete Socialist weekly paper, and sells at \$1.00 a year, 30 cents for six months, 15 cents for three months. A trial subscription of seven weeks may be had for 15 cents. Send for the sample copy.

# Constitution

OF THE

## Socialist

## Labor Party

OF THE

United States  
of America



APPROVED AT THE

**Eleventh National Convention**  
NEW YORK, JULY, 1903

APPROVED AT THE

**Twelfth National Convention**  
NEW YORK, JULY, 1905 & 1912

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Management.

Section 1. The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Executive Committee, the National Secretary, the State Organizations, the Local Organizations, the Sections, the National Conventions, and the General Vote.

ARTICLE II.

Sections.

Section 1. Seven persons, five of whom must be actual wageworkers, 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 wageworkers.

Not more than one charter shall be granted in any city or town, except in a city comprising a territory greater than a county, in which case not more than one charter shall be granted to each of such counties. But where a part of a county falls inside a city and a part outside of it a charter may be granted to each of the

towns and cities located in the part of the county not included in such city.

a. They shall report to their State Executive Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee, their organization as a Section, with the names and addresses of the members and the dues for the current month.

b. Each Section shall send every six months to the State and National Executive Committees a report of its numerical and financial condition, and shall report to the State Executive Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee at least once a year the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise.

Sec. 2. The Section shall be the unit of organization.

Sec. 3. At every meeting a new Chairman shall be elected, who shall observe the usual parliamentary rules.

Sec. 4. The order of business of the Sections shall be as follows:

1. Reading of Minutes.
2. New Members.
3. Correspondence.
4. Financial Report.
5. Report of Organizer.
6. Report of Committees.
7. Party Press and Literature.
8. Unfinished Business.
9. New Business.

Sec. 5. Every Section shall elect from its members an Organizer, and such additional officers as it deems proper. The Organizer shall conduct the correspondence with the National and State Executive Committees, and shall send an official report once every six months to each of the said Committees; he shall send twelve cents of the monthly dues of each member to the State Executive Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee; he shall conduct the local organization and agitation.

Sec. 6. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a Section of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

Sec. 7. Sections shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

Sec. 8. Every Section shall elect a standing Grievance Committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges and difficulties in the Section and report its decision.

Sec. 9. All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual members preferring same, and charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section. The Grievance Committee shall deliver a

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

Sec. 10. All decisions of the Section may be appealed from within three months to the State Executive Committee. Decisions of the State Executive Committee may be appealed from within one month to a general vote of the Sections in the State, or to a State Convention, and the decision then reached, and all decisions of the National Executive Committee in individual grievances, where no State Executive Committee exists, shall be final.

Sec. 11. A two-thirds majority of the members, voting upon this question, at any business meeting, shall be sufficient to expel any member or to

suspend him for a definite period. Expulsion and suspension shall be reported at once to the State and National Executive Committees, giving cause for action.

Sec. 12. No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party unless properly reinstated by the Section that expelled or suspended him or, if it shall have ceased to exist, by the State Executive Committee or, in the absence of such, by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 13. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for two months, unless they are known to be sick or unemployed, shall be immediately notified in writing by the Financial Secretary and at the conclusion of the third month of delinquency shall stand suspended without further action of the Section. At the end of the fifth month another notice shall be sent to the delinquent and at the end of the sixth month, unless paid up, his name shall be stricken from the list of members and the fact so recorded in the minutes.

Sec. 14. Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues, but the fact must be noted each month upon their cards.

Sec. 15. Each Section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

Sec. 16. The result of every election within the Section must be communicated at once to the National and the State Executive Committee.

Sec. 17. In case of the dissolution, suspension or expulsion of any Section, all property of the same must be delivered to the State Executive Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 18. No Section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party. No candidate of the Party for any public office shall accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party, nor allow any such nomination or endorsement to stand without public protest, otherwise his nomination must be at once withdrawn and the fact made known through the Party organs and as much as possible through all other means of publication.

Sec. 19. Members-at-large shall be subject to the supervision of the State Executive Committee in the same manner as a member to a Section.

Sec. 20. No member, committee, or Section of the Party shall support any political publications other than Party organs by donations of money or procuring subscribers for the same.

