

# Twenty-Sixth National Convention Socialist Labor Party

May 2-4, 1964

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



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National Executive Committee  
Socialist Labor Party  
116 Nassau Street  
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201



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ERIC HASS

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate  
for President, 1964*



HENNING BLOMEN

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate  
for Vice President, 1964*

... Automated machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labor, of conquering once and for all the terrible light of poverty and want, we behold condemning the mass of useful producers to a lifetime of insecurity and increasing misery. To paraphrase Karl Marx, the fabulous new sources of wealth, as though by a strange weird spell, have been turned by capitalism into sources of want. For while the new technology is the means for extracting from a shrinking army of employed workers stupendous profits . . . , its simultaneous effect is to visit tragedy on millions of workers whose jobs are laid out—and to create . . . an army of the permanently unemployed. . . ."  
(Excerpt from Eric Hass's acceptance address.)

"... History and economic development are on the side of working-class emancipation from the thralldom of class rule. Every economic change and every technological improvement contributes to provide additional foundation material for the edifice of the Socialist Industrial Republic. Virtual abundance, material well-being for one and all, Industrial Democracy by means of democratic decision-making by the sole producers of all social wealth—the working class—are the actual possibilities held out to mankind today . . . Our program must be broadcast far and near. It must reach the ears of the entire working class. Our responsibility is one we cannot shirk except to the peril of mankind!" (Excerpt from Henning Blomen's acceptance address.)



## Opening Address of National Secretary Arnold Petersen at the 26th National Convention, Socialist Labor Party

At this, its 26th Quadrennial National Convention, entering its 19th national Presidential campaign, the Socialist Labor Party of America once again flings its challenge at the predatory, usurping capitalist class. It will present anew its indictment of the robber system which that class upholds and defends—the system which condemns the great majority of our people to a life-long tenure of wage slavery and de facto economic serfdom.

Basically the issue before us involves an economic question, and the issue must ultimately be determined on this basis. It is an issue charged with revolution; it cannot be resolved by patchwork, palliatives or petty reforms. But it is also a great moral issue since it poses the fundamental question of whether or not a useless, socially unproductive class, in usurping possession of the wealth-producing instruments, shall be given a continuing franchise to extract from the wealth producers—the working class—all the values it alone produces save that small fraction it receives in the form of wages, which is the minimum required to maintain life and to continue as a wealth-producing class.

One hundred years ago the great American Civil War was drawing to a close. The basic issue in that war was likewise economic, but it also posed a great moral question, that is, whether chattel slavery—brutal human exploitation—should be allowed to flourish and extend its dominion or be consigned to history's scrap heap. It was a long and sanguinary struggle, but the progressive economic forces in society, supported by the moral judgment of an advancing civilization, eventually triumphed, and chattel slavery was terminated on this continent.

The modern capitalist class—the plutocracy—seeks to evade or ignore the basic issue of this age, the issue of private ownership in the means of life, and the issue of wage slavery. And by ignoring this basic issue, or by denying its existence, it seeks at the same time to prevent the releasing of these social means of production from the bondage of that private ownership, and their transfer to social ownership for the use of all society, with consequent social and economic freedom in abundance for today's wage-slave class. In their resistance to this imperious demand of the age, the capitalist class, and their political and journalistic servitors, employ all the trickery and deception typical of a doomed ruling class, clothing their falsehoods and specious reasoning in moral and religious drapery, while marshaling all their resources to deceive and befuddle their exploited wage slaves.



From every standpoint capitalism has convicted itself as a criminal system, and the capitalist class as a felon class. Apart from the basic crime of conspiring to maintain the working class in perpetual economic bondage, capitalism has brought the world and all humanity to the very brink of universal thermonuclear disaster and even global destruction. In this it has had the powerful aid of totalitarian States, whose ruling classes have fairly matched the criminal designs and depredations of the capitalist classes everywhere.

Thus these ruling classes and their systems have been responsible for the destruction of millions of human lives through two world wars and countless minor conflicts, with threats of even more destructive and murderous wars to come. Add to these crimes the practically unchecked ruthless devastation wrought in nature's domain, and the corruption of human resources and sundering of social relations in every field of modern living, and we are presented with a situation unparalleled in human history, to wit:

*Capitalism* is primarily responsible for the appalling rise of crimes in varying degrees of monstrosity, and of almost daily occurrence; it is responsible for the corrupting of our youth and for the lowering of moral standards wherever it has left its mark.

*Capitalism* is solely responsible for the continued existence and spread of slums and racial ghettos, with the consequent degradation of large sections of the population.

*Capitalism* is primarily responsible for the deadly pollution of the air in all of our large cities, resulting in the increase of mortal diseases that condemn countless numbers to early death or nameless agonies.

*Capitalism* is chiefly accountable for the erosion of the soil in large areas of our beautiful land, resulting in their conversion into arid wasteland. It is responsible for the wanton destruction of our once mighty forests and for the ever-continuing pollution of all the nation's great rivers. It is responsible for the conscienceless destruction of the country's irreplaceable wild life through the injudicious and unregulated use of chemicals and pesticides, even threatening an imbalance of nature itself, as has been recently emphasized by leading scientists with a social conscience.

These, and more, are our charges against capitalism; this is our indictment of this criminally insane jungle system and its profit-mad upholders and beneficiaries. Time and again the Socialist Labor Party has presented proof of these charges in abundance, and stands ready to present more if, indeed, further proof of the criminal nature of the system is needed.

In entering this Presidential campaign, the Socialist Labor Party, as in the past, is dedicated to the proposition that capitalism must be

destroyed in the interest of continuing social progress, and to ensure the future happiness and well-being of the human race. We shall present our Socialist program for the careful consideration of the working class and the electorate in general, and we shall urge upon the voters to reject the program of the capitalist class, and the false claims and promises of the capitalist politicians. As there are but two opposing classes in society, so there can be only two opposing social and political programs directed to any meaningful purpose, good or evil. As our Party's great founder, Daniel De Leon, said long ago:

"Only two programs—the program of the plutocracy and the Socialist Labor Party—grasp this situation. . . . The program of the plutocracy is feudalistic autocracy. . . . 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, 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."

This is our program, these are our principles, our goal and purpose. For these we shall wage a vigorous and uncompromising campaign, marshaling all forces at our command, and employing our resources to the full.

In this spirit, and in behalf of the National Executive Committee, I now declare this 26th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party in session.



# THE 26th NATIONAL CONVENTION of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

## Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

*Morning Session, Saturday, May 2, 1964*

The convention was called to order at 11 a.m. by National Secretary Arnold Petersen, at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City, with the following opening address:

See page 7 of this report.

Nathan Karp, of New Jersey, was elected temporary chairman.

James Sim, of Michigan, was elected temporary vice chairman.

Aaron M. Orange, of New York, was elected temporary recording secretary.

A Credentials Committee was elected as follows: Joseph Pirincin (Ohio) and John P. Quinn (California).

A recess was declared to permit the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the delegates.

The Credentials Committee reported 29 delegates present representing the following states and Federations:

California, 3 delegates: Robert W. Long, John P. Quinn, Herbert Steiner; Colorado, 1 delegate: Irene Kelly; Connecticut, 1 delegate: Martin Spahr; District of Columbia, 1 delegate: Milos Cico; Illinois, 1 delegate: Louis Fisher; Indiana, 1 delegate: John M. Morris; Massachusetts, 1 delegate: Henning A. Blomen; Michigan, 2 delegates: James C. Horvath, James Sim; Minnesota, 1 delegate: Eldred H. Bauers; Missouri, 1 delegate: Mendel Cohen; New Jersey, 1 delegate: Nathan Karp; New York, 3 delegates: Aaron M. Orange, Walter Steinhilber, Bernard Reitzes (Alternate, in place of Emil F. Teichert); Ohio, 2 delegates: Peter M. Kapitz, Joseph Pirincin; Oregon, 1 delegate: Henry R. Korman; Pennsylvania, 1 delegate: George S. Taylor; Washington, 1 delegate: Henry Killman; Wisconsin, 1 delegate: Georgia Cozzini; Bulgarian SLF, 3 delegates: N. Atzeff, G.J. Kercheff, C. Oundjjeff; South Slavonian SLF, 3 delegates: P. Slepceovich, B. Radov, J. Resanovich.

The Credentials Committee reported the presence of the fraternal delegate from the Socialist Labor Party of Canada, Alan Sanderson, without credentials, his election certified by the National Secretary, Arnold Petersen.

The committee recommended the seating of the 29 delegates and fraternal delegate from the SLP of Canada. On motion, concurred in.

On motion, the following were elected Committee on Order of Busi-



ness and Rules: James Sim (Michigan), Herbert Steiner (California).  
A recess was declared.

On reconvening, H. Steiner (Calif.), reporting for the committee, recommended adoption of the following Order of Business and Rules:

#### A

1. Organization
  - (a) Election of chairman, vice chairman and recording secretary.
  - (b) Election of permanent sergeant-at-arms and a messenger.
2. Election of Committee on Mileage (2).

Recess
3. Report of Mileage Committee.
4. Report of the National Executive Committee.
5. Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.
6. Election of Committee on Constitution and Matters Pertaining Thereto (3).
7. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (5).
8. Election of Auditing Committee (2).
9. Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature (3).
10. Election of Committee on General Agitation (3).
11. Election of National Campaign Committee (3).
12. Election of Committee to Ascertain Availability of Candidates for President and Vice President (2).
13. Roll Call of Delegates for the Introduction of Resolutions for Reference to Committees.
14. Adjournment—4.30 p.m.

#### B

The following Order of Business for each day *after* the first day:

1. Election of chairman and vice chairman.
2. Roll call of delegates.
3. Reading of minutes.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of committees and action thereon.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. The last half hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be read and referred to the appropriate committees.
9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 noon. Afternoon sessions from 1.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. Evening sessions if necessary.

#### C

1. Nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, 3 p.m., second day of the convention.
2. Election of Committee on Vacancies, following nominations for President and Vice President.
3. Election of National Secretary, second day of the convention.
4. Election of Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, second day of the convention.
5. Report of Committee on Platform, second day of the convention, immediately following election of officers.
6. Reports of delegates, including address by Fraternal Delegate, last day of convention.

On motion, concurred in.

The Credentials Committee reported having erroneously stated that J. Resanovich was present as delegate from the South Slavonian SLF, whereas T. Yelusich, alternate delegate, was present in his place, and recommended he be seated. On motion, concurred in.

On motion, the following officers were made permanent for the day: Nathan Karp (N.J.), chairman; James Sim (Mich.), vice chairman.

On motion, the temporary recording secretary, Aaron M. Orange (N.Y.), was elected permanent recording secretary for the duration of the convention.

On motion, Sophie Blume was appointed assistant recording secretary for the duration of the convention.

Robert Clement was appointed permanent sergeant-at-arms and messenger.

On motion, a Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: Mendel Cohen (Missouri), Louis Fisher (Illinois).

A recess was declared (at 11.40 a.m.).

The convention was called to order at 12 noon.

The Committee on Mileage (Louis Fisher reporting) recommended the payment of mileage in the amount of \$2,720.73 to the various delegates. On motion, concurred in.

A motion to recess until 12.45 p.m. carried.

#### *Afternoon Session, Saturday, May 2*

The convention was called to order by Chairman Karp at 12.50 p.m.  
On roll call, all present.

The Credentials Committee reported that J. Resanovich, delegate from the South Slavonian SLF, was now present and recommended he be seated (replacing T. Yelusich, alternate). On motion, concurred in.



The chairman, Nathan Karp (calling for the next order of business, Report of the National Executive Committee), made the following remarks:

"Much has been said about the many years of constructive service rendered the Marxian Socialist Movement by the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party. And all of it so well deserved. All of us are thoroughly familiar with his masterful writings on many aspects of Marxian science. We know in what great measure he has contributed to the organizational strength, scientific integrity and Marxian prestige of our great Party.

"Not the least of his contributions have been his reports to the National Executive Committee Sessions and our National Conventions. In the humble opinion of your chairman these reports are among his finest contributions, having added immeasurably to our Socialist history, Socialist literature and Socialist knowledge.

"Today we are privileged to hear another such report. It is my pleasure and honor to present to this 26th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, our National Secretary, Comrade Arnold Petersen."

The National Secretary began the reading of the report of the NEC at 12.55 p.m. and continued until 3.30 p.m., a five-minute recess having been taken at 2.30 p.m.

Following the "In Memoriam" section of the report, the chairman called on all present to rise in silent tribute to the comrades and friends who had passed away.

At the suggestion of the chairman, the rules were suspended to hear the Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Eric Hass rendered his report. On motion, it was accepted and referred to the proper committee for whatever action may be required upon it.

#### ELECTION OF COMMITTEES

On motion, the following were elected:

*Committee on Constitution and Matters Pertaining Thereto:* Nathan Karp (N.J.); Louis Fisher (Ill.); Peter Kapitz (Ohio).

*Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto:* James Sim (Mich.); Georgia Cozzini (Wis.); Herbert Steiner (Calif.); Aaron M. Orange (N.Y.); Henning A. Blomen (Mass.).

*Auditing Committee:* Irene Kelly (Colo.); Mendel Cohen (Missouri).

*Committee on Party Press and Literature:* Robert Long (Calif.); James Horvath (Mich.); George S. Taylor (Pa.).

*Committee on General Agitation:* Henry Killman (Wash.); John Morris (Ind.); Henry Korman (Ore.).

*Committee on National Campaign:* Joseph Pirincin (Ohio); Walter Steinhilber (New York); Bernard Reitzes (New York).

*Committee to Ascertain Availability of Candidates for President and Vice President:* John P. Quinn (Calif.); Joseph Pirincin (Ohio).

#### COMMUNICATIONS:

The National Secretary submitted a letter from Section Philadelphia, Pa., proposing amendments to the Party Constitution. On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution. . . . .

On motion, the convention adjourned at 4.10 p.m.

#### Morning Session, Sunday, May 3

The convention was called to order at 10.10 a.m. by N. Karp.

On motion, Nathan Karp (N.J.) was elected chairman for the day; James Sim (Mich.) vice chairman for the day.

On roll call, all present with the exception of C. Oundjief (Bulgarian SLF), who arrived shortly after.

Minutes of the sessions of Saturday, May 2, adopted with correction.

The National Secretary resumed reading of the Report of the NEC and concluded at 11.40 a.m.

On motion, Report of the NEC as presented was accepted, those portions requiring action referred to appropriate committees.

On motion, convention recessed at 12.40 p.m. to reconvene at 2.45 p.m.

#### Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 3

Called to order at 2.50 p.m. by N. Karp, chairman.

On roll call, all present.

The chairman reported that C. Oundjief (Bulg. SLF) had collected \$10 less in mileage expense than the amount to which he was entitled. For the record he requested that correction be made, the \$10 to be applied as a contribution to the National Campaign Fund. Motion carried to approve.

Motion carried that the rules be suspended to hear the report of Committee on Platform following nomination of the candidates.

Report of Committee on Availability of Candidates (J.P. Quinn, Calif., reporting):

"Your committee regrets to have to report that a number of members, otherwise considered to be qualified, are not available for various personal reasons. One member, otherwise qualified, would have to remove himself from other extremely important Party activity in order to serve on the national ticket.

"However, your committee is pleased to report that we have established the availability of two qualified members ready and willing to serve if called upon by this convention to do so. Their names will be placed in nomination from the floor of the convention, together



with any other nominations that the delegates may want to make."

J. Pirincin (Ohio) rose to place the name of Eric Hass in nomination for President of the United States. Unanimously approved by a rising vote.

G. Cozzini (Wis.) placed in nomination the name of Henning A. Blomen as candidate for Vice President of the United States. Unanimously approved by a rising vote.

The chairman called upon the candidates to address the convention. Eric Hass and Henning Blomen delivered brief addresses of acceptance.

On motion by H. Steiner (Calif.), the NEC Sub-Committee was constituted the Committee on Vacancies.

*Report of Committee on Platform* (H. Steiner, Calif., reporting): submitted proposed National Platform for 1964. Motion (by J. Sim, Mich., seconded by W. Steinhilber, N.Y.), to adopt, carried unanimously with a minor change.

#### *Election of National Officers*

On motion by J. Pirincin (Ohio), Arnold Petersen was unanimously re-elected National Secretary by a rising vote.

On motion by J. Sim (Mich.), Eric Hass was unanimously re-elected Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE by a rising vote.

N. Karp requested to be excused to attend to pressing matters relating to the convention. Request granted and Vice Chairman J. Sim took over.

Motion carried (at 4.05 p.m.) to recess for 10 minutes.

On reconvening, the chairman called for a collection for the WEEKLY PEOPLE. \$94.79 reported collected.

E. Hass requested and was granted excuse to attend to his duties as Editor.

Reading was resumed on the sections of the Report of the NEC which had been laid over: Reports of the Bulgarian and South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federations, Special Language Committees (German, Esperanto and Hungarian); report of the SLP of Canada (read by Alan Sanderson, fraternal delegate of the Canadian organization); concluding with the section dealing with Great Britain. Reading of the Report of Australian SLP, etc., laid over.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 5.45 p.m.

#### *Morning Session, Monday, May 4*

Called to order at 10.10 a.m. by N. Karp.

On motion, N. Karp elected chairman for the day; J. Sim elected vice chairman for the day.

On roll call, all delegates present with the exception of J. Resanovich (South Slavonian SLP).

The Credentials Committee (J. Pirincin reporting) recommended that Tom Yelusich, alternate delegate, who had presented his credentials, be seated. On motion, concurred in.

Minutes of the sessions of Sunday, May 3, were adopted with correction.

The chairman announced that information was received that the Los Angeles SLP Subdivisions had collected \$1,300 for the National Campaign Fund at their May Day Celebration, and also reported on publicity received through the press, on radio and TV.

On motion by J. Sim (Mich.), the rules were suspended to hear reports of committees at this time.

*Committee on Constitution and Matters Pertaining Thereto* (Peter Kapitz, Ohio, reporting):

"The committee has carefully reviewed the Party's Constitution and the amendments proposed in the Report of the National Executive Committee to this Convention, and recommends that all the amendments proposed in the NEC's report be concurred in."

On motion, the amendments, acted upon seriatim, were all approved. The committee further reported as follows:

"We also carefully considered Section Philadelphia's proposal that Art. II, Sec. 1, on page 4, be changed so that a minimum of five persons, instead of seven, would be able to form a Section of the Party. In our judgment this would not be desirable. It would hardly provide the number of members to fill the basic offices and committees. While it is true that under certain circumstances Sections whose membership has temporarily fallen below the required minimum of seven are permitted to continue functioning as Sections, such Sections are under the constant supervision and control of the NEC, which has granted them the right to so continue. If, however, the constitutional provision were changed so that only five persons could organize a Section, such Sections would not be under the same close supervision and executive control. We recommend non-concurrence."

On motion, approved.

Further reporting, the committee submitted a second recommendation from Section Philadelphia for amending the Constitution, as follows:

"That Art. II, Sec. 7(a) be amended so that Sections with less than 12 members would be required to have only four members present to constitute a quorum. It is our judgment that such provision would discourage rather than encourage attendance at Section meetings, and we recommend non-concurrence."

On motion, approved.

Motion by J. Pirincin (Ohio) that in Article VII, Section 2, and



Article XII, Section 3, the figures 35 be stricken out and 25 substituted. Carried.

*Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto* submitted Resolutions on the following subjects:

1. *On Poverty* (reported by G. Cozzini, Wis.). On motion, approved as submitted.

2. *On Civil Rights* (J. Sim, Mich., reporting). On motion, approved with amendments.

At 12.10 p.m. motion to suspend rules and remain in session, carried.

A brief recess was declared.

On reconvening, the *Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto*, submitted the following resolutions:

3. *On Automation and Unemployment* (H. A. Blomen, Mass., reporting). On motion, approved as amended.

4. *On the International Situation and International Socialism* (H. Steiner, Calif., reporting). On motion, approved as amended.

The committee further recommended adoption of the following resolution (G. Cozzini, Wis., reporting):

"The 26th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party is cognizant of the fact that our National Secretary, Arnold Petersen, has conducted that post, with its multitude of duties, for the past fifty years, with his services redounding to the greatest possible benefit to the Party. Therefore be it—

"Resolved, That this Convention go on record in expressing its fullest appreciation and its deepest gratitude for his dedication and devotion to the building and maintaining of a sound organization which has made the Socialist Labor Party invincible against attack, and for his inestimable contributions to the cause of Marxian Socialism."

On motion, adopted.

Mendel Cohen (Missouri) requested permission to be excused from further attendance at the convention. Granted.

On motion, recess declared at 1.05 p.m., to reconvene at 3 p.m.

Called to order at 3.05 p.m.

On roll call, all present with the exception of J. Horvath (Mich.), who was serving on a committee, and M. Cohen (Missouri), absent with excuse. J. Horvath arrived later.

Credentials Committee reported J. Resanovich (delegate from South Slavonian SLP) was present, replacing T. Yelusich, alternate.

The chairman submitted for approval a bill for \$2.50 mileage expense incurred by T. Yelusich. Ordered paid.

Reading of the Report of the NEC was resumed, beginning with a Report from the SLP of Australia, and concluding with a brief report of activities carried on in British Guiana by an SLP study group.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

*Auditing Committee* (Irene Kelly, Colo., reporting) submitted the following:

"The accounts of the National Office and Party Plant have been audited for the years 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, by Certified Public Accountants, and the committee recommends that these financial reports be adopted."

On motion, concurred in.

*Committee on Party Press and Literature* (G.S. Taylor, Pa., reporting) submitted the following, recommending adoption:

I. "Whereas the over-all excellence of the WEEKLY PEOPLE and the SLP literature in general attests to the ability and diligence of those concerned with writing and publishing it, be it resolved that this convention go on record as expressing its gratitude to those who have labored so energetically and skillfully to make these instruments of education possible.

"Whereas the home-study course that appeared in the WEEKLY PEOPLE during 1963-64 is excellently written and was well received, be it resolved—

"1. That the convention endorse the decision to publish this course as a pamphlet, and

"2. That the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE be asked to consider the feasibility of expanding the course and/or the preparation of a more advanced course."

On motion, concurred in.

II. "Literature in bookstores.

"1. We recommend that a widespread and concerted effort be made by all Sections and isolated members to place selected SLP pamphlets and books in bookstores, especially paperback bookstores.

"The success of a number of Sections that are and have been doing this for some time indicates the desirability of utilizing this additional avenue for the dissemination of Socialist ideas.

"Indications are that this field is much more open to us now than was the case a decade or two ago."

On motion, concurred in.

"2. To help initiate this project, we recommend the compilation and mimeographing of a 'guide' to suggest the proper initial approach and methods to be used. These have already been determined to a large extent through experience. We suggest that our higher priced publications are the most suitable for this purpose from the viewpoint of acceptance by the bookseller, and suggested titles could be included in the mimeographed 'guide.'"

On motion, concurred in.



"3. In this same connection, we further recommend for the consideration by the NEC an increase in the discount allowed on Party publications to increase the attractiveness of our offer to bookstores, and to more nearly approximate the discounts which are common in that field."

On motion, concurred in.

"4. And a final recommendation of ours in this same connection is for the consideration by the Party of additional multiple binding of associated SLP pamphlets, somewhat on the order of the present 'Socialist Landmarks.'"

On motion, not concurred in.

III. "We recommend that a special national committee of two or three volunteers be set up under National Office supervision to collect and dispense information on self-service newsstand operations, including where materials and equipment can be secured."

On motion, not concurred in.

IV. "Whereas there is an increasing use of library facilities in recent years by serious-minded people, and

"Whereas we frequently receive requests from persons attending school for information regarding Socialism and the Socialist Labor Party, and that experience indicates an appreciable increase in such requests for information during an election campaign year, and

"Whereas most libraries now do not contain SLP literature on Socialism, but mostly have books that misrepresent Socialism, therefore be it resolved—

"1. That a concerted effort be made to place SLP literature in libraries throughout the nation."

On motion, not concurred in.\*

"2. Be it further resolved that the National Office consider a special single binding entitled 'Socialism' made up of the pamphlets—'What Is Socialism?' 'The Americanism of Socialism' and 'Socialist Industrial Unionism.'

"3. Finally be it resolved that we consider issuing a 'Library of Congress' card with each such book to correctly identify such literature in the library."

On motion, not concurred in.

At 4.35 p.m. a recess was declared until 5 p.m.

Called to order at 5.05 p.m.

\* Attention is called to resolutions not concurred in marked by an asterisk (\*). In order to avoid misunderstanding as to why such resolutions were rejected, though on their face apparently sound, it should be noted that they were rejected either because the proposals are already in effect and carried out as a matter of course, or when possible and practicable.

#### *Report of Committee on Party Press and Literature resumed:*

V. "Your committee feels that the guides made available by the National Organization for membership committees, speakers and candidates, and study-class instructors are of great value to the Party's members in many aspects of carrying on the SLP's task of ceaseless education. Such guides often make learning by bitter experience unnecessary.

"The committee recommends that additional guides for other aspects of Party agitation be considered. The committee feels that in many cases mimeographed guides could compile previously published material as well as incorporate general experience concerning a given agitational matter.

"Some separate guides which may prove helpful might concern:

"1. Placing literature in libraries.

"2. Placing literature in bookstores.

"3. Forming SLP clubs on campuses.

"4. Being an effective chairman.

"5. Proper procedures if arrested."

On motion, concurred in.

VI. "Your committee noted the Editor's remarks relative to the opportunities and problems in bringing the college students into active participation in the Socialist Labor Party program. The committee feels that while intense study and bitter competition may be factors in lessening active participation in the SLP movement by students, there may be other factors. For example, some bogus outfits seem to have met with success in organizing 'on campus' groups which are active. Your committee presents the following recommendations which may aid in enlisting student participation in meaningful revolutionary Socialist activity:

"1. A special leaflet should be addressed to youths showing that problems faced by them can be solved only by building bona fide Socialism and urging them to take their place in the ranks of the SLP. Such leaflets can be handed out at high schools and on college campuses."

On motion, concurred in.

"2. That college students deeply interested in the SLP program and well informed about it should be encouraged to form Socialist Labor Party clubs to distribute SLP literature on the campuses, prepare letters and articles for the college papers, and arrange for SLP speakers on the campuses."

On motion, concurred in.

VII. "Your committee feels that the Field and Headquarters Notes section of the WEEKLY PEOPLE is of interest and usefulness to SLP members and sympathizers. The committee recommends, therefore,



that in so far as practicable, all concerned do what is necessary to have this feature appear more often and with more recent material and, when necessary, shorter."

On motion, concurred in.

VIII. "Your committee feels that timely leaflets and pamphlets are most important in reaching the working class with the SLP program. Accordingly, the following recommendations are made:

"1. Pamphlets on current subjects should be kept timely by revising at the time of reprinting whenever necessary and possible."

On motion, not concurred in.\*

"2. That in so far as possible material be selected for the new edition of the pamphlet 'What Is Socialism?' which will not readily become dated."

On motion, not concurred in.\*

IX. "Whereas some SLP speakers from time to time devote the major portion of their talks to audiences unfamiliar with bona fide Socialism to the analysis of a particular subject, and in doing so slight the exposition of the SLP program, be it resolved that SLP speakers be urged to devote a substantial part of any talk to an exposition of Socialism and the Party's program, to such audiences."

On motion, not concurred in.\*

X. "We recommend the issuance of the following resolutions, adopted by this convention, as campaign leaflets:

"1. On Poverty.

"2. On Automation and Unemployment.

"3. On Civil Rights."

On motion, concurred in.

On motion, report of Committee on Party Press and Literature adopted as amended.

*Committee on General Agitation* (H. Killman, Wash., reporting) submitted the following, which, on motion, was adopted with amendments: (Bracketed matter indicates deletions; italicized matter indicates additions)—

"First, your committee recommends the use of TV and radio whenever possible. However, in view of probable further restrictions facing us in that field, we recommend increased activity in the following methods:

"Organization of advanced study classes, leaflet distribution, WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions, letters to the press, sales of SLP literature, public meetings and speakers for schools. Other effective methods of agitation are Fair exhibits, advertising in newspapers and magazines, touring of National Organizers, contact work and the organizing and maintaining of beginners' study classes and discussion groups.

"Your committee holds that in the field of agitation a vital aspect

of this important work rests on the preparedness of the members. Your committee recommends that advanced study classes be organized wherever possible. This will not only insure the continual growth of the members' understanding of the Party's program, history and organizational procedure, but give them the necessary background to serve as teachers and become effective agitators.

"With the increasing denial of access to the mass media of communication imposed by the capitalists and their political servitors to all who challenge their rule, the importance of leaflet distribution becomes magnified. Therefore, your committee recommends that a national goal of five million leaflets by established and quotas for the Subdivisions be set by the National Office.

"The WEEKLY PEOPLE has justly been called the university of the working class. Every opportunity to insure and increase the readership of the WEEKLY PEOPLE should be exploited to the hilt. Therefore, your committee recommends—

"(a) That individual members redouble their efforts to secure subscriptions.

"(b) That public and school libraries [without exception] be solicited to accept subscriptions to the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"(c) That the Subdivisions make every effort to put up self-service newsstands where they can be adequately serviced.

"Public lectures are still a medium of attracting newcomers to the Party. With careful planning and effective advertising these lectures can be successful. Your committee recommends that the Subdivisions make special efforts to hold public lectures on a regular basis, especially during the campaign.

"In view of inadequate work in some areas, and the subsequent loss of new recruits for the cause of Socialism, your committee recommends that each Subdivision set up systematic programs for contact work.

"Finally we recommend the organization and maintenance of beginners' study classes and discussion groups to bring new contacts in closer relationship with SLP members and further their education in the principles of Marxian Socialism."

*Committee on National Campaign* (B. Reitzes, N.Y., reporting) submitted the following, which, on motion, was adopted:

"Your Committee on National Campaign, after reviewing the matters referred to it by the Party's National Executive Committee and the Proceedings of the 1960 National Convention, and after consultation with the National Campaign Manager, reports and recommends as follows: (The several matters are not presented in any intended order of importance but rather in the interest of subject continuity.)—

"1. The general arrangements employed in 1960 with regard to the



availability of our national candidates proved, for the most part, to work out well. Accordingly, it is recommended that, as in 1960, the major tours of the candidates commence no later than Labor Day and that until the start of those tours the candidates be available to fill all possible requests of our state and local organizations.

"With regard to the idea of starting the candidates' tours in opposite directions, your committee has studied the reflections and recommendations of our 1960 candidates, Comrades Hass and Cozzini, as recorded in the National Secretary's report to the 1961 NEC Session. Rather than include the recommendations in this report, your committee wishes to express general agreement with the views expressed and suggests that they be used in the direction of the campaign.

"2. In connection with the visits of the national candidates to their localities, every effort must be made by the Subdivisions to arrange for radio and/or TV broadcasts for the candidates. However, if the financial assistance of the National Office is required for this purpose, no commitments for such expenditures are to be made without prior approval of the National Office.

"3. Opportunities for appearances before college and other educational institution groups and forums by our candidates and other Party spokesmen are becoming more available to us. Increasingly fruitful with respect to audience size, interest and response, such appearances are rapidly becoming an integral and important part of our continuous campaign against capitalism. It is therefore recommended that, as soon as possible, all Subdivisions compile lists of colleges, forums, etc., in their localities, and that immediately upon advice as to the dates of the visits of the national candidates to their areas, appearances by our candidates be offered all such groups, especially those groups before which we have previously appeared.

"4. Sufficient and adequate advance publicity is a principal guarantor of the success of the various activities connected with the tours of our candidates, as well as of any other campaign activities. Without doubt the most effective means universally available of publicizing such activities is the distribution of Party leaflets bearing appropriate advertising imprints, while simultaneously, of course, disseminating SLP education. The obvious conclusion is that leaflet distribution is the prime tool of agitation and publicity at the disposal of the Subdivisions, and that they must be urged to employ their resources to fully utilize this tool in both its applications. Other means of publicity have also been used in previous campaigns. They should again be employed to the extent possible.

"5. Another effective means of publicity for campaign activities, especially applicable to advertise local appearances by our candidates, but previously used by few Subdivisions, and then only sparingly, is the

issuance of press releases. The National Office has sent in the past, and will again send in this campaign, press releases for national purposes throughout the country. Follow-ups by the Subdivisions of similar but more detailed releases locally will undoubtedly result in greater publicity coverage of the candidates' appearances than if reliance is placed solely on the releases by the National Office—certainly far greater publicity than heretofore. For this reason, and in order to provide Subdivisions with samples and guidance as to form and procedure, it is recommended that the National Office send copies of the press releases it issues to the Subdivisions as frequently as possible. At the same time, in order that the National Office be able to accurately gauge the results of its efforts in this regard and evaluate the many agencies of publicity, the Subdivisions are to send copies to the National Office of all clippings that appear in the press, report on airwaves' mention of the Party and its candidates, or otherwise report on the results of publicity efforts.

"6. In 1956 full-page advertisements were placed in a number of large metropolitan dailies. This was also done in 1960, but on a more limited scale. The experience of the National Office in this regard has provided it with a picture of the relative value of this form of campaign activity and a clear idea of the extent to which it should be re-employed. It is recommended, therefore, that such advertising, if any, be left in its hands.

"7. As for newspaper advertising, the Subdivisions have available to them an excellent avenue, and an inexpensive one: college newspapers. With the increase of acceptance of Party spokesmen on college campuses and the concurrent increase in interest in our program by college students, college newspapers, many of which enjoy considerably greater circulation than many smaller community newspapers, offer an effective means of advertising, not only for the appearances of the candidates on the campuses, but also at near-by public meetings, over the airwaves, etc. And, to repeat, at relatively low cost. Moreover, your committee is of the opinion that such advertising, by making the Party and its candidates known on the campuses, will stimulate additional invitations from colleges or campus societies or influence them favorably toward acceptance of our offers of spokesmen. The Subdivisions are urged to investigate costs, circulation, etc., and to place such advertisements judiciously to the degree the circumstances warrant and their resources permit.

"8. It appears reasonably certain that Section 315 FCA will be suspended, as it was in 1960, and that our national candidates will again 'legally' be denied airwaves time otherwise due them. However, it should be borne in mind that, as in 1960, this will not eliminate all our rights to free time. It does not relieve the stations of all obliga-



tions to minority candidates or preclude our acquisition of time under the so-called 'Fairness Doctrine.' This 'doctrine,' though ambiguous in its exact meaning and generally loosely applied in favor of the station owners, must appear to be at least superficially 'fair' lest the real aim of the owners become apparent. Consequently, some free time will be granted our candidates provided we demand it. For this reason, State Committees and Subdivisions should establish the necessary organizational machinery to monitor all political broadcasts.

"It should also be borne in mind that a suspension of Section 315 like that of four years ago applies only to national candidates. State-wide and local candidates still retain their rights to 'equal opportunity' under Section 315.

"9. Placing the Party's ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible in a national campaign is of paramount importance. The main problem is the gathering of signatures. The employment of as many signature gatherers as possible to the fullest extent possible is essential to overcome the obstacles this presents and to attain our goal. It is recommended that no effort be spared toward this end.

"10. The 1960 National Convention approved a proposal submitted by the then Committee on National Campaign. Your committee presents it again intact for the consideration of this convention. It speaks for itself.

"Having already stated that we consider leaflets our primary means of mass agitation, your committee recommends that every effort be made to employ, place, and keep in the field a crew of at least four full-time leaflet distributors, working together, who would be toured to coincide with the tours of our national candidates, wherever possible, but primarily to visit various important industrial areas to rally all members and sympathizers in a given area for the purpose of distributing large quantities of Party leaflets, with or without imprints and/or fliers. Your committee believes that such a crew can be organized (and maintained for the duration of the major part of the campaign) if the members that are able to make themselves available by giving up part or all of their vacation period to participate in this needed and important work, and if the few who may be able to take on this work will enlist for the duration and, finally and very importantly, if the Subdivisions will gather the information on members available for this work and send it to the National Office.'

"Unfortunately, little was done during the 1960 National Campaign to implement this proposal, due no doubt to the absence of a full-time campaign manager. Your committee feels it bears merit and with a full-time campaign manager in the picture, it can be put into operation with productive results for the Party in 1964.

"11. At its 1963 Session the NEC adopted a report by its Com-

mittee on Organization and Agitation which in part reads as follows:

"In the case of public forums, etc., other than on radio or television, however, under no circumstances should debates be engaged in, or joint appearances be agreed to, where such are limited solely to the SLP and splinter groups or other "organizations" pretending to represent Socialism or labor, or masquerading as dissident elements of the major parties.'

"Your committee feels that this decision should be modified in *National Campaigns* with special reference to public forums, etc., sponsored by universities, colleges, high schools, 'community groups,' 'nonpartisan voters' groups,' etc., so as to allow of SLP participation in such events. If we do not take advantage of such opportunities in campaign years, we are leaving the field uncontested to the distorters and betrayers of Socialist principles, and losing the opportunity to expose these opportunists and fakers before audiences in which there may be many who are sincerely interested in being enlightened on the subject of scientific Socialism.

"However, under no circumstances should the SLP participate in forums or debates limited solely to the SLP and splinter groups, or other organizations claiming to represent Socialism or labor, or masquerading as dissidents of the major parties, when such forums or debates are known to be sponsored by, or in behalf of, such groups.

"Accordingly, your committee recommends that the part quoted from the 1963 ruling be modified as stated in the foregoing, viz., to permit SLP participation in forums during *National Campaigns* except where such are known to be sponsored by the fake parties claiming to represent labor or Socialism."

Alan Sanderson, fraternal delegate from the Canadian SLP, was called upon to address the convention. He expressed his pleasure at being present at the convention, conveyed the greetings of his organization, and expressed gratitude for the inspiration and example that the Canadian comrades derived from the American SLP.

Martin Spahr (Conn.) and James Horvath (Mich.) requested to be excused. Granted.

On motion, recess was taken at 6.05 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Called to order at 7 p.m.

All present with exception of delegates who had requested to be excused and P. Slepceovich (South Slavonian SLF) who, the chairman reported, had requested to be excused during recess.

Motion by J. Sim (Mich.), seconded by A.M. Orange (N.Y.): That this 1964 National Convention recognize the tremendous amount of hard work and talent which went into the marvelous stage show at the May 2 banquet. It is further moved that the minutes of the convention should record this great contribution by Comrade Walter



Steinhilber to the success of this historic 26th National Convention. Carried unanimously.

Minutes of the Monday, May 4, sessions were read. On motion, adopted with correction.

On motion, minutes of the convention as a whole were adopted as amended.

The convention adjourned at 7.15 p.m. sine die.

Fraternally submitted,

AARON M. ORANGE

Recording Secretary

SOPHIE BLUME

Assist. Rec. Secretary.

## REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To the 26th National Convention, Socialist Labor Party, May 2, 1964.

Comrade Delegates, Greetings:

As this, the 26th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, begins its deliberations to conduct a continuing campaign for the termination of the war-breeding jungle system of capitalism, we are reminded that this is the 50th anniversary of the first World War. Starting in Europe, it soon engulfed the entire civilized world in a desperate sanguinary struggle, culminating in major revolutions and the destruction of century-old empires and kingdoms, and sounding the tocsin of the system's certain collapse in a foreseeable future. Basically this was a deadly contest between rapacious capitalist powers, competing for world markets and eventually for world economic supremacy. It was no less a personage than President Woodrow Wilson who, without qualification, declared that—

"the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry. . . . This war, in its inception [and to the very end], was a commercial and industrial war. . . . Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred, was hot, successful commercial and industrial rivalry."

Here spoke a voice of authority, certifying to the soundness of the contention of the Socialist Labor Party in 1914 (and before and after) that "Capitalism means war." And a major war in the atomic age cannot mean anything else than total destruction of our painfully achieved civilization, and possibly of the globe itself.

Superficially, the capitalist pundits in 1914 ascribed the cause of the war to the egoism and egotism of the half-mad Kaiser, Wilhelm II (soon to be followed by the wholly mad monster Hitler). The Kaiser, incidentally, was greatly admired by Theodore Roosevelt, an admiration reciprocated by the Kaiser. The two were ideological twins, acclaiming militarism and war as the natural condition of mankind. Thus already in 1895 Theodore Roosevelt clamored for war with Venezuela. In a letter written to his friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, he pleaded:



"I most earnestly hope that our people won't weaken in any way in the Venezuelan matter. . . . As for the editors of the *Evening Post*, it would give me the greatest pleasure to have them put in prison the minute hostilities began. . . . Personally I rather hope the fight will come soon. The clamour of the peace faction has convinced me that this country needs a war."

Roosevelt exhorted similarly in 1914, accusing President Wilson (before America entered the war) of cowardice for hesitating to plunge this country into the war. But, giving due weight to the contributions of these sawdust Caesars and their allies, they were not the cause of the war. The cause, to repeat, was, as a wiser Wilson put it in 1919, "hot, successful commercial and industrial rivalry," in short, CAPITALISM, even as it is today.

This was the situation in which the Socialist Labor Party found itself in 1914. It was a situation that was to test the mettle of SLP men and women as the Party took its Marxist stand, challenging the warmongers and denouncing the war as a monstrous crime, and the capitalist class as a "felon class," in the phrase of Daniel De Leon. At first there was relatively strong opposition to America's participation in the war, but soon the shouters for war were in full cry. Mark Twain's prophetic description of the process of a developing war situation was followed in remarkable detail. First, as Mark Twain put it, "The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war." He went on to outline how, one after the other, the pulpit included, would join in, then the mob; "the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men," and presently "the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war-cry." Then the politicians "will invent cheap lies," laying the blame on the other nation, etc., etc. And of course the press would be *particeps criminis*. In the deadly satire of James Russell Lowell:

"Take them editors thet's crowin'

Like a cockerel three months old,—

Don't ketch any on 'em goin',

Though they be so blasted bold."

As the war fever rose, so-called "preparedness parades" were organized across the country. One in New York City is recalled. On the edge of the long parade a fellow was carrying a placard reading: "Prepare to meet thy Maker"—a preparedness appeal that should have caused the war shouters to reflect on what could be in store for each of them once the war had started!

The SLP received its full share of abuse, assaults and interference with its activities, but we kept on holding meetings and distributing leaflets, though with somewhat decreasing effect as the war proceeded in its savage sequences.

One of our casualties was the loss of our second-class mail privilege because of our exposures of the causes of wars, and opposition to this particular war. This loss necessitated our sending out the WEEKLY PEOPLE at a very heavy expense, but as always our members and friends came to the rescue and supplied the funds to see us through. Within a year or so after the close of the war, the second-class mail privilege was restored to us.

The NEC at its semi-annual session in January, 1915 (the NEC then met twice a year—in January and July), adopted a statement on the European War, prepared by the National Secretary in December, 1914, and addressed to the "Affiliated Parties of the International Socialist Bureau" at Brussels, Belgium ("Second International"). It was translated into several languages and published in March, 1915, in a pocket-size format. It became the first in a series of similar-sized pamphlets in what we called the "Arm and Hammer Series." It bore the title "Socialist Labor Party and the War." Its primary object was an attempt to recall the parties in Europe to their senses and duties as supposed Socialists, urging them to cease supporting the war efforts of their respective countries. As so often before and after, our plea was a cry in the wilderness. As we know, all the major Social Democratic parties had joined their governments in "patriotic" fury.

As a body our SLP stood firm, though there were a few individual exceptions. One of these was a German-born member, Fritz Brauckman, who lived in Pleasantville, N.Y. It was he who some years earlier had given to De Leon the land on which his Pleasantville house was built. Brauckman justified his pro-German sentiments by contending that Germany was defending European culture and civilization against the barbarous Slavs—that is, Czarist Russia. When this contention was ridiculed by the SLP National Secretary, his comment was that the National Secretary was prejudiced against Germany because Prussia, in the war of 1864 against Denmark, had annexed the then Danish provinces, Schleswig-Holstein!

Another dissenter was a Canadian member by name of Leach who visited our National Office during the war. His plea was similar to that of the German dissenter: Britain was defending European culture and civilization against the ravaging Huns, etc., etc. When the National Secretary exposed this anti-Marxist contention, he remarked, in a voice of sorrow and pity, that the National Secretary was prejudiced against Great Britain because in 1802 the British fleet bombarded Copenhagen (during the Napoleonic war), and carried off the entire Danish fleet.

The war of half a century ago brought, of course, untold tragedies to millions in its wake. And, though not connected with the war, 1914



brought to the SLP the greatest tragedy in its history, the untimely and unexpected death of its great founder, Daniel De Leon. The story of this tragic event, and of the stormy days that followed, has been related elsewhere and need not be repeated here. From the official tribute paid De Leon by the then very young National Secretary, the following may, perhaps, appropriately be quoted:

"His was an all-embracing mind—a mind of the quality of an Aristotle, a Goethe, a Marx. And rich beyond the riches of the world are we who may benefit, and have benefited, by the fruits of that master-mind. . . . He died victorious, for he never compromised, and the world never conquered him, though his work shall live and conquer the world."

The war of 1914-1918 wrought many and great changes in the world. Indeed, only those who were around in the years immediately preceding 1914 can realize how different that world was as compared with today's. Obviously it was not a peaceful world—it could not have been under capitalism—but in retrospect it seems almost idyllic as contrasted with the world as we see it now. But, however much the world has changed in relatively superficial respects since 1914, as a capitalist world it remains basically unchanged. A recent event has supplied confirmation of this fact. The New York Times building in New York City is presently being reconstructed (almost rebuilt), and in digging into the foundation there was recovered a copper box placed there 60 years ago, which contained memorabilia for future generations. Among other things these included reports of trouble in the Far East and in Panama. Commuters on the Erie Railroad complained of congestion. Broadway box-office practices were under fire. The Brooklyn police were hounding the Mafia, with little success. There were bloody uprisings in Africa. Editors were writing about the perils of smoking cigarettes! And so forth.

