

S. L. P. SUPPLIES.

Orders for supplies must be accompanied by cash. (See Art. XIII, Sec. 8.)



National Constitution, containing also platform of the S.L.P. and declaration of principles, per 100, \$5.

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Study class notices (cards), 50c. per 100, \$3 per 1,000.

Study class application forms, 25c. per 100.

Address all orders to Arnold Petersen, 61 Cliff St., New York 38, N.Y.

Constitution

OF THE

Socialist Labor Party of America



ADOPTED AT THE
Eleventh National Convention
NEW YORK, JULY, 1904

AMENDED AT THE
National Conventions
New York

1908, 1912, 1916, 1920, 1924, 1928,
1932, 1936, 1940, 1944, 1948, 1952

Primary Duties of an S. L. P. Member.

1. Attend every Section meeting. And be on time.
2. Observe strict Party discipline.
3. Pay your dues promptly and regularly. If unable to pay dues, request exemption stamps, but **KEEP IN GOOD STANDING.**
4. Never lose an opportunity to secure a prospect, and work on that prospect until he is convinced or deemed utterly hopeless.
5. Secure at least one subscription per month for the **WEEKLY PEOPLE** (or respective language organ).
6. Place one or more copies of the **WEEKLY PEOPLE** on a newsstand at your own expense.
7. Push the Party's splendid literature. Distribute leaflets subject to your Section's directions.
8. Advertise the Party on every occasion.
9. Support to your utmost ability the Party's Press Security Fund and other special funds.
10. Nail promptly every slander hurled at the Party, and expose the slanderer. Remember; you do not have to prove a thing is not so. The burden of proof rests on the accuser.

Preamble

A. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Labor Party of America.

B. Its official emblem shall be the uplifted Arm and Hammer within a circle, or in such other setting as legal or practical requirements may dictate.

C. The Socialist Labor Party declares its adherence to the basic principles of Marxism, with such application of these principles as modern conditions and the political and industrial development of the United States may render proper and necessary.

D. We declare these Socialist truths to be basic, and to be held inviolate and binding upon all who profess acceptance of Marxian principles:

(1) The national and international class struggle between the owning (the capitalist and imperialist) classes and the working (the exploited and propertiless) classes is a fact the denial of which by any person, group or party *ipso facto* removes such person, group or party, whatever their Socialist pretensions, from the International Marxian Socialist Movement, and irrespective of the manner of the denial—that is, whether by denial in words, or by acts, such as, for instance, entering into alliances with imperialist and fascist powers, especially in situations involving pending or actual war.

(2) The emancipation of the working class must and can only be the classconscious act of the working class itself. It can no more

result from the benevolent act of another class within a nation than it can be imposed by force from without upon one nation by another.

(3) Recognizing that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common, and recognizing further that there can be no peace within nations or among the nations, so long as hunger and want are found among millions of workers, on the one hand, and the few, the employing class, own all the good things of life, on the other hand;

Recognizing these things as basic and incontestable facts and Marxian truths, we declare that the workers must organize on the basis of these facts and truths, and form a **political union** with the revolutionary objective of capturing, through the ballot, the capitalist political State, and dismantling it; and that they must further organize in a **Socialist Industrial Union**, equally revolutionary in objective and purpose, to take and hold that which they produce by their labor and that which represents past and accumulated as well as present social labor—the mills, mines, factories and implements of production generally, together with the land needed wherewith to carry on production for use for the benefit of **all**, thereby establishing the **Socialist Industrial Commonwealth of Labor**.

E. The Socialist Labor Party, being the true exponent of Marxian Socialism, and recognizing in Socialism the next, and higher, stage of civilization; and realizing that upon the working class there rest the duty and historic mission of terminating the age-long class struggle and, in keeping with peaceful and civilized methods, to usher in the classless society resting on common ownership of

the socially needed land and machinery of production, declares its unqualified acceptance of this principle laid down by the founder of the modern Socialist Labor Party, Daniel De Leon:

"The bona fide Movement of Labor may not 'adopt' the methods of the capitalist class in the class war. The Labor Movement must, on the contrary, place itself upon the highest plane civilization has reached. It must insist upon the enforcement of civilized methods, and it must do so in the way that civilized man does."

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As an aid in carrying on its work of Socialist agitation and education, and as a promoter of Socialist Industrial Union organization, we adopt the following rules and regulations, to be absolutely binding upon every member of the Socialist Labor Party, and to be designated the Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party of America.

Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party

ARTICLE I Management

Section 1. The affairs of the Socialist Labor Party shall be conducted by the National Executive Committee, the National Secretary, the state organizations, the local organizations, the Sections, the National Conventions, and the general vote.

ARTICLE II Sections

Section 1. Seven or more persons may form a Section of the Socialist Labor Party, provided they acknowledge the Platform, Declaration of Principles, Constitution and Resolutions of the Party, and belong to no other political party.

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

Section 3. All applications to form a Section shall be submitted to the National Executive Committee through the State Executive Committee, which shall make the necessary recommendation to the National Executive Committee, but shall have no power to reject applications. Suitable charter application forms shall be supplied by the National Executive Committee. Each individual shall be required to sign the charter application, and shall also be required to sign the individu-

al application blank, giving full name and address, age, occupation, previous political affiliation (if any), etc. Where no State Executive Committee exists, applications shall be forwarded direct to the National Executive Committee.

Section 4. Not more than one charter shall be granted in any city or town, except in a city comprising a territory greater than a county, in which case not more than one charter shall be granted to each of such counties. But where a part of a county falls inside a city and a part outside of it a charter may be granted to each of the towns and cities located in the part of the county not included in such city.

Section 5. If a Section momentarily falls below the required membership minimum, it may, at the discretion of the National Executive Committee, continue to function as a Section pending its being brought up to the minimum membership requirements.

Section 6. Each Section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

Section 7. (a) In Sections having 15 or more members, one-third of the membership of a Section shall constitute a quorum at all business meetings of the Section, the one-third to be computed on the basis of the membership actually residing within the limits of the area over which the Section normally exercises jurisdiction. Out-of-town members-at-large, accordingly, shall not be included in the figure upon the basis of which the required quorum attendance is computed. Where the membership is less than 15, the quorum shall be five members.

(b) Where a Section, due to temporary conditions, cannot secure a quorum, such Section, for a limited period of time, may be per-

mitted to meet and transact regular Party business with less than the required minimum of members present, subject to the specific approval of the N.E.C. or its Sub-Committee.

Section 8. The order of business of the Section shall be as follows:

1. Reading of minutes.
2. Financial report and report on delinquent members.
3. New members.
4. Correspondence.
5. Report of organizer.
6. Report of committees.
7. Party press and literature.
8. Roll call.
9. Unfinished business.
10. New business.

Section 9. The Section shall send at least thirty-five cents of the monthly dues of each member to the S.E.C., or in the absence of such, to the N.E.C.

Section 10. Each Section through its organizer shall send to the National and State Executive Committees, as soon as possible after the close of each calendar year, a report of its numerical and financial condition and the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise as of December 31 of each year.

Section 11. Every Section shall elect from its members an Organizer, and such additional officers and committees as are needed to carry on the Party's business, in keeping with other provisions of this Constitution and decisions of the National Executive Committee.

Section 12. Only those who have been members in good standing at least a year shall be eligible to hold office within the Sec-

tion, except with the specific approval of the National Executive Committee. This shall apply to the offices of Organizer, Financial Secretary, Recording Secretary, and members of Grievance and Membership Committees. This, however, shall not apply to newly organized Sections. At least two years' membership shall be required to qualify a member to hold any national office in the Party.

Section 13. The Organizer shall conduct the local organization and agitation, subject at all times to the decisions of the membership, arrived at by majority vote (unless otherwise provided), at Section meetings.

Section 14. The Organizer shall conduct the correspondence with the National and State Executive Committees.

Section 15. The result of every election within the Section, as well as changes in membership, must be communicated at once to the National and State Executive Committees.

Section 16. All officers and committees of a Section, or of state and local organizations, shall be subject to removal at the will of their constituents.

Section 17. All applications for membership must be submitted to a regular business meeting of the Section having jurisdiction over the territory in which the applicant resides. The applicant shall be required to fill out the regular application form in its entirety and also to answer all the questions in the affirmative, including his specific recognition of the class struggle as a fact under capitalism (and in other class-ruled societies), and pledge his support to the workers in their struggle with the capitalists. The application must be endorsed by a member in good standing. The application shall be referred to a

Membership Committee composed of three members. It shall be the duty of this Committee to interview the applicant with respect to his knowledge, understanding, and complete acceptance, without reservations, of the Party's Constitution, its principles, policies, and discipline, and to explain to the applicant the fact and the significance of the class struggle. A copy of the Constitution and Platform of the Party shall be handed to every applicant at the time of application. The Committee shall be required to report to the next regular business meeting of the Section, unless its investigation convinces it that it is necessary to delay its final report until a subsequent meeting, in which case it shall so report to the next business meeting, explaining briefly the reasons for the delay. The report of the Committee shall be considered while the Section is in executive session.