Sec. 21. Acquaintance with the current affairs of the Party being essential for an intelligent discharge of the

duties and responsibilities of Party membership, each Section shall relentlessly insist upon each member being a regular reader of the Party organ, except when none such is published in the language read by the member; and the Section shall order the paper at its own expense, if necessary, for the benefit of the unemployed.

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

### ARTICLE III.

#### Local Organization.

Section 1. When in any city or town a Section is subdivided into branches, it shall form a City or Town Organization, to be known as the General Committee, and all local business and all dealings with the Party's National and the State Executive Committee shall be carried on by such Committee. When the general local government embraces a locality greater or smaller than a town or city the same rule shall apply.

Sec. 2. Such Committee shall alone exercise the powers delegated to Sec-

tions under Article II as far as concerns the admission, expulsion and suspension of members, and from all decisions of the Committee in such matters appeal may be taken within one month to a general vote of the Section under its jurisdiction. The Committee shall consider no application for admission to membership unless the same has been accepted by a branch under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. In a city, town or other locality having a legal organization under laws permitting non-members to elect the same, the General Committee, and in the absence of such the Section, shall prepare a set of rules for the government of such organization, subject to the approval of the National and the State Executive Committees, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### State Organization.

Section 1. When in any State there are three sections in three different towns or cities, they shall form a state organization to be known as the State Executive Committee. It shall be the duty of such Committee to con-

duct systematic agitation within its jurisdiction, form new Sections, and provide the blanks required for the resignation of candidates for public office.

Sec. 2. Every Section connected with such Committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. The Committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee, giving the state of the organization and also a financial report for the six months.

Sec. 4. In a State having a legal State organization under laws permitting non-members of the Party to elect the same, the State Executive Committee shall prepare a set of rules for the government of such organization, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization, and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

Sec. 5. No State Executive Committee shall have the power to expel, or suspend and reorganize any Section guilty of disloyalty.

#### ARTICLE V.

##### National Executive Committee.

Section 1. The National Executive

committee shall consist of one member from each State organized with a State Committee.

Sec. 2. The members of the National Executive Committee shall be elected by a general vote of the members of the party in their respective States.

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

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

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

a. Upon the application of two Sections of his own State, made to their State Executive Committee and ratified by a referendum vote of the membership of the State, or,

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

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

third of its members, pledging themselves to attend.

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

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

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

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

Sec. 11. The whole or any part of the above mentioned Sub-Committee is at any time subject to recall by a majority vote of the National Execu-

tive Committee, adopted while in session or by written communication.

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

Sec. 13. The Sub-Committee shall be composed of fifteen members.

Sec. 14. The National Executive Committee has for its duty:

a. To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention and those adopted by a general vote.

b. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.

c. To render final decisions in all appeals made to it where no State Organization exists.

d. To expel, or suspend and reorganize any State Executive Committee or Section guilty of disloyalty.

e. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.

f. To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report to such convention on all party matters.

g. To audit the books of the National Secretary and all other books of the Party, every six months, and to issue semi-annually, and in sufficient number, copies of a report of the party's finances.

h. To submit propositions to a gen-

eral vote. A proposition sent from any Section if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different States, shall be submitted to a general vote; but if in the opinion of the Committee the proposition is not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote unless five per cent. of all the Sections in good standing shall subsequently re-endorse it.

i. To be represented at the National Convention by the National Secretary, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice, and shall bear no other credentials.

j. To issue application cards bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the Party and the duties required from the applicant.

k. To issue membership cards, including a copy of the Party Constitution, also to provide transfer cards to members moving.

l. To publish in the official Party organ all expulsions and suspensions reported and all its decisions on appeals.

Sec. 15. The Committee may make its own order of business, and may compensate its officers from the Party treasury according to the labors performed.

Sec. 16. No editor of a Party publication, and no permanent, salaried employee of the Committee, excepting



its own officers, shall be a member of the National Executive Committee.

#### ARTICLE VI.

##### National Secretary.

Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Sec. 2. His term of office shall be four years and he shall sign a pledge similar to the one required of the candidates for the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. The procedure in removing the National Secretary from office shall be the same as that provided for the removal of a member of the National Executive Committee by Article V, Section 5, clause b.