As someone has observed: "The more things change, the more they remain the same." That, at any rate, remains true under capitalism with its never-ending wars, rising crimes including almost daily murders in every large city, and social and moral degeneracy and general social anarchy. To all of which the Socialist answer is and must remain: *Capitalism must be destroyed!*

Apart from the death of De Leon—indeed, in part due to De Leon's death, the SLP soon found itself threatened from all sides, with traitors attacking our De Leonist program and policies, beginning already at the special NEC session held in May, 1914—shortly before the death of De Leon—and lasting through to the National Convention of 1920. Treason reared its head, even in the highest councils of the Party, which almost miraculously escaped destruction at the 1918 NEC session.

A year earlier some of these top-ranking SLP members started in earnest to maneuver for the destruction of our Party. These members included Edmond Seidel, Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, Boris Reinstein, who a couple of years earlier had commenced his intrigues, thereby calling down on his head the wrath of De Leon who, on his sickbed, repudiated him. In 1917 this traitorous trinity conspired secretly with leading members of the Socialist party, one of the results of which was the so-called Unity Conference which met in January of 1917. The SLP delegates to that conference were: Arthur E. Reimer, 1912 and 1916 SLP candidate for President; Caleb Harrison, his 1916 running mate; Rudolph Katz, sometimes jestingly referred to as De Leon's "lieutenant"; the treacherous Boris Reinstein; and the National Secretary, Arnold Petersen. All but the last mentioned were in varying degrees strong for unity with the bogus Socialist party (which De Leon more than once had denounced as a "bourgeois outfit"), and a couple of them would have accepted unity on any basis, even to the extent of surrendering our basic principles and policies. Virtually alone, the National Secretary insisted that unless the SP would accept the Socialist Labor Party's industrial union program, unity was impossible. Toward the end of the conference, Arthur Reimer (who had been more or less wobbly) mustered enough courage (or show of integrity) to back up the stand of the National Secretary, melodramatically declaring (quoting from "Macbeth"): "Lay on MacDuff, and damn'd be him who first cries 'Hold, enough!'"

Apparently the heroic mood passed quickly, for Reimer was the very first to cry "Hold, enough!" He quit the Party within a year after the conference, pursuing his career thereafter as a lawyer engaged in questionable practices. He was soon followed by Harrison, Katz and Reinstein, the last mentioned shortly afterward going to Soviet Russia, where in due course he landed in the bosom of Father Stalin! Seidel promptly joined the SP, subsequently being elected to the New York State Senate on that party's ticket! The "villain" was at last unmasked.

This was, indeed, a narrow escape for the Party. But thanks to the unwavering support of the loyal rank and file of the SLP, we weathered the storm and subsequent crises. And while we still cannot boast of great numbers we can, in this, the 74th year of our Party's existence, view with pride our organizational strength, our accomplishments through the past stormy seven decades, and the resources and supporters we now command. Barring major tragedies, we shall grow increasingly in strength and never-ceasing expanding activities. We do need numbers, but numbers will follow if we remain firm and faithful to the immortal principles formulated and bequeathed to us



by the master Social Architect, Daniel De Leon, who urged upon us the course our Party must ever follow in these words:

*"With malice toward none, with charity for all, the SLP moves by chart, its path lighted from above by a firmament where the North Star shines distinctly in its place, and is for never an instant confused with a rushlight, or the fitful phosphorescence of a lightning bug."*

\*

## GENERAL AGITATION

### Organizers

We have often expressed regret over the lack of trained organizers for the road, and we must still do so. Not that we do not have members qualified for this all-important work, but they are simply not available, for one reason or another. The work of a national organizer is perhaps not the most pleasant—certainly it is not easy work. The hardships imposed—apart from separation from home and family—are many, and the duties exacting, and often physically exhausting. In the earlier days, under relatively settled circumstances, there generally were found members who were willing and able to accept the hardships, and with it all serve the Party well and tirelessly. In the disrupted and disrupting world of today, the temptation to decline such service is strong, even though the urge to respond to the call of duty is, or should be, equally strong. But there are all too few who heed the Emersonian dictum:

"When duty whispers low, THOU MUST,

The man replies: I CAN."

In a sense this situation is part and parcel of what we refer to as the "Help Problem," ever present with us, and seemingly defying solution. Eventually the problem *must* be solved if we are to make the progress these perilous times demand.

### Herbert Steiner

Within a month or so following the 1963 NEC Session, Comrade Steiner started on a cross-country tour previously arranged. Beginning June 3, he worked in the areas of Essex County (Newark), Passaic County, and Camden County, N.J., spending two days in Philadelphia, then heading West and visiting 13 cities, leaving Spokane July 15 for Seattle, where he arrived July 17, remaining in the area until Aug. 8. Two days were spent in Vancouver, B.C. He returned to Seattle Aug. 12. Leaving Seattle on Aug. 27, he went to Portland, Ore., returning to San Francisco on Sept. 5.

The results of this long tour were as a whole excellent and in some cases outstanding. While the attendance at some of the lectures, although they were well advertised, fell short of expectations, others drew unexpectedly large audiences. Picnics and socials arranged were well attended and highly successful. Comrade James Sim, reporting for Section Wayne County (Detroit, Mich.), observed that theirs was "the best attended picnic for quite some time," adding that the proceeds were the highest in a long time. He commented that Comrades Jean and Herb Steiner "constitute a good SLP team."

Reports received at the National Office spoke of the "stirring and educational" speeches delivered by Comrade Steiner. The Chicago weekend was particularly fruitful. Activities included (besides a lecture and lawn party) participation in a CBS-TV network forum ("At Random"), beginning about midnight on Saturday, June 29, and continuing until nearly 3 a.m. Commenting on his participation in this forum, Comrade Steiner wrote: "The 'At Random' TV program was the usual 'mishmash,' but it did produce an unexpected windfall since it gave us the opportunity to confront the economic illiterate and unspeakable reactionary, Fred Schwarz. I did not know he would be on this program until we saw it advertised in the newspapers that same afternoon.

"In spite of obvious bias by the moderator, we managed to get in some good licks for the Party's program, and this confrontation of SLP logic versus the fascist scurrility peddled by Schwarz, won support from the two Negro panelists and the Midwest editor. They voiced respect for the 'passionate' (their word) spirit expressed in our uncompromising stand for human emancipation. They openly despised Schwarz, and he was finally heard to wail, 'nobody seems to like me on this program.' We believe the Party got a good hearing, even though the audience may have consisted of insomniacs."

The comrades of Section Cook County thought so too. The Section reported that Comrade Steiner made an excellent impression, the chairman of the program terming the occasion one of its better broadcasts. Edward Gross, organizer of the Section, expressed the opinion that "they will either ask us again, real soon," or "drop us like a 'hot potato.'"

Of his activities in the Seattle area, and the visit to Vancouver, B.C., Comrade Steiner observed: "I believe our stay in this area was productive and worth while . . . The morale of members and sympathizers was boosted, and they were more than pleased with the overall results." Steiner, in report after report, expressed deep appreciation for the "open-hearted generosity exhibited by our comrades along the way . . . [We have] come away with the firm conviction that they are the 'salt of the earth.'"



As stated, the tour terminated in Portland, Ore., in what Steiner described as ending "in a burst of TV and radio publicity." The comrades in the two Northwest states always look forward eagerly to the annual visits of Jean and Herb Steiner, who have come to be regarded as their "link" with the outside world, as they are so far removed from other centers of SLP activities.

Comrade Steiner summed up the 1963 tour and its results with these words: "I believe the tour was a productive one. The contact work done brought some closer to the Party and helped to weed out the undesirable ones and reduce mailing expense. We carried on consistent leaflet work, and since there cannot be too much of this, it is all to the good. Lecture arrangements and the necessary preparatory work were for the most part well organized by the Sections. The audiences we encountered appeared interested and intent on learning more about the Party. There was a surprising number of young people at some of the meetings. They accept us as representing the 'extreme left' (in their jargon). And these new recruits to the market place of ideas are looking for explanations and answers to the many social and economic problems confronting them. They are becoming aware that the major parties have no workable solutions and are intellectually bankrupt. We have a tremendous task to perform but I believe the tide has turned and that we will get more of a hearing than we have in the immediate past."

The statistics of the Steiner tour follow: Lectures delivered: 20 indoor, 1 outdoor; collections, \$577.95; literature sales, \$83.10; spoke at 13 picnics and socials, at which collections taken up amounted to \$966.70; in contact visits sold \$8.55 in literature, \$32.50 in subscriptions; distributed 15,950 leaflets; 9 TV-radio appearances consumed 7 hours and 45 minutes; there were short interviews on radio and TV stations, also interviews with reporters which resulted in some newspaper publicity. Where the opportunity presented itself, Steiner conducted study-class sessions.

Comrade Steiner was nominated SLP candidate for Mayor of San Francisco and, upon his return from Portland, plunged into the local campaign with vigor and perseverance. Following the election he was sent to the Los Angeles area where he carried on until Dec. 8. After a brief interruption to fill a National Office assignment, he concluded the year's activities on Dec. 28, resuming work for the California SEC on Feb. 10, this year.

The National Office assignment was a visit to the Idaho State University at Pocatello, Idaho. The National Office had received an invitation to send a Socialist Labor Party representative to participate in a panel discussion to include all shades of political views, designated "The Political Spectrum—Left, Right and Center." Comrade

Steiner agreed to accept this assignment. By all accounts, his performance there was outstanding. Once again it was a case of "The SLP Against the Field." The Student Director of the Institute of Government," a Mr. Higley, reported rather enthusiastically about Comrade Steiner's participation. In part he wrote: "Of a panel of five he [Steiner] seemed the most polished, well-received and well-prepared member . . . he considerably impressed that circle." He went on: "The crowd was certainly favorably impressed, as there was much enthusiasm for talking personally with Mr. Steiner."

Continuing, Mr. Higley wrote: "The next morning, Mr. Steiner spoke to a class in economics for 45 minutes. Lastly, Mr. Steiner appeared at another local radio station, where he was on the air for about 20 minutes. The announcer was so charmed that all day long he kept referring to Mr. Steiner, the interview, the talks of the day before and the SLP."

The publicity received was excellent and, as Mr. Higley put it, "most favorable for Mr. Steiner." Mr. Higley concluded his letter by inquiring about the possibility of our Presidential candidate coming "through the area" in the forthcoming campaign.

A representative of the Birchites was supposed to have participated, but in the last minute the fellow backed out. As a local newspaper reported it: "One hitch developed in the Thursday night panel on the political spectrum. The Birch Society is having trouble finding anyone with enough nerve to appear in an impromptu program at which questions are asked."

Well, they didn't find anyone with "enough nerve" to face opposition in open, honest discussion, in a place where their hoodlum tactics could not be employed!

One of the students, who requested literature following the panel discussion, wrote the National Office as follows: "I just attended a panel discussion at Idaho State University upon which Mr. Herbert Steiner was a speaker. He was tremendous, if I may use the word. The other panel members ranging from a liberal Democrat and a Goldwater Republican squabbled among themselves but were wary of Mr. Steiner. Not only was his position strong but he was an accomplished speaker to boot. If I am an accurate judge of the audience, I would say he was very favorably received. I think that some of the stigma attached to the word 'Socialism' was dispersed tonight. I am looking forward to more speakers from your party in Pocatello."

Incidentally, the student body contributed \$75 toward covering Comrade Steiner's expenses in making the trip to Idaho.

All in all, a real field day for the SLP!

It had been tentatively planned this year to tour Comrade Steiner back to the Coast, provided he was elected as a delegate to this con-



vention, and provided further that he would travel by car. This tour was to have included a visit to Toronto, Canada, to represent the SLP of America at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Canada, scheduled to take place May 16-17. However, Comrade Steiner made clear that his 10-year-old car would not be equal to the strain of such a long tour. But Comrade Steiner *will* undertake a tour of the two Northwest Pacific Coast states, starting about July 20, 1964. It is essential that Comrade Steiner be in the Seattle area when the statutory nominating convention will be held, Sept. 15. Without his aid and, it is hoped, that of his comrade wife Jean, it will prove extremely difficult to place the SLP ticket on the Washington ballot in this election. Even with their aid, it will be a hard struggle to achieve this objective.

#### Joseph Pirincin

Comrade Pirincin was not toured by the Party as National Organizer this past year, but on a number of occasions he accepted National Office assignments, all of which he discharged with his usual efficiency and skill. In a letter to the National Office he submitted a summary of his activities since March, 1963. The summary follows:

"51 discussion meetings conducted in Cleveland. 15 lectures delivered in Cleveland and other cities. 10 college groups addressed: 'The Corporation' student group at Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio; Student Affairs Group at Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minn.; Center for International Relations, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Student Group at Edison High School (via tape), Minneapolis; International Relations Group, Hamline University, St. Paul; Students Religious Liberals, St. Cloud State College, Minnesota; Northrop Collegiate (Girls') School, Minneapolis; Fraternal Group, Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn.; Free Speech Forum, Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Student Senate, Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio. 2 radio broadcasts for a total of three hours and 15 minutes. 3 State Conventions as Fraternal Delegate: Pennsylvania, Michigan and Minnesota. 1 Federation Convention as Fraternal Delegate: South Slavonian SLF.

"I was assigned," Comrade Pirincin reported, "to assist our Bulgarian SLF in liquidating their Granite City, Ill., headquarters, and establishing operations in Detroit, Mich. The assignment was spread over several months; in fact it remains in force to date. My editorial assistance for *Radnicka Borba* consisted of turning out 142 articles of original copy, largely page-one material."

As will be noted, the summary includes activities other than those assigned to Comrade Pirincin by the National Office. Outstanding

among the assignments given him was to give assistance to our Bulgarian Federation in the serious problem presented because of the sudden and wholly unexpected death last July of its valiant veteran National Secretary, Comrade Theodore Baeff. Details of this tragic event, and its serious consequences to the Federation and ultimately to the Party, will be given in another section of this report. Suffice it to say here that Comrade Pirincin rendered yeoman service in helping to preserve and reconstitute the Federation, reeling from the terrible blow struck at it. The work he did in this connection was little short of the miraculous.

The question of assigning Comrade Pirincin to assist at the 1963 Minnesota State Fair SLP booth was considered, but on his suggestion that by this time the Minnesota comrades should be able to operate the booth without outside assistance, the comrades readily agreed and did very well, indeed. More of this under another head. Instead, Comrade Pirincin went to Minnesota on Nov. 19, remaining in the Twin Cities area through Nov. 25, engaging in various activities, including appearances before a number of colleges as reported previously in his "summary." Enthusiastic reports covering these appearances were received by the National Office from our comrades, as well as from some of the colleges themselves. Arrangements had been made for him to speak before the Center for International Relations at the University of Minnesota on Nov. 23. This, however, was called off, the school being closed out of respect for President Kennedy, who was assassinated the day before.

Finally, Comrade Pirincin was guest speaker at the Minnesota State Thanksgiving Affair held on Nov. 24.

Concluding the summary of his activities, Comrade Pirincin observed: "I doubt very much that it will be possible to duplicate the summarized activities a year from now." Meaning that he will not be able to give as much time and energy to out-of-state activities in the coming year as he did during the past year. Comrade Pirincin is now our Ohio State Secretary, as well as Organizer of Section Cleveland, not to mention his work as editorial writer for *Radnicka Borba*. Some of us have sometimes wondered how it was physically possible for him to do as much as he has done, and to do it all so well. This is one instance at least where the Emersonian dictum has found wholehearted acceptance!

#### John P. Quinn

For obvious reasons Comrade Quinn was not toured as National Organizer during the past year, though always responsive to the call of duty when physically able. We are, indeed, all happy that he had



such a remarkable recovery from the near-fatal automobile accident he met with in March, 1963. It would, however, be a real miracle if the accident did not take a toll of his physical endurance and energies. Unfortunately his comrade wife has not fared quite so well, though there appears to be no reason to doubt that in time she will fully recover.

But while Comrade Quinn may temporarily have suffered in some degree a lessening of his remarkable stamina, his Irish wit and fine sense of humor remain unimpaired! Thus, in a letter to the National Secretary, he wrote: "I had a physical check-up this morning [July 5] and unlike the banker who, upon being told by his doctor that he was as sound as an American dollar, cried, 'As bad as that?' and then fainted, I was informed that I am in excellent condition. I straightened up and said: 'Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition!'"

Having made plans to come East from California following the accident, Comrade Quinn arrived in Springfield, Mass., about the middle of July. Though far from having fully recovered from the painful injuries he had sustained in the accident, he nevertheless accepted a number of Party assignments. He spoke at several picnics: Massachusetts State picnic, Ohio State picnic, and in the Detroit area, appearing also on a radio program in Ann Arbor, Mich. After a brief visit in New York, where he and his wife were given a warm welcome, he returned to the Pacific Coast, serving as guest speaker at the Bay Area Thanksgiving Affair and delivered a lecture at a very successful public meeting in San Francisco (Nov. 24).

Subsequently, he filled several speaking engagements, one of these being at the University of California at Los Angeles (March 10), before a student group designating itself the "Socialist Labor Party Club." As this is being written he is scheduled to speak in Lawrence, Kansas, at the University of Kansas, on April 24. While in that area other speaking engagements have been planned with the cooperation of Comrade Jack Barber, of Potwin, Kansas.

In a recent letter to the National Secretary, Comrade Quinn offered his services to the Party during the campaign in any way that he could be of assistance. Confronted with such devotion from a comrade who, by all standards, should be enjoying the rest and peace so richly earned after decades of faithful services rendered under the most taxing circumstances—who among us, we may well ask, can fail to feel inspired and resolve to do at least what this veteran comrade stands prepared to do for the Party? In replying to his letter, the National Secretary wrote to Comrade Quinn in part: "Your offer to assist during the campaign is deeply appreciated. Your offer puts to shame those who speak so proudly of their SLPism and do so d---d little about it—especially those much younger, and enjoying good health."

Comrade Quinn has been a member of the SLP upward of 60 years, and has been intensely active during most of these years. Today his SLP convictions are as strong and fervent as when he joined the Party a few years after the turn of this century. He is, indeed, the very personification of dedication to high principles and perseverance. There are few, if any, to equal him in selfless devotion to duty. And as an exponent of the Party's principles and program he stands foremost. Long may he remain an inspiration and example to all of us!

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### *Sundry*

It is not possible to list all the comrades who have rendered outstanding service to the Party, but a few of those who excelled in this respect merit special mention. There is Comrade Georgia Cozzini, for example, who, besides performing her duties as Organizer of Section Milwaukee, and taking on additional local chores (not to mention her housewife duties!), somehow manages to respond to invitations to address this or that college or high school in the Midwest area. In a recent letter to her, the National Secretary expressed his admiration for her "fortitude, calmness and patience."

Here and there, more or less isolated SLP Groups and members are doing their share of the Party's work within their restricted circumstances. In Miami, Fla., the comrades carry on activities ceaselessly, holding fund-raising picnics, conducting a Discussion Group when conditions favor such. The comrades support the WEEKLY PEOPLE as well as our South Slavonian organ, *Radnicka Borba*, financially with equal impartiality and generosity. There is another group in St. Petersburg, Fla., which conducts activities along similar lines and for similar purposes. This group, too, contributes generously to Party funds.

Some of our national members-at-large do splendid work for the Party, notably Comrade Jack Barber in Potwin, Kansas, and the deeply devoted Comrades Blackwell in Tucson, Ariz. The last mentioned carry on Party work indefatigably despite obstacles and their sometimes encountering rough elements. They are also outstanding contributors to Party funds. Currently the Comrades Blackwell, in cooperation with our SLP Group in Phoenix (which also is doing good work for the Party), are engaged in preparations to place the SLP ticket on the ballot in that Goldwater-dominated state, with every prospect of success.

Comrade Barber is doing SLP work in his area of relative isolation. With luck he should not long remain isolated. Certainly he is sparing no effort to make the SLP known and to introduce its program



to persons in an increasingly widening circle. Reference has been made to his success in having Comrade Quinn appear at the Lawrence, Kansas, College, etc., etc. He is also determined to train himself as an SLP speaker, and the National Office is giving all possible advice and assistance in this and other respects. In a recent letter to the National Office, he wrote about a visit with students at Kansas University: "I gave my first SLP talk, about 10 or 12 minutes."

Comrade Barber submitted his usual annual report outlining his activities in 1963. The report certifies to his alertness in seizing opportunities to advance the Party's cause and turn them to the best interests of the SLP. Jack Barber is a comrade to watch and encourage.

Our national members-at-large in the benighted state of Texas also perform valuable services for the Party, despite their hostile environment. Three of these members—Comrades Twiford, Tupper and Beale—are somewhat restricted in their activities, their jobs keeping them for most of the time at sea. Comrade Dickson in El Paso continues to do what he can, including letter-writing to the press, etc., etc. All make substantial contributions to Party funds, including our veteran Comrade Green, who also cooperates financially with Comrade N. Pressman in placing the WEEKLY PEOPLE in libraries, etc.

Comrade D. Calwhite is another sea-roving member who, in the course of his Odysseys, visits many strange ports, never fails to sow plenty of SLP seeds. He always carries with him large quantities of leaflets and other educational SLP literature, which he faithfully distributes. When on occasion we receive inquiries from some unlikely place, we can generally be certain that it is from someone contacted by Calwhite! A recent case in point was a postcard received from Japan, the writer requesting more literature, and asking to be remembered to his friend, Calwhite.

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The invitations we receive from colleges, and the generally enthusiastic comments by student and forum directors on the performance of our speakers, remind us forcefully of the importance to the Party of taking the fullest advantage of these opportunities. In the National Secretary's report to the 1963 NEC Session there was reproduced a memorandum by Comrade Hass in which he described the attitudes and reaction of students upon hearing an SLP speaker for the first time. A few citations from this memorandum may serve a useful purpose by including them in this report, which is a document of permanent and readily accessible record:

"For an SLP speaker," wrote Comrade Hass, "to go before a student audience for the first time is a novel experience. The audiences that come to our own SLP meetings come because they are interested

in Socialism. But high school and college audiences are made up of young people, who, for the most part, are stuffed with prejudices, misinformation about Socialism, and capitalist folklore. They come to hear a Socialist speaker for a variety of reasons. If it is a class they are there because attendance is required. If it is a student meeting they come perhaps because they think it is important to get a 'rounded-out education'—they would go to hear Senator Goldwater for the same reason. Or, perhaps their teachers advised that they attend. Or, possibly, they attend just because that is what the gang is doing. The point is that few come because they have prior interest and convictions that would make them sympathetic to the SLP viewpoint.

"For most students, hearing an SLP speaker for the first time is a shocking experience. They are shocked just to hear him identify himself, freely and frankly, as a 'Marxist.' And when he presents his irrefutable indictment of capitalism, and proves it a criminal and immoral system, he hits them squarely in their cherished illusions. Moreover, when the SLP speaker dissociates himself from Russia and bureaucratic despotism generally and proves that all the students' preconceptions of Socialism were false, he confuses them. Most of them have come to hear the SLP speaker armed with prejudices and clichés—the product of anti-'Communist' indoctrination. They find themselves disarmed by the SLP stand on Russia. They are usually primed with questions about bureaucracy, but these, instead of 'flooring' the SLP speaker, only give him the opportunity to show how thoroughly democratic Socialism is and how it abolishes bureaucracy along with capitalist rule.

"The students' reactions to this experience are manifest in their questions. Many sound hostile. I think, though, that they are less hostile than defensive. And there are other questions that are plain silly. Still others really seek to find out how Socialism would solve such problems as war and technological unemployment, about which many students are seriously disturbed. Every SLP speaker should be very well prepared indeed to answer these questions and to answer them convincingly . . . Among all who are thinking at all it [the SLP message] creates a new and different impression of the SLP and differentiates it from the other parties claiming to be Socialist. Also the moral posture of the SLP, I find, is a powerful factor in making the SLP speaker's visit memorable."

The list of educational institutions before which SLP speakers appeared is an impressive one, and it is growing. Some of the more recent ones were—

Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa; Lafayette University, Easton, Pa.; University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Rutgers University, New Brunswick and Newark, N.J.; Fairleigh Dickinson Univer-



sity, Madison, N.J.; Montclair Teachers College, Montclair, N.J.; Glassboro State College, Glassboro, N.J.; Jersey City State College, Jersey City, N.J.; Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H.; University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.; Bard College, Annandale, N.Y.; Columbia University, New York City; City College, New York City; Hunter College, Bronx, N.Y.; Hofstra College, Long Island, N.Y.; Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.; Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.; Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore, Md.; Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.; University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.; San Jose College, San Jose, Calif.; Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.; University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

McGill University, Montreal, Canada; Sir George William University, Montreal, Canada; Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio; University of Louisville, Ky.; Portland State College, Portland, Ore.; Thiel College, Greenville, Pa.; Lincoln College, Lincoln, Ill.; University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.; Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.; Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.; University of Richmond, Va.; Western Washington College, Bellingham, Wash.; Whitewater State College, Whitewater, Wis.; University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.; Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.; University of California, Los Angeles; American River Junior College, Sacramento, Calif.; Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Franklin Marshall College, Lawrence, Pa.; Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.; Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.; Long Beach High School, Long Beach, N.Y.; White Plains High School, White Plains, N.Y.; Staten Island Community College, Staten Island, N.Y.; University of California, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.

[See others under Pirincin, Quinn, Steiner—earlier sections of this report.]

We must be alert to seize every opportunity to present the Party's program to these young people who are being badgered by reactionary forces seeking to brainwash them, including the so-called extreme Right and the unprincipled and opportunistic Kremlin agents. We should, indeed, give the most careful attention to the problems created by the steadily increasing search for information and knowledge about Socialism by the bewildered and knocked-about youth of the land, whether in college or out.

It is essential that our speakers be prepared to give sound, basic answers in elementary, yet scientifically correct terms to the questions posed by these students. To do so they must be well prepared and alert to their opportunity. Only then will the SLP speaker be able to enlighten the sincere, disarm the hostile and destroy the false illusions

of the misinformed. In doing so he will create respect for himself, raise the prestige of the Party, and, above all, set the SLP apart from all other organizations in the minds of these young people.

### Leaflet Distribution

It is with deep disappointment that we must record a heavy falling off in leaflet distribution in 1963. Only 1,442,000 were distributed, as against 2,297,000 in 1962, and 1,880,000 in 1961, the last mentioned then considered a low water mark.

In the order of quantities distributed, the distribution by states was as follows:

	1963	1962
New York	336,550	518,652
Pennsylvania	225,848	231,982
Ohio	207,700	285,503
New Jersey	204,725	226,230
California	169,267	366,951
Michigan	79,097	233,856
Minnesota	60,410	91,475
Illinois	39,495	84,640
Washington	36,300	57,700
Massachusetts	10,000	80,550
Wisconsin	7,070	30,200
Connecticut	5,000	800
Indiana	2,231	17,443

Connecticut has the distinction of being the only state that increased its distribution. While New York is leading, its distribution recorded a drop of close to 200,000. "Oh, what a fall was there. . .!" Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey fairly held their own, as did Minnesota. But California and Michigan did very poorly, indeed, as compared with their 1962 record, as did also Massachusetts and Wisconsin.

By cities New York topped all, followed closely by Philadelphia. The next seven cities were Cleveland, Camden, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Buffalo, Detroit and Pittsburgh, in that order. Two Sections reported zero: Portland and Washington, D.C.

We have a lot to make up for in this campaign, and hopefully we shall do it. By now it should be unnecessary to emphasize the prime importance of leaflet distribution. It has become one of our primary agitational means, not only because of its educational value, but also as a means of attracting workers to our meetings, to study classes and activities in general. Commenting on the lack of outstanding success attending lectures held in the Seattle area during the past year, our Washington State Secretary observed: "The two lectures by Herbert Steiner were among the best attended for a number of years.



Again it was proved that when we get out the leaflets advertising these lectures, we get the attendance."

The watchword, then, must be: "Get out the leaflets!" The total distributed in 1960 was close to four million. Considering the times, we must set our sights to topping this figure by a considerable margin.

### Contact Work

Largely because of the fall-off in leaflet distribution, the number of requests for information received at the National Office last year dropped, leaflets being our most important source of new contacts.

Since contact records at the National Office have been discontinued, statistics of responses to contact mailings, etc., are necessarily incomplete. Accordingly, these statistics are not included in this report as in the past.

During 1961-62 we advertised in a number of periodicals—nine to be exact—whereas in 1963 we placed ads for a limited period of time in only three publications (including the ad placed in the *Chicago Tribune* by the Illinois SEC). The number of responses from the 1963 ads was 332, with total pamphlet sales of approximately \$82, and 19 subscriptions.

Perhaps there is a compensating aspect to the disappointing decrease in contact responses. It may be found in the fact that requests for free literature and information came from every state in the Union, as a result of the ads in periodicals, WEEKLY PEOPLE self-service stand sales, Comrade N. Pressman's countrywide letters-to-the-press campaign, and Comrade D. Calwhite's peregrinations, etc.

Also the inquiries received from abroad were impressive in their geographic extensiveness, if not quantitatively. Such inquiries were received from Mexico, Guatemala, Uruguay; Bombay, Calcutta and Benares, India; from British Guiana, The Philippines, Japan, Balboa Heights (Canal Zone), Panama, Trinidad, Havana (yes, even Havana, Cuba); from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and from Canada generally; also from South Africa and Turkey.

Requests for information were received from a number of European countries: Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Rome, Italy. Even an inquiry from someone in Moscow turned up in this international assemblage! In addition, inquiries were received from men in the Armed Services, and, of course, from high school and college students as well as from teachers and some professors. "From many to one"—the SLP National Headquarters! "How far that little candle throws its beams! So shines a good deed in a naughty world!"

Having received these inquiries, the really important part of con-

tact work begins. Unless the contacts are promptly followed up by the Sections, and pursued to a definite conclusion, all the previous efforts, and the large amounts expended for printing and distributing leaflets, radio talks, etc., etc., may be considered largely wasted. Some Sections do follow up the inquiries, often with satisfactory results, but too many Sections fail to do so for reasons that are not known or understandable to the National Office.

Obviously this neglect is doing an injury to the Party by members who otherwise would not think of doing anything to hurt the Party's interests, or deliberately place obstacles to progress in our work. Self-interest, if nothing else, should cause such members to make every effort to "cash in" on the efforts and money invested to attract interested persons. It is to be hoped that all concerned will reflect seriously on this important question—the question: Shall we take full advantage of the opportunities and convert these expended energies and money into the returns one normally expects from "investments," and without which returns one would not have made the "investments" in the first place? Each member should ponder this question thoughtfully, and then come up with the right answer.

When our Sections take hold of this important activity in earnest, efforts will certainly be rewarded. A recent letter from a Cincinnati comrade, Louis Weichold, illustrates the point. Comrade Weichold wrote: "I have come to the conclusion that we've been passing up some good chances by failing to visit the contacts we get. The same goes for expired WP subscriptions . . . From now on I go to them instead of trying to lure them to us."

A sound policy, as old Mohammed learned long ago!

### Public Meetings

Public meetings in 1963 were held as follows:

Los Angeles, Calif.,	10 indoor
San Francisco, Calif.,	11 indoor
Chicago, Ill.,	7 indoor
Boston, Mass.,	7 indoor
Pontiac, Mich.,	2 indoor
Washtenaw County, Mich.,	1 indoor
Detroit, Mich.,	9 indoor
Minneapolis, Minn.,	4 indoor
St. Louis County, Minn.,	2 indoor
St. Louis, Mo.,	2 indoor
Camden County, N.J.,	4 indoor;
(See also Philadelphia)	1 outdoor
Essex County, N.J.,	2 indoor
Passaic County, N.J.,	5 indoor
Erie County, N.Y.,	3 indoor
Jamestown, N.Y.,	1 indoor
Kings County, N.Y.,	3 indoor
Greater New York,	8 indoor



Monroe County, N.Y.,	1 indoor
Oneida County, N.Y.,	2 indoor
Onondaga County, N.Y.,	2 indoor
Nassau County (per N.Y. SEC)	1 indoor
Akron, Ohio,	2 indoor
Cleveland, Ohio,	1 indoor
Dayton, Ohio,	1 indoor
Steubenville, Ohio,	1 indoor
Columbus, Ohio,	1 indoor
Toledo, Ohio,	1 indoor
Portland, Ore.,	1 indoor;
	1 outdoor
Allegheny County, Pa.,	1 indoor
Dauphin County, Pa.,	2 indoor
Philadelphia, Pa.,	10 indoor
(five jointly with Camden Co., N.J.)	
Everett, Wash.,	1 indoor
Seattle, Wash.,	5 indoor
Spokane, Wash.,	1 indoor
Tacoma, Wash.,	1 indoor
Milwaukee, Wis.,	6 indoor

The total number of meetings in 1963, accordingly, was 124 as against 154 in 1962 and 171 in 1961, a steady and perhaps logical decline in the age of radio and TV. As we have observed before, this trend may be expected to continue, for some time at least, or until some major social event tears the workers from their "magic boxes" into places of public assemblage.

### Study Classes

It is gratifying to record that the number of Study Classes and Discussion Groups has increased in 1963. From 36 in 1960 (increasing to 41 in 1961, with a slight relapse in 1962), there were 51 such classes and groups meeting with fair regularity, some of them showing splendid results. We should have many more, and with the increasing interest manifested in the SLP and its program, we shall undoubtedly have them. The list of Study Classes and Discussion Groups, with comparisons for the three preceding years, follows:

Los Angeles, Calif.,	5	(4 Discussion Groups)
Oakland, Calif.,	4	(2 Discussion Groups)
Palo Alto, Calif.,	2	
San Francisco, Calif.,	2	(1 a Discussion Group)
Denver, Colo.,	1	
Cook County, Ill.,	2	
Peoria, Ill.,	2	
Boston, Mass.,	1	(Discussion Group)
Lynn, Mass.,	1	(Discussion Group)
Pontiac, Mich.,	1	(Discussion Group)
Wayne County, Mich.,	1	
Minneapolis, Minn.,	2	(1 a Discussion Group)
St. Louis County, Minn.,	1	
Camden County, N.J.,	1	(Discussion Group)

Passaic County, N.J.	1	
Red Bank, N.J.,	1	
Teaneck, N.J.,	1	(Speakers' Class)
Erie County, N.Y.,	2	(Discussion Groups)
Greater New York,	4	(1 a Discussion Group)
Oneida County, N.Y.,	1	(Discussion Group)
Nassau County, N.Y.,	1	(Discussion Group)
Cincinnati, Ohio,	1	(Discussion Group)
Cleveland, Ohio,	1	(Discussion Group)
Portland, Ore.,	1	(Discussion Group)
Allegheny County, Pa.,	3	(1 a Discussion Group)
Dauphin County, Pa.,	1	
Philadelphia, Pa.,	3	(1 a Discussion Group)
Seattle, Wash.,	2	(1 a Discussion Group)
Milwaukee, Wis.,	1	
Miami, Fla., SLP Group,	1	(Discussion Group)

Type of Classes	1963	1962	1961	1960
Beginners' Study Classes	21	23	25	24
Advanced Study Classes	5	1	4	1
Discussion Groups, etc.	25	16	12	11
	51	40	41	36

### Letters to the Press

Our letters-to-the-press campaign continues satisfactorily, though there is still room for improvement. As the National Secretary stated in his report to the 1963 NEC Session: "... Still far too few take the trouble and the few minutes required to write a short letter and post it."

The WEEKLY PEOPLE and our literature (especially leaflets) should be drawn upon for subjects and their treatment. Original letters, dealing with current events recording the criminality of capitalism, are of course preferable. But the important thing is to utilize the letter columns in the capitalist press to present our solution to the social and economic problems as affecting the American working class in particular, and the world situation in general.

Comrade Nate Pressman, out-of-town member of Section New York, remains the undisputed champion of SLP letter-writers. In 1963, he mailed to papers all over the country (and some beyond our borders) a total of 920 letters, which is close to 100 more than he wrote in 1962. Of these 211 are known to have been published, but the total is undoubtedly much greater. In his final report for 1963, he wrote:

"Had the last quarter of 1963 measured up to expectations, the number of known letters published would have been a lot more. . . It does seem to be increasingly difficult to get letters printed. Just the same the work does bring results, hence I intend to keep right on making good use of this typewriter. Quite a number of letters calling attention to the Philadelphia mayoralty SLP campaign were published.



As this is a Presidential year, I hope to do better in spreading the much needed program of our Party."

Comrade Pressman had previously expressed concern about the imminent collapse of his typewriter from the incessant pounding it received. The National Office expressed the hope that when his trusty typewriter did collapse, it should be found possible to find means to replace it, the workman being entitled to his tools!

Our veteran Comrade Ralph V. Brandborg, of Section Minneapolis, Minn., is another indefatigable writer of letters to the press, most of them apparently published. Section Minneapolis as a whole accounted for 237 letters, of which 54 were known to have been published. The participants (aside from Comrade Brandborg) included Comrades W. Braatz, K. Christopherson, J. Collins and Genevieve Gunderson.

Section Philadelphia, Pa., reported 29 letters published. Section Passaic County, N.J., succeeds in getting many letters published, with Anne Karp, Robert Clement and Ronald Miller among the chief letter-writers, supplemented by Harry Santhouse and Herman Rhael.

Others include Comrades J. Ceder, L. Gillespie, L. Galyan and A. Martin, of Section Los Angeles; Anton Butch of Section Oakland, Calif. Ralph Muncy, Section Washtenaw County, Mich., and Leo Churulich of Section Wayne County, Mich., succeeded in having letters published, as did Walter Semrau of Milwaukee and James Lehner and J. Talarico of Section Oneida County, N.Y., and Clara Hayes of Section St. Louis, Mo. The following were equally successful: Elvin Baker and Albert Ronis of Section Camden County, N.J.; Max Banks of Section New York, and Joe Hollon of Section Philadelphia. The last mentioned had a number of letters published in Delaware newspapers. A very successful letter-writer, Comrade Henry Korman of Section Portland, Ore., had letters published locally and nationally in newspapers, but also in some of the more prominent magazines with nationwide circulation.

It would seem that we have another aspiring letter-writing champion in the making! A recently admitted member, Comrade Lottie Dion, has accounted for approximately 70 letters in two months following her election as Section New York's Press Committee. More power to our new comrade!

The list could probably be extended, but the foregoing suffices to show the wide range of this important activity, and its fruitful results. And yet, it is only a small segment of our members and friends who take the time and trouble to utilize the press for this inexpensive purpose. If we let our imagination roam it is easy to realize how greatly the results could be multiplied if everyone took a hand.

Newspapers are supposed to be the disseminators of truth and the facts. We know that on the whole capitalist newspapers are far from

fulfilling this supposed responsibility. Thomas Jefferson once observed in a letter to John Norvell (1807): "The real extent of the misinformation [in the newspapers] is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day."

This being true today as in Jefferson's day, it is ironical to reflect that to the extent SLP letters are published in the capitalist papers, only to that extent are newspapers held to their supposed solemn duty of serving as educators of the citizenry! And since it certainly would be naive and utopian to expect newspapers serving private interests to fulfill their would-be sacred mission, we must depend on our own press to publish the truth and facts about the criminal capitalist system, and this duty the WEEKLY PEOPLE and our other papers are doing to perfection within their limited means. Which is no reason for not utilizing the columns of the capitalist papers as far as prejudiced and reactionary editors will permit us. And that, as our bitter experience has taught us, is not very far! Indeed, it is an additional reason for exerting every effort to bombard the capitalist press with letters exposing capitalist falsehoods and inequities, supplying their corrective, Socialist truth.

#### *State Fairs*

The SLP participated in State Fairs in 1963 in the following states: Michigan (Detroit), Aug. 23-Sept. 2; Minnesota (St. Paul), Aug. 24-September 2; New Jersey (Trenton), Sept. 14 through 22; Wisconsin (Milwaukee), Aug. 12 through 18.

Many of our members who read the annual reports on these State Fairs have now come to accept and, perhaps, take for granted this very effective SLP activity. But reports received from those members responsible for the planning and execution of our booths at these Fairs clearly demonstrate that nothing is, or can be, "taken for granted." Despite years of experience, each year brings new problems—problems which challenge the ingenuity, patience and physical energy of our members and the friends who assist them. However, in this endeavor, as in other spheres of SLP activity, cooperative effort and dedication to the task at hand have resulted in ever more functional and artistic display booths, and increased efficiency in the organization of the many jobs connected with participation in these Fairs. In reports from State Fair Committees the recurrent theme is the gratification and compensation in the publicity and prestige accruing to the Party through this medium of agitation and education.

The following statistics have been gathered from reports submitted, although these brief accounts cannot fully reflect the scope of the effectiveness of State Fair participation.



#### MICHIGAN STATE FAIR:

Leaflets taken at the booth, 7,200; W.P.'s taken, 2,500; W.P.'s sub, 1; Contact names secured, 4; Literature sold (pamphlets), 1,005—\$89.75.

In addition to reporting on what has now become routine at the Fair, the committee reported that "many young people stopped to talk and to examine our literature. A large number of the 'Youths for Goldwater,' who had a trailer on the grounds, stopped to look over our literature and to talk with us. Their reactions indicated that it was unfortunate that we did not reach them before they became enamored of Goldwater, apparently over disgust with other politicians. As it was, a number of them had doubts about supporting Goldwater after visiting the SLP booth. At least one radio and television station noted in its programs that the 'Youths for Goldwater' and the Socialist Labor Party were the only political organizations represented at the Fair."

The work involved in State Fair participation, as in all other SLP activities, is amply compensated by the gratification of witnessing the favorable and intelligent response to our program.

#### MINNESOTA STATE FAIR:

Leaflets taken or handed out at booth, 24,425; W.P.'s sold or given away, 425; W.P.'s subs, \$11; Literature sold or given away, 1,016 pieces—\$95.60; Contact names secured, 24.

Because of changes made in the design of the display booth and construction of a new backdrop, etc., some of our members worked long hours in advance of the Fair. The additional work entailed was obviously rewarded, for reports indicated that SLP booth activities were outstandingly successful, with excellent cooperation in manning the booth, though this year witnessed the absence of Comrade Pirincin, who in previous years rendered such able assistance. Although we cannot mention all the devoted members and friends who contributed to the success of this activity, we salute that young-in-spirit veteran member, R.V. Brandborg, who once again faithfully assisted at the booth. Veteran—Si; Old—No!

WCCO-TV took a photograph of the booth, which was shown on the station's evening news program. The Minneapolis *Sunday Tribune* (Sept. 1) carried a short article on the Fair with an amusing picture of a young girl displaying the Goldwater trash in one hand, and the WEEKLY PEOPLE in the other; a short write-up was also found in the Minneapolis *Morning Tribune* (Aug. 31) under the "I Like It Here" column, including comment on the revolving belt at the SLP booth, "When Machines Do All The Work Who Will Own Them?"

In expressing its thanks to the many who had willingly given their

assistance in making the 1963 SLP booth a great success, the Fair Committee concluded: "... we know that everyone feels a much greater satisfaction in knowing that through their labor, Socialism is a little closer."

#### NEW JERSEY STATE FAIR:

Leaflets distributed at booth, 24,100, and in supporting activities 5,300; total 29,400; W.P.'s distributed at booth, 150, and in supporting activities, 800; Total 950; Literature sold, or taken, \$45.40; Contact names, 13.

Despite the fact that the State Fair was plagued by several days of rainy weather, the results compared favorably with the three previous years of participation in this event. The members throughout the state cooperated fully with the Fair Committee, every Section and the South Slavonian SLF Branch being well represented in the manning of the booth. In his report to the SEC, Comrade B. Doganiero, chairman of the Fair Committee, expressed his own enjoyment in his assignment, and concluded with this pertinent remark: "I now realize how a difficult task can be reduced to positive efficiency by your fraternal cooperation." Surely, all members who have been "in charge" of any activity or responsibility in the Party will agree.

The committee, at a post-Fair meeting, submitted its impressions of the activities of the Fair and the booth setup, with suggestions for improvements or changes for the 1964 Fair. There came an unexpected development: Early in February, our New Jersey State Secretary received a brief, curt letter from the manager of the New Jersey State Fair, stating that complaints had been received against the SLP's participation at the Fair, and concluding, "I shall have to request you not to ask for space from us this coming year." This came as a complete surprise to the New Jersey organization since there had been no such previous complaints, in its four-year participation at the Fair. Apparently the success of our booth operations was too great to suit the reactionary elements in charge of the State Fair, whose action probably was also prompted by neighboring petty capitalist exhibitors who no doubt felt that their profit-mongering was being hurt by the presence of an organization which exposed the system that made possible their sharing in the surplus value produced by an exploited working class!

In his reply to the manager of the Fair, our State Secretary expressed amazement at the reckless charges made against representatives of the SLP, and the unwarranted conclusions reached, adding that "there is every reason to believe that the anonymous charges made against them [SLP members manning the booth] are without foundation," and continued: "That you have accepted these charges



at face value, and without hearing our side, is utterly incredible. Are you positive that the complaints you received were not based on disagreement with our political views and motivated by personal prejudice? We strongly suspect that they are. Your failure to identify the complainants or to clearly define the nature of the complaints strengthens our suspicion."

Denouncing this arbitrary and discriminatory act by the booth management, our State Secretary concluded: "I hereby formally request that you reserve the same space for the Socialist Labor Party at the 1964 Trenton State Fair as it had last year."

As of this writing (April 9), there has been no reply to our request, but the matter is being vigorously pursued.