Section 18. An applicant for membership must be at least eighteen years of age.

Section 19. 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.

Section 20. Members of the Party must belong to the Section which has jurisdiction over the territory in which they maintain regular or legal residence, except when in the judgment of the N.E.C. the Party's interests would suffer adversely, in which case the N.E.C. shall have the power to make such exceptions as in its judgment would be in the interest of the Party.

Section 21. Sections shall have jurisdic-

tion over their own members, except in the cases of members who are national officers and national organizers, who shall be dealt with as provided under Article V, Section 9; Article VI, Sections 4 and 5; Article VII, Section 8; Article XI, Section 6; and Article XIII, Section 9.

Section 22. A member in good standing of one Section shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Section or Branch of a Section, provided, that a Section in executive session may, in accordance with parliamentary procedure, decline to grant the floor to such visiting member in all matters of special inner Section concern, and especially in matters involving disciplinary action against a member under charges, if the Section in its judgment deems it to be in the Party's best interests to do so. However, the visiting member shall not be allowed to vote.

Section 23. (a) A member desiring to transfer to another Section must present his membership card to the Financial Secretary of his Section (or, if a national member-at-large, to the National Secretary), who will initiate the transfer, provided such member is, or places himself, in good standing, and provided further that no charges are pending, or about to be filed against him, and provided, finally, that the Section has no other claims against him. The transferring member shall, without delay, contact the receiving Section, and complete his transfer.

(b) When a member transfers his membership to another Section, the organizer of the receiving Section shall notify the organizer of the transferring Section of such transfer. The transfer shall not be considered complete until officially recorded and confirmed by the receiving Section or other sub-

division of the Party, and such member shall be under the jurisdiction of the body issuing the transfer—Section, Language Branch, or N.E.C., as the case may be—pending completion of transfer.

Section 24. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for two months, unless they are known to be sick or unemployed, shall be immediately notified in writing by the Financial Secretary, and at the conclusion of the third month of delinquency shall stand suspended without further action of the body having jurisdiction. At the end of the 5th month a letter shall be sent by registered mail, advising the delinquent member that, unless he clears himself of his delinquency before such and such a date (the end of the 6th month), his name shall be stricken from the membership roll. At the end of the 6th month, unless paid up, or exemption stamps have been requested, the name of such member shall then be stricken from the membership roll and the fact so recorded in the minutes. But until the name of such member has been stricken from the membership roll by motion duly made and carried, and the said motion has been duly recorded in the minutes, he shall be considered to be under the disciplinary control of the Party subdivision having jurisdiction, or of the N.E.C., in the case of a national member-at-large.

Section 25. A member who has not paid his N.E.C. and Mileage Assessment by December 31 of any year, or who has failed to demand, and therefore not received exemption for same, shall be notified in writing by the Financial Secretary, and at the conclusion of the third month of the following year shall stand suspended without further action of the Section. At the end of the fifth month, an-

other notice shall be sent to the delinquent by registered mail and at the end of the sixth month, unless paid up, his name shall be stricken from the list of members and the fact so recorded in the minutes. But until the name of such member has been stricken from the membership roll by motion duly made and carried, and the said motion has been duly recorded in the minutes, he shall be considered to be under the disciplinary control of the Party subdivision having jurisdiction, or of the N.E.C., in the case of a national member-at-large.

Section 26. Sick or unemployed members, unable to pay dues, shall be granted exemption stamps upon request for same being made by such members to the subdivision having jurisdiction over them. Members not able to make the request in person due to illness or age may be granted exemption stamps upon the Section being informed of the conditions of such members. A record of such exemption must be made in the minutes of the subdivision, and exemption stamps must be inserted in the card of the member exempted.

Section 27. Members who have been dropped for non-payment of dues cannot be readmitted except as provided in Sections 17 and 19 of this Article.