Sec. 4. In case of vacancy in the office of National Secretary the National Executive Committee shall fill the vacancy temporarily, and at once proceed to nominate two candidates and submit the same to a general vote of the whole Party for the selection of a permanent National Secretary.

Sec. 5. He shall be the Financial Secretary of the Party and shall act as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He shall not be a member of the National Executive Committee, but shall have an advisory voice in all its proceedings.

#### ARTICLE VII.

##### National Convention.

Section 1. The National Convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or presidential election year; but, if five Sections in three different States so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as

the place, **but the date** of the convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. The State shall be the basis of representation, each State to be entitled to one delegate for every fifty members in the State, on December 31 of the year next preceding, and one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. Any State having less than fifty members to be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a State.

Sec. 3. The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention in January of the convention year, and the State Executive Committee, in transmitting the call to the Sections, shall call for nominations for delegates, the nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for.

"Resolved, That the clause, accidentally dropped from the Constitu-

tion, prohibiting proxy delegates to the National Convention, be restored."

The clause now reads as follows:

"Delegates must be members of the State electing them."

Sec. 4. Delegates shall be members in good standing of the Party for one year and citizens of the United States, but a State unable to comply with this provision may dispense with the same as far as may be necessary, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. Each delegate shall have but one vote.

Sec. 5. The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the States sending them, but the National Executive Committee shall set aside two cents of the moneys received for every due stamp sold to be used as a mileage fund, each State to be paid from said fund for the railroad fare of its delegates upon the basis of an equal percentage for every delegate attending the convention.

Sec. 6. The National Convention shall frame the National Platform, decide the form of organization, select the seat of the National Executive Committee, and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party. A majority vote shall be necessary in selecting the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 7. All acts of the National Convention shall be submitted to the

Sections for approval by a general vote.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### Dues.

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

Sec. 2. The dues shall be received for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Executive Committee at the rate of seven cents each, and in the absence of such to the Sections at the rate of twelve cents each.

Sec. 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.

## ARTICLE IX.

### The Party Press.

Section 1. The National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of all Party organs, and shall act on grievances connected with the same.

Sec. 2. The editor of every Official Party Organ shall be elected by the National Convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Sec. 3. The procedure in removing the editor of an Official Party Organ, and in case of a vacancy in his position, shall be the same as that provided for the National Secretary, but any such editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal shall be at once suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 4. The election of editors of other publications recognized as Party Organs, but not Official, shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall demand from the publishers the immediate removal of an editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal, and in case of non-compliance with this demand, the National Executive Committee shall at once repudiate the publication.

Sec. 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.

## ARTICLE X.

### Official Party Organs.

Section 1. The Daily People and the Weekly People shall be official Party Organs.

Sec. 2. The management of official Party organs shall be administered by the National Executive Committee, said committee to hold the property of the official Party organs in trust, subject to the Constitution and Resolutions of the Party affecting their management.

## ARTICLE XI.

### Miscellaneous.

Section 1. This constitution may be amended by the National Convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, except that required for approving the acts of a National Convention, amendments may be proposed by any Section to any proposition so laid before the Party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together with the original proposition. The result of the vote must be reported fifteen weeks after the first call was issued.

The National Secretary shall forthwith transmit to the Sections a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each Section.

Sec. 2. All officers and committees of a Section, or of State and Local Organizations, shall be subject to removal by their constituents upon charges duly made and tried.

Sec. 3. No applicant shall be admitted to membership without the presiding officer shall explain the significance of the class struggle to him, and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member.

Sec. 4. In subscribing to the platform and constitution, the members take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability, in case of need.

Sec. 5. A member in good standing of one Section shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Section or branch of a Section, but shall not be allowed to vote.

Sec. 6. No person shall participate in hearing or deciding an appeal who is a party to the proceedings.

Sec. 7. No person who has not been a member of the Party for at least one year, and who has not identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work, shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office without the specific approval of the State Executive Committee.