#### WISCONSIN STATE FAIR:

Leaflets taken at booth, 3,000; W.P.'s handed out or sold, 581; Literature sold, \$71.45.

Results of the 1963 Fair booth compared favorably with past years. The committee expressed satisfaction with the excellent cooperation received in tending the booth, and noted that "the new backdrop designed by Comrade M. Bossie attracted much attention. You could see people studying the sketches on automation and the H-Bomb even after they were past the booth." This year small advertisements were placed in three Milwaukee newspapers—one a German language paper—offering free the pamphlet "What Is Socialism?" with the result that 14 responses were received, with one contact purchasing \$7 worth of literature.

The Wisconsin Fair Committee concluded its report, as did all the other Fair Committees, with a review of this year's participation and plans for the 1964 Fair.

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Comrade John Carlson, national member-at-large (who has made it a practice to attend and assist at SLP State Fairs), made the following interesting suggestion to the National Office:

"... Comrade Werdier [of Section Minneapolis] and I discussed the usefulness of a smaller portable booth for display and leaflet distribution. I told him I would supply the steel and parts needed for the booth. The booth is 54 inches wide and 8 feet long. The hitch and wheels are detachable from the booth and will be available to the SLP members anywhere in the U.S.A., and if one more is needed we will make another one. I hope they will be of help in spreading Socialism. Comrade Werdier worked and stayed with us here for five days. I hope he made it to California in that old car he was driving. He said he was going to stop here on his way back as we have two more days of work on it. Maybe he will take it to Minneapolis, and he and

Comrade Braatz will put on the plywood sides. I hope it will help to get rid of this jungle system."

The practicality of this portable display booth at State Fairs is not fully clear, but a more detailed explanation is expected in due course.

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As we have said so often before, and as the foregoing reports again demonstrate, State Fairs afford wonderful opportunities for presenting the SLP program with dignity to great numbers of workers who otherwise might not be reached by the Party. State Committees in states where this work is not being carried on are again urged to investigate thoroughly the possibility of participating in this medium of SLP agitation and education, which is proving so fruitful to the Party.

#### RADIO AND TELEVISION

##### *Section 315, Communications Act*

As reported to the NEC at its May, 1963, Session, the campaign to renew the suspension of Section 315(a) for the 1964 national campaign was launched early in 1963. Reportedly, the feelings of many who favored such suspension were that 1963, being largely off-year, politically, offered an excellent opportunity for pushing the suspension through early and with a minimum of opposition. Some broadcasters and their political allies even hoped that they could accomplish the complete elimination of the section once and for all. But the hearings held by the House Subcommittee on Power and Communications early in March, 1963, revealed that while Congress could apparently be convinced to suspend again the equal time provision for Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, many individual Congressmen and Senators were not ready yet to take the step that might threaten to put their own political fortunes into the hands of the broadcasting corporations.

Late in May, 1963, H.J. Resolution 247 (which had been introduced in the House by Congressman Oren Harris, reportedly at the behest of President Kennedy) was reported out favorably by the House Subcommittee on Power and Communications and sent to the House Rules Committee, where it languished for several weeks. On June 18, we learned that the Rules Committee had sent the bill to the House for action with a one-hour debate limit. There was no advance publicity, and we learned of this action "accidentally." The National Office immediately took steps to circularize all the Members of the House with copies of one of our detailed statements on Section 315(a) and a covering letter. But, before we could even mail it out, we learned



that the bill had come up for consideration in the House and, after brief debate, was passed by a vote of 263 to 126 (42 not voting).

Almost simultaneously the Senate Subcommittee on Communications announced it would start hearings on similar bills on June 26. Again it became necessary to prepare a new and comprehensive statement. On June 27, A. M. Orange presented the statement to the Senate Subcommittee. A copy of the statement was sent to all the Members of the United States Senate.

On Sept. 10, the Senate Subcommittee approved a resolution similar to H.J. Res. 247 and sent it to the Senate for action. On Sept. 11, we sent a letter to all the Senators again calling their attention to the complete statement sent them in June. However, as expected, the Senate (on Oct. 2) passed its subcommittee's bill by "voice vote" and "without any discussion." The fact that a bill of this nature could be passed by the highest legislative body in the nation without a word of discussion is in itself a commentary on the contempt its members have for the electorate.

This contempt is further illustrated by the following incident. Many of our members and sympathizers wrote letters and postcards to their Senators requesting them to vote against the suspension bill. Among these was Comrade Nathan Pressman. On Sept. 26, he wrote to New York Senator Jacob K. Javits, and received a reply from the Senator under date of Oct. 8. Comrade Pressman's acknowledgment to this letter speaks for itself:

"Hon. Jacob K. Javits . . .

"Dear Sir:

"I am in receipt of your letter of Oct. 8 in which you acknowledge my postcard of Sept. 26, and assure me that should the question of suspending Section 315 come before the Senate for action you 'will be alert to protection of the right to be heard of minority as well as major parties.' I am impelled to inform you, sir, that I did not feel assured for the following reasons:

"1. According to reports in the press, the United States Senate voted to suspend Section 315 by a voice vote, *and without discussion*. (New York Times, Oct. 3, 1963.)

"2. It was further reported that when the suspension 'was passed in about 90 seconds . . . *no voices were raised in opposition*.' (Broadcasting magazine, Oct. 7, 1963.) (Italics mine.)

"3. The action described under '1' and '2' above took place on the Senate floor on Wednesday, Oct. 2, six days prior to the date under which you wrote me.

"4. The record shows that in the past you did not merely support 'the suspension of Section 315 as an experiment in a particular elec-

tion, as was done in order to make possible the 1960 Presidential campaign television debates.' Actually, you also cosponsored a bill in September, 1961, calling for the suspension of Section 315 (reportedly at the behest of Mr. Louis Lefkowitz, then Republican candidate for Mayor of New York). You were at the time honorary co-chairman of Mr. Lefkowitz's campaign committee. The 1961 effort having failed, you again introduced a bill to suspend Section 315 in 1962. This time you were a candidate for re-election as Senator from New York, and stood to benefit from such suspension personally.

"In view of these facts, I must conclude that your letter of Oct. 8 was hardly candid. It presumed ignorance and a lack of awareness on my part and sought to take advantage of that premise. Is this worthy of one who holds the high office of United States Senator?"

Senator Javits's reply was replete with double-talk.

On Oct. 7, 1963, we addressed a letter to President Kennedy, calling upon him to veto the suspension bill when it reached his desk. In the meantime, the bill went back to the House for action on the minor amendments made by the Senate. (The Senate version reduced the period of suspension from 75 days to 60 days, and eliminated the House provisions calling for certain reports to be filed by the broadcasters with the FCC.)

Before the necessary joint conference could be arranged, President Kennedy was assassinated. Shortly thereafter the rumor began to circulate that the new President was opposed to debates. He was reported by the New York Times, Dec. 16, 1963, to have stated: "I don't believe the President of the United States ought to debate with anybody." The consensus of expressed opinion was that Mr. Johnson was not a good television risk.

The drive to suspend Section 315 appeared to be stalled indefinitely. The Democratic majority in the House seemed reluctant to put President Johnson on the spot. Now it was the Republicans who (in June, 1963, had supplied most of the opposition to H.J. Res. 247) joined the broadcasters in clamoring for action on the measure. They unquestionably felt that any Republican candidate for President would fare better against Johnson than he could have against Kennedy. The about-face of Congressman J. Arthur Younger illustrates the hypocrisy and callous opportunism of these politicians. In June, 1963, Younger was one of the most active and voluble opponents of the suspension bill. In urging that the House defeat H.J. Res. 247 he said in part:

". . . I want to say to this House that if the time ever comes when you repeal Section 315 you are going to put into the hands of the broadcaster the election of your Congress, your Senate and all of your public officials without any question. If you want to set up in



this country a royal family this is the way to do it. . . . If you can see what is being done here I do not believe that this Congress at this time should extend this kind of waiver of Section 315. Every time you whittle away part of it, you give to those who want to repeal 315 a reason for repealing it. This is certainly what has happened.

"The networks came before us with the idea that the networks did so well with the last exemption that now we should repeal Section 315. That is the purpose of this present action. It is the same old story. You never saw an alcoholic who did not take the first drink. It is the same with this. You will never repeal 315 if you hold tight to it and do not chisel it away, but if you start chiseling it away you are surely going to have 315 repealed." (*Congressional Record*, June 19, 1963.)

But seven months later Younger and the Republicans generally decided that their material interests could be better served if H.J. Res. 247 were passed. Thus, on Feb. 5, 1964, Congressman Younger declared:

"Mr. Speaker, while I was opposed to the suspension of equal time on TV for the Presidential election of 1964 unless the resolution provided for real debates [!?!], not interviews like those of the 1960 election, but since it looks as if the only known Presidential candidate [Johnson] at this time wants the Congress to kill the suspension resolution after it has passed both bodies, I find myself in favor of sending the resolution to conference and complete the legislative action. . . ." (*Congressional Record*, Feb. 5, 1964.)

Younger suggested that if the broadcasters "get behind" H.J. Res. 247 "we can smoke it out." The broadcasters were not slow to take the cue. On Feb. 17, 1964, *Broadcasting* magazine editorially added its voice urging the broadcasters ". . . To put the heat on." And apparently they did for a day or two later Oren Harris (D-Ark.), Chairman of the House Commerce Committee, got the "green light" from the House to call upon the Senate to meet in conference to iron out the minor differences in their respective bills. It was announced that the conference would be held on Feb. 27.

The change in tactics by those who are now pressuring for the suspension reveals how unprincipled are the broadcasters and their political henchmen. It provides convincing evidence that the broadcasters never were concerned with "debates" that would "enlighten the electorate." All they want is to free themselves of the obligation to give time to minor-party candidates. As for the politicians, their position is determined by their material interests and varies accordingly. Thus, Johnson, who wanted to debate Kennedy in 1960, doesn't want to debate anybody in 1964. Rockefeller, who refused to debate Morgenthau in 1962, challenged Goldwater in 1963. Dozens of others could be cited. As Roscoe Drummond put it during the 1962 campaign: "The

tendency of candidates who feel they are definitely in the lead is to turn aside from debating with their opponents." And they are not one whit concerned with whether or not the electorate is "enlightened."

As of this writing (April 9) the House-Senate Conference which was scheduled for Feb. 27, still has not been held. We cannot be sure of the exact political reasons for the delay. However, it is reasonable to assume that the conference will be held eventually, and the minor differences between the House and Senate resolved, and Section 315 will finally be suspended for Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates for the 1964 campaign. And it is possible, even probable, that the idea of "debates" will be dropped, and that the major-party candidates will simply be given free time in abundance for separate appearances.

There is hardly any question that the Party's efforts to obtain radio and television time during the 1964 campaign will meet with greater resistance than ever, thus presenting us with more problems and difficulties than we experienced in 1960. This will be true both as regards free time and paid time. For, if and when Section 315 is suspended again, the broadcasters will be relieved not only of the obligation to give our candidates free time but the obligation to sell us time. While this was true in 1960, we did succeed then in buying limited broadcast time in the major cities visited by our national candidates. Most of this was radio time. However, it was not always easy to get the stations to sell us time. In some instances, at least, we succeeded in buying the time because we worked through an advertising agent. This year we have no such agent. And we are hardly likely to find a reliable advertising agency (if there is such a thing) that would be willing to handle the SLP's account. In addition, we have every reason to expect that the broadcasters will be more arrogant and discriminatory than ever and, therefore, more likely to refuse to sell time to minor parties. In short, we shall certainly have our work cut out for us in this field.

#### The American Civil Liberties Union:

On Sept. 11, 1963, the day after the Senate Commerce Committee had favorably reported out the bill to suspend Section 315, Comrade Karp contacted Mr. Alan Reitman, Associate Director of the ACLU, by telephone and discussed with him the possibility of the ACLU joining with the Socialist Labor Party in challenging the suspension of Section 315 in the courts, if the suspension was finally passed. Mr. Reitman stated that he would take the matter up with the Washington office of the ACLU and their legal department. We informed Mr. Reitman that the Party would be willing to share the financial burden of a court case to the extent its available resources would permit, and



we suggested that we would be happy to arrange for an SLP representative to sit in on any conference that the ACLU might arrange to discuss the problem.

There was no immediate response from the ACLU. On Oct. 7, a few days after the Senate passed the suspension resolution with minor amendments, we wrote the ACLU again, pointing out that the suspension bill had now passed both Houses of Congress, and asked what consideration, if any, had been given our proposal. We repeated our offer to have an SLP representative sit in on their deliberations. No answer being received, Comrade Karp called Mr. Reitman (on Oct. 21) and asked what steps the ACLU had taken to date. The reply was that the whole matter had been referred to Mr. Alan U. Schwartz, counsel to the ACLU's Radio-Television Committee, for study. This, said Mr. Reitman, would take a little time.

It did. We finally received a reply from Mr. Reitman under date of November 12, in which he stated: "Our conclusion is that for the reasons set forth in Mr. Schwartz's Nov. 6 letter . . . it would not be a good idea to contest the suspension law in the courts."

In our reply we dealt in some detail with the arguments advanced by Mr. Schwartz, once again requesting the ACLU "to give renewed consideration to our proposal."

Two months passed before we heard anything further from the ACLU. On Jan. 15, Mr. Reitman wrote us briefly, reiterating the ACLU's decision not to consider a court case challenging the suspension of Section 315. With his letter Mr. Reitman enclosed a detailed statement of the ACLU's position prepared by Mr. Schwartz. Because our reply of Jan. 27, 1964, deals with the more important points at issue, and generally sums the matter up, we reproduce it here:

"Mr. Alan Reitman,  
Associate Director, ACLU . . .

"Dear Mr. Reitman:

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of Jan. 15 with enclosed copy of Mr. Alan U. Schwartz's letter dated Jan. 3, explaining the ACLU's position with regard to the Socialist Labor Party's suggestion to challenge in the courts the proposed 'suspension of Section 315 of the FCA with respect to Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates during the 1964 national elections.' Thank you.

"The Socialist Labor Party disagrees with Mr. Schwartz on several points raised in his letter. First, I believe it pertinent to reemphasize that the question under consideration was not whether 'Section 315 as presently written is inequitable as well as impractical,' but *whether the anticipated complete suspension of Section 315 for particular can-*

*didates for a specific period (as proposed in H.J. Res. 247) should be challenged in the courts on constitutional grounds.* I believe this was made quite clear in our letter of Nov. 13 from which I quote the following:

"We were, of course, fully aware from the start that the Socialist Labor Party's views on retaining intact Section 315 were not quite the same as those held by the ACLU. Nor did we think it necessary to discuss these differences in connection with the suggested court case. We did believe that the ACLU was as opposed as we are to the complete suspension of this provision as it applies to Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. Mr. Schwartz says as much in his letter to you. This we believed was the important point that would justify joint court action by our organizations in this matter."

"Consequently, when in commenting on the ACLU's decision to say 'no' to our suggestion that such 1964 suspension of Section 315 be challenged in the courts, we stated '. . . it is now apparent that the ACLU will not oppose this inevitable suppression of the right to express, and the right to hear, all views with "everything we [you] have,"' we were not being 'grossly inaccurate' as Mr. Schwartz charges. We did not say that the ACLU did not, or would not, oppose the suspension. What we did say was that the ACLU had made it apparent that they would not oppose it with 'everything' they had, meaning including challenging in the courts the 'inevitable suppression, etc. . . ' that would follow final passage of H.J. Res. 247, just as it followed the passage of S.J. Res. 207 in 1960. This is perfectly clear if the statement *partially quoted* by Mr. Schwartz is read in context.

"Mr. Schwartz writes: 'It seems to me that the Socialist Labor Party is asking us to join with them in the prosecution of an action which, if successful, would bring a result with which we are not thoroughly in agreement. I believe this is somewhat unrealistic and unfair . . . .'

"Whether he meant to or not, Mr. Schwartz is, in effect, saying here that he is opposed to challenging a *complete suspension* of Section 315(a) because a successful action in the courts would result in the re-establishment of a more democratic provision than the ACLU believes to be 'practical.' We are forced to conclude that Mr. Schwartz holds the view that no Section 315 (a) (which would allow the broadcasters full freedom to suppress all views that they may oppose) would be preferable to the present provision which *in principle* enunciates the right to free speech over the public airwaves for all candidates. We can get no other meaning from Mr. Schwartz's statement, and it appears to us to contradict the position of the ACLU as expressed by its Washington Director, Mr. Lawrence Speiser, who stated: 'We are unequivocally opposed to this measure [H.J. Res.



247] because its effect will be to deny a hearing on the air to any minority parties which have legally qualified candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. . . . ' (Letter to Congressman, June 13, 1963.)

"We find it strange that an ACLU attorney should state 'that the attainment of free speech and expression in the broadcast area is not a simple black and white proposition.' Such observation impels us to ask: What is the difference between the right to exercise free speech in the public parks, on the public streets, and elsewhere as guaranteed by the First Amendment, and the right to exercise free speech over the publicly owned airwaves? Freedom of speech is not a quantitative nor relative freedom guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to groups in proportion to their numbers or popularity. It is a freedom unequivocally guaranteed to every individual on equal terms.

"We are astonished that Mr. Schwartz should say that 'it [the ACLU] would not support the proposition that the same amount of time be given to those [SLP] candidates as is given to candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.' We ask: Why not? On what constitutional grounds would Mr. Schwartz justify the discrimination that he would condone? If his position is valid as regards the publicly owned airwaves, would it not also be valid in the exercise of free speech in public places? If on constitutional grounds there is a distinction between the right of free speech over the airwaves and in public halls, etc., what are these grounds?

"Furthermore, who is to define 'equitable time'? What actually happens to such vague provisions has been demonstrated repeatedly and convincingly by the complete disdain with which minority party views have been treated despite the much publicized, but utterly ineffective, 'Fairness Doctrine,' which actually has been codified and made part of the FCA by the 1959 amendment to Section 315.

"In his letter Mr. Schwartz observes: 'The Socialist Labor Party is certainly accurate in complaining that the overwhelming majority of TV and radio stations have ignored the equal-time provisions in the past . . . ' He goes on to argue that this was due, in part at least, to the fact that the provisions of Section 315 are "unworkable." In so doing he attributes to the Socialist Labor Party a 'complaint' that appears to support his position that Section 315 is 'impractical.' A careful reading of our Nov. 13 letter will reveal that we made no such complaint. The point we made was that 'the overwhelming majority of TV and radio stations ruthlessly discriminated against the Socialist Labor Party's candidates in 1960, —that is, *when the equal-time provision was suspended*. As Mr. Speiser wrote in his letter to the Congressmen: '. . . Minority parties which ran Presidential candidates in the 1960 campaign received short shrift from the networks. Freed

from the equal opportunity requirement of Section 315, the television and radio networks presented the American public only with the viewpoints of the candidates of the two major political parties. . . . '

"With regard to our Party's suggestion that a test case might be brought as a result of a station's refusal to grant equal time, etc., Mr. Schwartz states 'that such action at this time is premature.' He goes on to say that this 'should await any discriminatory practices in connection with the 1964 election,' at which time 'thorough legal research would have to be undertaken into such considerations as the proper parties to the suit, legal precedents, etc.' We are fully aware that the test case itself would have to be instituted after the anticipated 'discriminatory practices.' We believe, however, that a good deal of the legal research should, in fact *must*, be done in advance. Otherwise, we would run into the same problems as in 1960, when in the opinion of Mr. Schwartz and other ACLU counsel a test case created the danger that it would become 'moot' because of the time element. Far from 'sloughing off' the legal problems 'in cavalier fashion,' it was, and is, our judgment and belief that the legal difficulties would be considerable. These are the reasons we brought the matter up so far in advance of the 1964 elections, so that there would be ample time to consider all the problems and determine the legal basis that would have to be laid in order to map out a plan of action that would prove to be legally viable and financially feasible, and which could be put into operation as soon as the 'discriminatory act' was committed.

"On further reflection and consideration of the points we have made, we hope that you will reconsider your position as specifically stated in Mr. Schwartz's letter. But in any case we ask you to answer the question we have raised with regard to any alleged distinction between free speech over the airwaves and elsewhere.

"Sincerely yours,  
Socialist Labor Party,  
ARNOLD PETERSEN,  
National Secretary."

We never did get an answer to the specific question we posed. Under date of Feb. 25, 1964, Mr. Reitman briefly acknowledged our letter of Jan. 27, stating:

" . . . The Union at this time does not feel it profitable to comment further. We do want you to know, however, that we now have some-one doing some basic research on Section 315 and the problems which you have outlined in your various letters will certainly be studied in the over-all review we are now making."

There is where the matter now stands. It is clear that, if the



anticipated suspension of Section 315 is to be challenged in the courts, the SLP will have to make that challenge on its own. And this presents a most difficult problem. Unquestionably, it would be a very costly undertaking, with success by no means a foregone conclusion. In 1960, one of the ACLU attorneys, Emanuel Redfield, estimated the minimum cost at \$3,500, exclusive of possible trial expenses (which would include lawyer's fees at \$150 per day), printers' expense, filing fees, etc. Now, four years later, all these costs may be even higher. And it must be kept in mind that, as our experience has demonstrated, the cost of court cases winds up considerably higher than the original estimates made by the lawyers. Should we lose the case, the full costs would have to be borne by the Party. This could run into many thousands of dollars.

But even if the Party should finally decide that the suspension of Section 315 should be challenged in the court, regardless of cost, it is not at all certain that we could find adequate legal counsel willing and able to handle such a case. Even Mr. Redfield, who has some reputation as a "fighter" for civil liberties, seemed reluctant about taking such a case when we contacted him in 1960. This is not the sort of case for which just any lawyer will do. The chances of winding up with another Karparkin are too great.

We shall, of course, pursue the matter further with the ACLU, though we have little hope of success. But we do hope to force them to answer the questions we have posed, and give rational and legal reasons for challenging our contentions.

\*

### *General*

In 1963, SLP speakers broadcast on a total of 43 radio and 12 TV programs, amounting to 28 hours and 5 hours, respectively. This contrasts sharply with the 1962 record of 226 broadcasts and a total of 130 hours of broadcast time. Last year's record was not one to give us elation, but it must be remembered there were no state wide or national offices contested. Our campaigns were limited to local elections. The fact that we received even the time we did in local elections points up an important fact: that an alert SLP organization can often get "equal time" with the major parties. For example, on March 19, 1964, Comrade James Sim, of Detroit, Mich., wrote the National Office:

"You probably have noted that Section Wayne County has been broadcasting every Tuesday over FM station WQRS. This is a listener-financed station with, maybe, 5,000 people paying \$12 per year to obtain programs of music, literature and drama which they desire. The station offered free 15-minute periods every week to the Republi-

cans, Democrats, SWP and the SLP. I assume that not many people listen to the type of programs but whoever listens gets the SLP program every Tuesday night. One of our young supporters here was instrumental in obtaining the time for us."

A similar, though not as extensive, example is Delaware, where the Secretary of the SLP of Delaware was given "equal time" with the major party counterparts on a public forum, part of which was telecast.

It is important to keep in mind that even if the suspension of Section 315 for national candidates is finally enacted, our state and local candidates would still be entitled to "equal time."

Your attention is called to another kind of radio (and possibly TV) opportunity that should be fully investigated and followed up by our Subdivisions and members. Many stations conduct programs on which invited guests are given the opportunity to answer questions phoned in by listeners. In many areas such programs appear to have a large listening audience. Recently Section Dauphin County, Pa., fully realizing the importance of seizing all opportunities for presenting our program over the airwaves, succeeded in arranging for an SLP representative to appear on such program over Radio Station WKBO. The result was that Comrade Benson Perry, of Section Philadelphia, answered questions over the air for over an hour and a half. The Ohio SEC also succeeded in arranging for the Party's fraternal delegate to its State Convention to appear on a similar program over Cleveland Radio Station WERE just before the State Convention. Here again we had an opportunity to discuss the Party's program and answer questions phoned in by listeners for over two hours. In at least one city a sympathizer participated in such a program with credit to herself and the Party, though she did not officially represent the Party.

These experiences clearly demonstrate the opportunities that may be secured locally by an alert SLP organization and individual members. In the two instances mentioned the number of questions phoned in were far greater than could be answered over the air, and the SLP spokesman was permitted to give the Party's address and invite the listeners to write for information, free literature, etc.

### *THE BALLOT*

In 1960, the Party's national ticket appeared on the ballot in the following 15 states: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin. Write-in campaigns were conducted in the following eight states: California, Connecticut, Kentucky, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio



(despite the fact that the Ohio ballot provides no space for write-in votes) and Oregon.

With each passing year our ballot problems become increasingly difficult. Nineteen sixty-four is no exception. The problems have multiplied and loom up more serious than ever. In some states this is due to increased ballot requirements; in others to more stringent interpretations of existing laws. It is also due, in part at least, to the unfortunate fact that some SLP members neglect or ignore their responsibilities and fail to cooperate fully in this admittedly difficult but essential work. Why this is so in an organization such as ours defies analysis. Either such members do not realize the seriousness of the situation, or they just don't seem to care. Whatever the reason, unless there is a change for the better very shortly, the Party's national campaign will suffer a serious setback. There is a real danger that we may find ourselves on the ballot in fewer states in 1964 than in any previous national campaign. As was pointed out in a general letter to the Subdivisions early this year:

"To put it bluntly, our chances of getting on the ballot in several important states depend almost entirely on the number of members who prove willing and able to make their services available for signature gathering—locally and elsewhere—on weekends, during vacation periods and for other periods during which they find it possible to take time off from their regular jobs. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that unless we get the fullest cooperation in this respect our National Campaign will be seriously handicapped. This is not a case of crying 'wolf,' but a realistic evaluation of the situation. Let no member be under any illusion on this point."

The relatively few who are carrying the heavy burden may not indefinitely be able to avert possible disaster to our campaign. It is to be feared that we have now reached the point where the task has become too difficult for the "relatively few" to perform. We must have the full cooperation of every able-bodied member in every Subdivision of the Party if we are to get on the ballot in as many states as we did in 1960. And certainly, in this crucial year, that should be considered the absolute minimum that we must accomplish.

The following state by state resume of the ballot situation will clearly indicate that we have not exaggerated the seriousness of this problem.

#### *Arizona:*

Technically, the ballot requirements in this state remain the same—two per cent of the total vote cast in any five counties. While this does not seem like a great number of signatures, the job of collecting them (plus a "margin of safety") is actually a formidable one. For

one thing, vast distances have to be covered. Secondly, several members who did much of the work in 1960 are no longer available. But our Arizona comrades have made clear that they intend to make every effort to ensure that the Party's ticket will appear on the ballot. Comrade L. Blackwell having taken the lead, the initial steps have been taken to nominate the necessary Presidential Electors, etc., and planning the signature-gathering work. By the time this report is presented to the convention, the work will probably be under way, and there is good reason to believe that we shall meet with complete success.

#### *California:*

Here we still have no choice but to continue to conduct a write-in vote campaign. In order that write-in votes cast for SLP candidates be counted, it is necessary to comply with certain technicalities, and there is no question that our California organization will do the necessary at the required time.

In 1963, Section San Francisco participated in the "nonpartisan" mayoralty campaign. Comrade Herbert Steiner was the Party's candidate for Mayor. He appeared on several radio and television programs and acquitted himself well, obtaining fair publicity. The campaign was conducted energetically by Comrade Steiner and the local comrades, and was definitely a worth-while effort.

#### *Colorado:*

In this state there was a complete revision of the Election Code. However, the changes are of such a nature that our Colorado organization will be able to do the necessary, and, barring the unforeseen, the Party's ticket will be on the ballot in this state.

#### *Connecticut:*

The general circumstances in this state are such that we have no choice but to confine ourselves to conducting a write-in vote campaign, as we did in 1956 and 1960. The minimum number of signatures required is over 6,000, but this is not the worst of the problem. There are "technicalities" with which minority parties generally cannot comply. In 1960 our write-in votes were not even counted, nevertheless we shall conduct a vigorous campaign.

#### *Delaware:*

There have been no changes in the election laws of Delaware that affect minor parties. Barring unforeseen developments, there is every reason to believe that we shall succeed in collecting the necessary signatures to qualify our national ticket for the ballot, as we have done in the past.



### *Illinois:*

This is one of the most important states in so far as the Party's ballot interests are concerned, and it is one in which we really have a major problem presented to us. A minimum of 25,000 signatures must be gathered, with a minimum of 200 from each of 50 counties. (There are 102 counties in the state.) The signature-gathering period runs from early May to mid-August. The big problem is to find the necessary manpower to make up the crews that must cover the various counties, plus two full-time gatherers to work in the Cook County area collecting the bulk of the signatures.

It is assumed that the Illinois State Convention will decide to make the effort. Every possible aid will be extended to the Illinois organization to assist in carrying out that decision successfully. It will be a costly effort—possibly running as high as \$5,000. But every legitimate effort must be made to place the Party on the ballot in this important state. In 1960 we succeeded. It was not easy then either, but the results justified the strenuous effort that was made.

### *Indiana:*

This is another state in which we succeeded after much difficulty in qualifying for the ballot in 1960. The outlook for similar success in 1964 does not allow for great optimism. In fact, putting it bluntly, the picture in this state is very dark. A minimum of almost 9,000 signatures must be collected. In 1962, the attempt to get on the ballot for the gubernatorial election was a frustrating failure. Recent reports from the State Secretary, Comrade John Morris, are not encouraging. Comrade Morris and a few other SLP stalwarts in the state are anxious and willing to make an all-out effort to gather the signatures, but others appear to have doubts. Much will depend upon the decision made at the State Convention. If the decision is to make the effort, the National Office will do everything possible to assist the Indiana SLP.

### *Iowa:*

This is still another state in which we appeared on the ballot in 1960, but there is some doubt that we can do so in 1964. The ballot requirements were changed in 1961, making it difficult for a minority party to qualify. We are looking into the possibility before concluding that the situation is hopeless.

### *Kansas:*

As far as we have been able to check, we have never been on the ballot in this state. Last October, Comrade Jack Barber contacted the office of the Secretary of State to ascertain the ballot requirements for minor parties, and found that these are quite difficult to comply

with. One drawback is the requirement that "Party certificates of nomination shall designate in not more than two words, of which the word 'party' shall be one, the political party . . . making the nominations . . . a compound or hyphenated word shall not be used to designate the name of a political party within the meaning of this act." The possibilities are being investigated and considered, but they are not very promising.

### *Kentucky:*

In this state we suffered sharp disappointment. Prior to 1960, we gathered the 1,000 plus signatures required during the summer months and filed them early in September. When we did so again in 1960, however, the state officials ruled that independent nominating petitions had to be filed before the primary. There had been no change in the law. It was a new interpretation of the existing law.

On the basis of this new ruling, it would be necessary to file our 1964 nominating petition on or about March 30. The question was: Could we file a nominating petition naming the Presidential Electors and then add the names of our national candidates following the National Convention in early May? Or could we name "temporary candidates" and then substitute our convention nominees later on. We inquired of the Secretary of State and were referred to the Attorney General for a ruling. After a considerable delay a ruling was received from the Assistant Attorney General, in a four-page letter. Reducing the letter to its essence, the answer was that the petition would have to be "complete" while filed on March 30, and no changes would be permitted. To quote the Assistant Attorney General: ". . . there is grave doubt that Kentucky law actually permits minor parties . . . to place their candidates' names on the ballot for President and Vice President. . . ." Consequently, we cannot qualify for the ballot in Kentucky this year.

### *Massachusetts:*

There has been no change in the election law here, and we anticipate no difficulty in placing our ticket on the ballot in this state.

### *Michigan:*

The long, back-breaking task of gathering in the neighborhood of 20,000 signatures was finally completed at the end of November, 1963. On Dec. 5, the Michigan ballot petition was filed. Then began the long period of waiting for the decision of the election officials as to whether or not the petition had been accepted. As of this writing (April 13) we're still awaiting official word.

The Michigan SLP participated in the 1963 "Biennial Spring Elections." An active campaign was conducted. The Party's vote ranged



from 8,592 to 17,338 for the various candidates.

#### *Minnesota:*

We should have no problem in this state. There have been some technical changes in the election laws since 1960, but these tend to make the job a bit easier, and we are confident that we shall be on the ballot in this state.

#### *Missouri:*

The situation in this state remains hopeless. The law is not merely restrictive, it is so ambiguous that it is doubtful that anyone knows exactly what the requirements are for a minor party to qualify for the ballot. We shall again conduct a write-in campaign in this state.

#### *New Jersey:*

In this state our ticket has already been filed. Early in January, the Secretary of State issued a series of public "warnings" that nominating petitions would be carefully scrutinized. Coming on the heels of an unsuccessful attempt the previous year to increase ballot restrictions, these warnings appeared to imply that the politicians were planning to look for "technicalities"—no matter how flimsy—on which to reject nomination petitions. For this reason the New Jersey organization decided to gather twice the number of signatures required. This was done and the petition was filed in early March without incident. Nothing further having been heard to date, we assume we are assured of our place on the New Jersey ballot.

#### *New Mexico:*

The provisions for placing our ticket on the ballot in this state remain unchanged. We were on the ballot in 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1960. We are not sure that we can muster the necessary manpower to succeed again in 1964. The matter is still being considered, and with luck we may yet manage it.

#### *New York:*

We have probably had more frustrating experiences in this state than in any other. Each year the problem becomes more difficult. In 1960, our nominating petition was thrown out on the flimsiest of technicalities. Despite this, our New York organization will again make the effort to get on the ballot this year. It will be a difficult and expensive undertaking, and we will need the fullest cooperation of every able-bodied member. We fully expect that our membership will respond. To capitulate in advance is unthinkable.

#### *Ohio:*

We cannot get on the ballot in this state under present election

laws. Nor can we conduct a write-in campaign, since no write-in vote can be cast in this state. Our alert and active Ohio organization will nevertheless nominate candidates and carry on an energetic campaign as they have done in the past.

#### *Oregon:*

Since 1940, we have had to conduct write-in campaigns in this state, and we will have to do so again in 1964. The signature-gathering requirements are far beyond the means of a minority party, and being based on a percentage of the vote cast in previous elections, the requirements almost automatically increase each year.

#### *Pennsylvania:*

In Pennsylvania, the necessary signatures were gathered, filed and accepted, and we are assured of our place on the 1964 ballot under the designation Socialist Labor Party. The signatures were gathered in record time, and the accomplishment was a convincing demonstration of what can be done by SLP determination, intelligent planning and wholehearted cooperation. If we can repeat this kind of effort in states where success is currently in doubt, we can eliminate those doubts in short order.

#### *Virginia:*

This is another state in which we appeared on the ballot in 1960, but we cannot be sure of success in 1964. There has been no change in the election law, but certain technicalities which were not used against us in prior years may be invoked in 1964. If this proves true, we may find ourselves confronted with an insurmountable difficulty.

#### *Washington:*

In this state, we are also faced with a difficult problem. But the ballot effort will be made, and we hope successfully. Plans are already being considered and discussed.

#### *Wisconsin:*

Placing our ticket on the ballot in this state presents the usual difficulties, but we are quite hopeful that our Wisconsin comrades will succeed. It will not be easy, but then it wasn't easy in previous years either. Still, our resourceful Wisconsin organization succeeded in the past, and we believe it will do so again this year.

\* \* \*

#### To recapitulate:

In California, Connecticut, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio and Oregon, we are limited to write-in campaigns.

In Iowa and Kansas, the chances of placing the SLP ticket on the



ballot are not good.

In New Mexico and Virginia, we face special problems, but these problems can be overcome we believe.

In Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, we have filed the necessary signatures and appear to be safely on the ballot.

In Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Wisconsin, we face the usual problems and difficulties but have no reason to doubt that we shall succeed in qualifying.

In the important states of Illinois, Indiana, New York and Washington, we face Herculean tasks. The importance of getting on the ballot in these states cannot be overemphasized. We are planning to make the effort in each one of them, but we don't stand a ghost of a chance of succeeding unless we receive the fullest cooperation from every able-bodied member and sympathizer. Anything short of this will doom our efforts to failure, and they will be costly failures. It will require all our determination, perseverance and energy to carry these efforts through to success.

## STATE OF ORGANIZATION

### Party Membership

In 1963, there was a net loss of 24 members. Fourteen were dropped from the rolls and 16 died. The Federation reported a loss of nine members. Fifteen new members were added. Nineteen members were transferred in 1963.

There is a total of 74 Subdivisions, including Federation Branches. There are 12 State Executive Committees. National members-at-large are scattered throughout the country in states where we have no organized Sections. Many of these are doing good work and contribute to Party funds.

### Sections

The Sections and Federation Branches are distributed as follows:

#### California:

We have a well-functioning State Committee in this state, and four Sections: Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto and San Francisco. Also two Federation Branches—Bulgarian and South Slavonian—in Los Angeles. Each Section maintains a WEEKLY PEOPLE Club. A State Organizer was toured during the greater part of the year.

#### Colorado:

There is still only one Section in this state, in Denver. Being isolated, off the beaten track, as it were, it is rarely visited by Party

organizers. It carries on Party agitation steadily, doing excellent work within its restricted circumstances.

#### Connecticut:

This state has three Sections: Bridgeport, Hartford and South Norwalk. The state organization has been hard hit in recent years, due partly to deaths and partly through the disruptive action of its former State Secretary, who was expelled, taking a couple of members with him. As a result, Section New Haven collapsed, but this was no real loss since it was almost 100 per cent inactive. Our new State Secretary, Arthur Gaines, is efficient and alert to opportunities. The death of the deeply devoted Svan Johnson was a hard blow to Section Bridgeport, but his wife, Ellen Johnson, and daughter Sonja, are carrying on valiantly, the latter having been instrumental in having SLP speakers appear before colleges.

#### District of Columbia:

This lone Section is obviously greatly restricted in its activities, but contributes generously to Party Funds.

#### Illinois:

There are four Sections in this state: Cook County, Peoria, Rockford and St. Clair County. Party agitation is carried on regularly throughout the state, especially in Cook County (Chicago). The SEC and its veteran State Secretary make an efficient SLP team. There are four Federation Branches—two in Chicago, one in Zeigler, and one in Granite City. Also a WEEKLY PEOPLE Club in Chicago.

#### Indiana:

There are three Sections in this state: Evansville, Fort Wayne and St. Joseph County. There are Bulgarian Branches in Fort Wayne and Gary. The state organization is facing serious problems, but its State Committee and State Secretary nonetheless carry on valiantly.

#### Massachusetts:

This state has three Sections: Boston, Lynn and Waltham. The State Committee is functioning efficiently. There is room for improvement here as elsewhere, especially in Section Lynn, which only infrequently is heard from.

#### Michigan:

There are three active and productive Sections in this state: Pontiac, Washtenaw County and Wayne County. There are two Federation Branches in Detroit, which also has a WEEKLY PEOPLE Club. Excellent work is done by all Sections, all of them contributing generously to Party funds. The State Committee is also functioning



efficiently.

#### *Minnesota:*

The two Sections in this state carry on Party activities efficiently and fruitfully. They are: Minneapolis and St. Louis County. One of the chief achievements of Section Minneapolis is its participation in the State Fair annually, as previously recorded in this report. There is a WEEKLY PEOPLE Club in the Twin Cities, and a well functioning State Committee.

#### *Missouri:*

There is still only one Section in this state, in St. Louis. The National Office rarely hears from this Section, which does not mean that it is not active. There is a Bulgarian Branch in St. Louis, and a WEEKLY PEOPLE Club which contributes funds regularly to the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

#### *New Jersey:*

There are three Sections in this state: Essex, Camden and Passaic Counties, the two last mentioned particularly carrying on Party work effectively. There is a South Slavonian Branch in Hoboken, and an efficiently conducted State Committee.

#### *New York:*

In this, the "Empire State," there are the following Sections: Erie County, Jamestown, Kings County, Monroe County, New York, Oneida County and Onondaga County. Persistent and productive work for the Party is conducted in all the Sections in greater and lesser degrees. There are Bulgarian Branches in Syracuse and Lackawanna, and a South Slavonian Branch in New York. Also an efficiently conducted State Committee.

#### *Ohio:*

There are four Sections in this state, all active: Akron, Cleveland, Dayton and Steubenville. The State Committee is highly efficient and effective in its work. There are Federation Branches as follows: Bulgarian—Akron-Barberton, Cleveland, Mansfield, Toledo; South Slavonian—Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville, and Youngstown. Sections Cleveland and Steubenville maintain WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs. Despite its being barred from the ballot, the state organization participates vigorously in political campaigns.

#### *Oregon:*

The two Sections in this state, Portland and Astoria, are doing the best they can under most difficult circumstances. Until recently there was a Bulgarian Branch in Portland. It was dissolved and the

remaining members transferred to Section Portland.

#### *Pennsylvania:*

We have four Sections in this state: Allegheny County, Dauphin County, Greensburg and Philadelphia. Section Philadelphia is the largest in the state, and accounts for most of the Party work done in Pennsylvania. Section Allegheny County has increased its activities in recent years and is doing fine work. Section Dauphin County has been alert to opportunities to present the Party's message to universities and elsewhere. There is room for much improvement in Section Greensburg. The State Committee is conducting statewide activities efficiently and effectively.

#### *Washington:*

We have four Sections in this state conducting agitation under difficult circumstances. Despite constant efforts, we have not succeeded in building a numerically large Section in Seattle. Time and again new members were added, and no sooner had they been enrolled than they had to leave for other cities in pursuit of making a living. However, the few members are not discouraged, convinced that their day will come. The State Committee conducts its business systematically and as effectively as the adverse circumstances permit.

#### *Wisconsin:*

Milwaukee is the only Section in this state. There is a South Slavonian Branch in Milwaukee, and a State Campaign Committee which supervises Statewide activities, especially during campaigns.

#### *Language Federations*

The annual reports of the Bulgarian and South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federations follow:

#### **BULGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION**

To the 26th National Convention

Socialist Labor Party

Comrades:

On the 5th day of July last year the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation suffered a great loss in the death of Comrade Theodore Baeff, the Federation's Secretary-Treasurer during a period lasting slightly over a half century. While being at the Federation picnic all day on the 4th, which is held annually in Detroit, and apparently feeling well and in a jovial mood, late in the evening Comrade Baeff suffered a heart attack and three to four hours later died in Detroit's (world-famous) Ford Hospital. Thus, cruel death put an end to a heart and mind that had cherished Marxian Socialism for over a half



century. And, thus, with his death, a chapter of the history of the Bulgarian SLF was closed.

From the very inception, in 1911, of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Social Democratic Federation (as it was known before it was affiliated with the Socialist Labor Party) and to the last day of his life, Comrade Baeff was the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation continuously—for 52 long years. And at the time when the Federation was debating the question of affiliation with the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party, together with other prominent comrades of that time, but more than any one else, Comrade Baeff was instrumental in convincing a predominantly large part of the membership in favor of affiliation with the SLP. And how fortunate we of the Federation were that this happened!

Due to the fact that Comrade Baeff occupied such an important, if not the most important, post in the Federation, his death created a serious problem for the Federation. The Central Committee of the Federation, for several months, labored to solve this problem. In Granite City, Ill., none of the capable comrades found it possible to take over the post of Secretary-Treasurer due to their having serious health problems, aside from their being men of quite advanced age. But that was not all. The Editor of *Rabotnicheska Prosveta* ("Labor Education"), and the printer also, announced their intention of discontinuing their services with the Federation with the end of September, 1963, for similar reasons.

However, as the saying goes, "where there is a will, there is a way." After considerable deliberation, the Central Committee found the way: The Detroit Branch had fairly competent comrades who could perform the duties of Secretary-Treasurer and the editing of *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*. Also a printing shop was found in Detroit for the printing of our paper at a reasonable price—less, in fact, than what it had cost to print it in Granite City. Accordingly, at the Federation Convention held last September, Comrade Oundjief was elected Editor of *RP*, and the undersigned National Secretary of the Federation, with headquarters in Detroit. Comrade Nathan Karp, the Party's fraternal delegate, was of inestimable value and guidance in connection with organizing the body of officers to function in the Federation. His assistance and endeavors in this respect contributed a whole lot toward inspiring and sustaining the enthusiasm of many delegates. And the results of his endeavors were gratifying.

The new headquarters were opened on Oct. 1, 1963. At the behest of the Party's National Office, Comrade Joseph Pirincin came to Detroit a few times and gave us the needed assistance and guidance in organizing and conducting the work at the headquarters. For this valuable assistance and guidance, I extend our thanks and gratitude

to Comrades Petersen and Pirincin.

The events described in the foregoing did not have a disturbing or discouraging effect on the individual Branches of the Federation. Their regular work continued uninterrupted. In fact, in one respect, in the field of subscriptions for *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*, there was a slight increase during the last several months. All in all, the activities of the Branches have proceeded normally.

Despite the fact that considerable expenses had to be incurred (between July and until about the end of October) for various purposes connected with the situation described above, the Federation is in fairly good condition financially. At the last Federation Convention held in September, 1963, \$11,037.05 was collected. Of this sum, \$2,-635.50 was for the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Due to the fact that some matters connected with the Federation's properties in Granite City, Ill., were not settled by the end of the fiscal year (July 31, 1963), and still are not completely settled, a full financial report cannot be given now. Such a full report will be given to the annual session of the National Executive Committee next year. [The National Office of the Party received a Financial Statement covering the Federation's operations for the fiscal year that ended July 31, 1963, and audited by the Certified Public Accountants in St. Louis that audited the books in the past. Subsequently the National Office received the figures since Aug. 1, 1963, through March 31, 1964. Total receipts and expenditures from Aug. 1, 1962, through March 31, 1964, follow: On hand July 31, 1962, \$15,690.25; Receipts Aug. 1, 1962-Mar. 31, 1964, \$30,125.88; Expenditures Aug. 1, 1962-Mar. 31, 1964, \$34,-185.02; Balance on hand Mar. 31, 1964, \$11,631.11.]