Section 28. Every Section shall elect a standing Grievance Committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges referred to it, and report to the Section.

Section 29. (a) All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual member or members preferring same, and must be submitted first to the Section having jurisdiction over the member in question.

(b) The charges must state briefly the na-

ture of the offense alleged, but they shall contain no arguments nor statements that properly may be construed as discussion of the charges. They shall be accompanied with specifications, which may be read before the Section meeting at the time the charges are filed, provided they are germane to the issue, and provided further that they do not constitute arguments as aforesaid. Charges shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section.

(c) The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges and specifications to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay. The committee shall arrange a hearing at which the accused shall be cited to appear, and at which witnesses of both sides may be heard. Testimony by non-members shall not be permitted.

(d) No member who is not a party to the proceedings shall be allowed to be present at Grievance Committee hearings, except upon invitation, or with the specific approval, of the Grievance Committee.

(e) A detailed report of the investigation and the findings with the recommendations of the Committee shall be submitted to the Section, which shall vote on the findings and recommendations separately. The accused party shall be notified in due time by the Secretary of the Committee to appear at such meeting.

Section 30. The report of the Grievance Committee submitted to the Section, and all other action pertaining to trials of members shall be dealt with by the Section in executive session. After the Grievance Committee has rendered its report with its findings and recommendations, the accused shall be per-

mitted to make a statement in his or her defense not to exceed 15 minutes. The accused shall then be required to leave the room, whereupon the Section shall decide the matter in executive session as hereinbefore provided, its decision to be entered on the minutes. The relevant parts of the Section's minutes and all documents concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the Organizer, who thereupon shall forward them to the National Office, where they shall be kept in a special file. The Organizer shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

Section 31. A majority of the members voting upon this question, at any business meeting, shall be sufficient to expel any member or to suspend him for a definite period. Expulsion and suspension shall be reported at once to the State and National Executive Committees, giving cause for action.

Section 32. All suspensions and expulsions, including those in the Federations, shall be published in the official organ of the Party, unless the National Executive Committee finds it contrary to the best interests of the Party to do so.

Section 33. A member under charges is technically under arrest and deprived of all membership rights pending decision on the charges, and no such member shall hold any office, or serve in any capacity whatever in the Party, until all charges are disposed of, except in the case of a national officer, national organizer, and national and state convention delegates, who shall be dealt with as provided in Article IV, Section 11; Article V, Section 9; Article VI, Sections 4 and 5; Article VII, Section 8; Article XI, Section 6; Article XIII, Section 9.

Section 34. (a) Any member under charges

who, when cited to appear before the Grievance Committee, either refuses to appear for trial, or fails to do so for reasons not made known, or not deemed valid, shall be considered in disruptive contempt of the Party, and declared guilty in default, and shall be expelled forthwith from the Organization. For the same reasons such a member shall have forfeited his right to appeal the decision of the Section.

(b) Any member under charges who circulates, or aids in circulating, a lampoon, shall be summarily expelled, in the same manner, and for the same reason, that a member declared guilty in default is expelled summarily under clause "a" of this section. He shall have forfeited all rights to appeal his case.

(c) No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall [knowingly and willfully*] fraternize with any person who has been expelled because of disruptive action or intent, such fraternization being anti-organizational conduct, and constituting valid grounds for charges.

Section 35. Suspended members shall be required to pay dues (or request exemption stamps if sick or unemployed) during the period of their suspension, and shall in all other respects remain under the complete jurisdiction of their respective Sections. If at any time during the period of suspension there is evidence of such suspended member having committed breaches of Party principles or discipline, charges may then be filed against said suspended member, and, if in the judgment of the Section the facts warrant it, such suspended member may be summarily expelled,

*Inserted by instruction of N.E.C. in Session, May, 1949.

led, without awaiting the expiration of the original term of suspension.

Section 36. A suspended member, upon expiration of the term of suspension, shall be required to present himself at the Section business meeting next following the date of expiration of the suspension period, and shall thereupon be automatically reinstated, the fact of reinstatement to be recorded in the minutes of the session at which he is reinstated. If he fails thus to present himself, he shall be notified immediately by registered mail, and if he fails to present himself at a regular Section meeting within one month after date of notification (barring illness or other causes beyond his control), he shall then be dropped from the rolls without further action, provided there are no charges pending or to be filed against him. In the event of such charges, these shall be handled in accordance with Article II, Sections 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, of this Constitution.