Sec. 8. On accepting a nomination of the Party for a public office, the

candidate shall at once give the Section in charge a signed resignation, dated blank, of the office for which he is nominated, and shall assent in writing to its being filed with the proper authorities if, in case of election, he proves disloyal to the Party, such resignation and assent, immediately upon execution, to be turned over to the State Executive Committee.

Sec. 9. At all elections and in all voting, unless otherwise provided, a plurality vote is sufficient to decide.

Sec. 10. Sections and Local and State Organizations may make rules for their action, but such must not conflict with any rules duly provided for their formation and procedure nor with any rules of the State or National Organization, all rules of the Sections and Local Organizations, to be approved by their respective State Executive Committees; and all rules of State Organizations to be approved by the National Executive Committee.

Sec. 11. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern the organization in so far as special rules are not provided.

Sec. 12. The functions of a State Executive Committee under the Constitution and Regulations of the Party shall be exercised by the National Executive Committee where no State Executive Committee exists.

Sec. 13. It is the duty of every State Secretary and Organizer to transmit

promptly to their respective Sections and members all official matters and communications sent to them from the National Executive Committee for that purpose.

Sec. 14. If a member is expelled or suspended after being elected delegate to a State or National Convention, such member may be seated in the convention to which he has been elected, if it, upon investigation, so decides.

Sec. 15. No member of the National Executive Committee, nor any other national officer, nor any of their subalterns or appointees shall have power to raise any loan or loans or otherwise incur any liability in the name of the Socialist Labor Party, without first securing the express approval of the membership of the Party by general vote.

Sec. 16. No Party institution shall extend credit to organizations of the Party sending for supplies.

Sec. 17. All former provisions conflicting with this Constitution are rescinded.

Sec. 18. The N. E. C. shall set aside 5 cents of the money received for every due stamp sold, to be used as a propaganda leaflet fund. Propaganda leaflets in different languages shall be issued by the N. E. C. to S. L. P. organizations free upon demand. S. L. P. organizations shall be required to

render monthly reports to the N. E. C. specifying how many propaganda leaflets were received, how many disposed of, and the manner in which they were disposed of.

## ARTICLE XII.

### Language Federations.

Non-English speaking language federations nationally organized shall be affiliated with the S. L. P. in the following manner:

Section 1. The federation shall pay the same per capita tax to the National Executive Committee as the State Executive Committees: seven cents per member per month.

Sec. 2. Each federation to be represented on the N. E. C. by one member.

Sec. 3. Each federation shall be represented in the National Convention of the S. L. P. by one delegate for every 50 members or fraction thereof.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 5. Branches of federations shall be represented in the State Conventions of the Party, provided they pay the regular per capita to the State Executive Committees of the

S. L. P., or by fraternal delegates.

Sec. 6. The S. L. P. shall have full jurisdiction over all properties of the federations, as with all other subdivisions of the Party, without responsibility for any indebtedness incurred by the federations.

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

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

Sec. 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 Section only.

Sec. 10. The constitution and by-laws of the national bodies of language federations shall be subject to approval by the N. E. C. of the Party, and shall contain all fundamental provisions of the National Party Constitution.

### ARTICLE XIII.

#### International Socialist Bureau Representative.

Sec. 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.

## RESOLUTIONS

Resolution on economic organization presented at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress jointly by the delegate of the S. L. P. and the delegate of the I. W. W., and adopted at the Twelfth National Convention of the S. L. P., July, 1908, as a declaration of the Party's position on the trades union question:

Whereas, The integrally organized industrial organization of the Working Class is the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and foreshadows the organic form of that Commonwealth, as well as its administrative powers;

Whereas, Craft Unionism, wherever capitalism has reached untrammelled full bloom, has approved itself what the plutocratic "Wall Street Journal" or New York has hailed it, in hailing the Gompers-Mitchell American Federation of Labor, "The bulwark of capitalist Society," that bred the officialdom which the capitalist Mark Hanna designated as his "Labor-Lieutenants"; therefore be it

Resolved, 1. That "Neutrality" towards Trades Unions, on the part of a political party of Socialism, is equivalent to "neutrality toward the machinations of the capitalist class";

2. That the bona fide, or revolutionary Socialist Movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of Labor, the former for propaganda and warfare upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot, without which all ballot is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lock-out of the capitalist class;

3. That, without the political organization, the Labor or Socialist Movement could not reach its triumph; without the economic, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure and simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement.