As is well known, the Language Federations have no new "material" from which to draw new recruits. Not only have there been no new recruits in recent years, but the membership has actually declined due to deaths of comrades who had reached an advanced age. The following were the comrades who passed away during the period covered by this report: Theodore Baeff, July 5, 1963, Mihail Chuhaloff, Mansfield, Ohio, Sept. 30, 1963, Paul Mitroff, Chicago, Ill., July 2, 1963, and Peter Kamenoff, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 15, 1963.

As of Dec. 31, 1963, the Federation had 14 Branches with 97 members, and nine members-at-large, a total Federation membership of 106.

There have been no other important developments that need to be mentioned in this report.

In conclusion, I would like to assure this 1964 National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party that our Federation is THE Socialist Labor Party among the Bulgarian speaking workers in America and abroad, in every respect, and particularly as regards Marxism and



De Leonism as they are expounded by our Party.

Fraternally submitted,  
[signed] PETER STAYANOFF  
Secretary-Treasurer.

March 11, 1964.

As Comrade Stayanoff mentioned, Comrade Pirincin rendered valuable services in winding up the Federation's affairs in Granite City following the tragic death of the incomparable Comrade Baeff, and in effecting the removal of Federation headquarters to Detroit. Indeed, the assistance he gave was not just valuable—it was magnificent. It would take too long to relate, and too much space in this report, to record in detail what had to be done in order to ensure an orderly transfer from Granite City, Ill., to Detroit, Mich., and to set up the Detroit National Office. Much of the equipment (especially the printing press equipment) was deemed of no value if sold, being old and largely worn out. Yet, Comrade Pirincin managed to dispose of this equipment for a sum that exceeded anything we could have anticipated.

The following summarizes the accomplishments of Comrade Pirincin, in cooperation, of course, with the Bulgarian comrades. But it is only fair to say that had Comrade Pirincin's services not been available, the outlook for our Bulgarian Federation would have been rather dim.

1. Finding a printing plant in Detroit that could and would print the paper at a cost of \$230 per issue. This price includes composition, printing, and material and space for mailing.

2. Found office space for the new headquarters in Detroit at a rent of \$30 per month.

3. Arranged for the moving of "about 10 tons" of files, records, literature, and other necessary items from Granite City to Detroit. Comrade Joe Pinter made his truck available for this purpose.

4. Succeeded in disposing of the 50-year old linotype machine, an old Miehle press and some other printing plant equipment (which the scrap-metal dealers who were contacted refused even to take unless they were paid to take it) to the Detroit printer in return for the printing of eight issues of the Bulgarian paper. The "cash value" of this arrangement was \$1,840. A really amazing accomplishment.

5. Supervised the closing of the Granite City headquarters. This involved taking care of dozens of details.

6. Made all arrangements for auditing and closing the books, bank accounts, etc., and transferring all financial matters to the Detroit headquarters.

7. Arranged for a Detroit firm to handle the Federation's financial records, and also opened the necessary new bank accounts.

8. Supervised the establishing of the Detroit headquarters, purchasing office furniture, setting up a filing system, etc.

9. Arranged for the transfer of the Bulgarian SLF's second-class mailing privilege to the Detroit Post Office.

10. And attended to numerous additional time-consuming details, which necessitated trips to Granite City and Detroit.

As the National Secretary of the Party wrote in a letter to Comrade Pirincin: "You have done a magnificent job. I don't know what we would have done without your help. To say that we are grateful to you is putting it mildly. You undertook a Herculean task and discharged it superbly."

It is a great satisfaction to report that Comrade Stayanoff has taken hold of the Federation's administrative affairs with unexpected skill, and appears to be conducting his office like a veteran. By all appearances Comrade Oundjieff likewise is performing well as Editor of *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*, though the National Office of the Party is at a disadvantage in forming an independent judgment since we are not able to read the *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*!

\*

As was to be expected, everyone was stunned at the tragic news of Comrade Baeff's sudden death. And inevitably there were some who wondered whether it would be possible to continue the Federation. The National Office sent Comrade Nathan Karp as fraternal delegate to the convention held in Akron over the Labor Day weekend to consider the prospects for the Federation with the delegates assembled. In reporting to the National Office, Comrade Karp concluded as follows:

"I know that the convention ended on a far higher note of enthusiasm and satisfaction than when it convened Saturday afternoon. . . . The delegates knew that what had been planned faced many obstacles and might prove to be wholly unworkable. But they felt it was worth the chance, and proved they were not ready to give up without a fight. Many were doubly glad that the Fiftieth National Convention of the Bulgarian Federation had been a 'working' convention and not a 'funeral.' [Several comrades] expressed their satisfaction, saying that if they *had* to go down they would at least go down fighting like real SLP men."

Needless to say, Comrade Karp contributed in no small measure to the happy result. There are still some odds and ends of unfinished business in connection with settling some minor problems resulting from Comrade Baeff's sudden death (especially as relating to a bequest to the SLP in his will) but these are expected to be taken care of satisfactorily.



## SOUTH SLAVONIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

To the 26th National Convention  
of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greetings:

In our report to the 25th National Convention, we reported that we had 13 Branches and 124 members. At the end of our fiscal year, June 30, 1963, we had 12 Branches and 106 members. This is one Branch and 18 members less than we had four years ago. During this period, one member dropped out and 17 members died. In one year alone, 1962-3, we lost nine members through death, the heaviest loss in a single year in the entire history of our Federation.

Also the subscriptions to the *Radnicka Borba* and the sales of our literature are gradually declining.

In spite of all these adversities, the spirit and determination of our members have not shown any sign of lessening, and there are no indications of apathy and discouragement. They retain full faith in the revolutionary program of the SLP as the only hope of humanity!

We have Branches in the following cities: Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown, Ohio; New York, N.Y.; Hoboken, N.J.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; and Los Angeles, Calif.

In addition to the Branches, we have one *Radnicka Borba* Club in Detroit, Mich., and De Leon followers in Argentina and Uruguay. The *Radnicka Borba* Club is active in its field, and is of considerable financial assistance to the Federation. The activities of the De Leonists in South America, under the conditions prevailing in those countries, are limited. Generally speaking, they hold their own. They have about 30 subscribers to the *Radnicka Borba*, and they sold nearly 100 copies of our yearly *Almanack* and some of our other literature. They have also sent money for the RB Press Fund.

As to the problem of editorship of the *Radnicka Borba*, no changes have been made since the last time we reported. The Central Committee is still the responsible "Editor," the Federation Secretary is Acting Editor, and Comrades Petrovich and Pirincin are engaged as paid writers. It seems there is no other course but to proceed with the present arrangement.

The financial problem of the Federation, fortunately, has been solved (at least for the time being), through the estate bequeathed the Federation by our sympathizer, Steve Kovacevich. As we have already reported to the National Executive Committee, he (Kovacevich), in his last will and testament, earmarked the money from his trust fund to be used only for publishing books and pamphlets by our Federation. With the cooperation of the National Office, which drafted the petitions

to the Probate Court, and after nearly three years of waiting, the Probate Court, in November, 1963, finally rendered a declaratory judgment, allowing us to use the money from this trust fund for publishing *Radnicka Borba* as well as for books and pamphlets. So, with this court's action, this matter is finally settled.

The following is a summary of our receipts and expenditures for the four years since the 1960 National Convention: Receipts on hand June 30, 1959, \$6,719.62; total receipts July 1, 1959-June 30, 1963, \$97,693.95; total expenditures for the same period \$101,933.75; balance on hand June 30, 1963, \$2,479.82.

Although the Federation is confronted with so many difficulties and hardships in our efforts to reach the Yugoslav-speaking workers with the Party's program, we are determined to carry on this program to the best of our ability. For, as we already stated, the determination and the spirit among the Federation membership and its sympathizers are as high as ever.

We also pledge in this National Campaign to give every possible support, financial and physical, so that the National Organization may carry on the most successful campaign in its history.

Fraternally submitted,  
South Slavonian Socialist Labor  
Federation

[signed] PETER SLEPCEVICH  
National Secretary.

March 20, 1964.

## SPECIAL LANGUAGE COMMITTEES *SLP German Committee*

Comrade Emil F. Teichert, Secretary of the German Language Committee, has submitted the following report covering the period since the 1963 NEC Session:

Dear Comrade Petersen:

At this time last year our mailing list, including bundle orders and libraries, numbered 910. Last June we mailed an elimination card with *Bulletin* No. 41. We received 330 returns, together with 66 new requests for the *Bulletin*. The individual-readers' list is now 396; the libraries number 128; the bundle orders total 75, which makes a grand total of 599, as against 910 at this time last year—a drop of 311. In addition to the bundle, Comrades Wenderich and I distribute an average of 75 copies of each issue between us.

Comrade Walter Wenderich continues to devote all of his time to German Committee work. He conducts the bulk of its considerable German correspondence and, as in the past, mails the bulk of the free literature, both English and German, that supplements the



*Bulletin*. In addition he translates items from the WEEKLY PEOPLE from time to time that appear in the *Bulletin*. During the one-year period ending March 1, 1964, he mailed a total of 450 pieces of English and German literature, which included sample copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE and assorted English leaflets. In addition, 55 pieces of literature were mailed by me. This brings the total to 515, as against 645 for the previous year. (We have distributed about 250 of the 500 copies of the German edition of the Party's 1948 Resolution on World War III—old stock—which number is not included in the above figure.)

Only one meeting of *Bulletin* readers was held in Berlin during the past year. The result was the usual one. A small group (six) put in its appearance. When Comrade Simon was in Berlin in 1962, a collection was raised at the small gathering he addressed. This money was used to defray the expenses incurred (postage, mimeographing, etc.) in advertising the meeting. As I reported last year, Comrade Grabsch is now our sole Berlin contact. Though he is more convinced than ever that De Leonism holds the answer to Germany's social problems, he has expressed regret that a program so logical and so simple as ours is not more readily grasped by thinking Germans. He complains that even those who concede we are right are so preoccupied with their personal problems that they cannot be counted on for support.

In Wilhelmshaven, Hermann Trost also remains our lone outpost. He is a remarkable individual who undertook a serious study of De Leonism in his late 60s. Though he had known of the SLP in the early twenties he paid little, if any, attention to it. It was not till the *Bulletin* appeared on a more or less regular basis that he had the opportunity to make an extensive examination of De Leonism. He immediately grasped its common sense, its logic, and its universal applicability, and he conducted his activities accordingly. He carries on an extensive correspondence. He is untiring and ceaseless in his activities. His sound, terse letters, copies of which he sends us every month, are inspiring.

The Party's German edition of "Socialist Production and Capitalist Collapse" (published in 1922) was distributed by an organization in Braunschweig. Trost received a copy of the pamphlet from that source. It lay fallow through the years. Now this document is included with our other German publications as source material, and bases, for his letters. This case attests to the timelessness of documents that rests upon principle. He finds the answers to any questions put to him in our literature. He adapts the text to the occasion but sticks rigidly to principle. In a reply to a correspondent last Feb. 20, he relied heavily on the 1922 document in refuting the foolish claim that even if the SPD [Social Democratic party] did renounce its "Marxism," it merited sympathy from "independent" Socialists because it was the only large

organization in the field. Using the 1922 pamphlet, Trost established for his contact the fact that the SPD is now one of the strongest procapitalist props. The question is not, he went on, which "liberal" or "radical" antirevolutionary capitalist adjunct merits more support and sympathy than others. The German Socialists are faced with a task of immediate urgency: to found a political party based on revolutionary principles, "even if we [they] have no more than two men with which to start."

Of the two men in Rheydt only one, it seems to us, has a clear grasp of our program. He acknowledges that our position is diametrically opposed to all "radical" or "dissident" Socialist factions in the country. The supply of leaflets we sent to Rheydt advertising "Socialist Landmarks" has been distributed and another supply has been, or shortly will be, sent to them by Comrade Wenderich.

We heard only once from Frederick Jaeger, of Hagen, during the past year. At that time he assured us that both the WEEKLY PEOPLE and the *Bulletin* were being put to good use by his group. At this writing, however, we still have no report on what disposition, if any, was made of the 3,000 "Socialist Landmarks" leaflets he pledged his group to distribute. Nor has Holler, of Frankenthal, heard from him regarding the matter. Nor was there any reaction to Holler's suggestion that the two men meet to discuss the prevailing German situation. The group pays for two copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. They receive a bundle order of ten copies of the *Bulletin*. We shall try to find some way to learn in precisely what manner this group is using the SLP publication. There seems to be an air of mystery about their setup, but this may be due to their failure to grasp the routine organizational requirements which SLP men take for granted.

From January, 1963, to January, 1964, we published four issues of the *Bulletin*, Nos. 40 through 43. We hope to get out No. 44 in May, which will be devoted to the American Party's 1964 National Convention, and the significance it holds for workers in the non-English-speaking world.

The lead item of *Bulletin* No. 40 was a reproduction of the leaflet advertising the German edition of "Socialist Landmarks." *Bulletin* No. 41 treated the reactionary character of the factional German "Socialist" press which is concealed behind Marxian and revolutionary Socialist phrases. The lead article in No. 42 treated the 100th anniversary of the German Social Democracy, showing why it had to evolve into one of the foremost capitalist adjuncts of modern Germany. In No. 43, we reproduced the WEEKLY PEOPLE editorial on the Kennedy assassination.

In the issues subsequent to No. 44, we propose to mark the 100th anniversary of the founding of the International Workingmen's Asso-



ciation. We shall also serially reproduce the Party's pamphlet "The Revolutionary Act," including the revised Petersen introduction.

Of the 13,500 "Socialist Landmarks" fliers already alluded to, the bulk has been distributed. A final report has not yet been received from Holler who, as reported last year, agreed to distribute 5,000. We shipped the leaflets to Berlin, Wilhelmshaven and Rheydt. These have all been distributed. At this writing, arrangements are being concluded to have another supply shipped to each of these cities. In addition to sending a copy to new contacts and with each copy of the *Bulletin*, copies are mailed to contributors of the German "radical" and "liberal" press.

As was reported last year, Fritz Holler refused to take part in any meeting of Germany's so-called independent Socialists that was not specifically called to hear, examine and discuss the De Leonist program. Specifically, he declined (as did Trost of Wilhelmshaven) to take part in a three-day "conference" scheduled in Freiburg to which two De Leonists had been invited. Holler was eventually invited to attend a meeting on his terms. It, too, was held in Freiburg last June 21. In the interest of brevity I summarize Holler's report of that meeting:

The meeting was called to order and on motion a "provisional order of the day" was introduced for adoption, calling for discussion of the "internal affairs" of Germany's "dissident Socialists." Holler promptly objected, stating the meeting was called to discuss the De Leonist program, and unless that was done he would leave. He requested them to postpone action on their motion until the next day. This was complied with. Holler took the floor and spoke for one and one-half hours. He concentrated upon the functions of the political and economic arms of the Socialist movement. He discussed Socialist Industrial Unionism in detail; its mission before and after the political triumph of labor. He attributed the American SLP's stability and uncompromising revolutionary posture for more than 70 years to its unyielding adherence to Marxian Socialist principle. Above all, he stressed the point that modern technological development makes the revolutionary change from geographical to industrial constituencies (with a resulting system of production for use) imperative if civilization is to survive. He pressed for immediate and intensive study which the publication of "Socialist Landmarks," and other German pamphlets, now makes possible.

Holler concluded his report as follows: "Then a lengthy discussion started. Imagine conducting a discussion with men who never heard of De Leonism, whose heads are full of prejudices and who cannot accept anything that is new to them. It was a battle. Some of them were pro and others con. At 6.30 p.m., I ended the discussion."

He then went home. Though he was assured by one individual at the gathering he would keep in touch with him, this assurance never materialized—at least not at this writing.

From 1961, the year I visited Germany, we have stressed to our German De Leonist colleagues that it is in our opinion futile to work with any of the various groups of "independent" Socialists. This opinion all of them share. They realize that, as groups, all fail to grasp, or refuse to accept, De Leonism, seemingly on the nativistic ground that it is an American importation.

We also frequently suggested that the De Leonists meet to discuss the possibility of working as a unit. On Jan. 12 this year, Holler expressed the hope that the De Leonists could meet before the American SLP's National Convention. The problem that had to be solved was to find a centrally located meeting place. Among other things he said:

"The longer I think on it [the more convinced I am], no other program meets the requirements of the industrial age except De Leonism. Either anarchy and chaos, or extinction, must follow if Socialism does not reign—this as well in the States as in Germany. Our means to propagate De Leonism in Germany are very limited, perhaps even more limited than you may realize—but more about this when we [De Leonists] have met."

A few days later he wrote again stating that he would recommend a meeting to be held in his home in Frankenthal, in a two-day session, March 21-22, and if that weekend was not suitable, he would recommend the first weekend in April as an alternative. The purpose of the contemplated meeting is, among other things, to ascertain if a way can be found that will enable them to function as a group. He addressed a circular letter to all concerned, but as of this date we have had no word from him.

It is reasonable to assume that the meeting will take place. If a report on it reaches me in time I shall submit to you a brief supplement to this report.

There are six persons who, if they resided in the same city, could easily function as a De Leonist group. But they are scattered in remote areas from each other, and one of them, Grabsch, lives in the "island city" of Berlin, surrounded by the Soviet Zone.

That our German colleagues are faced with a Herculean task is evident on every hand. But, like isolated De Leonists everywhere, they stand alone, they cry out alone, they agitate alone. If they stand firm,



if they agitate perseveringly enough, and cry out loud enough, they are bound to be heard eventually.

Fraternally yours  
[signed] EMIL F. TEICHERT  
Secretary.

March 26, 1964.

Since the foregoing report was written, a supplement has been received dealing with the conference previously mentioned. This supplement is a summary of what took place at the conference held in Frankenthal on March 21. A complete report will be received later. The summary follows:

On March 29, Fritz Holler reported that a meeting of German De Leonists took place in Frankenthal on March 21. They unqualifiedly endorsed, and threw in their lot with the De Leonist movement. They have made plans to promote the De Leonist program within Germany with a view to founding a German political party. Those present were: Reinhold Grabsch (West Berlin); Hermann Trost (Wilhelmshaven); Wilhelm Rebschloe (Rheydt), and Fritz Holler of Frankenthal.

They repudiated the Social Democratic party and the German Labor Federation, together with the various "independent Socialist" groups and grouplets in their country as either anti-Socialist, non-Socialist, or the agents of foreign political powers when they are not merely groups of phrase mongers "who do not care to, or who are not able to undergo the 'strain' [required] to study a clear program of contemporary scientific Socialism."

Though understanding the reason for it, they deplored the meagerness of SLP literature in the German language, specifically that treating the subject of Socialist Industrial Unionism, and they set forth the reasons why thus far it has been impossible to disseminate De Leonist principles to any great extent.

They decided—

1. To establish a central De Leonist literature-distributing agency, with Hermann Trost of Wilhelmshaven in charge.

2. To suggest that the *Bulletin* intended for individual readers in Germany be sent to this agency, which will wrap, frank and mail it, the money for which is to be raised in Germany.

3. To recommend that German SLP literature, specifically "Socialist Landmarks," be sent to the central agency by the American Organization on consignment, with payments to be made on an annual or semiannual basis.

4. To ask that a statement of principle be drafted by the American Organization, to be translated by Holler and submitted to the four for study, consideration and possible amendment, which statement if changed is to get the final endorsement of the American Organization.

The final draft will then be adopted formally by the group at its next annual session.

5. That all correspondence be handled by the agency, with Hermann Trost in charge of the correspondence.

The report, submitted in English, concluded as follows: "Our goal is close cooperation with the American SLP and the formulation of a program for the founding of a party eventually."

"Our meeting," Fritz Holler reported, took place in a very good atmosphere and ended with the resolve to remain in close contact with each other, and to work together to the best of our ability."

In a covering letter to the German Committee, Holler said: "I hope the future for our common cause in Germany [as a result of this meeting] will become brighter. The men who represent De Leonism here are honest and intelligent. I hope they will be strong enough to see the thing through."

E.F.T.

It would appear that a good start has been made toward establishing a solid Socialist Labor Party nucleus in West Germany. Distances between the members of the group present a problem which we must hope can be overcome. Mutual good will and cooperation are, of course, essentials, and there seems to be no doubt that we can be assured in this respect.

#### *SLP Esperanto Committee*

In submitting his brief report as Secretary of the Esperanto Committee, Comrade Royer expressed regret that there was so little to report due to his preoccupation with personal problems, and because Comrade Perry, the other member of the Committee, had been kept fully busy with activities as a member of Section Philadelphia. He adds: "I can safely promise that after June (1964) this committee's activities will definitely increase." Here follows his brief report:

Dear Comrade Petersen:

Comrade Perry has completed the mass mailing of our SIU leaflet and clearance letter, but inasmuch as we may yet receive more replies we will defer reporting on this until we have had an opportunity to correlate and adjust our files. The bills for printing and mailing have been previously submitted and settled (\$17.39 to me and \$80 to Comrade Perry, which he donated to the Party).

A copy of an Esperanto translation of "Reform or Revolution" was received at the National Office from the widow of George Saville. We have no plans of printing this in the foreseeable future.

We have as yet made no plans for agitation during the current year; but as a start I intended to translate some WEEKLY PEOPLE



articles and would like to send some criticisms to *Sennaciulo* of various articles that have appeared in that workers' Esperanto paper. Also, I have received some more correspondence from Mr. Frank Franich of Australia, which I would like to follow up.

I expect that as this committee becomes more active again, new opportunities for agitation will be seen and taken. It is almost axiomatic that as activity on behalf of the Party increases interest in the Party's program increases, within certain limits, of course.

Fraternally submitted,  
[signed] E.H. ROYER  
Secretary.

March 14, 1964.

#### *SLP Hungarian Language Committee*

The work of the Hungarian Committee has virtually come to a standstill. There is no energetic Theodore Vaszily to visit Hungarian "colonies" and Hungarian comrades, and the health of Comrade Kudlik, the Committee's Secretary, does not permit him to do so.

The following brief report was submitted by Comrade Alex Kudlik:  
Dear Comrade Petersen:

This committee received 55 letters and answered same.

There was a request for free copies of *A Munkas* from Jorma Villinkoski, Chief Librarian of Helsinki University, Finland, who said that they are "interested in the literature of Hungarians, our kindred people." A list of Hungarian SLP pamphlets was sent to them.

We have a stock of literature stored in the homes of comrades in South Norwalk, Conn. This is worth more than \$9,000. Only one small literature order was received.

Financial Report: Brought forward from 1962, \$5,716.64; literature, sold \$0.40; interest, \$208.33; total, \$5,925.37. Expenditures—WEEKLY PEOPLE Press Fund, \$5; New Party Headquarters and Moving Fund, \$2,000; mailing, \$3.16; total, \$2,008.16. Balance, \$3,917.21.

Fraternally submitted,  
[signed] ALEX KUDLIK  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Hungarian SLP Committee.

March 5, 1964.

#### *INTERNATIONAL SLP ACTIVITIES*

##### *Canada*

Complying with the request of your National Secretary, Comrade H.C. Risley, National Secretary of the Canadian SLP, has submitted

the following summary of the activities of his organization during the past year:

Dear Comrade Petersen:

Our Section in Montreal maintains Party organization with a small membership. During the past year sickness has to a very great extent disrupted Party activity. The Section held 11 business meetings during the year, failing to hold a meeting during July because of illness. Copies of the *Socialist Press Bulletin* and the WEEKLY PEOPLE are mailed out consistently every month. According to Section reports at hand a total of 270 copies of the *Socialist Press Bulletin* and 330 copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE were mailed out during 1963. The Section organizer, Comrade I. Moss, contributes articles to the *Socialist Press Bulletin*. During the year the Section paid into the National Office on various accounts a total of \$127.28.

Section York County, Toronto, carries on consistently. The highlight of the Section's 1963 effort was the conducting of two election campaigns in conjunction with the Federal General Elections, April 8 and the Ontario Provincial Elections, Sept. 25. Comrade A. Sanderson was the Party's candidate. The federal riding of Broadview was contested. Having gathered the necessary number of signatures, our nomination papers, together with mandatory deposit of \$200, were submitted to and accepted by the returning officer; our candidate was officially nominated.

Press releases, together with copy of our election Manifesto, were sent to all Toronto newspapers, radio and television stations. Owing to shortage of time and manpower, we were forced to employ an agency to carry out the distribution of 10,000 copies of our Manifesto together with dodgers advertising a meeting, covering every house in the riding. One meeting was held, which was well covered by newspaper reporters, but received absolutely no publicity in the press. Four radio spot announcements were purchased. Comrade Winter toured the riding with a large poster attached to the top of his car, advertising the Party and its candidate. We received 45 votes. Comrade Sanderson, commenting on the vote said . . . "the success of the campaign cannot be measured by this alone. In fact there is no way of measuring the progress that has been made as a result of our fielding a candidate."

Very soon after the April federal election, a provincial election was called for Ontario, to be held on Sept. 25. At the request of the National Office, the Section again went into action. Comrade Sanderson was again nominated as candidate. The provincial riding of Riverdale (which is essentially the same as the federal riding of Broadview) was chosen to be contested. The requirement for nomination to the Ontario



Legislature, is the securing of at least 100 signatures of bona fide voters in the riding to be contested. Some 150 names were procured, and our nomination papers accepted. About 15,000 Manifestoes were distributed. Two ten-minute radio talks broadcast; four display ads in the two Toronto evening papers, and one in a local publication circulated in the riding were purchased. Press releases were sent to all newspapers, radio and television stations. Comrade Winter toured the riding with the poster, advertising the Party and candidate. We received 103 votes. It is interesting to note that in April we received 45 votes while in September, in the same locality, we received more than twice that amount. This seems to indicate that, because of these campaigns, the Party had become better known. The cost of these campaigns amounted to \$1,117.82, which was met by the National Office.

The Section's WEEKLY PEOPLE agent reports sales as follows: Newsstands, 176; self-service box on door of National Headquarters, 1,743; self-service box at King and Crawford Streets, 171; other sales, 132; a total of 2,222 copies. Newsstand sales dropped from 357 in 1962 to 176 in 1963, but total sales of the two self-service boxes increased from 1,683 to 1,914. 880 unsold copies were distributed from house to house. A total of \$10.60 in pamphlets was sold at one newsstand.

Section reports are spotty, but from information available, about 35,000 leaflets and dodgers, including election distribution, were distributed in Toronto during the year. The Section held two house socials and one picnic, collecting a total of \$221.75. It held 22 business meetings, and paid into the National Office on various accounts a total of \$232.20.

Section Vancouver, British Columbia, maintains considerable activity. Arbitrary action by the city authorities forced the Section to remove self-service WEEKLY PEOPLE stands from the streets of Vancouver in March, 1963. Commenting a few weeks later on this action, Comrade Fedoruk, the Section organizer, said, "As to what can be done about the news boxes, I think it would be a very costly affair to fight the city. It would be very satisfying to bring to light in a law court their hypocritical correspondence, but I doubt if that would put the stands back on the streets."

Action was taken to repair and paint the boxes, and look for new locations to install them. This proved to be quite a task, and rather costly both in time and money. However, by August, three reconstructed boxes had been installed, and in November it was reported that ten self-service stands were being maintained on the streets in suburban areas at bus stops, and that 12 more were being prepared. In a letter from the Section the following comment was made: "This operation can be carried on only at a loss. Some of the money is stolen, the stands are often badly damaged, papers stolen, and cost of

transportation is quite high. However, we are of the opinion that this is an excellent way to spread the SLP message. . . . People who wait for buses often read the WEEKLY PEOPLE even if they do not buy it."

Comrade H. Steiner, who visited Vancouver early in August, discussed the possible re-establishment of self-service boxes, and on his return to Seattle ascertained through the American Civil Liberties union that an organization calling itself the B.C. Civil Liberties Association had been formed in Vancouver. Being advised of this, the Section contacted the Association's Executive Secretary, Mr. Audain, presented all the information, and also discussed the matter of street leaflet distribution. (It is interesting to note that Mr. Audain is acquainted with the SLP, having attended lectures in San Francisco.) A letter was received from the Association in November, advising that the matter had been discussed at a Board of Directors meeting, and further a letter had been sent to the Mayor, requesting information as to the nature of franchises, granted only to the Vancouver *Sun* and Vancouver *Province*, allowing self-service news boxes. This letter concluded as follows: "The Board of Directors thanks the Socialist Labor Party for bringing to the attention of the Association what appears to be a monopoly franchise being exercised by the City. We will advise you what action this Association intends to take." No further report has been received on the matter.

Two sympathizers expressed a desire to attend a study class. It was agreed to meet in the apartment of one of these workers, who also wanted the class advertised. As a result, the possibility of renting some suitable place to hold classes was discussed by the Section, and finally premises were secured to be used as Section headquarters, to hold study classes and public meetings. Since last October, the Section has held regular study class sessions, and one public meeting per month.

Comrade H. Steiner visited Vancouver on the weekend of Aug. 9-11. A meeting was arranged with several sympathizers, the radio stations were visited requesting publicity for a lecture. A social with 20 present responded to an appeal by Comrade Steiner to the amount of \$65. The public lecture was described by Comrade Steiner as a success, a relatively large percentage of newcomers attending; collection, \$63.59; literature sales, \$3.55. There was some discussion as to the merits of radio or newspaper advertising. In any case, no arrangements were made for radio. The matter was discussed with Comrade Steiner, who expressed the opinion that the radio was effective, and should, if at all possible, be used. There is little doubt that in the future radio facilities will be used.

In December, Comrade Fedoruk was taken ill, and had to submit to surgery. As this is being written, he is still confined to hospital.



Comrade R. Baker is now serving as the Section organizer. Information compiled from Section activity reports record the following activity for 1963: Leaflet distribution, approximately 7,500; contacts mailed literature, 89; letters to the press, 88; letters known to have been published, 11; literature sales February, 1963, to December, 1963, 111 pamphlets; WEEKLY PEOPLE sales at self-service boxes, 595, at newsstands, 1,132, a total of 1,727. One member was added in September. It seems reasonable to say that there are indications of progress in Section Vancouver.

At the end of 1963, we had nine national members-at-large scattered throughout Canada, from B.C. to Ottawa. These members keep in close touch with the National Office through correspondence, and carry on some leaflet distribution. We also have active sympathizers in Edmonton, Alberta, St. Catharines, Ontario and Ottawa. Some \$70 in literature was purchased during the year by a sympathizer in Edmonton. It is reasonable to expect that these sympathizers will continue their support, and will do much to increase the sphere of Party influence.

The *Socialist Press Bulletin* was published regularly. Its present circulation is approximately 260 per month. Comrades Moss, Montreal, Minal, Vancouver, and Sanderson, Toronto, are regular contributors. The editorial on the assassination of President Kennedy, WEEKLY PEOPLE, Dec. 7, was reprinted in December issue of our *Bulletin*, headed with an explanation that, "The Socialist Labor Party of Canada fully endorses the sentiments expressed in the editorial, and adopts it as its declaration on the heinous murder of President Kennedy." Approximately 150 marked copies were sent by first-class mail to leading newspapers, news commentators, political party leaders, including the Prime Minister, radio and television news editors, etc., across the country. We have had no reaction to this, but we do feel a satisfaction in placing upon the record our adoption of the SLP De Leonist principles, as expressed in this editorial.

During the year the Party printed 95,000 leaflets; 50,000 Manifestoes, 20,000 "Socialism World of Tomorrow," and 25,000 "Automation." The total distribution is estimated at close to 40,000.

Our financial receipts for 1963 were \$2,745.09, as against \$2,377.64 for 1962. We expended \$3,821.66 in 1963, as against \$2,192.78 in 1962. Deficit for 1963, \$1,076.57.

The Party has lost two members through death. In May, 1963, Comrade E. Farrell, pioneer of the SLP of Canada, and charter member of Section Toronto, now known as Section York County, passed away at the age of 92. He joined the Party in California in the 1890s. At the turn of the century he came to Canada and finally settled in Toronto. It was largely from his Party activity in Toronto that the

Canadian Organization developed. During the years he served as a Section organizer, Executive Committee Member, and General Secretary. Despite advanced years, he was active up to the last month or so before his death.

In January, 1964, Comrade J. Vollmer, national member-at-large in Kamloops, B.C., passed on. It is believed that he was in his nineties. Comrade Vollmer joined the SLP in Spokane, Wash., in 1907. He was an active leaflet distributor up to a year or so ago. Although his only income was the meager old age pension, he donated to Party funds. As late as Jan. 20, he sent in \$20 to the National Office.

The passing of such Party stalwarts is a serious loss to the Party. We can best pay due tribute to their great contribution to the cause of human emancipation by emulating their example, and increasing our efforts to advance the principles of the Socialist Labor Party.

Fraternally submitted,  
[signed] H.C. RISLEY  
National Secretary.

March 20, 1964.

#### *Great Britain*

As is well known, our relations with the British SLP have been highly unsatisfactory in recent years dating back at least as far as 1957. In the National Secretary's report to the NEC in that year, evidence was presented to show a serious lack of cooperation on the part of the National Office of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, and this to such a degree as to give us grave concern. By 1958, the situation had worsened, as related in the National Secretary's report to the NEC of that year. And, by 1959, we had reached a definite impasse. The report of the National Secretary to the NEC in session May, 1959, gave full details of what had transpired since the 1958 session of our NEC. Since a full account of the cause and circumstances which led to the estrangement between the British and American SLP has been given in the forementioned reports (and in the report to the 1960 National Convention) it is not necessary to repeat them here. Since 1959, there has been no direct communication between the National Secretaries of the British and American Parties except when on a few occasions the American National Secretary would convey to the British National Secretary names of persons residing in Great Britain who had written the American National Office for information and literature. No acknowledgments of such brief letters were made by the British National Secretary.

It is, then, a great satisfaction and pleasure to be able to report that normal, fraternal relations have now been established between the two Parties. How this came about is a long story the details of



which may be related later. It may be said to have started when Comrade Brian Blanchard of the Australian SLP arrived in England early in 1963. His stay there was temporary, but long enough eventually to initiate the change to normal relations between the British and American SLP. In London, Comrade Blanchard contacted two new young members of the British SLP, Jim and Nasrin Plant, who were actively carrying on SLP agitation in the British capital with outstanding success. Comrade Blanchard, who was acquainted with the essential facts relating to the estrangement between our two Parties, brought this matter to the attention of the Comrades Plant. He had found to his surprise that they knew nothing about this estrangement. Upon his return to Australia, Comrade Blanchard continued his contact with the Comrades Plant by correspondence.

Meanwhile a startling and unexpected development took place in the Glasgow-Edinburgh area in Scotland. A small group of SLP members had been carrying on SLP agitation for many years. Our late Comrade William Ironside reported regularly on these activities. He was also deeply concerned about the breach between the British and American SLP, and in his quiet way did what he could to heal the breach. When he died, Comrade James Forrest of Midlothian, Scotland, continued correspondence with the American National Office, as did later a Glasgow member, Comrade Thomas McGregor. Repeatedly the National Office at Coventry was urged to take steps to restore normal relations with the American SLP, but without success. Finally, under date of Nov. 17, 1963, Comrade Forrest (getting nowhere and losing patience) submitted his resignation from the Party to the NEC at Coventry, two other members following suit. Comrade Forrest then informed the National Office about the step they had taken. In reply your National Secretary expressed surprise and regret over the action taken, since it created an awkward, if not impossible, situation for the American SLP in that there would now be two groups both claiming to represent De Leonist principles, with our sympathies fully with the Scottish group, but with serious reservations about the Coventry group.

In his letters to the American SLP Comrade Forrest had made references to another Scottish group which also was conducting SLP agitation in the area. It developed that this group had been expelled in 1946. In consulting the record it was revealed that the members of that group were expelled illegally and unjustly by the late L. Cotton, then National Secretary, their "crime" consisting mainly in having insisted that the constitutionally prescribed annual convention be called to consider the problems of the British Party, and that it meet regularly thereafter. (It had not met since 1932, in clear violation of the Constitution.) It was shown that the National Secretary, L. Cot-

ton, had ignored constitutional procedures in causing the expulsions of these members, who, in the light of the facts revealed, undoubtedly were loyal to the SLP program and principles. Cotton, as you know, was expelled a year or two before his death in 1958.

The resignations of Comrade Forrest and the other Scottish comrades brought matters to a head. Upon urgings of the Comrades Plant, the National Office in Coventry was prevailed upon to call a National Conference of all the members to discuss the situation, with a view particularly to taking steps to restore normal relations with the American SLP. As a preliminary to the calling of this conference, the Scottish members who had resigned were reinstated as members (subject to their concurrence), and were invited to attend the conference.

After due deliberation, the Scottish comrades agreed, and the Conference was held on March 7, 1964. Comrade Forrest reported briefly on the outcome of the Conference, expressing pleasure and satisfaction over the action taken. In this connection he wrote that "Comrades Bates and Kelly were most helpful in having this resolution passed [with but one dissenting vote], and there was little real resistance shown by the others." Comrade Forrest added: "The Glasgow and Dunfermline ex-members were cleared by unanimous votes of the Conference and accepted as members of the Party," thus increasing the numerical as well as the agitational strength of the British SLP well above what it had been over a number of years.

Under date of March 14, 1964, the following letter was received by the American National Office, signed by T.A. Kelly as National Secretary:

"Mr. Arnold Petersen . . .

"Dear Comrade:

"At the Party Conference held March 7 the following resolution was adopted:

"We are agreed that there has in the past been certain omissions and shortcomings on our part in our relations with the SLP of America, such as our failure to send a copy of the first issue of *The Socialist*, failure to answer certain questions, or only giving incomplete answers, etc., and we fully acknowledge our shortcomings in this respect. They did not arise out of any intentional discourtesy, but rather out of extreme pressure of work falling on the shoulders of very few members. We also agree that the NEC of the SLP of Great Britain took an unfortunate interpretation of Comrade Petersen's letter to them.

"We earnestly desire the restoration of the normal fraternal relations that are so necessary to both our organisations, and trust that the SLP of America will accept this.

"We will endeavour to maintain close fraternal cooperation in the



future, confident that the principles on which the SLP is founded will triumph over our past differences.'

"The Conference elected Comrade Jas. Plant, 108 Cambridge Gardens North Kensington, London W 10, Socialist Labour Press manager.

"Fraternally yours,  
[signed] T.A. KELLY  
National Secretary."

This letter was presented to the NEC Sub-Committee of our Party on March 25. By unanimous vote the Sub-Committee accepted the intent and purpose of the Conference resolution, and directed your National Secretary to convey the Party's concurrence in the following letter:

"Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain,  
T.A. Kelly, National Secretary,  
53 Sedgemoor Road,  
Coventry, Warks, England.

"Dear Comrades:

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 14, 1964, in which is incorporated a resolution adopted at the Conference of the British Socialist Labour Party at Coventry on March 7, 1964, relating to the estrangement and disruption of fraternal relations between the British SLP and the Socialist Labor Party of America.

"In this resolution are acknowledged 'certain omissions and shortcomings' on your part in your relations with the Socialist Labor Party of America, citing specific instances.

"In behalf of the Socialist Labor Party of America we accept with gratification the acknowledgments, and the implied regrets conveyed. In doing so we recognize that under great pressure and intense preoccupation with important Party duties things are sometimes done, and words written, which in other circumstances might not have been said or done.

"On our part, we assure our British comrades that everything will be done hereafter, as in the past, to maintain close fraternal cooperation with the British SLP in all matters of mutual concern, and as affecting the best interests of our two organizations.

"It is noted that Comrade James Plant, 108 Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, London W 10, has been elected Socialist Labour Press Manager. In adjusting our records accordingly, we welcome correspondence from Comrade Plant relative to his duties.

"If other action was taken at the Conference regarding the organization setup and functioning of the British SLP—indeed, any important action about which we might properly be advised—we should be

glad to receive information concerning same.

"With Socialist Greetings,

"By instruction of the NEC Sub-Committee of  
the Socialist Labor Party of America

Fraternally,  
[signed] ARNOLD PETERSEN  
National Secretary.

"March 25, 1964."

In response to the foregoing, Comrade Kelly wrote as follows under date of April 13, 1964:

"Mr. Arnold Petersen . . . .

"Dear Comrade:

"In your March 26 letter you requested information concerning other decisions taken at our recent Conference. Our NEC was reconstituted so as to provide a much wider representation of the Party membership. It will consist, as before, of three (3) members, one each drawn respectively from Scotland, London and Coventry, in place of the previous arrangement of three (3) members drawn from Coventry. In addition, a small Sub-Committee will function between the annual NEC Sessions.

"The Conference readmitted to membership the former Dunfermline Branch and the sole survivor of the former Glasgow Branch who were wrongfully expelled by the previous National Secretary, Leonard Cotton. The latter took this action without consulting and without the authority of the then NEC, 18 years ago.

"A further subdivision of responsibilities was created by the election of Comrade Jas. Forrest to conduct the postal study course. With Comrade Jas. Plant managing the Socialist Labour Press this means that three members now undertake the work formerly borne by one. Much good will eventually flow from this change.

"With Socialist greetings,

"Fraternally yours,  
[signed] T.A. KELLY  
National Secretary."

Thus comes to an end the unhappy interruption of the fraternal relation between our two Parties heretofore prevailing.

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Sometime before the Coventry Conference the British National Secretary, Comrade Kelly, wrote our Editor, Comrade Hass, a letter, enclosing "two reports of SLP activities last year in this country." For the record they are herewith reproduced:



## I

### *"General activities throughout the country"*

"Comrade Thos. McGregor, Glasgow, distributed thousands of leaflets in that city alone and unassisted. His total figure probably constitutes a record in recent years by an individual member. He also sent leaflets to letter-writers in the capitalist press, and maintained a constant supply of factual press clippings for the use of our editor.

"Comrade Alan Tomkins of Cheltenham addressed a group of students at one of Oxford's colleges. The audience displayed a negligible interest in learning about real Socialism. During the discussion period they were more intent on voicing their own reform nostrums, and their inability to keep order on the subject being discussed was most marked.

"The Coventry Branch, besides other activities, distributed leaflets containing an insert advertising the study-class session, paid for eight consecutive weekly notices in the local press. Three persons replied none of whom turned up for the opening class.

"Two new pieces of Party literature were published, namely, 'Introductory Letter' and 'Industrial Government.' The 'Survival?' leaflet brought more inquiries than any other previous one known to members."

## II

### *"Excerpts from report of Jas. and Nasrin Plant covering activities in London."*

"During 1962, we had encountered some difficulty with the police about selling at Hyde Park, but we were able to sell through 1963 unhindered.

"At the termination of the CND's Aldermaston March at Easter, 200 back copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE were sold and 2,500 leaflets given out; altogether that weekend 248 WEEKLY PEOPLES, 37 pamphlets and several copies of *The Socialist* and *The People* were sold. Both Comrade Blanchard (Australian SLP'er) and Comrade Trent played a valuable part in these sales.

"During April, Comrade Blanchard and our two selves attended a discussion meeting of young people arranged by the contact P. Constable in South East London, and were able to present an outline of the SLP case and answer a number of questions.

"Literature sales continued at Hyde Park throughout the year, and reached a high level for both pamphlets and Party papers—on one occasion 80 pamphlets were sold in one day! In addition to this, a building worker, Frank Fitzgerald, who is sympathetic to the Party and who buys the WEEKLY PEOPLE from us every week, bought and

resold to fellow building workers a total of 150 pamphlets (50 each of 'What Means This Strike?' 'Burning Question . . .' and 'Socialist Reconstruction . . .')

"In addition to Hyde Park sales we also sold outside a number of public meetings held by other organisations (CND, Labour Party, NUR, SPGB, etc.); sales were sometimes quite good.

"We were also successful in getting SLP literature into a number of bookshops, notably Collet's.

"The total literature sales for 1963 worked out as follows:

English language pamphlets	1,075
Foreign language pamphlets	64
Pamphlets sold in London bookshops	80

Total	1,219
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"This total of 1,219 compares well with the 1962 total of 490.

"In addition to the pamphlet sales the following Party papers, in round figures, were sold:

WEEKLY PEOPLE	1,375 approx.
<i>The Socialist</i>	120 "
<i>The People</i>	45 "
	1,540 "

"Also several hundred copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE were given away free (back issues), or sent as free samples to contacts or to letter writers in such papers as 'Peace News.' A total of approximately 3,000 leaflets was given out in 1963.

"We feel that an interesting feature of the pamphlet sales is the number of foreign language titles sold; these were mostly to visitors to Britain and they may prove valuable in the spreading of the SLP message to other lands.

"During July, we received an invitation to give a talk on the SLP analysis of war to the Ilford branch of the Labour Party's so-called 'Young Socialist' organization. A short talk was given by Jas. Plant to an audience of about 25 young people; it was followed by a lively question period and several items of literature were sold.

"Comrade Blanchard returned to Australia in August, but a few days before he left an SLP public meeting was held on Aug. 11. Comrade Blanchard gave an excellent talk on 'Socialist Industrial Unionism' . . . 25 people attended and a number of pamphlets and papers were sold. Several members of the audience left their names and addresses to be informed of future meetings.

"A second public meeting was held on Oct. 6, in the ACTT Hall. J.



Plant gave a talk on the bogus 'Labour' party, with Comrade Trent in the chair. The talk was well received and was followed by an interesting and wide-ranging question period. Several items of literature were sold, a new WEEKLY PEOPLE subscription obtained and a number of new contacts made.