Section 37. All decisions of the Section in connection with charges may be appealed from within one month to the National Executive Committee, whose decisions shall be final.

Section 38. No person shall participate in hearing or deciding an appeal who is a party to the proceedings.

Section 39. No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party unless properly reinstated. A Section may, if it chooses, refuse a suspended member admittance at its business meeting.

Section 40. A person expelled from the Socialist Labor Party may be readmitted upon application properly made to the Section which expelled him or her, providing his or

her expulsion did not stipulate permanent unfitness for membership in the Socialist Labor Party. A majority vote of the members present at a Section meeting shall be required to decide the question, but if an objection is raised, a two-thirds majority shall then be required. If and when the necessary approval of the expelling Section is secured, the application shall be submitted to the National Executive Committee, whose decision shall be final.

Section 41. In case of the dissolution or expulsion of any Section, all property of the same must be delivered to the State Executive Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

Section 42. No person who has not been a member for at least one year, and who has not identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work, shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office, except in the case of a new Section, and then only with the specific approval of the State Executive Committee or, in the absence of such, of the National Executive Committee.

Section 43. No Section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party. No candidate of the Party for any public office shall accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party, nor allow any such nomination or endorsement to stand without public protest; otherwise his nomination must be at once withdrawn and the fact made known through the Party organs and as much as possible through all other means of publication.

Section 44. It shall be the duty of every Party member to support the Party publications by donations and securing of subscriptions to the best of his or her ability. No member, committee, or Section of the Party

shall support any other political publications, or publications endorsed by or identified with another political party, or fraction thereof; nor may any member donate money or services to, nor procure subscriptions for, such publications. This provision shall not apply in the case of such organizations in other countries as are recognized as bona fide Socialist Labor parties.

Section 45. Acquaintance with the current affairs of the Party being essential for intelligent discharge of the duties and responsibilities of Party membership, each Section shall relentlessly insist upon each member being a regular reader of the Party organ, except when none such is published in the language read by the member. The Section shall order the paper at its own expense, if necessary, for the benefit of the unemployed members.

Section 46. It shall be the duty of each Section to acquire as soon as possible an assortment of the Party literature dealing with the fundamental principles of the Party and to stimulate their careful study by the members either individually or jointly.

Section 47. (a) Wherever possible Sections shall organize study classes. These are to be under the direct supervision and control of the Section.

(b) The Section shall select the instructor of the study class and such instructor shall have full authority to conduct the class.

(c) The study class instructor shall at all times be subject to the authority of the Section and may, at any time, be recalled by the Section.

(d) Any criticism of the conduct of the class or instructor shall be voiced on the floor of the Section meetings, and there only.

(e) Party members shall not enjoy any

more privileges than non-Party members in the study class.

(f) Any person wishing to join a study class shall, after attending not more than six sessions, fill out an enrollment blank furnished by the Party. Members of an advanced study class shall fill out an enrollment blank at the first session.

(g) No enrolled study class member may attend any so-called study class conducted by another organization, or by a person or persons not connected with the Party. This provision shall not apply to discussion groups.

(h) Those who attend Socialist Labor Party study classes shall be advised that only Socialist Labor Party principles and program are taught at study class sessions, and it shall be the duty of the instructor of the study class to remind all study class students of this provision. Any person who advocates, or attempts to advocate, the principles and program of any other political party or group while attending a Socialist Labor Party study class, shall thereafter be excluded from the study class.

Section 48. (a) Wherever possible and advisable Sections shall organize groups of workers who have manifested interest in the Party, to be known as discussion groups. Such groups shall in no sense be confused with the formal study classes.

(b) The instructor of the discussion group shall be selected in the same manner as provided for the selection of study class instructor, and shall at all times be subject to the authority of the Section, and may at any time be recalled by the Section.

(c) Discussion groups must be kept under the strict control of the Section, and the instructor of the group must never permit such

group to be used as the stamping ground for agents or adherents of other political parties or other organizations for furthering the propaganda of such political parties or organizations.

(d) If and when any member of such discussion group furnishes reasonable grounds for assuming that he is using, or intends to use, the discussion group for such ulterior purposes, he shall forthwith be eliminated from the group.

(e) When a member manifests understanding and qualities which would seem to justify the conclusion that he has matured to the point of qualifying for the study class of the Section, he shall be encouraged to join such class.