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Resolution on conduct during strikes, adopted at the Twelfth National Convention of the S. L. P., July 1908:

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party, while retaining its right to criticize and expose all wrongfully constructed and conducted labor or-

ganizations, and exercising its duty to do so, emphatically maintains its position that it is the duty of every member of the Party to stand on the side of the workmen whenever a bona-fide strike or other conflict for improved conditions of labor occurs, either as a spontaneous action of the workers or as a result of action taken by any labor organization whatever.

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## APPENDIX

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### SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY PLATFORM

Adopted by the National Convention of the Party, April 10, 1912.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America in National Convention assembled in New York on April 10th, 1912, re-affirming its previous platform pronouncements, and in accord with the International Socialist Movement, declares:

Social conditions, as illustrated by the events that crowded into the last four years, have ripened so fast that each and all the principles, hitherto proclaimed by the Socialist Labor Party, and all each of the methods that the Socialist Labor Party has hitherto advocated, stand today most conspicuously demonstrated.

The Capitalist Social System has wrought its own destruction. Its leading exponents, the present incumbent in the Presidential Chair, and his "illustrious predecessor," however seemingly at war with each other on principles, cannot conceal the identity of their political views. The oligarchy proclaimed by the tenets of the one, the monarchy proclaimed

by the tenets of the other, jointly proclaim the conviction of the foremost men of the Ruling Class that the Republic of Capital is at the end of its tether.

True to the economic laws from which Socialism proceeds, dominant wealth has to such an extent concentrated into the hands of a select few, the Plutocracy, that the lower layers of the Capitalist Class feel driven to the ragged edge, while the large majority of the people, the Working Class, are being submerged.

True to the sociologic laws, by the light of which Socialism reads its forecasts, the Plutocracy is breaking through its republic-democratic shell and is stretching out its hands toward Absolutism in government; the property-holding layers below it are turning at bay; the proletariat is awakening to its consciousness of class, and thereby to the perception of its historic mission.

In the midst of this hurly, all the colors of the rainbow are being projected upon the social mists from the prevalent confusion of thought.

From the lower layers of the Capitalist Class the holder, yet foolhardy, notion bluntly demands that "the Trust be smashed."

Even if the Trust could, it should not be smashed; even if it should it cannot. The law of social progress pushes toward a system of production that shall crown the efforts of man, without arduous toil, with an abundance of the necessities for material existence, to the end of allowing leisure for mental and spiritual expansion. The Trust is a mechanical contrivance wherewith to solve the problem. To smash the contrivance were to reintroduce the days of small-fry competition, and set back the hands of the dial of time. The mere thought is foolhardy. He who undertakes the feat might as well brace himself against the cascade of Niagara. The cascade of Social Evolution would overwhelm him.

The less bold among the smaller property-holding element proposes to "curb" the Trust with a variety of schemes. The very forces of social evolution that propel the development of the Trust stamp the "curbing" schemes, whether political or economic, as childish. They are attempts to hold back a runaway horse by the tail. The laws by which the attempt has been tried strew the path of the run-

away. They are splintered to pieces with its kicks, and serve only to furnish a livelihood for the Corporation and the Anti-Corporation lawyer.

From still lower layers of the same property-holding class, social layers that have sniffed the breath of Socialism and imagine themselves Socialists, comes the iridescent theory of capturing the Trust for the people by the ballot only. The "capture of the trust for the people" implies the Social Revolution. To imply the Social Revolution with the ballot only, without the means to enforce the ballot's fiat, in case of Reaction's attempt to override it, is to fire blank cartridges at a foe. It is worse. It is to threaten his existence without the means to carry out the threat. Threats of revolution, without provisions to carry them out result in one of two things only—either the leaders are bought out, or the revolutionary class, to which the leaders appeal and which they succeed in drawing after themselves, are led like cattle to the shambles. The Commune disaster of France stands a monumental warning against the blunder.