"That just about rounds up 1963. In spite of a setback in the study class, we think that it has been a good year for the Party in London. This is a very fertile ground and only our small numbers prevent us from doing much more, but the fact that much can be achieved by only a small number of SLP members in London is a very good sign for the future. We are confident that with another year or two of hard work a sound and active SLP branch can be built here."

As will be noted, the prospects for a reinvigorated and united SLP of Great Britain appear excellent. The SLP of America will, in the future as in the past, cooperate fully with our British comrades in furthering our common cause, the Marxist-De Leonist program, and jointly work toward terminating the insane capitalist jungle system, and hastening the advent of the sane society of Socialism.

During 1963 the British SLP remitted \$123 for WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions and bundles (1962: \$76.84). Labor News orders amounted to \$190.87 (1962: \$155.97).

It should be added that the British Party continues to publish its monthly, mimeographed, official organ, *The Socialist*. As we have acknowledged before, it is a sound SLP publication with well-written articles dealing mainly with events and trends in Great Britain as affecting working-class interests.

#### *Australia*

From the Socialist Labor Party of Australia a factual and detailed report has been received, relating the splendid activities and accomplishments of our De Leonist comrades during the past year. The report follows:

Mr. Arnold Petersen,  
National Secretary,  
SLP of America.

Dear Comrade Petersen:

The following matter is a summary of the activities of the Socialist Labor Party of Australia for the period April, 1963, to date of writing.

This year has seen an increase in the over-all amount of activity. Consolidation of work done in the past few years by intensification of certain aspects of our activities and the natural outcome of routine work has resulted in our being kept busy. Steps taken by us this year

will, we feel, play an important part in the spreading of SLP ideas among Australian workers.

I will deal with our year's work under three main heads:

- (I) National Organization
- (II) Sydney Labor News Company
- (III) Section Sydney

#### *National Organization*

Our Party functions with the following governing bodies:

- (a) National Convention (Annual)
- (b) National Executive Committee
- (c) Press and Editorial Committee and the following officials:
  - (a) National Secretary
  - (b) National Correspondence Secretary
  - (c) Financial Secretary

#### *1963 National Convention*

Our 1963 National Convention was held June 8, 10 and 17 at 99 Lyons Road, Drummoyne. The Party Constitution and Rules and Manifesto were unanimously readopted. A number of resolutions were submitted and adopted:

- Russia's Anti-Socialist Society
- Crises in Capitalism
- The Need for the SIU
- Automation
- Political and Industrial Action (Reaffirmed Resolution of 1962 Convention)
- Reaffirmation of the Manifesto of the SLP of Australia 1961.

#### *Work at National Office*

#### *Headquarters*

Until 26th March, 1964, when we moved to 89 Regent Street, Sydney, our Headquarters were a two-story building in Surry Hills. In these premises Section Sydney held all its discussion meetings, stored its display signs, etc., and the Sydney Labor News Company stored its stock of WEEKLY PEOPLE, THE PEOPLE, and the literature. The printing press was also located there. The production of THE PEOPLE at the old premises was made extremely difficult by the lack of facilities. There was no water laid on. Water had to be brought from next door in buckets. For some time we have been growing increasingly dissatisfied with the Surry Hill premises and have been considering moving. Our minds would have been made up for us by the landlord who wanted to raise the rent and/or sell the land for development because rates and taxes went up. Under the terms of the lease, he



could raise the rent if rates went up. On 26th March, 1964, we signed a five-year lease on new premises in 89 Regent Street, Sydney, not far from Central Railway Station. The new Headquarters have a number of great advantages over the old premises. The old premises were rather difficult to find, were in a very poor area, and had a generally unattractive appearance and situation. They served a purpose but permitted of no expansion. Where we are now is easy to find, the area, while by no means Park Avenue, is much better and frequented by better types of people. The premises consist of a shop with residence above. The ground floor consists of a shop display window, shop area, an adjoining room, and conveniences. In the room adjoining the shop area we have the press and all our literature and papers stock. In the residence Comrade Blance will live, for which he pays £5.5.0. Weekly rental under the terms of the lease is £10.10.0. Comrades Raphael and Judith OConal have guaranteed £\$2 per week toward the rent. That means the Party pays £3.50.0. We are very pleased with the new premises because, among other things, it is very difficult to find space without going out into the suburbs (where rents are the same or more), which we did not want to do.

For some time now we have been advertising the fact that someone is in attendance at Headquarters to meet persons interested in obtaining information about the SLP program. This practice will be kept up.

#### *SLP of America*

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to the American SLP, to thank you, Comrade Petersen, and Comrade Hass and the WEEKLY PEOPLE staff for the thoughtfulness given and consideration shown to us during this year of our activities. We have kept Comrade Petersen informed and supplied detailed reports of our activities. We have received carbon copies of correspondence between the American organization and persons and institutions in Australia, or which relates to matters in which we are mutually involved. All these have been followed through by us. The advice and suggestions contained in letters to us from Comrades Petersen and Hass have been and are greatly appreciated because they helped us in many ways. Our close cooperation with the American National Office was exemplified in the recent happenings within the British SLP. One of our members, Brian Blanchard, lived in London for some five months where he worked with Comrade James and Nasrin Plant, who have been doing much sterling work in London selling SLP literature and WEEKLY PEOPLES.

Comrade Petersen expressed interest in hearing an account of SLP activities in England based upon Comrade Blanchard's observations and experiences in London and Coventry. The account was written and sent to Comrade Petersen. I think it can be truthfully stated that that

report gave a concrete picture of SLP activities in England. Comrade Blanchard struck up a personal as well as an organizational relationship with the Comrades Plant. When certain other developments came to pass, the Comrades Plant embarked upon a course (determined to a large degree by what Comrades Blanchard and Frank Prince had written) with results that augur well for increased SLP activities in Great Britain based upon closer relationship between the American and British SLP. We feel that our part in these events is a good example of the SLP of Australia discharging its obligations in the international sphere. It was with pride that we read the following written by Comrade Petersen in a letter dated 19th February, 1964: "You and Comrade Blanchard have given much time and valuable assistance to the problem of reconstituting our British SLP on a proper basis . . . The prospects for a sound De Leonist movement certainly look a good deal brighter than they did a few months ago. It seems proper to say that in large measure this has resulted from Comrade Blanchard's visit to England."

#### *Sydney Labor News Company*

The Sydney Labor News Company is the printing and distributing unit of the SLP of Australia. The actual printing of *The People*, the leaflets and other occasional printed matter is done by the Sydney Labor News Company. It also handles the distribution of *The People*, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the literature, *Radnicka Borba*, etc. When we are settled in the new Headquarters, we intend to operate a Socialist Bookshop and Information Center where our pamphlets, papers, etc., will be on show, along with other display features we have in mind. It will be open on Saturday mornings and other times yet to be determined.

#### *Party Press and Printing*

##### *(a) The People*

Since we recommenced publication in May, 1961, of our official organ, *The People*, there have appeared ten issues—the latest, Vol. II No. 6 Series II, came out in March. Since the last report we have produced three issues of *The People*—July, November (1963) and March, 1964. This is not as many as intended but as many as we could manage. *The People* is printed on the Party-owned Multilith 2066 offset press. The "type-setting" for *The People* is done on an Olympia variable spacing typewriter which permits expansion and contraction of words to get correct column setting. The artwork for the July, 1963, issue was done by Frank Prince, for the November (1963) and March, 1964, issue by Comrade Blanchard. The casting-up is done by Frank Prince and Comrade Mary Prince, who does the typing and column setting. The paper is paid for by Comrade Raphael OConal.

*The People* is conducted by an Editorial Committee. In the three



issues this year the writing was done by Raphael OConal and Frank Prince.

The cartoons used in *The People* since its republication have been taken from the WEEKLY PEOPLE. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Comrades Walter Steinhilber, Milton Herder and Budd Steinhilber as the respective "suppliers" of our illustrations. Most times acknowledgment has been made, but a couple of times we have omitted to do so.

We are very mindful of the importance of the Party-owned Press. Our aim is to make *The People* as good a job as possible from the standpoint of production and quality of thought. As you will gather from the foregoing matter we have had our troubles, but we are determined that the SLP press will become a factor to be reckoned with in this country.

#### (b) Equipment

The Party owns a variable spacing type writer and a Multilith 2066 offset press. The offset press cost £500. We had a great deal of trouble producing *The People* on this machine for two reasons: (1) Our own inexperience; (2) Our inability to effect repairs, etc., to the machine, which requires quite fine adjustments to get it to operate properly. The production of the last issue was made possible largely through the work done on the machine by Sympathizer Peter Kos, a Dutch migrant. He spent hours making adjustments, etc., and had it working extremely well in the end. He said there were worn internal parts which needed renewing.

To move the machine to the new Headquarters we had to strip it down. Peter Kos is reassembling it at present, replacing worn parts, etc. The gripper mechanism has been finished to date, allowing us to use newsprint paper and papers of similar grades which we were unable to feed through the machine before. Peter has been working each of the past three Saturdays and Sundays and three nights each week on the job. Other comrades have been working with him.

#### (c) Leaflets

This year we have printed 5,000 leaflets and distributed approximately 13,000. There have been three new leaflets produced—

- (a) "35-Hour Week"
- (b) "Socialist Reconstruction"
- (c) "Three Systems Compared"

—copies of which are enclosed.

The following are titles of leaflets in preparation:

1. "From Tribal Councils to Industrial Union Government"  
(from Tribal Chart)

2. "Mechanization and Automation"
3. "Introduction to Socialism"
4. "You've Read the Lies About Socialism"
5. "Do High Wages Cause High Prices?"
6. "What Means This Strike?"
7. "Greatest Robbery in History"
8. "What Is Socialism?"
9. "Survival is the Issue"
10. "Socialist Industrial Unionism: The Workers' Power"
11. "Craft Unionism vs. Socialist Industrial Unionism"
12. "The Promise of Socialism"

#### Literature and Papers

WEEKLY PEOPLE		Total
Domain Stand	648	
Bundle Order (1)	27	
Victorian Labor College	624	
Libraries (3)	156	
Sample copies	1,380	
		2,835

#### LITERATURE

Domain Stand		
English	330	
Foreign	10	
Libraries (2)	11	
Bookstores	440	
Victorian Labor College	87	
		878

#### THE PEOPLE

Domain Stand	237	
Newsstands and Bookstores	500	
Subscriptions—		
Local (17)	51	
Overseas (125)	375	
Victorian Labor College	48	
Libraries—		
Local (10)	40	
Overseas (5)	20	
		1,271

#### RADNICKA BORBA

Domain	14	
Newstands	700	
		714

#### RABOTNICHESKA PROSVETA

Domain	2	2
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#### Libraries

We have placed copies of everything we have printed in the major libraries in Australia. There have been requests for copies of THE



PEOPLE from the U.S. Library of Congress, University of Michigan and New York State Library, as well as the Commonwealth Studies Dept., University of London. (Latest overseas subscription is from the Harvard College Library.)

While in Brisbane for a couple of days in November last year, I called on the Brisbane Public Library to try to get them to buy SLP literature. In January, we received an order for 10 titles including "Daniel De Leon: Social Architect" in 2 Vols., "Ancient Society" and "Socialist Landmarks."

#### *Developments in Victoria*

For some years we have been selling a good number of pamphlets and copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE and THE PEOPLE through the Victorian Labor College Bookstall. As a result of this dissemination of Socialist knowledge we have had a number of inquiries from Victoria. This raised the possibility of an SLP group in Melbourne. A letter was sent to some of these contacts arranging a meeting with Frank Prince, who goes to Melbourne periodically. The meetings took place. There appears to be a good chance that in the next month or so we will have an SLP Discussion Group going in Melbourne under the control of Comrade John Heggarty, a migrant from Scotland and a member of the SLP in that country. Comrade Heggarty, who is 75 years old (young), was a personal friend of the late Comrade William Ironside. You will remember my telling you in my last report of Comrade Heggarty's good work at the Victorian Labor College Bookstall. He also donated £50 to the press Security Fund of the SLP of America.

This is quite an important development and represents the first sign of organization progress outside Sydney.

#### *Funds*

Press Security	£179	7	3
New Machinery	190	16	5
Headquarters	223	5	3
Agitation	70	14	2
Leaflet	12	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>£676</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>
Last year	£472	0	10

#### *Section Sydney*

Section Sydney functions with an Organizer, Financial and Literature Secretary, Membership and Grievance Committees.

Section Sydney officially operates on:

- Tuesday night—Economics Class
- Saturday afternoon—Printing, filing and general work
- Saturday night—Study Class (Historical Materialism)

(d) Sunday afternoon—Domain Outdoor Meeting and Literature Stand

(e) Sunday night—Discussion Meetings or Lectures

The above schedule has been maintained throughout the year as the basis of all our activity. Sometimes when THE PEOPLE is nearing completion some of the classes have been canceled.

#### *Study Classes*

Up to November, 1963, study classes were held on Tuesday, Saturday and Sunday nights. In November, we began to hold official discussion meetings every Sunday night at Headquarters. All classes have been conducted by Comrade Monica Prince, who has been the study-class instructor since they started. Comrade Prince gives a great amount of thought and energy to get the best out of the classes. The sessions start at 7.30 and end about 9.45 or 10 p.m. Although the study-class nights are mainly devoted to reading and analyzing Socialist literature, we do manage to fit in about 45 minutes of general conversation discussion.

The following pamphlets were studied:

- "Reform or Revolution"
- "What Means This Strike?"
- "Burning Question of Trades Unionism"
- "Socialist Reconstruction"
- "Socialism: From Utopia to Science"
- "Socialist Industrial Unionism"
- "Abolition of Poverty"
- "Capitalism vs. Socialism"
- "Democracy—Past, Present and Future"
- "The Ballot and the Class Struggle"
- "Reform to Bayonets"
- "Origin of the Family"
- "Capital and Labor"
- "Inflation"
- "High Cost of Living"
- "Value, Price and Profit"
- "Marx on Mallock" (New title: "Socialist vs. Capitalist Economics")
- "Socialist Economics in Dialogue"

There were also three readings from the WEEKLY PEOPLE held.

#### *Special Meetings:*

1. *May Day*, 1963

A meeting of Party members and sympathizers was held at the home of National Secretary Monica Prince. The evening began with



the playing of a record of "The International," followed by a baked dinner prepared by the woman comrades.

Comrades R. OConal and F. Prince gave short addresses on the May Day march [parade] which we had witnessed the same day. Other members and sympathizers then gave their impressions and comments. An appeal for funds was made; the collection totalled £5.16.0.

#### *Section Sydney Annual Meeting*

Section Sydney Annual Meeting was held on 23rd November, 1963. At this meeting Comrade Brian Blanchard was elected Organizer for 1964 to replace Comrade Frank Prince. After the meeting, which was attended by all members except one, and two sympathizers by invitation, we sat down to a well-prepared dinner. A report on the year's activities of the Section was submitted by Organizer Frank Prince. Discussion ensued on various ideas submitted to improve and increase our work. An appeal for funds realized £5.10.0.

#### *De Leon Anniversary*

Our 1963 anniversary of De Leon's birthday was held on Dec. 14. Again the women comrades gave us a good dinner to start the evening. The members and sympathizers each in turn spoke on the subject: "Why I am a De Leonist." Comrade Monica Prince was MC for the occasion and made an appeal for funds that netted £6.10.0.

#### *Public Meetings*

We held propaganda meetings in the Sydney Domain every Sunday afternoon, weather permitting, with the exception of the New Year weekend, when most of the members were out of the city. The Domain is a public speaking arena, Sydney's traditional public forum, somewhat akin to London's Hyde Park, but much better appointed. The Domain is in the main dominated by all manner of "religious" outfits. It was once frequented by all political parties, but today the Communist Party, the SLP and the Catholic political machine are the only political organizations represented. The bogus Communists get the largest following and are able to maintain two platforms.

The following is a description of our meeting and the display material we take down. First of all there is the speakers' platform, which was built by Comrade Blance. Immediately in front of the platform and leaning against it are literature display racks which hold some 56 different pamphlets. On the ground in front of the display racks there are copies of the last eight or nine issues of the WEEKLY PEOPLE along with copies of *The People* when it is available. On either side of the display racks we have a framed copy of the current WEEKLY PEOPLE and two or three illustrative display boards. These are usually reproductions executed by Comrade Blanchard of cartoons or

designs by Comrade Walter Steinhilber or Milton Herder, such as "Both Are Guilty," "The In-built Strikebreaker," "'It's Mine,' 'It's Mine,' 'NO IT'S MINE,'" etc., and the one of the worker chasing reform over capitalism's cliff of catastrophe. There are others we have—over a dozen including two montages of WEEKLY PEOPLE cartoons. One of these display boards which has caused comment is the one that is a facsimile of the front cover of "Capitalism: Breeder of Race Prejudice."

Leaning against a tree at the back of the speakers' platform and facing in the opposite direction there is another literature display holding 56 pamphlets. Ringing the tree itself there are more of our display boards and a framed copy of the "From Tribal Council to Industrial Union Government" chart.

There is a State Government ruling which limits speaking in the Domain to between 2 and 5.30 p.m. (summer months) and 2 and 5 p.m. (winter time). We start promptly at 2 and finish any time from 4 to 5 or 5.30, depending upon the number of persons who will listen to us. At present we are fielding three speakers (Brian Blanchard, Raphael OConal and Frank Prince) with Comrade David Blance acting as chairman when shift work permits. When Brian Blanchard was in England for eight months last year, we had only two speakers. When *The People* was being printed by Comrade OConal the number of speakers dwindled to one.

The speaking at the Domain is under the over-all control of study-class instructor, Monica Prince. A number of years ago (before we contacted Comrade Petersen in 1957), the three main speakers were given intensive voice training by Comrade Prince. Over the past six months Comrade Blance has been given similar training to prepare him to act as chairman.

Audiences at these Sunday meetings have been very variable, both from the viewpoint of quality and quantity. They range from two or three to three or four hundred. We find that most of the people who listen to us find the matter of interest, but at the same time are not disposed to stay long or in any way commit themselves. On this subject of holding their interest there has been some "soul searching." This prompted us to write to both Comrade Petersen and Comrade Hass. The advice received, particularly from Comrade Hass, was greatly appreciated. We now handle the meeting better and interjectors and trouble-makers are now having less effect. Last Sunday we put the following plan into operation:

#### 1. Chairman (15 minutes)

The Chairman speaks solely on the SLP plan and program and introduces the first speaker and announces the subject matter.

#### 2. First speaker speaks for 30 minutes on the announced subject



matter and is allowed 10-15 minutes question time.

3. Chairman announces second speaker and his subject matter and briefly (in two or three sentences) connects up the subject matter of the first and second speakers.

4. Second speaker speaks for 30 minutes on announced subject matter and is allowed 10-15 minutes for questions.

5. Chairman announces third speaker and his subject matter and briefly connects up the subject matter of the previous speaker and the third speaker.

6. Third speaker speaks for 30 minutes and is allowed question time as circumstances necessitate.

The discipline on both speakers and audience implicit in this plan was definitely needed. We were quite pleased with the result when it was put into operation last Sunday—for the first time for months our meeting lasted to 5.30. We attribute this to the plan having succeeded in holding the interest of the Domain audiences, who are notorious for coming and going, ebbing and flowing.

With reference to the subject matter of the speeches delivered off our platform, the following titles will give a clear idea:

1. "SLP Analysis of Capitalism's Trouble Spots"
2. "Why Workers Strike"
3. "Three Systems Compared"
4. "The Promise of Socialism"
5. "SLP Stand on Assassination"
6. "Capitalism Means War"
7. "Socialist Industrial Unionism vs. Craft Unionism"
8. "France and the Struggle for Markets"
9. "Catholic Church and Private Property"
10. "The Elections and the SLP"
11. "Capitalist Mentality"
12. "Exploitation and Surplus Value"
13. "Causes of and Remedy for Unemployment"
14. "Comparison of All Political Parties"
15. "Mechanization and Automation: What They Mean to Workers"
16. "Capitalism: Sick and Decaying System—Get Rid of It"
17. "Capitalism and Racism"
18. "Poverty in the Midst of Plenty"
19. "The European Market"
20. "Who Speaks for Youth?"
21. "The Malaysian Crisis"

We view the Domain meetings as being of great importance for the following reasons:

1. We are making known the SLP to thousands of workers who have never heard the voice of Socialism.

2. The meetings are training members as speakers, as literature sellers, apart from the educative value to them of the matter delivered.

3. We are increasing sales of pamphlets, WEEKLY PEOPLE and THE PEOPLE.

4. It represents a step in the development of the Party in its role as the educating organ of Socialism.

Up to October last year, we were maintaining a literature stand at the gates of the Domain as well as at the speakers' platform inside the Domain. It was decided to concentrate our energy at the platform. At first our sales may have dropped but over-all there has been an increase, particularly of WEEKLY PEOPLE sales. About five weeks ago 41 were sold—i.e., more than three times the average sold at the Domain gates. Sales at other meetings have been 23, 27, 30, 32. We would like now to again maintain the stand at the gates but unfortunately don't have enough "hands" to go around.

A lot of effort has been put into our agitational work in the Sydney Domain. To date we have not had much response, although Sympathizer Peter Kos is a direct result, Sympathizer Frank Mulheron was committed to SLP ideas by attending the meeting he saw advertised in THE PEOPLE, and one or two persons have bought pamphlets at the Domain they saw advertised in THE PEOPLE. Our discussion-meeting attendances have not benefited as they should have.

#### Discussion Meetings

Since November, 1963, we have been holding regular discussion meetings every Sunday night at Headquarters. These have been announced from the platform and advertised in *The People*. Attendance has been poor. We intend to continue to hold them. They have resulted in developing better organizational thinking among Party members and the regular sympathizers. As a matter of fact, largely as a result of the discussion meetings, we were now going through a "plenty-of-good-ideas" phase. Even if only some of these good ideas are implemented, there will be improvement in areas where there is decidedly room for improvement.

The following are the titles of the talks given at the discussion meetings:

1. "Capitalism in Disintegration"
2. "Race Prejudice"
3. "Pointers to Possible Development of Capitalism in Australia"
4. "Relationship of the SLP and the First International"
5. "Socialist Industrial Unionism and the Central Directing Authority"
6. "Trades Unions Today—Bulwarks of Capitalism"
7. "Analysis of the Recent Elections"



8. "Importance of Logical Thinking"
9. "Importance of Distinguishing Between the Important and the Subsidiary"
10. "Discharging Socialist Responsibility"
11. "Division of the Total Social Product"
12. "Elementary Socialist Economics"
13. "The Socialist Industrial Union"

The above addresses were given by Comrade Frank Prince, with the exception of the last two, which were given by Comrade Brian Blanchard. For his lecture, "Elementary Socialist Economics," Comrade Blanchard used some charts and diagrams he had drawn to illustrate the fundamentals of Marxian economics. "The Socialist Industrial Union" was a redelivery of a talk given by Comrade Blanchard at a public meeting in London arranged by Comrades Jim and Nasrin Plant of the British SLP.

The last-mentioned talk was put on tape by us, as was the address "The Importance of Logical Thinking," by Frank Prince, listed above.

Tapes have also been taken of two Domain meetings at which Comrades Blanchard and Prince spoke. One Sunday night these were played back—with revelation!

#### *Leaflet Distribution*

This year we have distributed approximately 13,000 leaflets. Most of this work was done by Comrade Blance. Comrade Blance (who is a shift worker) has set himself a program which he consistently maintains to the best of his ability. His shift work permits him two weeks in each month in which to distribute leaflets. In those weeks he goes to various city and inner suburban railway stations or to factories in time to catch the workers knocking off. In this way he distributes between 700 and 1,200 leaflets (one week 1,500).

Comrade Blance has often been assisted by other members and/or sympathizers. The latest example of this is Easter Monday Royal Show, when he and sympathizer Frank Mulheron handed out 575.

At two Domain meetings we distributed a total of 175 "Two Systems Compared" among the audience to tie in with Comrade Blanchard's address of the same title.

#### *Weekly People Distribution*

On the anniversary of Hiroshima, a rally was held by the Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Committees. Comrades Frank and Mary Prince, with the help of Peter Kos and another sympathizer who has since moved from Sydney, distributed 580 back issues of the WEEKLY PEOPLE and 150 of our H-Bomb Tests leaflets.

At the last Labor Day Procession (October, 1963) Sympathizers Peter Kos and Wilf Hilder distributed 600 back issues of the WEEKLY

PEOPLE. On two occasions we have distributed about 150 back issues of the WEEKLY PEOPLE at the Domain Meetings to create interest in the paper.

#### *The People and Radnicka Borba*

When *The People* has come off the press we have on a number of occasions tried to sell it on street corners, etc. Comrades Blance and OConal (the latter with Sympathizer Wilf Hilder) and Sympathizer Peter Kos went to different busy street corners with *The People*. On another occasion, Peter Kos and Frank Prince went to the Sydney Sports Ground. Seven copies were sold before rain came. Another time, Comrades Blance, Blanchard and OConal went to an industrial suburban station. Comrade Blance also took *The People* with him on some of his leaflet "expeditions."

THE PEOPLE is selling at six railway bookstalls and three bookshops. *Radnicka Borba* is selling at four railway bookstalls and one newsstand. The servicing of these bookstalls, bookshops and newsstands was done by Frank Prince until November, 1963. Since then it has been done by David Blance, with the exception of one bookshop done by Raphael OConal.

#### *Miscellaneous Activity*

As circumstances permit we try to take advantage of agitational opportunities as they occur. Sometimes because of our few numbers we have to let opportunities go by or we are unable to do something consistently. An example of this is leaflet distribution at the Trades and Labor Council Hall on Thursday night. This has been done by David Blance and Frank Prince about nine or ten times this year.

The railway workers, who have been eliminated at an average of 1,000 every year for the past 10 years, went on strike a number of times last year. On two occasions Comrade R. OConal went to the strike meetings. At one he sold 12 copies of *The People* and two of "What Means This Strike?"

Each copy of *Radnicka Borba* is now carrying a flier written in South Slavonian telling readers of the Domain meetings, the discussion meetings and our European languages literature. This is a translation of the statement on the back page of *The People*. The translation was done by Sympathizer Frank Franich. Mr. Franich has been out of work for seven months and recently went to Queensland to get a job.

#### *Future Work*

To get the new Headquarters into working order will be a big job. The shop is to be fitted out with shelving, the shop window display executed, and shelves and cupboards have to be built to store the



pamphlets, copies of *The People* and WEEKLY PEOPLE, *Radnicka Borba*, etc. If we were to get this done outside it would cost us scores of pounds. Fortunately, Peter Kos, Frank Mulheron and David Blance are "handy with their hands" and without their practical dexterity we would not be able to undertake a lot of things we intend to do.

One thing that has hampered some of our everyday work for the Party in the past has been the lack of proper filing and record facilities. Correspondence has been closely watched and recorded, but there is room for considerable improvement in connection with *The People*, agitational work, Sydney Labor News Company, etc. Up till now the volume has not been great enough to cause serious bottlenecks. However, the volume is growing and we are being forced to become much more scientific. What we have to do is to work out ways and means to accommodate this rather pressing requirement.

The next few months are going to tax our resources. Leaving aside for the moment the question of money, we are now under the pressure of preparation of the next issue of *The People*. Our annual convention is due at the end of May—beginning of June and this is now starting to make its "demands."

On the head of money, we are in for a period of "frenzied finance." The legal fees for the five-year lease on the new Headquarters, permits to work the machine and operate a bookshop, etc., deposits for gas service, have already devoured about £80. It is going to take us some time to recuperate from that. There have been other expenses incurred, but individual members have in the main shouldered them.

We are going into a period of development which will require specially determined efforts from us all. The steps taken in the past month or so mark the starting of a new phase in the growth of the SLP in Australia.

As can be seen, the Party has been developing, its sphere of activities growing. This means that we have been applying ourselves to our task of building a party of Socialism in this country. We wish to win for the SLP today the same position of honor in the revolutionary movement that it had in the days when Daniel De Leon carried its credentials to the Amsterdam Congress and when James Owen Moroney was General Secretary.

The Socialist Labor Party of Australia sends greetings to our American comrades on the occasion of the Twenty-sixth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America, wishing it every success. May the next year see more and more workers everywhere, but particularly in America, rally to the standard of the SLP for So-

cialism and Survival.

Yours fraternally,  
[signed] FRANK PRINCE  
National Correspondence Secretary.

30th March, 1964.

This report speaks eloquently of the magnificent work done by our Australian comrades during the year covered by the report, and further comments would be "to gild refined gold (and) to paint the lily." The SLP of America can well be proud of our stalwarts "down under," and the remarkable progress they have made in a few short years. The program of our Party, the cause of De Leonism, is assuredly in capable and persevering hands, and we share their expectations that in the near future the Socialist Labor Party of Australia will be a force to be reckoned with, as it will be a powerful factor—the only factor—in educating the exploited and misled workers of Australia to the point where they will embrace De Leonism, and organize on the lines embodied in this program to effect the termination of capitalism and establish the Socialist Industrial Union Commonwealth and Brotherhood of Man.

#### *British Guiana*

Comrade Walter Steinhilber has maintained somewhat infrequent correspondence with our friend in British Guiana, Randolph Daison. He received a letter from him dated March 23, 1964, which is of special interest to us, and it is reproduced herewith:

Mr. Walter Steinhilber,

Dear Comrade, Greetings.

I am at a loss to learn that you never received my last mail to you, which we posted early in January, and in which I intimate that I will be sending a report on activities of SLP Study Group (B.G.) in time for convention in May as requested. I also mentioned that I received the 100 copies of "The Three Systems" pamphlets [leaflets] and of which I can use 400 copies more, for it is striking at the soul of the P.P.P. false propaganda which is peddled so much here in this country. I have also been receiving my WEEKLY PEOPLE, the last received dated Feb. 8. I am happy to learn that your Study Group in Long Island is found rather rewarding. To me it means that workers everywhere are arising to the SLP call which is that "Knowledge Is Workers' Power," so we must learn.

I am at present working on the report and in which I shall describe the true picture of the working-class struggle, and the role which our study group is playing in Guiana and our struggle for National In-



## PARTY PRESS AND LITERATURE

### Weekly People

WEEKLY PEOPLE Sales for 1963 (with comparative figures for the three preceding years, cents omitted) were as follows:

1963:	\$19,018
1962:	20,304
1961:	19,285
1960:	17,574

The average paid circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE as reported to the Post Office Oct. 1, 1963, was 12,321.

The average weekly printing for 1963 was 12,776, as against 13,186 for 1962. Included are two special issues and one special printing. The May Day issue was printed in a quantity of 13,905 copies (1962: 19,919) and the Labor Day issue 20,117 (1962: 17,197). For a special subscription mailing, 2,280 copies were printed.

The current WEEKLY PEOPLE mailing list includes many colleges, universities and public libraries, the last mentioned numbering 460 (1962: 481), most of them gift subscriptions paid for by Subdivisions and individual members. It is suggested that Sections and members approach libraries not carrying the WEEKLY PEOPLE to try to induce them to subscribe, and failing in that offering gift subscriptions as far as they can afford to do so. Copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE should be left with the libraries for their examination. If a gift subscription is accepted, the donating Section or member should check regularly to ascertain whether our paper is properly displayed and otherwise made readily accessible to visitors to the libraries. Some libraries, steeped in conservatism and stark reaction, may refuse such gift subscriptions, but others with a broader or more liberal outlook, will generally do so, and often express pleasure in accepting gift subscriptions, with assurances that the paper *will* be displayed with other papers in the appropriate rack, etc.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE circulates in all states with one exception, and in the District of Columbia. The one exception is North Dakota. The darkest of the dark South, Mississippi, should probably also be recorded an exception, there being no individual subscribers, though one public library accepts the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

There are subscribers in Puerto Rico, Mariana Islands and in 29 countries in both hemispheres, and of course in Canada.

The six states leading in point of circulation are California, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Illinois—in that order.

In bundle distribution, California is again 'way out in front, with Michigan second, Pennsylvania third, New York fourth, Minnesota fifth, and Washington sixth. In combined subscription and bundle dis-

dependence. It seems as though our thoughts have been working together as regards articles on our situation here for WEEKLY PEOPLE columns, for I have instructed a Comrade Oscar Heywood by name to start writing articles which I will run over and send to Comrade Hass. So far our group is keeping together despite difficulties and setbacks, but the picture [outlook] for the SLP is glorious. It does not seem possible that I will pay a visit to New York this year since I cannot get the necessary leave unless it is special. This I am, indeed, sad about, since I would have liked to be in New York at the National Convention as an observer at least. In any case if later in the year I am permitted leave, I will be in New York.

The situation here is another workers' crisis. Two unions struggling to represent Sugar Estates. The MPCA (Man Power Citizens Association [?]) is at present the recognized union as bargaining agents for all sugar workers by the SPA (Sugar Producers Association). The GAWU (Guiana Agricultural Workers Union), a union arm of the PPP, just formed about a year now, is seeking recognition to represent the same sugar workers that the MPCA represents, a request which the SPA refused, stating that the GAWU must by their official records prove that they have more than 50 per cent [of the] sugar workers as their members. And so a struggle exists, since the GAWU is demanding a poll to which results the SPA must abide and for which demand the GAWU members are on strike. They are in the minority and are terrorizing [?] the MPCA workers by bombing their homes, killing them after beating them, setting their homes on fire, etc., etc., and threatening their wives' and children's lives if they go to work. This situation has now existed for about 40 days. They even try to dynamite the sugar factory, which offends the government is condoning. Oh, it is a pitiful situation here in British Guiana. Every day, workers are fighting each other and shedding each other's blood. All because they are not on the right path to True Socialism. They allow themselves to be divided and not united on the path to Socialism. O speed the day!

Send me any matter by the SLP of Australia, or even Canada. They are usually informative.

Yours fraternally,  
[signed] RANDOLPH [DAISON]

As of this writing (April 10), no further word has been received from Daison. He may be overoptimistic when he declares that the outlook for the SLP in Guiana is "glorious," but it is a satisfaction to know that he and his group continue to be inspired by the program of the SLP. As a British colony, soon expected to become a Commonwealth member, it does promise to prove receptive to the principles of the SLP as in the cases of Australia and Canada. We shall see.



tribution California, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania lead, in that order, Ohio and Minnesota coming in fifth and sixth.

New subscriptions received for the year ending March 31, 1964, were the lowest since 1960. All concerned take notice.

### Self-service Newsstands

Twenty-eight Subdivisions and groups operate 507 self-service newsstands, an increase of 57 over 1962, with gross proceeds of \$6,990.16. Eighteen Subdivisions and groups kept the WEEKLY PEOPLE for sale on 39 commercial stands, with gross proceeds of \$919.72. The following is a not quite complete compilation of the Subdivisions operating Self-service Newsstands and supplying commercial stands, with results shown:

	1963 No. of Stands	Sales \$	1962 No. of Stands	Sales \$
<b>Ariz.</b>				
Phoenix	4	78.00	4	105.35
<b>Calif.</b>				
Los Angeles	186	2,313.28	170	2,422.58
Oakland	22	396.22	20	420.01
Palo Alto	14	183.18	11	164.17
San Francisco	53	1,006.17	42	1,010.44
Sacramento	5	198.90	6	193.90
<b>Conn.</b>				
Hartford/New Haven	7	95.95	8	145.38
<b>Ind.</b>				
Gary	3	14.49	2	11.67
<b>Kans.</b>				
Wichita (since July)	2	2.50		
<b>Mich.</b>				
Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti	7	96.44	7	68.18
Detroit	79	897.58	67	810.19
<b>Minn.</b>				
Minneapolis	30	195.96	27	182.45
Duluth	2	50.81	2	29.38
<b>New Jersey</b>				
Camden	21	68.54	10	38.96
Paterson	2	12.88	2	17.15
<b>New York</b>				
Buffalo	5	101.40	4	112.80
Rochester	1	3.37	1	4.40
<b>Ohio</b>				
Akron	2	5.11	2	4.45
Cincinnati	2	161.45	2	133.64
Toledo	2	37.37	2	36.46
<b>Oregon</b>				
Astoria	1	7.58		

Portland	8	176.85	8	198.35
<b>Penna.</b>				
McKeesport (discontinued)		0.47	1	10.91
Philadelphia	27	530.98	24	561.40
<b>Wash.</b>				
Seattle	16	260.32	15	297.44
Tacoma	2	38.34	2	36.87
<b>Wis.</b>				
Milwaukee	4	56.02	4	56.78
	507	\$6,990.16	443	\$7,073.31

### Commercial Newsstands, 1963

	No. of Stands	Sales
Tucson, Ariz.	1	\$ 2.50
Los Angeles, Calif.	1	42.00
Palo Alto, Calif.	2	19.05
San Francisco, Calif.	1	21.12
Stockton, Calif.	1	10.40
Chicago, Ill.	3	325.00
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	1	36.00
Boston, Mass.	3	35.98
Detroit, Mich.	3	73.26
Newark, N.J.	2	3.50
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1	\$15.60
Jamestown, N.Y.	1	\$12.00
New York, N.Y.	11	294.06
Utica, N.Y.	1	.25
Akron, O.	1	12.81
Cleveland, O.	4 (subsidized)	
McKeesport, Pa.	1	1.00
Philadelphia, Pa.	1	15.19

In addition to the foregoing, Section Vancouver, B.C., reports a total of ten stands in operation on suburban streets on which approximately 600 copies were sold in 1963. Section York County (Toronto) operated two stands in 1963, on which 1,914 copies were sold.

With few exceptions, Subdivisions operate the self-service newsstands at a loss, but they do so without complaint, fully convinced that the effort is eminently worth while in forwarding the Party's program. There are, as said, a few Sections that operate stands with receipts exceeding expenses. May their tribe increase! And since exploitation of labor is not involved, this is one case where we do not denounce profits!

The vital importance of increasing the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE is obvious, and no opportunity should be lost to make our paper ever more widely known and read. As we have previously observed, where it is not possible, for one reason or another, to operate self-service stands, our paper might be sold on the streets and at public gatherings. Experience has shown that the WEEKLY PEOPLE can be sold in cities which prohibit the placing of self-service news-



stands (except, perhaps, at a prohibitive cost), and it is hard to understand why the effort should not be made. As mentioned earlier, some Sections manage to keep the WEEKLY PEOPLE for sale on commercial newsstands with guarantees to newsdealers that he at least will suffer no losses from unsold copies. Every Section should give this idea the most serious consideration.

\*

Vandalism continues to be an ever-recurring problem in connection with the operation of our WEEKLY PEOPLE newsstands. This vandalism manifests itself in various forms. Sometimes, the coin boxes are pried open or smashed and the money stolen. Other times, the coin boxes are completely removed. Frequently the stands themselves are damaged or defaced. Some have been plastered with "Communist" signs and symbols or other derogatory and insulting scribbles. Some have been burned beyond repair with acetylene torches, in others the papers themselves have been set afire. Hundreds of copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE have been stolen, torn, slashed with razor blades or otherwise destroyed. Newsstands have been stolen. Some are recovered damaged in varying degrees, others are never found. With some exceptions, when such acts of vandalism are reported to the police authorities, little or nothing is done.

"Official" vandalism also still occurs in some places. Newsstands disappear, and when the loss is reported it is learned that the police themselves removed the stand because of some irate property owner's complaint. In other instances newsstands disappear from such places as the front of public libraries, post offices, etc., and later it is learned that they were ordered removed by the officials in charge of these "public establishments." Also in some cities there are local ordinances governing the licensing of commercial activities, which sometimes are invoked to obstruct the operation of WEEKLY PEOPLE newsstands.

It would take hours and much space to recount all these incidents and problems in detail, and to do so would hardly serve a useful purpose. In the main they are repetitions of experiences already reported in previous reports. Accordingly, we shall confine ourselves to dealing as briefly as possible with the more important, or more unusual experiences relating to the operation of WEEKLY PEOPLE newsstands throughout the country.

In the 1963 NEC Report, it was reported that we had won a temporary injunction restraining Mayor Albert Isen of Torrance, Calif., from interfering with the operation of our stands in that city. The Mayor had served notice that he would appeal. On June 10, 1963, Comrade Helen Long, Organizer of Section Los Angeles, reported having received a phone call from ACLU Attorney Fred Okrand, informing her that the Mayor had filed an appeal but then withdrew it. Mr.

Okrand asked whether the Party planned to press its demand for a permanent injunction, and whether we intended to pursue our claim for damages against the Mayor. Mr. Okrand expressed the view that the prime objective of the original action—to put an end to the Mayor's interference with our newsstand operations—had been attained via the temporary injunction, and suggested that there was little to be gained by pursuing the matter further. He added, however, that Mr. Wirin, the other ACLU attorney in the case, favored pressing the matter both for a permanent injunction and for damages.

During the discussion with Comrade Long, Mr. Okrand intimated that if the case were continued there would be no lawyer's fees, but the Party would have to bear the "incidental court expenses," and suggested that if the case was carried to a successful conclusion, and the Party decided to make a financial contribution to the ACLU, it would be appreciated. The Section expressed the opinion to the Nation Office that the case should be pressed to a conclusion on both counts, provided, of course, the ACLU attorneys agreed to continue to handle the case.

At its meeting of June 11, 1963, the NEC Sub-Committee authorized the Section to pursue the case to its conclusion on the terms outlined above. Mr. Okrand was informed of this decision on June 19. He stated that the ACLU would now consider the matter further and let us know whether or not they would continue the case.

Months passed and we heard nothing further about the case. Recently Comrade H. Long wrote that she had contacted Attorney Okrand and that he had told her that the ACLU had not yet made any definite decision, but in all probability would decide not to go ahead with the case. He repeated that the main objectives had been achieved, and added that if the ACLU were not so busy they might be more disposed to pursue the case to its final conclusion. This is where the matter now stands, and will probably end.

Though not directly related to our case, the following is nevertheless of interest in casting a sidelight on the character of this 100 per cent "patriot" and upholder of "law and order." On Oct. 12, 1963, the Los Angeles Times reported that Mayor Isen had been arrested on a drunk charge. On Feb. 15, 1964, the same paper reported that "His Honor" had been found guilty, fined \$500, and placed on probation for one year. His driving privileges were restricted so that he may drive his car only during certain hours.

However, the Mayor's troubles are not over. On April 5, there was a news report that a local candidate for the Torrance City Council is instituting a recall petition to remove the Mayor from office. As Euripides of old observed: "The ways of the gods are slow, but mighty at last to fulfill."



In the cities of Anaheim and Garden Grove, Calif., the authorities have refused to accept the decision of the courts in the Fontana case which we won last year. Both insist that we must pay a license fee, as required by their local ordinances, in order to operate our WEEKLY PEOPLE newsstands, unless we offer the WEEKLY PEOPLE free. This means that we shall have to seek court injunctions against the authorities in both cities. Attorney Tony Geram, who handled the cases in Fontana, has agreed to handle the Anaheim and Garden Grove cases (possibly as one case) without fee. Even so it is estimated that the court costs and related expenses may run to \$300 or more.

In Trenton, New Jersey, the New Jersey SEC and Section Camden County have been battling with the authorities for nearly two years in an effort to get our WEEKLY PEOPLE stands back on the streets. Originally they were told that all self-service newsstands were to be removed from the streets, but at this writing capitalist papers still have such stands in operation. The matter has been turned over to an attorney, Anthony Doganiero, who is attempting to negotiate an "amicable" settlement. Mr. Doganiero is not charging any fee for his services.

In South Bend, Ind., all our efforts to convince the local authorities that our self-service stands should be permitted on the streets have failed to date.

We had some difficulty in Gary, Ind., during the year. In mid-1963, the police removed our self-service stands. They acted after having received complaints from a local Postmaster and some library officials. Thanks to the persistence and tactfulness of Comrade John Morris, and the fine cooperation and assistance rendered by Comrade Magdich, the newsstands are back in operation in Gary.

In Phoenix, Ariz., one of our newsstands was repeatedly ransacked by some vandal or vandals. Comrade W. Quillen tried watching the stand for periods of time in the hope of catching the vandal in the act, but without success. He then hit upon the idea of pasting a sign on the stand reading: "Being Watched For Vandalism." This seems to have helped somewhat in reducing the extent and frequency of the vandalism.

In the Los Angeles area, where we have many WEEKLY PEOPLE self-service newsstands in operation, vandalism is a constant problem. During the past year it was worse than ever. In one instance, however, the Section had the satisfaction of catching the vandal in the act. Comrade Long reported the incident to the National Office on Jan. 12:

"... A vandal had been persistently slashing our papers (presumably with a razor blade) over a considerable period of time, causing us a great loss in sales. He managed to elude any attempts made to apprehend him and was thorough in his vandalizing of our many

downtown newsstands. Finally a crew of seven members and one sympathizer organized last Sunday. They placed themselves in two downtown locations. One member serviced the stands with WEEKLY PEOPLES as usual. The larger group of vandal-watchers were well hidden in an automobile parked across the street from a newsstand. Within half an hour after the stand was serviced the vandal approached it, looked in several directions and then turned his back to the stand, reaching in back and slashing the papers. Comrade Barefield, who was equipped with a camera, was able to take a couple of pictures of the vandal in this position.

"The members left their car, followed the vandal to a nearby cafeteria and then called the police. The police arrived shortly and said they would take the vandal in to the station on suspicion. . . . We had four eye-witnesses and only two were considered sufficient. At Wednesday's meeting the Section went on record as endorsing the action of pressing for an arrest and following through for a conviction. Thursday, Comrades Robert Long and Herman Barefield went to the police station and in turn were taken to the City Attorney's office to draw up the charges for the arrest of the vandal. . . ."