Section 49. (a) No member of the Party shall be permitted to attend courses in economics offered by schools or "institutions of public education" of collegiate, preparatory or secondary-school rank, except in cases where such courses are prescribed and required toward the attainment of a professional or academic degree or diploma.

(b) No member of the Party shall be permitted to function as director or teacher of any so-called labor college or study class which is not under the control of the Party.

ARTICLE III Local Organization

Section 1. (a) When in any city or town a Section is subdivided into Branches, it shall form a city or town organization, to be known as the General Committee, and all local business and all dealings with the Party's National and the State Executive Committees shall be carried on by such Committee

through the Organizer. When the general local government embraces a locality greater or smaller than a town or city, the same rule shall apply.

(b) In the case of such Branch (or Branches) being a foreign language group (other than a Federation Branch) the Section may forego the formation of a General Committee, but in such cases each foreign language group shall attend Section meetings either in a body, or by a representation of at least three of its members. The members of such foreign language groups shall at all times be under the complete jurisdiction of the Section, which shall keep a record of their standing, and see to it that dues stamps are purchased as in the case of all other members.

Section 2. Such General Committee shall alone exercise the powers delegated to Sections under Article II as far as concerns the admission, expulsion, and suspension of members, and from all decisions of the Committee in such matters appeal may be taken within one month to a general vote of the Section under its jurisdiction. The Committee shall consider no application for admission to membership unless the same has been accepted by a Branch under its jurisdiction.

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

organization and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

Section 4. In cities, towns, or other localities where there exist a Section or Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, and a Branch or Branches of any S.L.P. Language Federation, there shall be formed a Committee composed of delegates from said Sections and Branches, whose function it shall be to supplement the agitation of the S.L.P. in such localities, in addition to such agitation as may be carried on by the respective Sections and Branches separately. In cases, however, where this form of committee is impractical, this provision may, with the specific approval of the National Executive Committee, be modified to suit local conditions.

Section 5. (a) Such Committee shall exercise neither executive nor initiating powers. Its sole functions shall be those of coordinating the activities of the Sections and Branches concerned, within such scope as may be determined by the bodies represented, and to carry out the instructions of the constituent bodies in all matters concerning them collectively.

(b) The constituent bodies may authorize such a Committee to act with respect to certain details incidental to plans or policies previously determined by them. Such details must be limited to those which logically flow from, or are necessary to the proper carrying out of, previously issued instructions, or plans already formulated by the constituent bodies.

(c) The Section being the unit of organization, no authority conferred upon such a Committee for specific tasks or activities shall be regarded as power or authority surrendered by any Section represented on the Com-

mittee. Such Committee is the creature of the constituent bodies, who retain full power of final decisions in all matters concerning them, severally and individually.

(d) Local organizations may supplement these provisions by appropriate by-laws, provided such do not run counter to the clear intent and language of the aforesaid provisions.

ARTICLE IV State Organization

Section 1. When in any state there are three Sections in three different towns or cities, the National Office shall initiate a move for effecting the formation of a State Organization to be known as the State Executive Committee by issuing a call to the Sections in the state to nominate a State Secretary. The N.E.C. shall thereupon submit the names of those nominated for a vote of the state membership. When the State Secretary is elected, he shall proceed to conduct the nominations and election of a State Executive Committee, the names of those nominated, and the votes cast for or against them, to be submitted to the N.E.C. for tabulation and final approval.

Section 2. The State Secretary shall not be a member of the State Executive Committee. He shall have a voice, but no vote, in its proceedings.

Section 3. It shall be the duty of such Committee to conduct systematic agitational work, including political campaigns, within its jurisdiction, form new Sections [See Article II, Section 3], and maintain close contact with all Sections and members-at-large in the state.

Section 4. The Committee shall send regular annual reports to the N.E.C., giving the state of the organization and also a financial

report for the twelve months ending December 31.

Section 5. Every Section connected with such Committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee.

Section 6. No State Executive Committee shall have the power to expel and reorganize, nor to suspend, any Section.

Section 7. Whenever temporarily a state lacks the required number of Sections to maintain a State Executive Committee, the National Executive Committee may at its discretion permit the continuance of such State Executive Committee pending the reorganization of the temporarily lapsed Sections.