An equally iridescent hue of the rainbow is projected from a still lower layer, a layer that lies almost wholly within the submerged class—the theory of capturing the Trust for the Working Class with the fist only. The capture of the Trust for the people implies something else, besides revolution. It implies revolution carried on by the masses. For reasons parallel to those that decree the day of small-fry competition gone by, mass-revolutionary conspiracy is, today, an impossibility. The Trust-holding Plutocracy may successfully put through a conspiracy of physical force. The smallness of its numbers makes a successful conspiracy possible on its part. The hugeness of the numbers requisite for a revolution against the Trust-holding Plutocracy excludes Conspiracy from the arsenal of the Revolution. The idea of capturing the Trust with physical force only is a wild chimera.

Only two programs—the program of the Plutocracy and the program of the Socialist Labor Party—grasp the situation.

The political State, another name for the Class State, is worn out in this, the leading capitalist nation of the world, most prominently. The Industrial or Socialist State is throbbing for birth. The Political State, being a Class State, is government



separate and apart from the productive energies of the people; it is government mainly for holding the ruled class in subjection. The Industrial or Socialist State, being the denial of the Class State, is government that is part and parcel of the productive energies of the people.

As their functions are different, so are the structures of the two States different.

The structure of the Political State contemplates territorial "representation" only; the structure of the Industrial State contemplates representation of industries, of useful occupations only.

The economic or industrial evolution has reached that point where the Political State no longer can maintain itself under the forms of democracy. While the Plutocracy has relatively shrunk, the enemies it has raised against itself have become too numerous to be dallied with. What is still worse, obedient to the law of its own existence the Political State has been forced not merely to multiply enemies against itself; it has been forced to recruit and group the bulk of these enemies, the revolutionary bulk, at that.

The Working Class of the land, the historically revolutionary element, is grouped by the leading occupations, agricultural as well as industrial, in such manner that the "autonomous craft union" one time the palladium of the workers, has become a harmless scare-crow upon which the capitalist birds roost at ease, while the Industrial Unions cast ahead of them the constituencies of the government of the future, and, jointly point to the Industrial State.

Nor yet is this all. Not only has the Political State raised its own enemies; not only has itself multiplied them; not only has itself recruited and drilled them; not only has itself grouped them into shape and form to succeed it; it is, furthermore, driven by its inherent necessities, prodding on the Revolutionary Class by digging ever more fiercely into its flanks the harpoon of exploitation.

With the purchasing power of wages sinking to ever lower depths; with certainty of work hanging on ever slenderer threads; with an ever more gigantic swelling army of the unemployed; with the need of profits pressing the Plutocracy harder and harder recklessly to squander the workers' limbs and life; what with all this and the parallel process

of merging the workers of all industries into one interdependent solid mass, the final break-up is rendered inevitable and at hand.

No wild schemes and no rainbow-chasing will stand in the approaching emergency. The Plutocracy knows this—and so does the Socialist Labor Party—and logical is the program of each.

The program of the Plutocracy is feudalistic Autocracy, translated into Capitalism. Where a Social Revolution is pending, and, for whatever reason, is not enforced, REACTION is the alternative.

The program of the Socialist Labor Party is REVOLUTION—the Industrial or Socialist Republic, the Social Order where the Political State is overthrown; where the Congress of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land; where, accordingly, a government is an essential factor in production; where the blessings to man that the Trust is instinct with are freed from the trammels of the private ownership that now turn the potential blessings into a curse; where, accordingly, abundance can be the patrimony of all who work; and the shackles of wage slavery are no more.

In keeping with the goals of the different programs are the means of their execution.

The means in contemplation by REACTION is the bayonet. To this end REACTION is seeking, by means of the police spy and other agencies, to lash the proletariat into acts of violence that may give a color to the resort to the bayonet. By its manoeuvres, it is egging the Working Class on to deeds of fury. The capitalist press echoes the policy, while the pure and simple political Socialist Party press, generally, is snared into the trap.

On the contrary, the means firmly adhered to by the Socialist Labor Party is the constitutional method of political action, backed by the industrially and class-consciously organized proletariat, to the exclusion of Anarchy, and all that thereby hangs.

At such a critical period in the Nation's existence the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the Working Class of America, more deliberately serious than ever before, to rally at the polls under the Party's banner. And the Party also calls upon all 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 for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder, the Socialist or Industrial Commonwealth—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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