When brought to trial the vandal first pleaded "not guilty," but soon changed his plea to "guilty." He was given a 30-day suspended sentence, and a stern warning by the judge not to repeat the offense. As Comrade H. Long put it:

"We certainly all have a feeling of satisfaction at finally bringing one vicious vandal to account for his actions."

There certainly is justification for deriving satisfaction from this fact. But the problem of vandalism generally still remains. In the Section's WEEKLY PEOPLE newsstand report for 1963, Comrade Long briefly commented:

"Vandalism is the number-one problem of self-service newsstands in the Los Angeles area. Were this factor not present, sales would be considerably higher on existing stands and it would be possible to expand substantially the number of stands in operation. During the past year we have combated vandalism chiefly by frequent light servicing of stands. Our actual deficit of \$131.29 shows that this method has succeeded in keeping sales up to near the 1962 level with a much lower deficit despite more vandalism than we have ever experienced in a single year. Unfortunately there are no signs which indicate any lessening of the vandalism problem during 1964. But we, too, 'shall overcome.'"

## LABOR NEWS ACTIVITIES

### Sales

Labor News sales for 1963, with comparative figures for the pre-



ceding three years, were as follows (cents omitted):

	Books and Pamphlets	Leaflets	Totals
1963:	\$5,697	\$4,244	\$ 9,941
1962:	6,032	5,854	11,886
1961:	6,641	4,738	11,379
1960:	6,159	83*	6,242

The figure for 1963 is, of course, considerably below that of 1962 since fewer leaflets were purchased for distribution during the past year.

\* The leaflet figure for 1960 does not reflect an accurate picture since leaflets were charged directly to the Campaign Fund that year.

#### *Pamphlets Printed*

In 1963, and through March 31, 1964, the following pamphlets were printed and/or reprinted:

Title	Author	Quantity	Pages	Print- ing
"Bourgeois Socialism"	Petersen	2,000 paper)	208	2nd
"Burning Question of Trades Unionism"	De Leon	500 cloth)	48	6th
"Capitalism vs. Socialism"	De Leon-Berry	2,000	64	6th
"Communist Manifesto"	Marx-Engels	5,000	144	
"Constitution of the U.S."	Petersen	3,000	96	4th
"Gotha Program, The"	Marx	2,000	64	5th
"Historical Materialism"	Engels	2,000	32	
"Industrial Unionism: Selected Editorials"	De Leon	2,000	80	
"Reactionary Right: Incipient Fascism"	Hass	3,000	80	1st
"A Socialist in Congress: His Conduct and Responsibilities" (Orig. published as "Berger's Hit and Misses"; later as "Revolutionary Socialism in U.S. Congress")	De Leon	3,000	112	5th
"Socialist Industrial Unionism"	Hass	5,000	64	15th
"Socialist vs. Capitalist Economics" (Orig. published as "Marx on Mallock")	De Leon	2,000	48	6th
"Socialist Reconstruction of Society"	De Leon	5,000	80	
"What Is Socialism?"	De Leon	5,000	48	20th
"What Means This Strike?"	De Leon	5,000	48	

A total of 15 titles in a total quantity of 51,500 copies, of which 500 were in cloth binding.

Pending publication or reprinting are a number of pamphlets and a few clothbound titles. Our limited facilities are, of course, responsible for the delay in putting them on the press, but every effort is being made to catch up. The printing of leaflets, which generally takes priority, is mainly responsible for our inability to reprint pamphlets

as the stock is exhausted.

Awaiting early printing is De Leon's originally titled "Watson on the Gridiron," which will bear the new title "Evolution of a Liberal: From Reform to Reaction." Also "Economic Basis of Education," by A.M. Orange; the Study Course by Eric Hass, which recently appeared serially in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and a new edition of "What Is Socialism?" ("Question Period"). New covers for "Capitalism: Breeder of Race Prejudice" and "The Reactionary Right: Incipient Fascism" have been designed by order of the NEC in 1963 Session. Thought has been given to publishing Marx's "Revolution and Counter revolution," which was published serially in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Though this is a valuable work and of historical importance, there is some doubt now whether it should be published in book form because of the very great backlog of pamphlets, etc., awaiting reprinting. The matter, however, will be given careful consideration. De Leon's "The Ballot and the Class Struggle," which also ran serially in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, is being considered for publication under a new title, using the new type from the WEEKLY PEOPLE, but this, too, must await decision for some time to come. It is still available under the current title. The same applies to "Marxian Science and the Colleges," currently being reprinted serially in the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

A unique Party manual published late last year was the "Guide for Socialist Labor Party Candidates and Speakers." The introduction makes clear that "This guide is for circulation among Party members exclusively, and for none other." It should prove a substantial aid to our candidates and speakers, especially in the forthcoming National Campaign.

The hope has often been expressed in these reports that more Subdivisions and individual members would make attempts to induce bookstores to sell our books and pamphlets. We have mentioned before the success of Section Palo Alto, Calif. (chiefly through the efforts of Comrade H.N. Simon), placing our literature for sale at Kepler's Book Store. Recently Comrade Simon submitted a report on the literature sold at this store, which report was approved by Section Palo Alto. Excerpts follow:

"It will be of interest to note that for the entire period of some eight years ending in December, 1963, a total of \$1,018.50 worth of literature was sold through this outlet. Of this amount nearly \$800 worth was sold during the last four years alone, or since the time when we were able to place an adequate display rack in the store.

"Attached to this report is a breakdown of titles and amounts of pamphlets sold during the last four years only. It will be noted that an impressive total of 2,942 pamphlets was disposed of, representing 50



titles which were on display at one time or another. Since it would be safe to assume that approximately another 500 or 600 pamphlets were sold before 1960, the total number of pamphlets sold at Kepler's would approximate 3,500.

"Despite these impressive over-all figures, it is disappointing to note that sales for 1963 were considerably below totals for previous years, as follows:

1960,	\$204.60
1961,	200.30
1962,	217.50
1963,	177.65."

This impressive record should certainly inspire other Sections to join in this special, and demonstrably productive, Party activity.

A sympathizer in Lawrence, Kansas (university town), has commenced selling SLP pamphlets in his bookstore, and has recently bought considerable quantities. We are informed that he displays the pamphlets prominently in the window. We look for good results from this latest development.

There are comrades here and there who have made a speciality of selling pamphlets on their own, either to bookshops or on the streets and other public places. Outstanding among these are Comrades A.M. Scherzer and Milton Weinberger, both of Section New York. In 1963, Comrade Scherzer sold \$342 worth of pamphlets, obtained a half-dozen subscriptions, distributed about 7,000 leaflets and 2,100 copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Quite a record for a man who is crowding the four score, and who has been active in the SLP for more than 50 years! Comrade Scherzer insists he is not a "salesman." As he puts it: "I try to convince people that the SLP is the only organization that teaches Marxian scientific Socialism. If they want to find out, we have the literature that gives the answer."

Comrade Weinberger's efforts and results are related in the New York State Executive Committee's report to the recent New York State Convention, as follows:

"Comrade Weinberger concentrates his attention on bookstores and, in cooperation with Section New York, has developed a procedure that might well be imitated by other Sections in the State [and elsewhere]. He calls upon the manager of a bookstore, bringing with him an assortment of literature with emphasis upon the higher-priced pamphlets, such as 'Value, Price and Profit,' 'The Communist Manifesto,' or 'Two Pages from Roman History.' . . . Once an agreement has been reached with the manager, Comrade Weinberger leaves a catalogue, his address and phone number and sends the order to the Labor News Company. The bill is sent to Section New York. Comrade Weinberger visits the store again a few weeks later, and if there has

been a substantial sale, he proceeds to bill the store.

"Comrade Weinberger's work has been guided and stimulated by the NEC Report of 1963 which reported the success of store literature sales in Palo Alto, Calif. Our National Secretary, Comrade Arnold Petersen, stated in this report, 'It would seem that more Sections could succeed equally well if the effort and proper approach were made. Our pamphlets are striking in appearance and should invite sales.'

"From late July, 1963, until the first week in January, 1964, literature with a retail value of \$134 was sold to four stores in New York City. This is certainly a fine beginning. Comrade Weinberger is continuing with this work and there is plenty of room for other SLP men and women in this field."

Comrade Weinberger has also visited Spanish book shops, or shops handling Spanish literature, and has met with considerable success. Encouraged by this success, Comrade Weinberger plans to expand his activities, hoping for increasingly successful results.

It is a satisfaction to know that what was said on this head in the 1963 report to the NEC has "guided and stimulated" Comrade Weinberger's work, as stated in the New York SEC report. May what has been stated here guide and stimulate others to match the efforts of these two comrades, with equally satisfying results.

### *Leaflets Printed*

During 1963 the following leaflets were printed:

Titles	Quantity
"Automation: A Job Killer"	381,000
"Common Sense and the H-Bomb"	30,000
"How to Build a Real Union"	20,000
"How to Build a Sane World"	57,500
"Out of Work! How Safe is YOUR Job?"	180,000
"Peace IS Possible"	95,000
"Promise of Socialism"	75,000
"Race Prejudice—Why?"	201,500
"'Rightism' Is American Fascism"	120,500
"Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles"	11,500
"Socialism vs. Soviet Despotism"	115,000
"Survival Is the Issue"	15,000
"War—Why?"	40,000
"What Causes War?"	30,000
"What Means This Strike?"	10,000
"What Socialism Means"	70,000
"Who Speaks for Socialism?"	25,000
"You've Read the Lies About Socialism . . ."	66,500
"Greatest Robbery in History" (large 4 pp.)	40,000
"Socialist Industrial Unionism" (large 4 pp.)	25,000
"Which Would You Choose?" (large 4 pp.)	200,000

The total of 1,823,500 (plus 15,000 fliers in German to advertise



"Socialist Landmarks" in German) compares with 2,597,250 for 1962, or approximately 775,000 less than the preceding year. There were on hand Jan. 1, 1963, 218,350 leaflets, making a grand total of 2,041,850. During 1963, 1,680,600 were shipped to Subdivisions, etc., leaving 361,250 on hand as of Dec. 31, 1963. The above list represent 21 titles.

It is, of course, expected that there will be a heavy demand for leaflets during the campaign, which could mean that there will be time for little else than leaflet printing, at least until well into the fall. All leaflets supplied during the campaign will be supplied free to Subdivisions and charged to the National Campaign Fund.

### PARTY FINANCES AND FUNDS

As without exception in the past (since 1915) the books and accounts of National Headquarters (including the books and records of the National Office) have been audited annually by the auditing firm of Simonoff, Peyser and Citrin, Certified Public Accountants, and found correct. The Financial Statements and Balance Sheets (including the National Office Financial Reports) for the years 1960, 1961, 1962 and 1963 are herewith submitted, certified and signed by the accountants. All but the last mentioned have been printed in a quantity sufficient to supply each member of the Party with a copy, each Subdivision receiving its quota for distribution among the members. The Financial Report, etc., for 1963, will be printed as soon as possible after the National Convention, and supplied to each member as usual.

The over-all total contributions to all funds in 1963 came to \$84,130.54, as compared with \$77,349.31 in 1962. All contributions were, of course, acknowledged in the Party's official organ.

Included in the above total are contributions to the WEEKLY PEOPLE Bazaar Fund, raised at Thanksgiving socials for the most part, as follows:

	1963 Affairs, etc. as of March 31, 1964	1962 Affairs
Eastern Interstate (N.Y., Conn., N.J., Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.),	\$4,852.48	\$4,529.91
Bay Area, Calif.,	2,872.78	2,460.25
Ohio State,	2,376.92	1,837.33
Michigan State,	2,054.93	2,022.73
Los Angeles, Calif.,	1,888.77	1,704.10
Illinois State	1,515.95	2,010.00
Western New York	697.05	665.83
Massachusetts State	602.00	1,305.00
Milwaukee, Wis.,	544.50	737.35
Western Pennsylvania,	517.00	305.00
Tucson-Phoenix, Ariz.,	407.50	355.00
Twin Cities, Minn.,	403.59	237.61
St. Louis County, Minn.,	138.06	67.00
SLP Group of Miami, Fla.	327.00	150.00
Indiana State	300.00	286.00

Washington State	258.00	356.00
SLP Group of St. Petersburg Fla.,	207.04	177.85
St. Louis, Mo.,	151.25	310.76
Miscellaneous,	1,093.34	1,361.00
	<b>\$21,208.16</b>	<b>\$20,878.72</b>

This shows an increase of approximately \$330 over 1962.

Also included in the above totals are contributions from WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, amounting to \$3,274.90 (\$3,461.36 in 1962). The Clubs contributed to the several Party Press Funds and the following list of total contributions in 1963 is in the order of highest sums:

Weekly People Club of	1963 Totals	1962 Totals
Los Angeles, Calif.,	\$1,514.06	\$ 979.37
Wayne County, Mich.,	1,350.00	1,360.00
San Francisco, Calif.,	1,050.85	700.00
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.,	627.59	512.61
Cook County, Ill.,	569.76	750.75
Cleveland, O.,	480.00	435.00
Palo Alto, Calif.,	400.00	276.00
Oakland, Calif.,	375.00	275.00
St. Louis, Mo.,	190.00	415.00
Bridgeport, Conn.,	125.00	150.00
Steubenville, O.,	18.00	75.00
	<b>\$6,700.26</b>	<b>\$5,928.73</b>

The contributions received from these 11 Clubs exceeded the amount received in 1962 by approximately \$772. As always, the Party is deeply grateful to the comrades and friends of the WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs for the splendid efforts they have made to support the Party's official organ financially. The total of \$6,700.26 includes contributions made to the New Headquarters and Moving Fund of \$805.85.

### Estates Fund

To the Estates Fund the sum of \$14,175.58 accrued in 1963. The major part of this sum came from Mehmet Burlakis Estate, \$12,502.57.

Settlement of the following estates is still pending: I. Newman, Ben Hurwitz, Helen Stefanovich, Louis Rosen, Theo. Baeff, and James Moskides. A former Australian member and continuing sympathizer, J.C. Geikie, who died in June of last year, bequeathed £300 to the Party, stipulating that this sum should be used for "cartoons and illustrations in the Party's Newspaper, WEEKLY PEOPLE."

\*

During the past year receipts for advertising in the WEEKLY PEOPLE by Subdivisions came to \$491.

As of Dec. 31, 1963, outstanding accounts receivable (for WEEKLY PEOPLE and Labor News sales) amounted to \$1,426.71. The only "debt"



owed is for unexpired WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions, which as of Dec. 31, 1963, amounted to \$6,653.02.

We paid in payroll taxes for 1963 the amount of approximately \$16,700, an increase over 1962 of about \$1,000. Of this amount the Party paid approximately \$3,800, and employees approximately \$12,900. As federal and state taxes and the cost of living generally go up, wages (however moderately) go up, and we have had to conform by increasing wages accordingly at National Headquarters. Which answers the question: "Who Pays the Taxes?"—the employer or the employee?!

\*

The net loss for WEEKLY PEOPLE and Labor News operations for 1963 came to \$46,043.73, as against \$53,764.86, a decrease of \$7,721.13. This decrease is accounted for mainly by the fact that the wages of three National Office assistants, which heretofore had been charged against the Business Office were charged against the National Office. This should have been done right along, but the question had never been raised, and nobody had given any thought to it. Accordingly, the salaries item on the National Office Financial statement was increased correspondingly.

#### GENERAL INTERFERENCES

During the past year, the number of occasions were relatively few on which our members suffered various kinds of interferences by the police and other local authorities while engaged in leaflet distribution and similar activities. Most of these instances of interference were of a "routine" nature, resulting from ignorance on the part of the police officer or officers involved, or from a complaint made by some home owner or shopkeeper, etc. Our members have become quite experienced in handling such problems and were able to resolve practically all of them without difficulty, though not always without annoyance and loss of time.

One instance, somewhat different in nature, occurred in Bordentown, N.J. Last September, Comrades Jules Levin and Joe Frank were distributing leaflets in front of a large store in a highway shopping center. The manager of the store, a Mr. Bugg, demanded that they stop distributing. He claimed our members were on private property, that they were littering, and that they should have asked him for permission to distribute in front of his store before they started.

Comrades Levin and Frank tried to reason with Mr. Bugg, even offering to stop distributing until their right to do so in the shopping center could be settled with the local authorities. But Mr. Bugg insisted upon calling the police then and there. When the state police

arrived they asked Comrades Levin and Frank and Mr. Bugg to accompany them to police headquarters. There Mr. Bugg lodged a formal complaint and our two members were placed under arrest. The charge on the warrants was "littering." Trial was set for Oct. 11, and Levin and Frank were released without bail. They contacted Attorney Anthony Doganiero in Camden, who agreed to handle the case, without a fee. Mr. Doganiero promptly requested postponement of the trial to Oct. 25, which request was granted.

The National Office, on learning of this development, sent the Section detailed suggestions on procedure to be followed, citing the relevant U.S. Supreme Court decisions. On the theory that small town judges are often not familiar with Supreme Court decisions involving civil liberties, the attorney made copies of the material we provided and forwarded them to the judge in advance of the trial. At the trial the judge promptly dismissed the charges against our two members. It is believed that his familiarity with the Supreme Court rulings was in good part responsible for the judge's dismissal of the charges. This practice might well be followed by other Subdivisions similarly harassed.

In many sections of the country the new highway shopping centers are proving among the best places where mass leaflet distribution can be carried on effectively. In many places the "downtown" shopping areas where much of our leaflet distribution was carried on in the past have become practically deserted. More and more Sections, therefore, have begun to consider distributing leaflets in the new shopping centers. But they have to proceed carefully, and be prepared to defend their right to do so. These shopping centers are considered private commercial complexes. But since they "invite" the public their "private property" character becomes circumscribed, at least in so far as the exercise of civil liberties is concerned. Because they may prove to be useful to our Sections and members in dealing with interferences resulting from leaflet distribution in such centers, we reproduce excerpts from two Supreme Court decisions relating to the exercise of civil liberties on "private property."

"U.S. Supreme Court: Marsh v. Alabama (1946) . . .

"In this case we are asked to decide whether a state, consistently with the First and Fourteenth Amendments, can impose criminal punishment on a person who undertakes to distribute religious literature on the premises of a company-owned town contrary to the wishes of the town's management.

"Appellant, a Jehovah's Witness, came onto the sidewalk [in Chickasaw, Alabama] . . . stood near the post-office and undertook to distribute religious literature. In the stores the corporation had posted a notice which read as follows: 'This Is Private Property, and With-



out Written Permission, No Street, or House Vendor, Agent or Solicitation of Any Kind Will be Permitted.' Appellant was warned that she could not distribute the literature without a permit and told that no permit would be issued to her. She protested that the company rule could not be constitutionally applied so as to prohibit her from distributing religious writings. When she was asked to leave the sidewalk and Chickasaw she declined. The deputy sheriff arrested her and she was charged in the state court with violating Title 14, Section 426 of the 1940 Alabama Code which makes it a crime to enter or remain on the premises of another after having been warned not to do so. . . .

"Had the title to Chickasaw belonged not to a private but to a municipal corporation and had appellant been arrested for violating a municipal ordinance rather than a ruling by those appointed by the corporation to manage a company-town it would have been clear that appellant's conviction must be reversed. . . . Our question then narrows down to this: Can those people who live in or come to Chickasaw be denied freedom of press and religion simply because a single company has legal title to all the town? For it is the state's contention that the mere fact that all the property interests in the town are held by a single company is enough to give that company power, enforceable by a state statute, to abridge these freedoms.

"We do not agree that the corporation's property interests settle the question. . . . Ownership does not always mean absolute dominion. The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it. . . ."

"U.S. Supreme Court: *Tucker v. Texas* (1946). . . .

"The appellant was charged in the Justice Court of Medina County, Texas, with violating Article 479, Chap. 3 of the Texas Penal Code which makes it an offense for any 'peddler or hawker of goods or merchandise' willfully to refuse to leave premises after having been notified to do so by the owner or possessor thereof. . . .

"The facts shown by the record need be but briefly stated. Appellant is an ordained minister of the group known as Jehovah's Witnesses. In accordance with the practices of this group he calls on people from door to door, presents his religious views to those willing to listen, and distributes religious literature to those willing to receive it. In the course of his work, he went to the Hondo Navigation Village located in Medina County, Texas. The village is owned by the United States under a Congressional program which was designed to provide housing for persons engaged in National Defense activities. . . . According to all indications the village was freely accessible and open to the public and had the characteristics of a typical American town.

The Federal Public Housing Authority had placed the buildings in charge of a manager whose duty it was to rent the houses, collect the rents, and generally to supervise operations, subject to over-all control by the Authority. He ordered appellant to discontinue all religious activities in the village. Appellant refused. Later the manager ordered appellant to leave the village. Insisting that the manager had no right to suppress religious activities, appellant declined to leave, and his arrest followed. . . .

"It follows from what we have said that to the extent that the Texas statute was held to authorize appellant's punishment for refusing to refrain from religious activities in Hondo Village it is an invalid abridgment of the freedom of press and religion."

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Two instances of discrimination against the SLP that would normally be reported in some detail in this section of the report resulted from the efforts of Section Los Angeles to secure the use of schoolrooms in Los Angeles and Long Beach for SLP study classes and discussion groups. The full story, however, was told in the WEEKLY PEOPLE (Jan. 25, 1964), and there is no good reason for repeating the details here. But a few points made in the excellent letter to the Los Angeles Board of Education by the Section merit reproduction here. Referring to a ranting member of the Board who had made slanderous and libelous remarks about the Socialist Labor Party, our Los Angeles organizer wrote:

"The proposed action suggested by this individual of denying the right to speak is subversion in the ugliest meaning of the word. Obviously he would deny the right of free speech to anyone with whom he disagrees. *Here is book burning in its inception. And as degenerate Hitler so amply demonstrated a generation ago, when ideas are consigned to an incinerator it is not long before people are treated likewise.* Six million people perished in the extermination camps in the orgy that began with trampling on the right of free speech before a modicum of reason was restored."

Other interferences have been recorded in the section of this report dealing with self-service newsstand operations.

### INTERNAL PROBLEMS

The two main problems affecting the National Headquarters of the Party are the Help problem and the Moving problem.

#### The Help Problem

The Help problem has been a perennial with us for a number of years, and in important respects it is still plaguing us. We were once again brought face to face with this problem early in the year when



with shocking suddenness our shipping clerk and mailing assistant, Comrade Max Press, succumbed to a wholly unexpected heart attack, in the prime of his life. Again we experienced the usual difficulties in finding a member willing and able to serve the Party, until we secured the services of Comrade Elvin Baker, then of Section Camden County, N.J., who is doing very well, and undoubtedly will do even better as he becomes fully familiar with the duties of his post.

There are still two important National Headquarters' posts to be filled eventually, and rather soon. There are at present prospects of filling one of them, the matter being in the process of negotiations.

It should not be necessary to repeat what we have contended so often—that is, that when we join a revolutionary movement such as the Socialist Labor Party, we thereby assume a solemn obligation to serve it with complete dedication, disdaining evasions of duty for trivial or transient causes. He who does not live up to this precept is a half-baked or part-time revolutionist. When one encounters a comrade who in felicitous terms expresses his acceptance of the full implications of the duties of a revolutionist, there is cause for gratification. Thus, a comrade expressed himself a few years ago, as follows:

"The first and foremost thing is to keep National Headquarters functioning properly. For without that, we will have no organization. That, in turn, means no education, or preparation for the social Revolution. The help problem at National Headquarters must be solved before everything else. . . . We consider the present help situation at the National Office almost unbelievable."

And so it is.

#### *The Moving Problem*

The question of our having to move National Headquarters has been held in abeyance for some time, though there never was any doubt about our having to do so sooner or later, and rather sooner than later. The question of demolishing all the buildings in the area within which the National Headquarters are located for a city-sponsored housing project was awaiting approval of the Board of Estimate. That approval was given at the April 9 meeting of the board. The next step will be for the city to start condemnation proceedings, and to take possession. As of this writing we do not know when this may be, but it will almost certainly be within a year, and possibly sooner. We had been apprehensive that we might have had to move at the height of the campaign, but fortunately that does not seem likely now. But at best finding and moving into another building is going to present us with a task and an ordeal of the first magnitude. Having no choice, we must brace ourselves to face the inevitable. The disruption in headquarters activities will be enormous, and we can only hope that we

shall emerge from the ordeal without permanent scars. The fullest co-operation by all competent and available comrades will assuredly be required, and we do have some assurances that such cooperation will be forthcoming. Those who assume the responsibility, and discharge it successfully, will have earned the everlasting gratitude of the Party.

#### *THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, 1964*

As we have mentioned before, the problems facing us in the 1964 campaign will undoubtedly be greater than any we have had to deal with in recent campaigns. Getting on the ballot and obtaining free radio and TV time loom as the most serious. And chanting "We shall overcome" won't help us! If we *are* circumvented in these respects to any considerable extent, that does not mean that we shall have less work to do. It does mean that other ways and means must be found to try to make up for lost opportunities, among others by increased leaflet distribution, perhaps advertising in newspapers, etc.

Among the subsidiary questions there is to be considered the manner of touring our candidates. In 1960, the national candidates were toured from opposite sides of the country, and this worked out very well. In commenting on the experiences made in 1960, Comrade Hass observed:

"The idea of starting the two Presidential candidates from opposite sides of the country seems to me a good one. The only real problem that it entailed was that of routing them in the Middle West so their visits to Middle Western cities would be adequately spaced. But this seems to have been done more or less satisfactorily."

On the same point, Comrade Cozzini wrote:

"I agree with Comrade Hass on the candidates' tours routed in opposite directions being advantageous. Also it seemed to me that the timing and spacing of speaking dates were improved over 1956."

Both comrades made a number of suggestions for future campaigns based on their 1960 experiences. These were included in the National Secretary's report to the 1961 NEC Session. Relevant parts of this report will be available to the convention committee which will be charged with formulation of plans for the campaign. The members of this committee may also wish to refresh their memories on the plans recommended by the 1960 Convention Campaign Committee as recorded in the minutes of that convention, a copy of which also will be available upon request.

In one respect we are more fortunate than in the preceding campaign in that we shall have a full-time National Campaign Manager, Comrade Nathan Karp. The NEC Sub-Committee will also elect a National Campaign Committee to plan the campaign and submit to the Sub-Committee its recommendations for all important proposals, es-



pecially such as require more than routine expenditure of funds. Whether or not to use the services of an advertising agency is a question to be given the most serious consideration. Our experience with the 1960 Keilson Agency should give us pause. Mr. Keilson, incidentally, was killed in an automobile accident last summer. *Hic Jacet!*

### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The following constitutional amendments are herewith proposed for the consideration of the Convention:

1. Art. II, Sec. 4 (page 5).

It is proposed to strike out the last five lines, and substitute the following:

"Where a county embraces more than one city, a charter may be granted to each city."

*Comment:*

As the provision now reads it is confusing. It is believed that the proposed substitute makes the intent clear.

2. Art. II, Sec. 7. (a) (page 5).

It is proposed to strike out the last two lines, and substitute the following:

"In no instance shall a Section quorum consist of less than five members."

*Comment:*

Some Sections have a relatively large membership which is not included in computing the basis for a quorum. For example, if a Section has six residence members, and nine out-of-town members, one-third of six would leave only two to constitute a quorum. Five members present should constitute the minimum for a quorum.

3. Art. II, Sec. 7. (b) (pages 5-6).

Strike out "or its Sub-Committee" in the last line.

*Comment:*

The affected passage now reads: "subject to the specific approval of the NEC or its Sub-Committee." Any action by the Sub-Committee between NEC sessions becomes the action of the NEC unless repudiated by the Superior body. Hence reference to the "Sub-Committee" is redundant. No mention is made in comparable provisions in the Constitution.

4. Art. II, Sec. 12. (Pages 6-7).

The section now reads in part: "Only those who have been members in good standing at least a year shall be eligible to hold office within the Section. . . ." The words "in good standing" are confusing and misleading. The words "been members in good standing" should be stricken out and substituted with the following: "held continued mem-

bership in the Party for," so that this part of the section would read:

"Only those who have *held continued membership in the Party* for at least a year shall be eligible to hold office within the Section. . . ."

5. Art. II, Sec. 12. (Page 7).

It is proposed to strike out the last sentence in this section reading:

"At least two years' membership shall be required to qualify a member to hold any national office in the Party."

*Comment:*

This provision is placed in the wrong article. It should be added to Articles V, VI and Article XI, which deal with election of national officers. Accordingly, it should be eliminated from Art. II, Sec. 12.

6. Art. II, Sec. 19. (Page 8).

This provision now reads:

"Applicants may be admitted to membership by a majority vote of those present at a regular Section meeting, but, 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."

It is proposed to substitute with the following new Section 19:

"A two-thirds vote of those present at a regular Section meeting shall be necessary to admit an applicant to membership in the Party."

*Comment:*

A majority vote obviously implies a minority vote, which in fact is a protest against admitting an applicant to membership. This being so, the two-thirds majority requirement automatically takes effect.

7. Art. II, Sec. 40. (Pages 15-16).

It is proposed to strike out the entire Section 40 and substitute the following:

"A person expelled from the Socialist Labor Party may be readmitted upon application properly made to the National Executive Committee, provided his or her expulsion did not stipulate permanent unfitness for membership in the Party. The National Executive Committee shall determine whether or not the applicant's record would warrant entertaining the application and if the National Executive Committee decides that it does not, its decision shall be final. If the National Executive Committee authorizes consideration of the application, it shall then be forwarded to the Section having jurisdiction for processing as provided in Section 17 of this Article. A two-thirds vote of the members present at a Section meeting shall be required to admit such applicant to membership."

The change suggested which requires the applicant for readmittance to submit his application to the NEC instead of to the Section which expelled him flows from the fact that in the last analysis the NEC must make the final decision as to whether or not the applica-



tion shall be considered at all. Moreover, the National Office has the documents pertaining to the case. It is simple logic that the application for reinstatement be presented to the NEC in the first instance, subsequently to be referred to the Section that expelled the applicant, *if consideration of the application is approved*. If the action of the NEC is negative, that closes the matter then and there.

That part of Section 40 dealing with "a majority vote" or "a two-thirds majority" is confusing and contradictory, as explained in the Comments under Article II, Section 19. Accordingly, a simple two-thirds vote should be required.

8. Art. III, Sec. 3. (Page 20).

It is proposed to strike out the words "*and the State.*"

*Comment:*

Inclusion of State Executive Committees in this provision derives from the time when SECs exercised disciplinary power over Sections. This no longer being true, the phrase should be stricken from the clause.

9. Art. IV, Sec. 5. (Page 23).

It is proposed to eliminate this provision which reads:

"Every Section connected with such [State] Committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee."

*Comment:*

It follows as a matter of course that every Section automatically constitutes an integral part of the national organization. The presence of this provision is also meaningless since State Executive Committees no longer have disciplinary jurisdiction over Sections.

10. Art. V, Sec. 4. (Page 26).

For the reasons previously explained, it is proposed to eliminate the words "in good standing not less than" from this provision, and to substitute the following:

"who have held continued membership in the Party for at least"

11. Art. V, Sec. 6. (Page 26).

This provision now reads:

"No editor of a Party publication, and no permanent salaried employee of the Committee, except its own officers, shall be a member of the National Executive Committee."

It is proposed to strike out the words "*except its own officers.*"

*Comment:*

It is not clear what is meant by "except its own officers," since the NEC as such has no "officers." The term "salaried employee" refers to any member employed by the Party on a paid basis, including the National Secretary and the National Editor. The provision probably dates back to the turn of the century, and can have no application today.

12. Art. V, Sec. 14. (Pages 28-29).

It is proposed to eliminate this provision in keeping with what was said regarding Article V, Section 6, above.

13. Art. V, New Section 20. (Page 29).

"All members of the NEC Sub-Committee shall have held continued membership in the Party for at least two years."

*Comment:*

This is in keeping with what was said previously, that is, placing this provision in its proper context.

14. Art. VI, New Section 1. (b) (page 29):

"No member shall be eligible to hold the office of National Secretary who has not held continued membership in the Party at least two years."

*Comment:*

Same as under Art. V, New Section 20, above.

15. Art. VI, Sec. 2. (Page 30).

This provision now reads:

"The term of office of the National Secretary shall be four years and he shall sign a pledge similar to the one required of the candidates for the National Executive Committee."

It is proposed to strike out the underscored phrase, beginning "and he shall sign a pledge. . . ."

*Comment:*

Signing a pledge is a condition for election of an office. Since conventions elect the National Secretary, a pledge is obviously implicit in acceptance, and after election serves no meaningful purpose.

16. Art. VI, Sec. 6. (Page 30).

It is proposed to amend this section to read as follows:

"In case of vacancy in the office of National Secretary, the Nation Executive Committee shall fill the vacancy temporarily, and at once proceed to nominate the best qualified member available to fill the post permanently, and submit the same to a general vote of the whole Party."

*Comment:*

There seems to be no sound reason for requiring the NEC to nominate two candidates. Obviously, the NEC will nominate the best qualified member who is available for the post. To require two nominations is to require that the NEC nominate as its second candidate one whom it does not consider quite so qualified.

17. Art. VII, Sec. 7. (Page 32).

It is proposed to substitute this provision with the following:

"Members serving as delegates must have held continued membership in the Party for at least two consecutive years, but a state unable to comply with this provision may dispense with same as far as may



be necessary, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. Delegates must be citizens of the United States."

*Comment:*

In part this is a mere rearrangement of words, and partly to conform to previous proposals regarding "in good standing." But as the provision now reads, it also empowers the NEC to grant dispensation to states unable to elect delegates who are citizens. Delegates to conventions *must* be citizens of the United States.

18. Art. VII, Sec. 11. (Page 32).

It is proposed to delete from this section the following:

"select the seat of the National Executive Committee" and "A majority vote shall be necessary in selecting the seat of the National Executive Committee."

The section will then read as follows:

"The National Convention shall frame the National Platform, decide the form of organization, and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party submitted to the Convention."

*Comment:*

Article V, Section 12, already provides that NEC sessions shall be held in the city where the National Headquarters is located. Every practical consideration at this time dictates that this should be so. Consequently, the present provision (Article VII, Section 11) that the National Convention "select the seat of the NEC" is unnecessary and, in fact, contradictory.

19. Art. XI, Sec. 4. (Page 35).

Add the following after "The term of office of the Editor shall be four years":

"and he shall have held continued membership in the Party at least two years."

*Comment:*

This is in keeping with previous proposals.

20. Art. XI, Sec. 6. (Page 35).

It is proposed to strike out the phrase "pending election of new Editor by the Party membership," and substitute the following:

"and at once proceed to nominate the best qualified member available to fill the post permanently and submit the same to a general vote of the whole Party."

*Comment:*

This amendment is proposed in order that the procedure for filling a vacancy in the office of Editor be the same as that provided for filling a vacancy in the office of National Secretary. (Article VI, Section 6, page 30.)

21. Art. XII (preceding Sec. 1). (Page 36).

Substitute the following:

"Socialist Labor Party Language Federations, nationally organized and composed of members whose native language is other than English, shall be attached to the SLP on the following basis:"

*Comment:*

This is merely an editorial change for better reading.

22. Art. XIII, Sec. 1 (a) (Pages 37-38).

It is proposed to substitute this provision with the following:

(a) "This Constitution may be amended by the National Convention or the National Executive Committee, subject to approval by a general vote of the membership, and such amendments shall not be effective until so approved.

(b) "This Constitution may also be amended upon the application of at least five Sections within at least two states. The initiating Section must submit its proposition to the National Office for the necessary seconds. The National Office shall issue a call for such seconds within forty-five days after receiving the proposition. All seconds (and amendments, if any) must be returned to the National Office within six weeks. If sufficient seconds are received, the National Office shall then submit the original proposition (together with the proposed amendments) to the entire membership for a referendum vote. The vote shall close within six weeks from the date it is submitted."

*Comment:*

As this provision now reads, no procedure is given as to how the Constitution may be amended other than at National Conventions. The proposed substitute, we believe, supplies the want.

23. Art. XIII, Sec. 1 (b) (Page 38).

This provision now reads:

"The National Secretary shall at the earliest possible moment transmit to the Sections *a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each Section.*"

It is proposed to strike out the italicized words so that the provision would read:

"The National Secretary shall at the earliest possible moment transmit to the Sections *the result of the referendum vote.*"

*Comment:*

Years ago we found it practically impossible to prepare and print a tabulation of the vote, and under the existent pressure the attempt was abandoned. No useful purpose appeared to be served by giving the tabulation of the vote, so long as the total result of the vote on each amendment was given. The Constitution should be amended to validate what has become the practice.

This concludes proposed amendments to the Party's Constitution.



## IN MEMORIAM

Again we pause sadly to record the passing of comrades and friends who gave in full measure of their devotion and substance that this great movement of ours might live and prosper into eventual victory—a mournful record to which, as the years roll on, there can be subscribed no *finis*. Death came to 26 members and five devoted sympathizers, an unusually heavy and tragic toll for one short year. The 26 members (of whom six were from our Language Federations) were:

John Theodorou, Section Wayne Co., Mich., April 27, 1963;  
 Steve Kraynovich, Section Akron, O., May 1, 1963;  
 Edward Farrell, Toronto, Canada, May 20, 1963;  
 Paul Mitroff, Bulgarian SLF Branch, Chicago, July 2, 1963;  
 Theodore Baeff, National Secretary Bulgarian SLF, July 5, 1963;  
 I. Stein, Section Cleveland, O., Sept. 3, 1963;  
 Christ Pavloff, Section Wayne Co., Mich., Sept. 20, 1963;  
 Mihail Chuhaloff, Bulgarian SLF Branch Mansfield, O., Sept. 30, 1963;  
 Frank Wall, Section Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 7, 1963;  
 Svan Johnson, Section Bridgeport, Conn., Oct. 15, 1963;  
 Theodore Bossie, Section San Francisco, Calif., Oct. 28, 1963;  
 Harry Redmond, Section Dayton, O., Dec. 6, 1963;  
 Peter Kamenoff, Bulgarian SLF Branch Chicago, Dec. 15, 1963;  
 Louis Mildenstein, national member-at-large, Iowa, Dec. 14, 1963;  
 E.L. Rickey, Section Los Angeles, Calif., Jan., 1964;  
 John J. Rowe, Section Dayton, O., Jan. 17, 1964;  
 George Hassiotis, Section Boston, Mass., Jan. 24, 1964;  
 James Maher, Section Waltham, Mass., Jan. 26, 1964;  
 John Vollmer, Kamloops, B.C., Canada, Jan. 26, 1964;  
 Max Press, Section New York, N.Y., Feb. 3, 1964;  
 Peter Hogseth, Section Lynn, Mass., Feb. 8, 1964;  
 Emil Manojlovich, Section Essex Co., N.J., Feb. 20, 1964;  
 Frank Pack, Section Los Angeles, Calif., Feb. 16, 1964;  
 Rudolph Riedl, Section Washtenaw Co., Mich., Feb. 22, 1964;  
 Bob Churulich, South Slavonian SLF Branch Detroit, March 5, 1964;  
 John Churulich, South Slavonian SLF Branch Detroit, March 11, 1964.  
 The five sympathizers (three of whom were once members) were:  
 Christen Bennetsen, Denver, Colo., Oct. 3, 1963;

Ben Hurwitz, Denver, Colo., Dec. 1, 1963;  
 James Moskides, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 26, 1963;  
 R.L. Thompson, Bolair, W. Va., Jan. 15, 1964;  
 Chris Attinger, Hialeah, Fla., Feb., 1964.

The Party's tributes have been paid them (or will be) in our official organ. What we say here can add no luster to their names and deeds. Yet, a few stand out justifying special mention here. Foremost among them was Theodore Baeff, the National Secretary of our Bulgarian Federation who, for more than half a century, selflessly and devotedly labored to advance our DeLeonist cause. An outstanding Marxist, he contributed mightily to keeping the Federation to its scientific course, and strengthening it in its never failing support of the Socialist Labor Party. Conditions being what they are, his death created a vacuum that cannot be filled. In death he joined those other valiant Bulgarian comrades who until a few years ago fought with him shoulder to shoulder for the emancipation of the working class:—Draganoff, Dobreff, Trifonoff and Gramaticoff. Comrade Baeff will be missed, as he will be long remembered, as will the others.

Others, in point of length of service and steadfast devotion, included Svan Johnson of Bridgeport, and Theodore Bossie of San Francisco. Outstanding also were two Canadian veterans, both approaching or having passed the four score ten, Comrades Edward Farrell and John Vollmer, both of whom through their long lives contributed beyond measure to the advancement of our cause in the vast country to the North. And exceptional among sympathizers was Ben Hurwitz of Denver, who in a long life gave inspiration to our Denver comrades, and rendered most generous support to the National Organization.

Could these great-hearted comrades speak to us now, they would beseech us, paraphrasing Hamlet as he beseeched his friend Horatio:

"SLP comrades, we are dead!

You live on; report us and our cause aright

To the unsatisfied."

[As this report was being concluded, the shocking and tragic news was received of the sudden death of Comrade Albert Wirth of Section Peoria, Ill. Comrade Wirth was a tower of strength in our Illinois organization, and his death is a great and serious loss to our Party. He served faithfully as Organizer of Section Peoria for about a quarter of a century, and was also a member of the Illinois State Committee, serving in other capacities as well during his long membership. He will be greatly missed and long remembered.]



## CONCLUSION

The events of the past year have brought to a new high the criminality of the capitalist jungle system, with increasing corrupt practices, and immoral acts generally, on the part of capitalism's upholders and beneficiaries of the system. It has been well said that everything capitalism touches it taints and corrupts. There is no institution, not even the highest office, that escapes the blight.

Crimes flourish as never before, assaults and murders of the most ferocious character have become the order of the day. Assassinations of rulers have become accepted as commonplace except in very special dramatic circumstances when worldwide interests are involved, as in the case of the assassination of President Kennedy. Obviously this widespread corruption, these monstrous crimes, do not just happen. They are the inevitable products of the society that nurtured them. As Buckle put it: "Society prepares the crime; the criminal commits it."

It might have been expected that events so overwhelming in their antisocial character, and touching every sentient being, would have caused all thinking persons to realize that there must be some central basic cause, something fundamentally wrong with the society in which they live and function, something deeper than the things that are normal and incidental to human existence. No doubt there is a general awakening to a realization that something is wrong somewhere in the social fabric. Yet, only relatively few have as yet started to ponder on the nature of, and reason for, the disease that afflicts our modern world, and fewer yet have fully grasped the truth and resolved to do something about it. The vast majority, ignorant or miseducated, stand bewildered, the more or less helpless victims of those whose interest it is to keep them in that state lest they, the ruling class element, be called upon for an accounting, and lose their privileges.

A logical accompaniment of this universal corruption is the pretense of sanctimoniousness, the hypocrisy manifest on the part of the capitalist class and its self-serving cynical politicians. Normally a distinction is made between plutocrats and their politicians, the latter being the eager servitors of the former. But when plutocrat and politician merge into one, hypocrisy reaches new highs — or, rather, new lows. Such a merger achieves its perfection in the Goldwater and Rockefeller types, especially the latter. Rockefeller was reared in a setting of the utmost sanctimonious hypocrisy. He went to school, so to speak, under the tutelage of his sainted father, John D. Rockefeller Jr., who in turn had learned from his equally sainted father, John D.



the First, one of the earlier robber barons, who sought to atone for his sins by practicing Christian charity and distributing dimes among the deserving poor. The story of his depredations has been told in detail in the American classic "The History of the Standard Oil Company," by the late Ida M. Tarbell, who, reportedly, in her declining years apologized for her exposures of John D. and the Standard Oil Company, yielding to pressures applied by the defenders and (we might assume) the "pensioners" of the Rockefeller clan. The utter ruthlessness of the first outstanding oil baron was laid bare by Miss Tarbell in her book, and she did not then pull her punches. As a sample of this ruthlessness she quotes these words by John D. I, expressing "his principle concerning men . . . which was laid down early":

"We want only the big ones, those who have already proved they can do big business. As for the others, unfortunately they will have to die."

And, "unfortunately," they did die!

In further illustration of old Rockefeller's ruthlessness she commented:

"Mr. Rockefeller's capture of the Cleveland refineries in 1872 was as dazzling an achievement as it was a hateful one. . . . The campaign by which the Empire Transportation Company was wrested from the Pennsylvania Railroad, viewed simply as a piece of brigandage, was admirable!"

Parenthetically, the lessons and principles laid down by the first Rockefeller have not been lost on today's oil tycoons, particularly in Texas where H.L. Hunt (a billionaire, and reputed to be one of the two richest men in the world) performs in a manner that would have turned John D. I green with envy. Mr. Hunt is, of course, a devout Christian, as is his wife, who was reported recently in the press (*The Houston Post*, Feb. 1) as having uttered these pious sentiments:

"I have found . . . the closer we try to live to the Lord, it seems He just takes our hand in solving our problems in our daily living. . . . Our troubles then fade into insignificance."

Being so busy doing nothing, Mrs. Hunt then moans:

"I wish I had more time to do Christian lay work, and sometimes I feel I'm very selfish because I don't take the time."

How fortunate for the wage slaves that she doesn't take the time!

John D. Rockefeller Jr. was equally successful in combining Christian piety with successful exploitation of his wage slaves. While his minions at the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company were shooting down his wage slaves (as one writer put it: "When the workers of his

Colorado Fuel & Iron Company were being shot down or burnt alive in industrial war")—while thus occupied the sanctimonious John D. Jr. was running a Sunday school (or "Bible class") teaching Christian morality. The incomparable Mark Twain did a savage job on John D. Jr. and his "Bible class," which is a joy to read. He reports him as explaining the Bible to his class and "The next day the newspapers and the Associated Press distribute his explanations all over the continent and everybody laughs." He describes "Young Rockefeller" as "a plain, simple, earnest, sincere, honest, well-meaning, commonplace person, destitute of originality or any suggestion of it."

In short, according to Mark Twain's appraisal, a rather stupid fellow who might have performed useful chores as a country store clerk or street sweeper, had it not been for his father's money.

Being the sort of person he was, John D. Jr.'s literary output was naturally limited, but one production deserves brief mention. It is called "The Colorado Industrial Plan." As a "plan" it is a good approach to a blueprint for a feudo-industrial setup. It includes such gems as these: "Reduced to their simplest terms Labor and Capital are men with muscle and men with money—," the John Ds having all the money and no muscle, while "Labor" has all the muscle and no money. Of course, "Labor and Capital are partners"—just as the highwayman and his victim are partners in the highway robbery act. "Men," he philosophized, "do not live merely to toil; they also live to play, to mingle with their fellows, to love, to worship." Few would dispute this original and profound declaration. And referring to what he calls the "Industrial Constitution" of his "Colorado Industrial Plan," he observes with obvious satisfaction and concurrence that "some have spoken of it as establishing a Republic of Labor."! Now we know what the Industrial Republic of Labor looks like!

He waxed indignant because his plan was not accepted at face value in certain quarters, and he wailed to his assembled wage slaves: "What you have been told, what has been heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is that those Rockefeller men in New York, the biggest scoundrels that ever lived, have taken millions of dollars out of this [Fuel and Iron] Company . . . have oppressed you men [some were only shot down], have cheated you of your wages. . . . There were those who in the streets of New York and in public gatherings, were inciting the crowd to 'shoot John D. Rockefeller Jr. down like a dog.'"

One can see the tears streaming down the coal-blackened faces of Mr. Rockefeller's wage slaves as he harangued them.

But it is the current scion and heir to the Rockefeller fortune and his peculiar talents, the Governor of New York, Nelson A. Rockefeller, that interests us now. As is well known, he is one of five multi-



millionaire brothers spawned by John D. Jr. He seems to combine some of the characteristics of his grandfather as well as of his father, distributed, perhaps, in unequal proportions. He has inherited some of the former's ruthlessness as applied particularly to politics, to which he has added an insufferable degree of arrogance and thinly veiled contempt for the opinions of others. From his father he has inherited some of his Christian piety and a certain smugness as regards ethics and morality in public life. Desperately seeking to become President of the United States, he recently put on a show at Albany in behalf of "ethics" and honesty in government, in the course of which he tangled with the state's liquor industry. This performance by Mr. Rockefeller was probably staged to improve on the image of a man who suffered politically when he divorced his wife of many years to marry a divorcee. This act would surely have scandalized his two immediate forebears as it did many Bible devotees, who otherwise might have given him their votes. Hence the "ethics" and "morality" spiel. The assumption of ethics in corrupt and corrupting capitalist politics, and among politicians generally, is as valid as would be the assumption of ethics and morality in a bordello. It is a contradiction in terms.

And speaking of bordellos and politics, and ethics in government, calls to mind a recent item in the New York *Herald Tribune*, April 16, 1964, which read:

### "A Blushing Uncle Sam

"Much to his bureaucratic chagrin, Uncle Sam has become the blushing owner of a \$100,000 mortgage on a bustling, profitable bordello."

And while still on this subject, it is of interest to note a statement attributed to Brendon Byrne of American Heritage Foundation, in which he asserted that "one out of every six dollars 'in certain campaigns' came from the underworld. Specifically, 'the owners of brothels, the gambling syndicates. . . , people expecting a quid pro quo favor.'"

Such are the paragons of civic virtue—these are the guardians and custodians of public morality, and these are the characters who are supposed to set an example for the masses who are taught to revere those whom they have elected to serve them and their best interests!

The assassination of President Kennedy was, of course, the climactic event of the year. The sympathy manifested, and the general grief aroused, over the wanton killing of this relatively young man, was in part, no doubt, due to his ability to project an image of a champion dedicated to the task of conferring full citizenship on the

Negro population in the South—a citizenship to which they already possessed the constitutional right. His personal charm and superficial brilliance no doubt played a part. Also the fact that he was the first Catholic who was ever elected President and who, contrary to what many had expected, did not immediately "sell out" to Rome, and gave no evidence of intending to do so. Whatever reservations he may have had, if any, were well concealed. In his favor is the fact that he had incurred the enmity of that typical clerical politician, Cardinal Spellman, mainly, it would seem, because he kept his 1960 campaign promise to oppose giving federal aid to parochial schools and related demands by the Roman Church.

The important fact remains, however, that Mr. Kennedy was a staunch champion of capitalism and a shrewd politician who knew what he wanted, and how to get it. His death was a great loss to the more farsighted capitalists who realize that if capitalism could be saved at all, it could only be done through the adoption of reforms such as urged and instituted by his predecessor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose primary object admittedly was to save capitalism. Padding the yoke of the wage slaves, and keeping them from developing revolutionary ideas, were necessary elements in this objective. That Roosevelt, by and large, failed to stabilize capitalism, did not deter Mr. Kennedy, nor will it deter his successors, least of all his immediate successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, suddenly catapulted into the Presidency following the senseless murder of Mr. Kennedy.

Most politicians have no principles, as evidenced by their guile and readiness to shift from a certain position to an opposing one as suited their ambitions and prior commitments to plutocratic interests. Despite his Southern heritage and Texas-bred view of the race question, Mr. Johnson quickly realized that as President he had little or nothing to lose, but everything to gain, by presenting himself as a champion of civil rights for the Negro, as Kennedy had done before him. He has proved himself equally agile as a would-be champion of the poverty-stricken masses, fully sensing that something had to be done (however phony his proposed measures might be) to prevent or delay a rapidly developing explosive situation. And so he has come out declaring war on poverty. Now, poverty has been with us for a mighty long time, but Mr. Johnson has acted as if he, and he alone, just discovered it! Recently he proclaimed that "in our time we will wipe out poverty in America," and predicted also that "we will eliminate color as an obstacle to man's hope for a decent life for himself and his family." But checking his fervor, he added cautiously: "This will not be done easily or swiftly—but it will be done." The nimble-minded Mr. Johnson will no doubt think of other escape hatches as the campaign draws to a close. He will need them after election when



he may have to explain what happened to his plans for wiping out poverty amidst fabulous plenty in the richest country in the world.

A few days ago Mr. Johnson invaded the poverty-stricken Appalachian area, purportedly to inspect poverty at its worst and to promote his battle against it. One might call it a rural slumming expedition. A *Herald Tribune* writer, April 25, 1964, made this comment on Mr. Johnson's crusade:

"What was supposed to be a personal inspection tour of the Appalachian poverty area quickly became a wild and woolly day of politicking, hand-shaking and speech-making for President Johnson yesterday."

The President repeated his "wild and woolly" promises to end poverty in America. "We are not going to rest until unemployment is out of date . . . in every American city," he fervently proclaimed. "I want to do something about those who have less," he continued. "For the first time in our history, an America without hunger is a practical prospect, and it must—it just simply must—be done."

The President was right in saying that "an America without hunger is a practical prospect." But it will not come through the evangelical preachings and oratory of the Johnsons and their labor-exploiting class. The Johnsons will do anything for the working class except to get off its back. Poverty in America (and elsewhere) will become "out of date" when the workers as a class shake off the incubus of private property in the means of social production, and not before.

This war on poverty is apparently not to be confined to the urban centers where hunger and misery are more conspicuously displayed than in rural areas. A concerted assault is also planned on rural poverty, according to a recent *New York Times* report. Secretary of Agriculture Freeman promises that the Administration will do something about that. He is quoted as saying that "more than 15 million rural Americans live under conditions of poverty."

The futility of Mr. Johnson's "war on poverty" is indicated in a *New York Times* dispatch a few months ago, Jan. 11, 1964, in which it was reported that "government officials say the programs in existence have scarcely scratched the surface of the problem." Of course not. And scratching the surface is all that the politicians will do. The same dispatch informed us that \$210 billion has been approved for loan to industries to create new jobs, and \$850 million has been spent on public works, while \$4,582,778,000 has been made available as public assistance for 7,500,000. And this is only "scratching the surface," even if the amounts approved are spent.

Yet, these huge amounts, if plans materialize, will mean fabulous

profits for the corporations and the bankers, since they are also calculated to stimulate business and, through loans, add huge sums in interest for the bankers. No wonder, then, that these plutocrats hail Mr. Johnson as their friend, even as he in turn never fails to assure them that he is the best friend they ever had. This is pointed up in his address on April 27, 1964, to the delegates of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which met in (of all places!) Constitution Hall, in Washington, D.C. Mr. Johnson is reported as using "a combination of homely philosophy, anecdotes, jokes and statistics to win the support of the business community." He was rewarded with "prolonged and enthusiastic applause at the end of his talk."

What was intended as humor turned out a pledge of partnership with the assembled plutocrats. Said he: "I suppose it might not be entirely accurate to greet you as 'my fellow Democrats,'" and concluded by saying: "I must get back to *your work* at the White House and leave you to go to work on me."

This frank acknowledgment that the President of the United States is, in effect if not in fact, the employee of the huge corporations would be refreshing were it not charged with sinister implications. No doubt about it, Mr. Johnson means to be a good worker for his bosses. And by addressing them as "fellow Democrats" he tacitly acknowledges the Tweedledee and Tweedledum character of the two major capitalist parties.

Laboring his theme, he repeated that he does not "accept the viewpoint that business and government are inherently hostile opponents." How could they be? How could the capitalist class and its Executive Committee be "inherently opponents"?

In his war on poverty Mr. Johnson has taken on an assignment which would make the labors of Sisyphus look like exercises in relaxation! Does he really believe his own words? In another context Mr. James Reston of the *New York Times* suggests the answer:

"It would, of course, be churlish to suggest that he [President Johnson] had anything in mind except the elevation of the mind . . . and yet, again, it would be difficult to say that his announcement hurt him politically."

Which surely is the understatement of the day, politicians being what they are. Lincoln knew what they are when he declared the politicians are "a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are, taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men."

But whatever may be Mr. Johnson's personal convictions, the so-called "war on poverty" is a fraud and a swindle that will come back to haunt those who falsely raise the hopes of the millions who are



leading lives of starvation and utter wretchedness in the midst of fabulous abundance. Socialism alone can abolish poverty, and *will* abolish it once capitalism has been abolished as the scourge it is. As De Leon put it: "Socialism spurns the goal of 'lessening poverty' as a miserable reform, as a betrayal of Man's opportunity and duty. Under the present material social conditions Socialism . . . boldly sounds the call for human redemption—the call for Revolution—the call for the ABOLITION OF POVERTY"—which is to say the abolition of capitalism, its useless and oppressive State apparatus, politicians and all!

Mr. Johnson is, or certainly will be, a candidate for the Presidency, and, as such, he will be open to attacks like any other candidate. And there are good grounds for predicting that he will prove quite vulnerable. His former close association with the notorious Bobby Baker will undoubtedly become the subject of scathing criticism, and the immunity he might count upon as President will hardly protect him as a candidate. One capitalist editorial writer commented recently that—

"When Lyndon B. Johnson became President his wife placed her stock in the Texas Broadcasting Company, which she owns, in the custody of two trustees who happen to be old friends of the family. Since November [1963] the president of her Austin station has twice visited the White House and Mr. Johnson has gone to Austin to see him. The *Wall Street Journal* asked what goes on. The White House told it to go see the trustees. The trustees told it to ask the White House. . . .

"Mrs. Johnson's station enjoys a monopoly which has been strengthened by certain decisions made by the FCC and by the three major networks, which may be more wary of the delicacy of their position than is Mr. Johnson. The *Wall Street Journal* commented: 'Officials are unable to recall that any other Presidential family has had its wealth concentrated in a government-regulated industry with the full knowledge of the regulators.'"

Conflict of interest? Nary a conflict!

As candidate Mr. Johnson will, of course, enter into a lively competition with the candidate of the opposing major party, whether that candidate be Rockefeller, Goldwater, Nixon or whoever may be picked as his Tweedledum. Obviously it will make little difference who wears the crown during the next four years, though among the choices one may be a shade more or less acceptable or objectionable to the plutocracy than another.

As one of the alternatives to Mr. Johnson it is difficult to imagine anyone more unscrupulous than Mr. Barry Goldwater, unless it be Mr. Nixon, with Mr. Rockefeller a close runner-up. Taking him at his word, Goldwater would have no hesitancy in plunging the country into

a thermonuclear war, and he is vociferously backed by the Birchites and other ultrareactionary groups. This political throwback to a past capitalist era is obviously determined—desperately determined—to win the nomination for the Presidency no matter what the cost. Thus, the *New York Times*, April 29, 1964, reported that he had purchased TV time in the amount of \$100,000—just for one-half hour of prime national TV time on May 13. This apparently is primarily designed to influence the outcome of the Oregon primaries which take place on May 15.

Mr. Goldwater, who hitherto scorned making appeals to the unemployed and so-called "underprivileged" in capitalist society, now seems hell-bent to outdo his chief avowed rival, Rockefeller, and the incumbent, President Johnson. Thus he is quoted in the same issue of the *Times* as having said:

"A Republican President in 1964 [sic] will do more to assure real jobs in this country, a real chance to work, a real chance to fight poverty—a Republican President will do more to assure those things than all the Democrat boondoggling that has ever been conceived."

He added that "New Deal make-work policies" caused the nation to stay "mired in the Depression longer than most nations that had been similarly hit," blah, blah, blah! The unscrupulous plutocrat-politician overlooked the fact that it was largely through these Roosevelt New Deal measures that capitalism was saved from collapse. And as for "other nations" getting out of the "mire" quicker, he ignores the effect of World War II, and the fact of the Marshall Plan, which put the European nations on their economic feet. This man is as crafty as he is unprincipled.

Craftier, perhaps, but equally unscrupulous, Nixon (by his words) would likewise risk war, a war that could only result in a universal holocaust. A few years ago we took the measure of this vulgar politician. We said then:

"Richard Nixon . . . , from being a pal of Joseph McCarthy, has become a very paragon of civic virtue and preacher of social morality . . . This unscrupulous politician needs to be watched. As his recent record shows, he has acquired the knack of uttering nothing of importance with the manners and elocution of one who is giving voice to the profoundest gems of wisdom. The plutocratic press describes him as . . . a man of 'courage and candor.' His 'prowess' and 'authority' were manifested a few months ago when he declared that 'this Administration [Eisenhower's] will not stand by and allow a recession to continue or unemployment to rise.'"

King Canute could have done no better than that!

However, whoever is chosen from the stable of capitalist politicians



to run in the Presidential race, may be expected to employ any trick, deception and falsehood to prove himself equal to the assignment of defending capitalism and maligning Socialism, though one may prove more equal than the others. Certain it is that the world at large will sit back in wonder, and perhaps admiration, to watch the great and wonderful American democracy in action during the Presidential campaign!

It is now generally recognized, and freely acknowledged, that to be a candidate for the Presidency on a capitalist ticket is a game for millionaires, plutocrats who would like to merge their corporate executive power with the executive power of the political government, which they now only partly and indirectly control. For to the plutocracy the meddling politicians are at best a nuisance that must be tolerated so long as the pretense of a working democracy is maintained. Being a millionaire's game, running for the Presidency on the ticket of either so-called major party (which matters not at all), obviously precludes the participation of poorer candidates unless backed by millions of dollars. In recent years the cost of campaigning has assumed astronomical proportions. A sidelight on the fantastic cost of campaigning for the Presidency was indicated in a recent article in the *New York Times* March 27, 1964. The *Times* writer, R.W. Apple, Jr., commented on the cost of Rockefeller's New Hampshire primary campaign, which the Rockefeller camp officially gave as \$97,863.74. Mr. Apple added: "But no one—inside or outside the Rockefeller camp—denies that the actual figure was many times that. What the cost would be if Mr. Rockefeller were nominated, and ran the sort of campaign he has done in the primaries, staggers the imagination."

Mr. Apple describes Mr. Rockefeller's national headquarters as covering—

"... more than 8,000 [actually 15,000] square feet of space on the fourth and fifth floors of the office building at 521 Fifth Avenue [New York City]. One hundred eleven full-time employees work there.

"In addition, there are sizable Rockefeller-for-President offices in Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Portland, Ore. During the New Hampshire campaign, there was a comparable headquarters in Concord."

The staunch Republican *Herald-Tribune* published a graph showing the setup of Rockefeller's headquarters (April 6, 1964). It looked like a graph of a major governmental department. "Nelson A. Rockefeller Candidate" is solitarily at the top, and below follow in descending order the names of directors, deputy directors, numerous committees and regional directors and assorted state directors that must cost the grandson of the oil emperor hundreds of thousands of dollars. But,

of course, Mr. Rockefeller is not buying the Presidency! Perish the naughty thought! It is said that 75 per cent of the funds being spent by the Rockefeller camp are being supplied by Rockefeller himself. His personal fortune is reported to be in "excess of \$150 million—perhaps as large as \$250 million."

In the light of the Rockefeller figures the Socialist Labor Party's \$200,000 campaign fund rates little more than the shiny dimes his sainted grandfather distributed among the "deserving poor" in one day! But to us, and eventually to the working class, the \$200,000 will mean infinitely more than the multimillions Mr. Rockefeller can command!

Like politicians, like Congress. How could it be otherwise since Congress is made up of politicians? Moreover, a political congress is as outmoded and socially useless as the stagecoach. The Congress is made up almost entirely of lawyers, which in itself is a serious handicap even if a political congress in our day served a useful purpose. In a letter to one Thomas Leiper, written in 1815, Thomas Jefferson gave vent to his disgust with the Congress of his day in these words:

"How can expedition be expected from a body [Congress] which we have saddled with an hundred lawyers whose trade is talking?"

How indeed?

At a later day the cherished Artemus Ward, in his unique English spelling, likewise recorded his contempt for this assembly of lawyer-politicians. Artemus Ward, whom De Leon referred to as the American Aristophanes, and whose works he praised as "an invaluable aid to the knowledge of the intellectual development of the population of the United States"—made this comment on the Congress of his day:

"Gentlemen of the Senit & of the House, you've sot there and draw'd your pay and made summer-complaint speeches long enuff. The country at large, incloodin' the undersined, is disgusted with you. Why don't you show us a statesman—sumbody who can make a speech that will hit the pop'lar hart right under the great Public weskit? Why don't you show us a statesman who can rise up to the Emergency and cave in the Emergency's head?

"Congress, you won't do. Go home, you mizzerable devils—go home!

"At a special Congressional 'lection in my district the other day I delib'ritly voted for Henry Clay. I admit that Henry is dead, but inasmuch as we don't seem to have a live statesman in our National Congress, let us by all means have a first-class corpse."

Even among the supporters of capitalism and its political institutions criticism is mounting over the corruption and inefficiency prevalent in both Houses. Speeches on important subjects are often de-



livered to but a few members, sometimes even without a quorum being present. Legislation is delayed or defeated through filibustering, and absenteeism is rampant, the politicians being away politicking, junketing, or "mending fences" back home. Jokes are cracked freely at the expense of Representatives and Senators alike. A recent one (which could be apocryphal!) is going the rounds. As told in a New York newspaper, it goes like this:

"The wife of former Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays suffered a broken arm when their Capitol Hill home was robbed last year. The other night his wife awakened him and told him she heard noises downstairs.

"'Brooks,' she said fearfully, 'I think there's a burglar in the house.'

"'No, dear,' he assured his wife, 'there may be a few in the Senate, but I'm sure there are none in the House.'"

The conservative Republican New York Senator Kenneth Keating exploded in a speech entitled "Congress on Trial," delivered in New York City on April 24. In part he said, as reported in his favorite Republican newspaper, the *Herald Tribune* (April 25, 1964):

"In the face of the most serious domestic and international problems, Congress dawdles and fiddles, frittering away weeks and months . . . fed up with traditions for shirking responsibility. . . .

"Congress is being discredited not by those working for reform, but by daily evidence of its incompetence for creative and responsible decision-making, by repeated exposures of conflicts of interests and other abuses, by its inability to deal efficiently even with the most routine housekeeping responsibilities."

The *New York Times*, Dec. 26, 1963, quoted the early 20th century American writer, Ambrose Bierce, as defining Congress as "A body of men who meet to repeal laws," and the editorial concluded:

"Congress has a constitutional obligation to function as the legislature; it can only do so by a thoroughgoing reform. At stake is nothing less than the respect of the American people for the Congress."

Respect? That has long gone with the wind!

This is the Congress that is supposed to be the "greatest deliberative body" in the world. These are the men who are constantly chipping away at what remains of our original democratic rights and civil liberties. This is the government which supposedly represents the people, but which in reality serves as the Executive Committee of the capitalist class. Shades of Jefferson, Madison and Lincoln!

And yet we hear voices raised in pity over the "paltry" salaries paid members of Congress. Such a voice is that of the President of Rutgers University in New Jersey, Mason W. Gross. As reported in

*The Record*, Hackensack, N.J., April 18, 1964, Mr. Gross "called it absolutely outrageous that United States Senators are paid less than \$100,000 a year"! Mr. Gross's thesis is that if you pay higher salaries you will get better politicians, following the practice of rich corporations—a thesis altogether worthy of a capitalist college professor! The gentleman overlooks the fact that Members of Congress are not hired as corporation executives are hired, but are chosen in their particular home districts, picked by run-of-the-mill politicians, and elected by uninformed state or local voters.

In increasing measure doubts are expressed concerning the possibility of reforming Congress. Of course, Congress is past reforming, not just because it is composed largely of venal lawyer-politicians, demagogues and assorted preachers of racial hatred and religious fanatics, who insist that this is a "Christian nation," which obviously it is not. These are but the reflection of the fast deteriorating and decaying capitalist political system. The palpable fact is that political government, the political State, is long since outmoded and rendered entirely useless, or worse, and completely incapable of managing social affairs for productive purposes in this super-technological age.

Among those who have expressed doubts as regards the political Congress serving useful, productive ends, is Walter Lippmann, who generally pontificates on the state of the world, and seldom gets anywhere. In a column a couple of years ago, *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1962, he did pose a valid question, though he did not attempt to answer it. He wrote:

"How can democratic government, which was conceived and established in a different era from this one, be made to fit for the crises, tempo and complexities of the modern age?"

Good question, Sir Walter, and the answer is that it cannot be done. It cannot be done since the political State is not designed for, nor capable of, conducting the processes of social production, just as a sewing machine is not designed to serve as a harvester in the field.

In the March, 1963, *Bulletin* of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions there is partly reproduced an address by John Cogley of that group in which that same question is raised. Pointing to the fact that "the means of communication [newspapers and magazines, etc.] keep falling into fewer and fewer hands," reducing or completely eliminating sources of information for the average person, and particularly information concerning governmental affairs, the speaker emphasized that "the important fact is that while we Americans are many times as numerous as we once were and necessarily confront vastly more complex problems, our sources of information and means



for popular participation in the democratic dialogue are being ever more limited."

He then asks:

"Are our problems so vast, the technical aspects of modern life so tricky, access to the facts so slight, and the necessary knowledge so elusive that American democracy will become simply a matter of living one's private life and turning over the management of the public sector completely to professionals? Is self-government being reduced to a formalism? Are 'we the people' no more than a remote board of overseers, preoccupied with our private pursuits while experts [and politicians] carry on our affairs and make momentous moral decisions for us?"

The point, of course, is that the producing class, the wage workers, can have no real interest in what goes on in Congress or at other levels of government. Not that they should not have an interest. But so far as the workers are concerned what happens in Washington has no relevancy to the things that are vital to them, their jobs, their economic problems, their means of making a living, etc. The fact is that except as a means of effecting the social revolution peacefully, present-day political democracy can have little meaning to the vast majority, the wage working class. They vote once a year for hand-picked candidates, whereas they should vote every day, or as often as necessary, in the shops or offices where their vital interests are at stake. As one of Founding Fathers so well put it: "Man is very much a creature of habit. A thing that rarely strikes his senses will generally have but little influence upon his mind. A government continually at a distance and out of sight can hardly be expected to interest the sensations of the people"—in our case, the working people.

If the capitalists are having troubles and problems at home, there is no end to them abroad. Wherever American capitalism extends its sway, explosive situations develop.

The so-called new nations, which are not nations in the proper sense but merely states (as we have pointed out before) more or less artificially contrived—these "nations" have become the battlegrounds of deadly contests between the imperialist powers, notably the United States and Soviet Russia, with China looming up menacingly. An increasing menace, too, is the France of de Gaulle—a megalomaniac possessed of delusions of grandeur and a Napoleonic complex, dreaming dreams of glory that obviously can assume no realistic substance in the atomic age. And Great Britain, receding into the historic twilight, is also dreaming of past glories when it was the mightiest nation on earth, but now little more than a poor relation of the rich Uncle Sam.

It is as clear as it possibly can be that these global contests have

nothing to do with national liberation, freedom and democracy. These are but empty catchwords used to mask imperialist designs and purposes. And the same holds true as regards the widening split between China and Soviet Russia, though the contest here is also masked by ideological declarations as to which is the true custodian of the grotesque thing called "Marxism-Leninism," which is neither Marxism nor essential Leninism. As always in imperialist struggles, the basic cause is economic—fierce trade rivalries and unceasing quests for control of areas containing rich, natural resources. In all of these struggles the plutocratic United States is deeply involved in every corner of the globe, pushing here, resisting there, and yielding where it must. And for these objectives American boys are fighting, giving their lives for the greater glory and profit of the mammoth corporations that control the destinies of this country. They are doing this in spite of the fact that there have been no formal war declarations. Under the Constitution, Congress alone has the power to declare war. By permitting the Executive to conduct undeclared wars, the members of Congress are thereby violating the oath they took to respect and uphold the Constitution. As Lowell satirically put it:

"Here we stan' on the Constitution, by thunder!

It's a fact o' which ther's bushils o' proofs;

For how could we trample on 't so, I wonder

Eff't worn't that it's ollers under our hoofs?"

Superficially there has been a thaw in the cold war with the Kremlin, but no one is under any illusions that this is anything but a truce necessitated by common danger. War in the traditional sense is ruled out—except by accident if someone pushes the wrong button—since it is recognized by both sides that a nuclear war means the destruction of each, and of civilization itself. When in September, 1949, it was revealed that Soviet Russia had achieved the A-bomb, the SLP—noting the American monopoly had served as a deterrent to war—made this comment:

"The disclosure of this fact . . . came with the terrific impact of a thunderbolt on the hitherto blustering American capitalists and politicians. . . . Fear for the moment succeeded aggressiveness as the capitalist counselor. It is in this sense that the A-bomb has acted as a deterrent to war—and not at all because the capitalist class has suddenly gone humanitarian and soft."

That the fear of a nuclear war has acted as a deterrent was dramatically demonstrated when plutocratic America and despotic Russia met in head-on collision in the October, 1962, crisis over Cuba. This was the closest mankind ever came to annihilation and global destruction. Just a year earlier the confidential adviser and counselor



of the plutocracy, Walter Lippmann, observed: "Whatever may be the Communist dream of the future, in the present the Soviet Union is by no means omnipotent, either for war or in peace. The Soviet Union is having to learn, as we, too, of course, are having to learn, that all power is relative, and that no one can have his way absolutely."

But when Mr. Lippmann recently said that Marxism is "a dying creed in Russia. . . because it doesn't fit the kind of industrialized modern economy that the Soviets have begun to develop," he was talking nonsense since a highly industrialized economy, whether in Russia or elsewhere, is precisely where Marxism "fits." He was also partly in error when he spoke of Marxism as a "dying creed" in Russia, since Marxism there "died" three or four decades ago, victim of the murderous Stalinist regime. And obviously there is no Marxism now in Russia.

But then Mr. Lippmann has never manifested any understanding of what Marxism is, and is therefore in no position to pass judgment on it. Indeed, over the decades he has frequently passed contradictory judgments on identical subjects, shifting from one position to its opposite, and always in a pontifical fashion. As the American humorist and one-time columnist, the late Don Marquis, quipped: "Walter Lippmann saves the country on Mondays and Wednesdays, and ruins it on Tuesdays and Thursdays, the rest of the week belonging to President [F.D.] Roosevelt to do what he likes with."

Mr. Lippmann, better, perhaps, than anyone else, fits Marx's appraisal of capitalism's "great intellects" when he (Marx) observed: "On the level plain, simple mounds look like hills; and the imbecile flatness of the present bourgeoisie [the capitalist class] is to be measured by the altitude of its great intellects."

Which just about sums up this "mound" of an intellect who is made to appear like a mountain—pardon, "hill"—on the flat level of the capitalist terrain!

The scene presented to us on the world's stage is one of utter chaos, confusion and social anarchy, where strut the manikins who, each in his own way, present solutions to the problems that beset mankind. Shakespeare, whose 400th anniversary this year is being commemorated all over the world, told us that—

"All the world's a stage.

And all the men and women merely players:

They have their exits and entrances;

And one man in his time plays many parts. . . ."

There are the Ultramontanes—the Roman Catholic political machine—working with cunning and patience for the day when they

hope to take over as partners under the industrial feudalism which they are aiding in introducing on the ruins of traditional capitalism, and on the ruins of the blasted hopes of mankind, if Socialism should fail to materialize.

There are the Birchites with whom the Catholic hierarchy works hand in glove, though generally in subterranean fashion. Recently we were treated to a performance by Boston's Cardinal Cushing, which highlights the hierarchy's purpose and methods. A couple of years ago Cardinal Cushing bestowed his blessing on the Birchite subversive group, praising its members as comrades in a common cause—the phony anti-Communism which is their stock in trade. The endorsement was contained in a letter to the founder of the Birch group, Robert Welch. It seems that the Birchites misused that letter, and so recently he retracted his endorsement over a radio station, saying in part: "In view of the extreme statements and articles printed or approved by this [Birchite] society in recent years, I could not in conscience endorse this organization nor would I be affiliated with it in any way."

That apparently opened the floodgates of protests from the Birchers and allied sinister elements, which must have scared the reactionary priest-politician, for within a week he retracted his retraction, sending profuse regrets to the Birchite leaders, apologizing for his "unjustified" criticisms, and again extending "all good wishes and kind regards" to them as their companion in arms against what he called the "atheistic Communist conspiracy."

A "close associate" of the Cardinal denied that "the two statements contradict one another. The first in my opinion still stands"! As always, the motto of the Jesuits applies: "The end justifies the means." The incident exemplifies the character and tactics of those who hide their political activities behind the mask of religion.

On the passing scene there is still a remnant of the once numerically strong "Socialist" party, so called, and its high priest, Parson Norman Thomas. Only the other day the wretched outfit, with assorted "liberals," met in conference in Washington, D.C., to listen to the ancient patriarch expound his fatuous and wearisome bourgeois-liberal creed. The latest added article in that creed (borrowing Senator Fulbright's idea) was explained by Mr. Thomas, viz., that "the time might come when it would be necessary to guarantee every American an adequate income whether he works or not." Mr. Thomas's suggestion is heartily "seconded" by the Cleveland Trust Company, which, according to the *New York Times*, April 29, 1964, made this comment on Sen. Fulbright's original proposal:

"The Cleveland Trust Company wonders whether it might be



cheaper to give 'unemployable' men a grant of \$3,000 a year rather than try to create jobs for them through a continued expansionary monetary policy that risks inflation."

Thus politician, bourgeois "Socialist" reformer, and banker, meet in happy unison to "grant" pay to workless workers! Unquestionably the millennium is right around the corner. This "meeting of minds" (and hearts) is no accident, since all have worked hard, and still do, for the preservation of capitalism.

Mr. Thomas is also stealing an old "plank" from the platform of the American Stalinists, who decades ago proclaimed as one of their objectives the guaranteeing to the workers "Work or Wages"! That is, either you work and receive no wages, or you receive wages and you don't work!

But this was not the only reminiscent suggestion of the idiocies of the earlier Stalinists. According to a newspaper report, *New York Times*, April 19, 1964, the conference met in the basement of a Memorial Temple—in short, it went "underground," as did the Kremlin stooges when they were aping the Bolsheviks even more than they do today.

To quote Shakespeare again: "Ah, how the poor world is pestered with such waterflies, diminutives of nature." Quick, Henry, the pesticide!

The World's Fair held this year and next in New York City reminds us, as did the World's Fair twenty-five years ago, of the promises and prospects held out to the citizens of the World of Tomorrow. Those of 1939 did not materialize—instead within a few months the bloodiest war in all history was unloosed to testify to the lies of the capitalist prophets, adding force to the Socialist indictment of capitalism. Again we shall be told of the wonders of the World of Tomorrow—of the capitalist Tomorrow, of course—and again cruel, bitter disappointments, and worse, will be recorded, barring the advent of Socialism.

We know what our Socialist World of Tomorrow will be like, and for that world we shall continue to labor unceasingly through the dark night of capitalism until dawn breaks, as break it must and will, lest universal permanent darkness descend upon us. As we said a quarter of a century ago when hopes ran high and the future beckoned:

In the Socialist World of Tomorrow we shall turn the ugly unsanitary workshops of the Capitalist World of Today into beautiful, sanitary production laboratories. The coal and iron (and other metals) will be mined under the greatest possible measures of safety and

sanitation with but a fraction of the daily labor time per individual now demanded of the exploited, poverty-stricken, danger-exposed miners. The same will be the case with those who are engaged in what now are called hazardous or strenuous occupations. The harder the work, the more "unpleasant" it may be, the shorter will be the required labor time, and yet with remunerations that will dwarf even the so-called well-paid useful producers of today. The lighter, the easier, the more pleasant, the work is under Socialism, the longer the hours may be, although even then they will be but a fraction of what they would be today under the most favorable conditions. If today men work eight hours a day, under Socialism they would work on an average of two or three hours a day, probably no more (possibly less) than six months a year, starting work at the age of 21 or 22, and retiring to a restful, carefree life at 45 or 50, with enjoyment of all the good things of life, which their labors have earned for them.

And in this our Socialist World of Tomorrow we shall know no such ridiculous thing as political government, based, as it is, on wholly arbitrary and artificial demarcations—especially arbitrary and artificial in the United States where not even differences in language justify the chopping up of a country that is almost a continent into 48 [now 50] utterly meaningless parts. Instead of political government, with politicians elected supposedly to represent with impartiality a heterogeneous constituency with conflicting material interests (a patent absurdity which in practice results in the ruling-class elements being in fact alone represented)—instead of such a political government of and by politicians, and for capitalist interests, we of the Socialist World of Tomorrow shall constitute a government democratically deriving its representation from *industry*, each industry being represented, from bottom up, by *workers* (useful producers) through gradually ascending deliberative and planning bodies, concerned with such practical things as the quantities and kind of useful things needed to insure an uninterrupted flow of the good things of life in abundance; the number of hours required for labor in the various industries; the proper distribution and exchange of the machinery and things of immediate consumption needed nationally and internationally, the erection of plants of production, of administration, education, etc., etc., as well as the building of dwellings for the happy denizens of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

Provision will also be made to supply the needed physical means to keep in continuous operation educational and recreational institutions, at the highest known and ascertainable standards. To provide, in short, for a society of high culture and all the leisure compatible with the particular stage in economic development. Given a social production machine [now many times multiplied by automation and



cybernation] capable of turning out use values in practically unlimited quantities, the work of such an *industrial administration* becomes in the main statistical and coordinating, apart, of course, from the cultural departments which require men and women especially trained in educational work and in cultural activities generally. Technologically, the endeavor will be to produce a maximum of the good things with a minimum of effort. Culturally, the endeavor will be to produce the highest type human being regardless of cost. In the Capitalist World of Today the primary consideration and question are: Does it pay? In our Socialist World of Tomorrow the chief question will be: Is it needed or desirable, and socially beneficial? And is the individuality of each safeguarded without sacrificing the blessings of cooperative effort? The rest is of little or no consequence.

In the language of Marx, in the Socialist World of Tomorrow man will remove the fetters trammeling his individuality, and develop all the rich capabilities of his species. And thus Socialism, the World of Tomorrow in the Marxian definition of the Socialist Labor Party, is the direct opposite of capitalism, both in its philosophy, its historical conception, and its economics, as well as in social form, governmental structure and productive purpose.

The true World of Tomorrow, though more beautiful than any dream dreamt by the seers and thinkers of the ages, is no mere idle dream, nor soap-bubble iridescence. It is based on the solid foundation of the present facts, and potentialities only prevented from becoming facts by reason of the trammels of the present worn-out system of capitalism. Its realization lies wholly within the present possibilities, its attainment entirely within the grasp of mighty, industrially organized labor!

Thus we greet the dawn—Socialism, the real, the true World of Tomorrow, where no slave will be found to bend a weary back, but where free men and free women, in noble and happy fellowship, shall stand erect, casting shadows that shall reach to the ends of the earth!

Fraternally submitted  
National Executive Committee,  
Socialist Labor Party,  
[signed] ARNOLD PETERSEN,  
National Secretary.

## Report of the Editor

To the Delegates of the 1964 National Convention of the SLP:

Greetings:

The report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE to a National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party is a time both for looking backward, for taking an assessment, so to speak, of what we have achieved, or failed to achieve, and for looking forward, for anticipating tasks and problems.

But the past, with its tumultuous and portentous events, and our interpretations of these events have been recorded. And while, in the light of hindsight, we may in some matters wish our emphasis had been shifted, on the whole we stand on the essential soundness of our analyses.

In this connection, I am thinking particularly of such climactic events as the Negro demonstrations in Birmingham and the assassination of President Kennedy as well as of other signal events of 1964.

All of you no doubt read the WEEKLY PEOPLE editorial in the issue of Dec. 7, 1963, on "The Assassination of President Kennedy." The editorial was written immediately after the tragic events in Dallas, Nov. 22-24, because it was deemed important that the Socialist Labor Party express itself promptly and explicitly, especially in its denunciation of violence. It appeared, therefore, in the very next issue which we put to press Nov. 27—three days later.

Among those who wrote to comment on the editorial was our veteran National Organizer, John P. Quinn. Because he had been scheduled to speak in San Francisco on the day of President Kennedy's funeral, and was required by the situation to express the Party's views on the assassination, he understood perhaps better than most the challenging nature of the task that had confronted the Editor and the necessity for thought, judgment and tactfulness of expression. In reply to his kind letter, the Editor said in part:

"Thank you very much for your letter of Dec. 12 on your reaction to the editorial on Kennedy's assassination. Reactions generally have been very favorable. I think the editorial accomplished just what we wanted it to.

"I wrote the editorial, but not alone: I had valuable assistance from Comrades Petersen and [Nathan] Karp, whose reactions I solicited at various times during the day and a half I spent on it. Both generously gave of their time whenever I asked for help. Both made suggestions for word changes and jotted down ideas that were



most helpful, most of which I incorporated. Then, of course, I had the inestimable assistance of De Leon, over whose brilliant editorials on McKinley's assassination I pored. It was the kind of assistance I have always had and with whose thinking I have sought an intimate relationship. Without De Leon's counsel, I think I would have left this demanding post long ago."

By De Leon's "counsel" I meant, of course, the help I have derived from his editorials and speeches in shaping my own thinking in dealing with this or that development. After all, history repeats itself again and again and the parallels one is able to find in the period in which De Leon was our great Editor are frequent.

There are minor aspects of our analysis and comment on the Birmingham demonstrations, and the events and developments that Birmingham set into motion, on which, in the light of hindsight, we would alter the emphasis. However, on no major aspects of this upheaval would we amend our views as they were recorded. Birmingham involved an exhibition both of capitalist-class brutality and what, despite its racial overtones, was essentially working-class courage. It was therefore heavily laden with emotion. We deemed it our task, however, in expressing SLP reactions, while not ignoring the Birmingham demonstrators' legitimate appeal to emotion, to keep the demonstrations in the perspective of the class struggle. We did this repeatedly, explicitly and emphatically.

In dealing with civil rights, we also deemed it important, as guidance for our readers, to differentiate clearly between *civil rights*, that is, the rights of citizens that are embodied in the U.S. Constitution—rights largely denied Negro citizens for a century—and the reform demands raised by various civil rights leaders and mingled confusedly with civil rights demands. For, while reformism is subject to Socialist criticism and attack, the SLP must never, by the careless expression of its spokesmen, be placed in the position of attacking, or seeming to attack, aspirations as legitimate and important as civil or constitutional rights.

We are also gratified to have completed a long-delayed project—"The Science of Socialism—A Home Study Course"—which began in the issue of Oct. 5, 1963, and was completed in the issue of Feb. 22, 1964. It is, of course, a work that has more than transient usefulness.

I now direct your attention to one or two of the tasks that face the Editorial Department in the future.

One of these deals with a problem confronting the Socialist Labor Party for which answers have still to be found. It is the problem, not just of attracting young people to the Socialist Labor Party—*young people are* being attracted in encouraging numbers—but of

bringing them into our ranks where they may participate in organization activity.

The problem, I think, has its roots in a situation that faces youth today, which is without precedent. Most youths become interested in the SLP while they are attending high school. They read our literature. They attend our study classes. I have had several attending classes for which I was instructor. These youths are frequently well grounded in Socialist fundamentals and completely convinced of the correctness of the Party's program. But then they go on to college. And here many of them find themselves in a situation that makes brutally exorbitant demands upon their time and energies. They are bedeviled by tests and the unscholarly cutthroat competition into which they are thrust. It is as though capitalism had conspired to keep them so completely occupied in making grades that they are left with little or no time for Socialism. It isn't that they lose their interest. Or even that they stop reading; I know several who still read the WEEKLY PEOPLE regularly and with great interest. But college today seems to have the effect of subtly reorienting their life interest. Where once they rightly saw themselves as active organizational De Leonists, in college they tend to adjust to the role of sympathizer.

I do not mean to suggest that sympathizers are not wanted or needed. We all know how important the support is that we get from our staunch nonmember adherents. But we all know, too, how very much we need youth replacements in our Party ranks to carry on the organizational work.

What we should do about this, what we can do about it, I don't know. Perhaps others are giving it some thought and have suggestions to make. Or perhaps they will start thinking about it now. In any case, it seems to me that serious thought must be given to the problem. In so far as it can do so, the WEEKLY PEOPLE is trying to hold up to youth the supremely vital nature of the Socialist Labor Party's mission, as well as the importance of youth's participating in the Party's work. We expect to concentrate more effort on our "Youth Wants the Truth" column and hope that we may interest one of the Party's contributors to take over this feature.

Perhaps, though, the solution to this problem will be provided by developments. The time is obviously not far distant when there will be surpluses of scientists and engineers, and this should shake college students out of their submissive acceptance of intellectual rat-race conditions.

This is a year of anniversaries, most of which offer the opportunity to review important social and labor history in the WEEKLY



PEOPLE. The WEEKLY PEOPLE has already noted the quadricentennial of the birth of Galileo, and it will likewise utilize the quadricentennial of Shakespeare's birth in a future issue. Then there is the half century anniversary of the first of capitalism's global wars, the prehistory of which sheds no little light on developments in our own day.

Finally, we will note the centennial of the founding of the First International on Sept. 28. The first international organization of class-conscious workers was created in response to a need for the coordination of the Socialist movement in various countries and to block the designs of capitalist exploiters in use of imported labor for strikebreaking purposes. But its immense significance derives from the notable roles of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in its organization and conduct. We look forward to printing a review of the famous meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London, at which the International Workingmen's Association was launched, and to reprinting Marx's celebrated "Inaugural Address" as well as other illuminating documents.

#### Conclusion

The WEEKLY PEOPLE will continue to reflect a mood of justifiable hope. It will continue to put emphasis on the objective conditions that foreshadow increasing capitalist chaos and eventual collapse. And it will ceaselessly stress the view that the working class, however beset by apathy and division, will be compelled, ultimately, to wake up to its class interests, and organize to act accordingly.

There are, of course, plenty of arguments to support the contrary view, the view that holds, pessimistically, that all is lost already, that the working class is hopelessly divided and corrupted, and that a man is a fool to spend his life trying to bring to birth a decent world.

We have no crystal ball, and the future cannot be coaxed or enticed into revealing itself. But we do know this: What we do today, how we deport ourselves collectively and individually, will play a role, in all probability a decisive role, in determining what the future will be. And if we keep in focus the objective conditions that Marxian science reveals to us, the conditions that spell "revolution," our posture will be affected thereby.

"The nearness or remoteness that a man sets to the triumph of the proletarian revolution determines that man's posture," wrote the illustrious De Leon, "it determines his every act. In the measure that he considers success to be within reach, he will display intrepidity and abnegation; in the measures that he considers success to be far

away he will be self-centered. his thoughts will run upon his own safety and comfort."

Our movement needs men and women of intrepidity and abnegation. We have immensely difficult tasks ahead of us, tasks no other organization with so limited resources would even consider undertaking. But we will, and, given the same intrepid support we have come to expect of members of the fighting SLP, we shall complete them, too.

De Leon said: "The law of all revolution—and this is especially applicable to the revolution that is to emancipate the working class from the yoke of wage slavery—is *intrepidity*. In the language of Danton—'Audacity, more audacity, still more audacity!' Or if, due to the proverbial excitability of the Frenchman, a Danton's language be mistrusted as unreliable, then let us take the warning of the soberer, yet inspired Shakespeare:

"'Our doubts are traitors,  
And make us lose the good we  
oft-might win,  
By fearing to attempt.'"

Fraternally submitted,  
ERIC HASS  
Editor.



## APPENDIX

### Platform of the Socialist Labor Party

Humanity stands today on the threshold of a new social order. The old order—capitalism—is doomed; it is an outmoded system charged with fatal inner contradictions.

On the one hand, since World War II, there have come into being productive industrial and scientific forces which no former epoch in human history ever experienced. On the other hand, there exist unmistakable symptoms of social anarchy, dissolution and decay. "Everything seems pregnant with its contrary." Automated machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of freeing mankind from want and arduous toil, becomes a menace, intensifying the insecurity of the workers.

It is a grim and portentous fact that for the mass of mankind, that is, for the wage workers who perform the mental and manual labors of society, the future never loomed more threateningly. At the very time when, because of the great upsurge in population, youths are pouring into the labor market in unprecedented numbers, automation is wiping out jobs at the rate of more than 2,000,000 a year. And there is every evidence that this rate will rise as new automation techniques and systems, already completed and tested, spread through America's offices and factories.

President Johnson has attested that by 1970 "this country, because of increased productivity, will be able to match the output of the 1960s with 20 million fewer workers."

Against this bleak background, the antipoverty "wars" recently declared by the politicians of both major parties—to the accompaniment of much self-glorification—are exposed as hypocritical exercises in utter futility.

The forces under capitalism that breed poverty and that make the lives of workers more insecure, are in the ascendant. Therefore, reform attempts at lessening poverty must inevitably fail.

In opposition to the capitalist politicians with their phony antipoverty "wars," the Socialist Labor Party proposes a plan, not for lessening poverty, but for its total abolition. We present a summary of the plan here and earnestly urge its serious consideration by all thoughtful voters.

In all previous epochs of human history poverty for the mass of the people was inescapable. There was simply not enough to go around. It was unavoidable that some should suffer deprivation in order that others might have the freedom from want and the leisure in which to develop science and culture.

Not so today. The most luminous fact of our age is this: *There is no longer any excuse whatever for the involuntary poverty of a single member of society.* Material conditions have changed so radically that, far from insufficiency, there is today the material possibility of abundance for everyone, and the promise of leisure in which to enjoy it.



Accordingly, today—right now—the material foundations exist for a world of general affluence, cooperation and social harmony, which is to say, for a Socialist world. In this world, all the means of production, distribution and social services will be socially owned and democratically controlled and administered in the interest of all society. The insane contradiction of poverty in the midst of plenty will be completely eliminated. Private profit, as the objective of human endeavor, will be abolished. Instead, every decision will be determined by human needs and human desires. The ugly, unsanitary workshops of capitalism will be turned into pleasant, sanitary production laboratories. Factories will be designed and constructed to insure the greatest possible measure of safety, health and efficiency.

Work itself will cease to be an ordeal in tedium, a spiritless repetition of motions for someone else's profits. Whenever possible tasks that are hazardous or strenuous will be mechanized. Where this is not possible, special dispensations will be made, such as shorter hours of work for those performing these tasks. Meanwhile, in this Socialist world, the working day, week and year for everyone will be cut to a fraction of what it is today.

The whole concept of work will undergo drastic change. Education, emancipated from the anti-intellectual conditions and restrictions of capitalism, will be greatly expanded and revolutionized. Every youth will have the widest possible opportunity to develop all his potentialities for living fully, cooperatively and constructively.

In this Socialist world all who per-

form useful work will receive, directly and indirectly, all that they produce. And this will be the equivalent of several times the average income of workers today.

In our Socialist world, democracy will be a vibrant, meaningful reality, not the mask for economic despotism that it is today. There will be no such ridiculous thing as a political government based as today, on wholly arbitrary and artificial demarcations. (Some of our state boundaries were determined by a king's grant two and a half centuries ago; they are meaningless in the industrial age!) To administer social production in the interests of the people we need an *industrial democracy*, a government based on industrial constituencies.

In this society there will be no capitalist masters, and no political or bureaucratic masters either. We will vote where we work, electing our representatives to administrative and planning bodies on an ascending scale. But not this: The people whom we elect to administrative posts will have the privilege to serve, never the power to rule. For the same rank and file that elect them will have the power to recall and replace them at will.

Unlike the politicians of capitalism who spend their time pulling the wool over the eyes of the workers, the democratically elected administrators and planners of Socialism will be concerned with such practical things as what and how much to produce to insure an uninterrupted flow of the good things of life in abundance; the number of working hours required in the various industries; the erection of plants of production and of educational, health and

recreational facilities; the development of new technology; the disposition of machinery; the erection of new housing in the proper places; the de-pollution of streams and lakes; the conservation of resources and the restoration of the natural environment and its preservation in perpetuity.

All that stands in the way of this heaven on earth, a world in which all may enjoy good housing, abundant and nourishing food, the finest clothing, and the best of cultural, educational and recreational advantages, is the outmoded capitalist system.

This is no exaggeration. Nor merely a beautiful dream. It is based on the solid foundation of present facts. Automation, the supreme triumph of technology, has brought this heaven on earth within our reach. Yet, privately owned, as are all productive instruments under capitalism, automation is a blessing only to the capitalist owners; for workers—white collar and blue collar alike—it is a curse, a job-killer, which adds terrifying dimensions to their insecurity and suffering.

Thus the question we face comes down to this: In the words of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas: "*When the machine displaces man and does most of the work, who will own the machines and receive the rich dividends?*"

The American Constitution, in effect, legalizes revolution. The right to alter or abolish the social system and form of government is implicit in Article V, the Constitution's amendment clause. The Socialist Labor Party proposes to the American workers that we use our huge majorities at the polls to outlaw capi-

talist ownership and to make the means of social production the property of all the people collectively.

The Socialist Labor Party proposes further that we workers consolidate our economic forces on the industrial field in one integral Socialist Industrial Union to back up the peaceful Socialist ballot with an irresistible and invincible might capable of taking and holding the industries, locking out the outvoted capitalist class, if it defies the victory at the ballot box, and continuing social production without interruption.

The Scottish essayist and historian, Thomas Carlyle, is credited with the following statement: "We must some day, at last and forever, cross the line between Nonsense and Common Sense. And on that day we shall pass from Class Paternalism . . . to Human Brotherhood. . . ; from Political Government to Industrial Administration; from Competition in Individualism to Individuality in Cooperation; from War and Despotism, in any form, to Peace and Liberty."

We must cross that line some day—why not now? Repudiate the Republican and Democratic parties, the political Siamese twins of capitalism—and reject also the self-styled "radicals" and "liberals" whose platforms consist of measures to reform and patch up the poverty-breeding capitalist system, which is past reforming and patching. Study the Socialist Labor Party's Socialist Industrial Union program. Support the Socialist Labor Party's entire ticket at the polls. Unite with us to save humanity from catastrophe—and to set an example in free industrial self-government for all mankind, in affluence and enduring peace!



## Resolution on Civil Rights

The Socialist Labor Party of America has a record of more than 70 years of scientific integrity on the subjects of race and class. Long ago it adopted the Marxian motto, "Working men of all countries, unite!" as its own. "Capitalism has ever striven to keep the workers divided," wrote the great American Marxist, Daniel De Leon. "Without division in their ranks capitalism could not and cannot preserve its rule of human ruination. Nothing was more effective to that end than the fomenting of racial animosities and racial conceit. These means capitalism employed. The successful use thereof has kept labor a dislocated giant. The Marxian motto at once uncovers that tactical policy of iniquity and indicates the opposite tactical policy with which to meet it; it states the poison and furnishes the antidote."

Against this history of enlightened opposition to race prejudice and race discrimination, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled on this 4th day of May, 1964, presents its appraisal of the civil rights movement now absorbing the energies of hundreds of thousands of our fellow workers, and declares:

Sooner or later, and far better sooner than later, the American workers, whatever their racial origin, must face the grim realities of the capitalist economic system. They must re-examine the civil rights movement in the perspective of the outmoded capitalist system.

First, what is the civil rights movement? What is its objective? What are its prospects?

Any appraisal of civil rights in 1964 must begin with the candid observation that the movement is fragmented. It is confused. The various civil rights groups are not united on a clearly understood goal. Although these groups make a variety of specific demands upon city administrations, school boards, labor unions and selected corporations, civil rights are usually discussed in broad, rather vague and grandiose terms, such as "freedom now" and "equal rights for Negroes." But "freedom" means many things to many people, and "equal rights" under capitalism, at best, can only mean equal rights in continued misery and wage slavery.

Moreover, the demand for "civil rights" has different connotations in the South than it has in the North. In the South, the demand focuses primarily on the right to vote and the right to eat, sleep, travel, enjoy entertainment, be educated, etc., freed of the disabilities of racial segregation. These are the demands embodied in the hotly debated "public accommodations" section of the civil rights bill now before the United States Senate.

But in the North, where the right to vote is conceded, where there is no segregation on buses, and where generally no one takes the

slightest notice when Negroes sit beside whites in public lunchrooms and in theaters, the main focus, apart from demands for the integration of de facto segregated schools, and for better housing, is jobs.

In the North, in short, the civil rights movement comes nearest to reflecting the pregnant fact that, behind the pattern of discrimination in this country, there is an *economic* or *labor* question.

This fact was underscored when the struggle against racial discrimination in the U.S. received its first great impetus in World War II. Ironically, this impetus traces, not to moral enlightenment, but to ruling class material interests. U.S. capitalism needed the cooperation of racial minorities, especially of Negroes, in the war effort. Military expediency alone forced reactionary and racist-minded militarists reluctantly to take steps aimed at ending segregation in the armed services. For similar reasons of expediency, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee and forbidding government contractors to discriminate against workers "because of race, color or national origin." Thus the way was opened for Negroes and other minorities for employment in America's speeded-up wartime industries.

But capitalism is "at its best" only when it is at its worst. It can give workers the dubious security of "full employment" only when the market for its output is war. Even before World War II had ended, the reactionary unions were making "layoff plans." Under the unions' seniority rules the last hired would be the first fired. Negroes thus would be the first to get the ax. They protested and urged that seniority rules be adjusted to maintain the wartime proportion of Negro to white workers. But, in union after union, the white majority resisted the proposal for the obvious reasons that it would lessen their own chances of employment.

At the time, the Socialist Labor Party said: "Both methods [seniority and proportional layoffs] favor one group of workers against another. Both nourish the illusion among the favored workers that they have some sort of proprietary interest in their jobs. Both are premised on acceptance of the capitalist system. But it is the capitalist system that is responsible for involuntary idleness. A real solution for the problem of jobs, therefore, presupposes the abolition of capitalism. Seniority and proportional layoffs both tend to divide the workers and obscure the goal."

The struggle being waged today by means of demonstrations, picketing, sitins, etc., is a continuation and enlargement of the job-rivalry that came to a head at the time of the post-World War II layoffs. The civil rights groups now demand "proportional" hiring. And, in view of the century that has elapsed since Negroes were supposed to enjoy constitutionally guaranteed civil rights, they demand



"preferential" hiring.

This brings us to the question: What are the movement's prospects for success? Is there any chance at all that Negroes may win preferential hiring? If so, will this solve Negro unemployment?

On one point there is no doubt. The civil rights movement has had spectacular success—for the time being—in ending unemployment in certain categories of Negroes holding college degrees. "Perhaps the most sought after engineering graduates of all," said the *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 1964, "are high-ranking students who also happen to be Negroes." As Negro college graduates observe with caustic humor, the corporations, eager to improve their "image," want college-trained Negroes "to sit near the door."

But for the overwhelming majority of Negro and other so-called nonwhite workers, who have no college degrees, employment successes have not made so much as a dent in the jobless mass. Indeed, as every informed civil rights worker knows, the successes, though important to the few individuals who are benefited, are statistically infinitesimal. Unemployment of Negroes was more than twice that of whites. It still is.

We repeat, sooner or later the civil rights movement must be re-examined against the perspective of capitalist realities. And the first reality that must be faced is this: *Capitalism has no solution for mass unemployment. It cannot prevent unemployment from growing as job-killing automation spreads in America's offices and industries. Therefore, it is sheer wishfulness to imagine that, as unemployment generally rises, Negro unemployment will not also rise!*

With all the earnestness we possess we urge our fellow workers of all so-called races and creeds to *think this problem through*. If we fail to think the problem through, if instead we persist in seeking solutions within the prejudice-, poverty-, and unemployment-breeding capitalist system, the bitter competition for jobs will inevitably become ferocious and violent, and the hate atmosphere will grow in virulence.

And the capitalist class, which cares not a whit whether the surplus value on which it fattens is wrung from workers whose hides are black or workers whose hides are white, will know its criminal system is secure.

On the other hand, if we *do* think the problem through, if we accept the plain logic of the situation and acknowledge that in this automated age the condition for *all* workers is bound to worsen, then we may begin the task of reconstructing society and bringing to birth a world of affluence and social harmony.

Once, through classconsciousness, the barriers of prejudice are torn down and labor's *class* interests are given primacy, political and economic unity will follow. With our huge working class majority we

may then outlaw capitalist ownership at the polls and make all the industries, social services and land the property of society to be administered in the interests of all the people. Having rid society of the incubus of outmoded capitalism we may proceed to reorganize production on a sane and sensible basis, with all sharing the bountiful fruits of labor which modern technology makes possible.

Socialism, a humane society, with economic opportunity for all under a system of genuine industrial democracy, is the only conceivable way out of this nightmare of class rule. And the Socialist Labor Party alone has a program for reaching this society of freedom, abundance for all, peace and social harmony.

Therefore, we appeal to all workers, and to all other forward-looking citizens, to support the Socialist Labor Party ticket at the polls in this campaign and to give impetus to this cause of working class and human emancipation.

## Resolution on Automation

*"The moment of truth on automation is coming—a lot sooner than most people realize. The shattering fact is that the U.S. is still almost totally unprepared for the approaching crisis."*

This solemn warning comes, not from a Socialist, not from anyone connected with labor, but from the most conservative capitalist source imaginable—the Research Institute of America, Inc., one of the largest business research organizations in the world, with a staff of 600 and an annual budget of \$5 million. It is part of a confidential report issued Dec. 7, 1963, to the institute's 30,000 member firms. It therefore represents inside capitalist information. As such, it should command from every thoughtful worker the most serious consideration.

One of the report's key paragraphs attacking "wishful thinking on automation," reads:

*"First fact to grasp: Automation has just BEGUN to bite in. Up to now, techniques have been in the process of development; today, the major systems*

*are complete. From this point on, they'll be spreading rapidly. The effect will be revolutionary on everything from office & plant to society itself."* (The Institute's emphasis.)

This warning should be read in conjunction with a prediction of President Lyndon B. Johnson. By 1970, Mr. Johnson wrote in the *Journal* of the National Education Association—

*... this country, because of increased productivity, will be able to match the output of the 1960s with 22 million fewer workers.* (New York "Times," Jan. 3, 1964.)

The warning should also be read together with the widely publicized statement of Mr. John I. Snyder, Jr., president and chairman of the board of U.S. Industries, Inc., manufacturers of automation equipment, that automation is wiping out jobs at the rate of 40,000 a week, or more than 2,000,000 a year, a figure that was echoed in January, 1964, by the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

With all the earnestness it can sum-



mon, the Socialist Labor Party of America, an organization of serious-minded men and women with a history of more than 70 years of integrity and experience in the scientific analysis of problems affecting the working class, urges all workers of all races, white-collar as well as blue-collar, to heed this warning.

Think! Consider how the impending spread of job-killing automation may affect you, your family and your class. Consider the kind of world it threatens to create. If you reflect on this, we are confident you will weigh seriously the proposals the Socialist Labor Party makes for transforming automation from a curse that threatens to shatter the lives and hopes of tens of millions of workers, into a blessing for all mankind.

There is nothing new or novel about unemployment. It is an evil that has beset the workers since the dawn of the capitalist era. Capitalism has always had what Karl Marx called an "industrial reserve army" to fill its labor needs in periods of capital expansion. And it is accepted by U.S. capitalism today that even in the best of times it is "normal" for four per cent of the workers to be unemployed. It is a matter of record that as each capitalist boom collapsed, to be followed by months and years of capitalist depression, great masses of workers have been plunged into the hell of joblessness.

All this is the logical fruit of the capitalist economic system, of a system, that is, in which production is carried on for the profit of a relatively small class of capitalists who own the industries and services. The overwhelming majority of the people, the workers of

brain and brawn, must sell their labor power to the capitalists as a commodity in order to live. But when the capitalists cannot use the workers' labor power profitably for themselves they will not buy it. Unemployment, therefore, is an inherent characteristic of capitalism.

Similarly, *technological* unemployment, the displacement of workers by machines, has been going on in a greater or lesser degree ever since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century. What is different about the situation today is the speed and magnitude of impending labor displacement, and the fact that automation will hit workers in all industries, and in offices and laboratories as well as factories and mines.

There is also another significant difference. In the past, when workers lost their jobs to machines in one industry, sooner or later they found employment in another. Very few of the workers victims of job-killing automation will ever find "steady" employment again. For this time technology will create something new — a *massive* army of *permanently* unemployed and unemployed workers.

Capitalism has no solution for the problem it has thus created. A U.S. Senate subcommittee on Manpower and Unemployment recently took what its chairman, Senator Joseph S. Clark, described as "the first comprehensive look by a Senate or House committee at the long-range employment and manpower utilization problems of our country." Asked by the magazine *Iron Age*, "What single theme has emerged from these hearings so far?" the Senator replied:

The most obvious theme is that we don't

have the answer to continuing and, I'm afraid, massive unemployment in our country. As a result of a number of factors, including a substantial increase in the population, we're going to have a constantly expanding labor force.

At the same time, the combination of automation and cybernation—or the application of the principle of the computer to an automated assembly line—is going to increase substantially the number of jobs required to achieve a given level of production. This will occur not only in the blue collar and industrial occupations but also in the white collar and service occupations. ("Iron Age," Aug. 22, 1963.)

In the capitalist premises there is nothing, absolutely nothing, that can prevent the "massive unemployment" that Clark predicts.

It is futile to expect anything from the present unions. First of all, the present unions accept the capitalist system as a finality and have, in fact, become mere agencies for negotiating an orderly liquidation of the workers' jobs. Most of the union leaders have helped the capitalists spread the falsehood that in the long run automation makes jobs. Only recently have some of the capitalist-minded union leaders, faced with the massive loss of dues-paying members, exhibited apprehension. Thus, in discussing the frequently voiced claim that "automation can be a blessing, or it can be a curse," George Many, president of the AFL-CIO, told the annual convention of that body, Nov. 14, 1963:

There is no element of blessing in it. It is rapidly becoming a real curse to this society. When you study what's happening, you realize that this is a real threat. This could bring us to a national catastrophe. Every big corporation in America is in a mad race to produce more and more with less and less labor without any feeling as to what it may mean to the whole national economy.

In the capitalist premises there is not a chance in the world that the "catas-

trophe" of massive unemployment can be averted. "Automation," said the *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank, November, 1962, "represents the quintessence of capitalism, the ultimate in the investment of money to get the biggest product out of human effort." And profit, which comes from the surplus value created by labor, remains the great and primary motivation of capitalist production.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled on this 4th day of May 1964, reminds the American workers that it is not automation as such that threatens them with degradation and misery in permanent unemployment; it is capitalism's use of automation for the purpose of increasing profit. If the industries and services are owned by society, which is to say, by all the people collectively, and if they are administered democratically by the workers' own industrial union councils, then automation will become an unqualified blessing for it will be employed in the people's interest. The abolition of poverty, the production of an abundance for all with the leisure in which to enjoy it—these can be the blessed fruit of science and technology once industry is freed of the incubus of private ownership.

The Socialist Labor Party urges upon American workers with renewed vigor the necessity and urgency of organizing politically and industrially on class lines—politically under the banner of revolutionary Socialism to outlaw capitalist ownership and economically in one integral Socialist Industrial Union to enforce the Socialist ballot by taking, holding and operating the industries. Only by replacing unemployment-breed-



ing capitalism with Socialism will automation cease to be a curse and become

the tamed and willing servant of all the people.

## Resolution on Poverty

Nineteen sixty-four will go down in the annals as the year when *poverty* was "discovered" in America. For many years the capitalist press belabored the theme that ours was an "affluent society," a veritable "people's capitalism," in which there was a "leveling up" of the incomes of the poor and a "leveling down" of the incomes of the rich. Arthur F. Burns, President Eisenhower's chief economic adviser, called the alleged redistribution of income "one of the great social revolutions of history." Everywhere, the myth was encouraged that poverty, if not completely eliminated, was disappearing rapidly. But now, behold, poverty—massive, grinding poverty, which has in fact been with us all the time (visible, yes *conspicuous* to all who did not wear the blinders of capitalist mythology) — has suddenly been "discovered"!

Actually, the "discovery" of poverty was made in 1960 when the Democratic candidate for President, the late John F. Kennedy, stated that 17,000,000 Americans were going to bed hungry every night. The declaration struck a rich vein of votes. In the bleak, scarred hills of West Virginia and Kentucky, in the slum ghettos of the great cities, in millions of American homes festering in mind-, body- and spirit-crushing poverty, Kennedy's political promises of help for the poor fanned a spark of hope. There is little doubt Kennedy's shrewd use of the poverty theme was an important factor in his winning the Presidency.

One of President Lyndon B. Johnson's first political acts was to stake his claim to this vein of voting gold. In his State of the Union message to Congress Jan. 8, 1964, Mr. Johnson declared "a conditional war on poverty in America. Alas! Once the President's program was spelled out, with its accent on labor camps for jobless youth, labor retraining, urban renewal, area redevelopment, work relief, loans to farm families, etc., it became apparent that the vaunted antipoverty "war" was nothing but a feeble resurrection of New Deal-Fair Deal reform nostrums dressed up in the "humanitarian" jargon of 1964.

To put it bluntly, the "war" on poverty is a cruel and cynical hoax. It will accomplish nothing toward ending poverty, nor will it prevent poverty from spreading as automation wipes out even more jobs. The reason is quite simple. The "war" on poverty deals with *effects*; it ignores the *cause* of this life- and happiness-blighting evil.

Once, during the centuries of scarcity it could be argued that poverty was unavoidable, that there just wasn't enough to go around. But that argument won't do in today's world of superabundance. Today, because of phenomenal improvements in technology—and a corresponding increase in the productivity of labor—we have the material conditions to produce an abundance of all the good things of life for every man, woman and child in the country, with productive capacity to spare.

Why, then, despite the material pos-

sibility for ending poverty, does poverty persist? Why is an *increasing* part of our population ground down in squalor and misery?

For the answer to these questions we must take a close and searching look at the economic system under which we live.

The first fact that leaps into focus when we examine the capitalist system is this: All of the industries and services, with their fabulous automated equipment, are the private property of a tiny minority of the population—the capitalist class. And social production is carried on, not for use, not to satisfy human needs, but to make profits for these capitalist owners.

The second fact is that the million-mass majority of the people, the non-owners of industry, are the economic dependents of the capitalists. They can live only by selling their labor power (ability to work) to the capitalists as a commodity. Whether it is by the hour, day or week, the American workers march into the factories, mines, mills, offices and laboratories, etc., to expend their brain- and muscle-power in the production of mountains of wealth that the capitalists (who perform no economically useful function, but merely own) straightway appropriate. And for this the workers receive (if they are lucky) a mere living wage.

It should be clearly understood that whether one works predominantly with his muscle or with his brains, in so-called "work clothes" or in a neatly pressed suit, white shirt and tie, and whether he lives in the slums or in suburbia, *if he must sell his labor power to the capitalists in order to live*, he is part of the despoiled working class of

America.

Admittedly, there are today tens of millions of workers who do not count themselves in the category of the poverty-stricken. Many of these foolishly imagine they are secure in their jobs. But the truth is that the whole working class exists on or near the ragged edge—so near that it would take no more than a severe illness or prolonged unemployment of the "breadwinner" to use up their reserves and thus push them into the abyss.

Moreover, all workers are subject to the vicissitudes of wage slavery, of displacement by machines, or loss of jobs as a result of selfishly motivated capitalist decisions to merge, close down production, move plants to other cities and states, or even to liquidate. For it is a fact that in this "best of all possible systems" the capitalists have the terrifying power to wreak havoc upon the lives of their employees, shatter their dreams, and plunge them into misery and despair.

Malicious capitalist propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the rising relief rolls in America are not due to shiftlessness among the unemployed. The capitalists cry "sloth" and charge the poverty-stricken with "lack of ambition" in order to divert attention from the real culprit—the outmoded, poverty-breeding economic system! If they can convince enough people that the poor are to blame for their own poverty, capitalist property and privilege are safe.

A disproportionate number of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other so-called nonwhites are among the very poor. This has tended to create the illusion that they are poor because they have colored skins whereas in fact they are



poor because they are workers. Poverty is, of course, inevitably the badge of workers. It is an affliction, one that tends to bear most heavily upon workers who are victims of prejudice and discrimination.

But prejudice and discrimination are the bitter, logical fruit of competitive and exploitative capitalism. When, for example, there are more workers than jobs—a chronic condition in this era of capitalist decadence—it is inevitable that the dominant worker majority, especially when this majority is job-conscious rather than classconscious, will seek to monopolize the labor market. It happens that the majority of workers have white skins and it is the colored racial minorities who are excluded, at least from better-paying jobs. But if the reverse were true, if the majority of workers had colored skins and the minority were whites, white workers would be facing the same dilemma the Negro workers do today. In either case, wherever there is a climate of job competition, prejudice and racial myths thrive. Racism is used as a pretext for discrimination.

Capitalism breeds race prejudice as garbage breeds maggots. On the other hand, race prejudice is a great asset to the capitalist class because it serves as a wall between the workers, preventing them from uniting as a class to abolish poverty for workers of *all* races by abolishing the poverty-breeding capitalist system.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled in the City of New York on this 4th day of May, 1964, declares that, despite the disproportionate suffering of workers with colored skin, *poverty under capi-*

*talism is an affliction of the working class*, and must be so recognized if the evil is to be banished from all our lives. The Socialist Labor Party warns that as automation, still in its infancy, spreads through American offices, factories and fields, unemployment and poverty will shatter the dreams and ruin the lives of tens of millions of workers, regardless of their race, color or creed.

The only possible solution to poverty is for workers of every race, color and creed, and at every level of industry, to unite as a class for a fundamental reorganization of society along Socialist lines—that is, along lines that place ownership and control of the land and industries in the people collectively, replacing production for sale and profit with a system of production for use democratically administered.

The Socialist Labor Party calls upon the workers to organize politically to use the ballot effectively in order to accomplish the change from capitalism to Socialism in an orderly and peaceful way. Moreover, we call upon them to consolidate their industrial might into one integral Socialist Industrial Union to back up the Socialist victory at the ballot box by taking, holding and operating the industries in the interest of all society, thus establishing the Industrial Republic of Free and Affluent Labor.

Finally, we appeal to *all* workers to repudiate the politicians with their phony humanitarianism and antipoverty "wars," and to join with the Socialist Labor Party in proclaiming that the time has come to place the evil of need-less poverty beside cannibalism in the horror museum of history by terminating the rule of the poverty-breeding capitalist system.

## Resolution on the International Situation and International Socialism

Twenty years after the end of World War II, and 18 years after the signing of the United Nations Charter, the international situation presents a picture of chaos, conflict and social dissolution.

Within the so-called Communist camp the illusion of monolithic unity is being shattered. Each of the two bureaucratic State despotisms, Russia and China, charges the other with the betrayal of "Marxism-Leninism." On the surface the shrill and acrimonious exchanges between Peking and Moscow appear to be evidence of deep ideological differences. The appearance is an illusion. What we are witnessing is not basically a controversy over "interpretations" of "Marxism-Leninism," but the initial stages of imperialist rivalry between two giant bureaucratic despotisms, each of which masquerades as the champion of the exploited and the oppressed. Both have ambitions to expand their influence and power into the world's vast underdeveloped areas. The pretension of ideological differences is but a mask for conflicting material interests.

Simultaneously, the economic conflicts among the Western capitalist nations are breaking through the illusion of basic common interests created by the NATO alliance. The tremendous industrial expansion in Europe, especially in the Common Market nations, and the vigorous economic offensive these nations have waged (and are waging) for world markets, are seriously challenging American capitalism for the spheres of influence and markets of the world. De Gaulle's France is especially aggressive, not only in its efforts at regaining

markets in Southeast Asia but also in its drive for markets in Latin America. France and the other capitalist powers in the NATO alliance, as well as Japan in the Pacific, are now being inexorably driven by the economic compulsions inherent in the capitalist system to expand their foreign trade.

Thus, the industrial and commercial rivalries between these imperialist capitalist powers that twice in this century have culminated in world wars once again are sowing the seeds that threaten to sprout into international wars.

While economic and political rivalries *within* the camps of the East and West grow fiercer, the cold war *between* the East and West imperialisms continues unabated, still posing the awesome threat of nuclear catastrophe. The agreement between Russia, Britain and the United States to suspend atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons, and the subsequent decision to establish a "hot line" between Washington and Moscow, have tended to create the widespread impression that the cold war tensions have been relaxed, creating a false sense of security. Such agreements leave completely untouched the underlying economic and material causes of imperialist strife. They do not and cannot prevent new crises from developing as the contradictions within and between both camps grow more acute. In short, despite superficial appearances, the danger of suicidal nuclear war is as great today as it ever was, not to mention the element of accident. Mankind, having been taken to the brink of cataclysm by rival ruling classes during the Cuban crisis,



in October, 1962, is still only a short step away from the abyss.

Meanwhile scattered wars, revolutions, military coups, anti-imperialist demonstrations, and other outbreaks of violence in widely separated areas of the world, give conclusive evidence of the instability of class rule and furnish additional incidents that could trigger World War III. In large measure these events result from the breakup of the colonial empires, and the creation of a great number of so-called "new nations." The term "nations" is a misnomer—these are new *States*, not new nations. They are political units, more or less arbitrarily constituted, with none of the traditions of nationality. At this stage of general capitalist disintegration each of these new States must inevitably fall into the orbit of one imperialist camp or the other. As a logical consequence each reflects the social structure of its imperialist "benefactor," becoming, in fact, a pawn or "battlefield" in the struggle between the two dominant imperialist camps.

The dangers that threaten the world today are the logical consequences of class rule. The material and economic strife between the East and West, as well as within both camps, is certain to become more intense, and the threat of all-out war—thermonuclear war—will necessarily increase. There can be no guarantee of genuine, lasting peace until class-divided societies, in both the East and the West, are replaced by a social system that is fully compatible with the industrial realities of the world in which we live. Only scientific Marxian Socialism can create such an international society.

It is one of the tragedies of this

crucial hour, when class rule is ripping apart at the seams in a dozen places, that there is no genuine Socialist International that could perform the vital function of disseminating the principles of scientific Socialism among the workers of the world. The one bright spot is the existence of the Socialist Labor Parties of America, Australia, Canada and Great Britain. Founded upon the principles of Marx, Engels and De Leon the Socialist Labor Parties alone offer a workable program whereby the workers of the world can establish the long yearned-for international Brotherhood of Man which the world's technological industrial development today makes possible. Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party of America in Convention assembled on this 4th day of May, 1964, reaffirm its allegiance to the cause of international Socialism. And be it further

*Resolved*, That we restate our uncompromising acceptance of the fact and implication of the class struggle, and repeat our condemnation of the fraudulent internationalism espoused both by the bureaucratic despotisms of Russia and China, and by the Western imperialist nations. And be it further

*Resolved*, That in keeping with the sober view that the best hope of the world lies in the still slumbering American working class, we pledge ourselves to renewed and increased efforts to awaken the American workers to a realization of the need to organize as a class on the political field under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party to demand an end to class rule, and to organize their invincible economic might on the industrial field into Socialist Industrial Unions in order to establish the

Socialist Industrial Commonwealth of peace, plenty and universal freedom, thereby setting the example for the workers of all the nations of the world. And be it finally

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party of America extend fraternal

greeting to the Socialist Labor Parties in Canada, Great Britain and Australia, and to the exploited workers everywhere, in renewed affirmation of international working-class solidarity and unfaltering adherence to the ideals and principles of Socialism—the universal Brotherhood of Man.

### John P. Quinn's Address at the 26th National Convention Banquet

This year marks the 50th anniversary of Comrade Arnold Petersen in the office of National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party—50 years of arduous labor attending to the vital interest of our Party in the most crucial period in recorded history; one-half century of extraordinary service by a comrade of exceptional ability and devotion to a great Cause that one day will thrust Man forward into a state of undreamed of progress!

As administrator of Party affairs, as Director of its agitational and educational efforts, as manager of the Party plant, as writer and speaker, as an eloquent recorder in NEC and National Convention reports of current economic and political conditions, as expounder of Socialist principles and able guide in proper revolutionary conduct, our National Secretary has displayed a profound ability and supreme devotion in each of these tasks.

During this half-century the country has, for the most part, been involved in turmoil. There were two World Wars, followed by the Korean War, while in between capitalism was convulsed by

the most devastating depression man has ever endured. It required a vast amount of knowledge, clear thinking and alert awareness of conditions to guide the Party safely during these dangerous times. This was accomplished with skill, sound judgment and safety to the Party. During this half century there also occurred that tremendous social upheaval, the Russian revolution with the overthrow of czarism. This tremendous event proved to be the cause of mingled joy and deep apprehension in SLP ranks. It was a joyous accomplishment that that huge despotic power was hurled off its ancient throne. But despite the joy, apprehension was caused by the fact that this thrilling event should turn so many SLP heads topsy-turvy. These, supposedly, were well informed in the traditions of De Leonism but stirring revolutionary events proved them otherwise. For many had the notion that the overthrow of czarism was equivalent to the rise of Socialism in its place. They were unable to understand that Socialism could be established only in a country where the technique of production had reached



a degree of development to make that possible. An attempt was made to swing the SLP in line with Soviet principles and practices. However, there were enough clear-headed Marxists in the Party to repel that menace. Foremost among these was Comrade Petersen who in a magnificent Marxian statement published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE [Nov. 24, 1917] clarified the situation and saved the SLP from destruction.

In a letter that I received in 1924 from our National Secretary, he wrote:

"During revolutionary upheavals, one has to be exceptionally well anchored to fundamental principles to prevent one from being set adrift. The SLP is being hammered and battered into a compact and, I hope," he added, "indestructible body which will act as that life center around which will cluster the revolutionary movement, and eventually, the new society."

There has been many a storm of disruption in the SLP since, but in every instance disrupters have been dealt with firmly and the Party saved from disaster. The SLP has become that "indestructible body around which will cluster the revolutionary movement and the new society."

Comrade Petersen once wrote about a particularly important accomplishment of De Leon, saying:

"In his unrelenting insistence on the truth, facts and accuracy, De Leon developed *characters*. To him who loves the truth, to him who practices accuracy, to the one who perceives the glow and beauty of relevant fact, there comes a potency which brings out and fortifies that rare quality called *character*. For although it is true, as Emerson said, that 'No change of cir-

cumstances can repair a defect of character,' it is also true that undeveloped character may be nurtured and quickened into efflorescence in properly fertilized soil. And the inculcation of the love of truth, of facts, of accuracy, constitutes precisely such fertilization. 'Every man,' someone said, 'has in himself a continent of undiscovered character.'

"A two-fold achievement was De Leon's as a result of his insistence on accuracy, on facts and truth. He rendered the Party, and its official organ, invulnerable, and he produced characters. And in achieving one and the other, he created foes. There is no greater hatred than the impotent hatred toward him who, with facts, proves wrong an adversary of inferior character and ability. And the making of characters in a society resting on slavery, corruption and falsehood is an unforgivable sin to the beneficiaries of such a society. The Englishman spoke true words who said:

"'The man that makes a character makes foes.'"

The Party's National Secretary early took to heart De Leon's insistence on "accuracy, facts and truth." And he, too, created foes, many of them! But he also created characters! and thus fortified the SLP.

Once in striving to get sense into the head of someone, our National Secretary wrote: "I have no personal satisfaction in winning an argument, no egotistical pleasure in being found in the right. I am deeply concerned about the Party, and its vital interests, and upholding and defending the Party's interest have kept me in 'hot water' for more than 30 years — with hardly a

breathing spell." In following De Leon's advice, he did, indeed, make many foes!

There is but one more matter that I have time for. I wish to conclude this introduction of the Party's National Secretary with a statement of a firm conviction of mine. It is that in helping to build the "compact indestructible" aggressive self-disciplined Socialist Labor Party, a fearless revolutionary organization, its National Secretary has performed a service to the workers of this nation comparable in importance to that achieved by De Leon in his

formulation of the grand principle of the Socialist Industrial Union program. And to do that while filling that vitally important post at the storm center of the Socialist movement for 50 years and with such distinguished ability, is an achievement that only a Marx, an Engels or a De Leon could equal!

And now it is my great pleasure to present to you a man crowned with half a century of devoted services to the cause of Socialism, the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, Comrade Arnold Petersen.

### National Secretary Arnold Petersen's Address

I deeply appreciate the kind sentiments expressed by Comrade Quinn and I can only hope that I may be deserving of one-half the praise bestowed on me, if that much, for the services I have been privileged to render the Party and its great cause during the past half century. Some comrades seem to have been struck with awe that 50 years have passed since I took office as National Secretary in February of 1914, and sometimes I wonder about that myself. There are times when it seems as if this all happened 100 years ago, and then again it has seemed as if it started only a few months or a few years ago.

Actually there appears to have been some confusion about this. One comrade wrote me, congratulating me on my 60th anniversary, and an old comrade down in Kentucky congratulated me on my 100th anniversary. Well, as someone once said in another context, *that* is a gross exaggeration.

It has been said the first 50 years are the hardest, implying that the next 50

may afford *some* relaxation. I find some comfort in that!

Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-Four might well be called the year of anniversaries, some of the events of major importance and fraught with consequences that vitally affected the course of world history, others of less importance—perhaps I should say of little currently recognized importance, yet, to us of the SLP, of vital significance.

One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln was re-elected to the presidency, thereby signaling the end of the sanguinary Civil War, and the rise of the modern rapacious American capitalist class now doomed by social and economic evolution, and awaiting the judgment of history to be pronounced by the organized working class.

Also 100 years ago, at St. Martin's Hall in London, in September, 1864, the International Workingmen's Association was founded, and here was delivered the celebrated address by Karl Marx in the name of the Association.



Fifty years ago the First World War broke out, the War that in earnest started the disintegration of capitalism on an international scale, with its fateful consequences culminating in the savage World War II which finally disrupted capitalism the world over beyond hope of anything but temporary resuscitation.

And we recall with sadness also the 50th anniversary of the untimely death of Daniel De Leon, at the age of only 62—Daniel De Leon, whose name will ever be associated with that of Marx, and both forever remembered by posterity as the geniuses whose labors as social architects resulted in the building of the proud edifice of the Socialist Commonwealth of universal human brotherhood.

The death of De Leon in the fate-freighted year of 1914 profoundly affected the Socialist Labor Party. The loss to our Marxist Party was incalculable. For a while our sturdy SLP ship found itself on a storm-swept social sea, rudderless, drifting, while in the words of Walt Whitman, *there*,

"... on the deck my Captain lies,  
Fallen cold and dead."

I shall not bore you with a recital of what this meant to us, and to me particularly, at that fated hour. I told the story in some detail 25 years ago, and those unfamiliar with it, and if interested, will find it in the pamphlet "Daniel De Leon: Social Architect."

Incidentally, then, this brings us to the last, and the least important, anniversary to be mentioned here, the occasion of my becoming the National Secretary of the SLP half a century ago, an occasion which the Party has seen fit to observe as a part of these pro-

ceedings. And again I shall not bore you with details of the circumstances which brought me to this important post, which have also previously been related.

Memories throng upon me as I look back on these 50 years, and the world-shaking events that have taken place during the years I have been privileged to serve the Party as National Secretary. Inevitably questions are raised in one's mind whether this or that course should have been pursued, and whether mistakes made might materially have altered the circumstances for better or for worse. It would be idle to speculate on that now. But regardless of mistakes or misjudgments, I find some comfort in the thought that the direction taken was right, or surely we should not be here tonight. Some of my comrades have written and spoken some extravagant words about the share I have had in preserving the Party, and in achieving whatever was achieved during this half-century. Of disappointments there have been many, but never a moment of doubt nor of despair, though there may have been moments of frustration that brought one almost to the edge of despair. Nor need I tell you that what we have accomplished in these long years is due to no particular individual's efforts. By far the greater credit goes to the hundreds of devoted comrades, men and women, who held fast to principle, and in loyal cooperation ensured that this great movement of our ours, its immortal cause, should not perish. And as it has been during the past decades, so it is now. This is not a one-man movement that must depend for its survival on a single individual, not even so great an individual as Daniel De Leon.

When De Leon died, the enemies of

the Party, and even some of its friends, cried out: "Now that De Leon is dead, the SLP will die, too." They reckoned without the enduring principle which kept the devoted men and women of the SLP together, and the Party on its steady course. And they forgot, if they ever understood, that it is the movement that makes men, and not merely men who make the movement, however essential they obviously are. They are also apt to forget that principles survive enduringly though men must yield to nature's command. It was that great revolutionary fighter, Thomas Paine, who uttered these unforgettable and powerfully moving words:

When a man in a long cause attempts to steer his course by anything else than some polar truth or principle, he is sure to be lost. It is beyond the compass of his capacity to keep all the parts of an argument together, and make them unite in one issue, by any other means than having this guide always in view. Neither memory nor invention will supply the want of it. The former fails him, and the latter betrays him.

Or, as the good and true Abraham Lincoln said:

That our principles, however baffled or delayed, will finally triumph, I do not permit myself to doubt. Men will pass away—die, die politically, and naturally; but the

principle will live, and live forever.

And so, Comrades and co-workers, I say to you: Cleave to principles—the principles that Marx and De Leon formulated and bequeathed to us. Keep these principles intact and inviolate and beyond the power of anyone to misapply for corrupting purposes.

We are living through one of the most turbulent periods in all history, fraught with menace to all that civilized man holds dear, yet, also charged with the greatest and most glorious promise ever presented to the human mind and heart. If we hold fast, as certainly we shall, if we fulfill our duties and responsibilities as serious men and women in these perilous times, we shall surmount all obstacles and come out right in the end. Nothing, short of the total destruction of this spinning globe of ours, can withstand the power and force of an idea whose time has come. Be patient but be persevering. Again, in the words of "the good, gray poet," Walt Whitman:

*"Allons! Through struggles and wars!*

*The goal that was named cannot be countermanded."*

Nor shall it ever be.



**VOTE FOR  
PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF THE  
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY**

Year	Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Vote Reported	<sup>1</sup> No. of States on ballot
1892	Simon Wing, Mass.	Chas. H. Matchett, N.Y.	21,173	5
1896	Chas. H. Matchett, N.Y.	Matthew Maguire, N.J.	36,367	20
1900	Jos. F. Malloney, Mass.	Valentine Rimmel, Pa.	33,382	22
1904	Chas. H. Corregan, N.Y.	William W. Cox, Ill.	33,510	19
1908 <sup>2</sup>	August Gilhaus, N.Y.	Donald L. Munro, Va.	14,029	15
1912	Arthur E. Reimer, Mass.	August Gilhaus, N.Y.	29,213	20
1916	Arthur E. Reimer, Mass.	Caleb Harrison, Ill.	14,670	17
1920	Wm. W. Cox, Missouri	August Gilhaus, N.Y.	30,513	14
1924	Frank T. Johns, Ore.	Verne L. Reynolds, Md.	33,883	19
1928 <sup>3</sup>	Verne L. Reynolds, Mich.	Jeremiah D. Crowley, N.Y.	21,590	19
1932	Verne L. Reynolds, N.Y.	John W. Aiken, Mass.	34,038	19
1936	John W. Aiken, Mass.	Emil F. Teichert, N.Y.	12,788	18
1940	John W. Aiken, Mass.	Aaron M. Orange, N.Y.	14,883	14
1944	Edward A. Teichert, Pa.	Arla A. Albaugh, Ohio	45,336	15
1948	Edward A. Teichert, Pa.	Stephen Emery, N.Y.	29,272	22
1952	Eric Hass, N.Y.	Stephen Emery, N.Y.	30,426	23
1956	Eric Hass, N.Y.	Georgia Cozzini, Wis.	44,547	14
1960	Eric Hass, N.Y.	Georgia Cozzini, Wis.	47,647	15
1964	Eric Hass, N.Y.	Henning A. Blomen, Mass.	45,319	16

<sup>1</sup> Write-in vote campaigns were conducted in several states where SLP was not on ballot. Most of these states, however, failed to report write-in votes cast; others were incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> Nominee originally was Morrie R. Preston.

<sup>3</sup> Nominee originally was Frank T. Johns, who was drowned while trying to rescue a child.

**SLP VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, Nov. 3, 1964**

Arizona .....	482
California (write-in) .....	489
Colorado .....	302
Connecticut (write-in) .....	30
Delaware .....	113
Florida (write-in) .....	10
Illinois (write-in; no vote reported)	
Indiana .....	1,374
Iowa .....	182
Kansas .....	1,901
Kentucky (write-in; no vote reported)	
Massachusetts .....	4,755
Michigan .....	1,704
Minnesota .....	2,544
Missouri (write-in; no vote reported)	
Montana (write-in) .....	3
New Jersey .....	7,075
New Mexico .....	1,217
New York .....	6,085
Ohio (No write-in permitted; no vote reported)	
Oregon (write-in; no vote reported)	
Pennsylvania .....	5,092
Virginia .....	2,985
Washington .....	7,772
Wisconsin .....	1,204
	<b>45,319</b>