Section 8. In a state having a legal state organization under laws permitting non-members of the Party to elect the same, the State Executive Committee shall prepare a set of rules for the government of such organization, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, and all members of the Party who are members of such organization shall strive in every way to secure the adoption of such approved rules by such organization, and strive at all times to secure the rejection of any rule in conflict with the same.

Section 9. State Executive Committees shall issue a call for a state convention to be held at least once every two years. State Conventions may be mass conventions, where every member in good standing shall be considered an accredited delegate, with voice and vote. If the State Executive Committee decides that it is impractical to hold a mass convention, delegates shall be elected from the Sections, on the basis of one delegate for every seven members or major fraction thereof, each Section in good standing to be en-

titled to at least one delegate. The acts of a convention composed of delegates from the Sections in the state shall be submitted to the membership in the state for approval. The acts of a mass convention need not be so submitted, a mass convention being, theoretically, the entire state membership in convention assembled.

Section 10. No State Executive Committee, and no State Convention, shall entertain any proposal or resolution relating to the internal national affairs of the Party, except in so far as such proposals or resolutions affect directly or exclusively the work of the state organization within its own jurisdiction, provided that nothing in this clause shall be construed to prohibit a State Executive Committee or State Convention from adopting resolutions on public questions of general current importance.

Section 11. No Section shall entertain charges against a member who has been elected by a Section to represent it as a delegate to a state convention, but the convention shall investigate these charges, and, if it decides that they are groundless or frivolous, the delegate may then be seated. This provision shall not apply to mass conventions.

Section 12. The functions of a State Executive Committee under the Constitution and Regulations of the Party shall be exercised by the National Executive Committee where no State Executive Committee exists. [For removal of officers and committees of state organizations, see Article II, Section 16.]

Section 13. State platforms shall be submitted to the National Executive Committee for approval.

Section 14. No member shall be qualified to hold the office of State Secretary who has

not held continued membership in the Party at least two years, nor shall any member be qualified to serve as a member of a State Executive Committee who has not held continued membership for at least one year, provided, that a State Executive Committee unable to comply with this provision may dispense with same, subject to approval by the National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V

National Executive Committee

Section 1. For the purpose of providing a basis for National Executive Committee representation, the country shall be divided into nine regions as follows: REGION No. 1 to comprise the following States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island. REGION No. 2: New York. REGION No. 3: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia. REGION No. 4: Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan. REGION No. 5: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri. REGION No. 6: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah. REGION No. 7: Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, California. REGION No. 8: Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma. REGION No. 9: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.

Section 2. The National Executive Committee shall consist of one member from each Region having at least three Sections in good standing, and of one member from each Language Federation.

Section 3. The members of the National Executive Committee shall be elected by a

general vote of the members of the Party in their respective Regions and Federations.

Section 4. All members of the N.E.C. shall be members in good standing not less than two years, and must be citizens of the United States, but a Region or Language Federation unable to comply with these provisions may dispense with the same as far as may be necessary, subject to the approval of the N.E.C.

Section 5. No member of the National Executive Committee shall at the same time be a member of a State Executive Committee, nor shall he be permitted to hold the office of state secretary, nor hold any other national office. Nor shall a member of the National Executive Committee function as permanent national organizer, but he may be toured for specific purposes, and for definite periods.

Section 6. 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.

Section 7. Every candidate, nominated for the N.E.C., before his name is submitted to a general vote, shall sign a pledge to support the Party, its principles, declared resolutions and tactics, and to uphold the Constitution of the Party, such pledge to be filed with the National Secretary.

Section 8. The term of office of the members of the National Executive Committee shall be one year, commencing May 1.

Section 9. Any member of the National Executive Committee shall be removable at will, either: (a) upon the application of three Sections within the Region he represents; or (b) upon the application of five Sections, within at least two Regions. In either alternative, the initiating Section must submit its

application to the National Office for the necessary seconds, all seconds to be made within six weeks from the date the call is issued by the National Office. If sufficient seconds are received, the question shall then be submitted to the entire membership for a referendum vote.

Section 10. (a) The N.E.C. shall meet once a year in regular session, on the first Saturday in May, except as provided herein-after, or in special session upon the written call of at least a majority of its members pledging themselves to attend; said call to be sent to the National Secretary and published in the official organ twice in succession.

(b) In any year which coincides with the quadrennial or National Convention of the Party, the N.E.C. may meet subject to call any time during the year. The decision as to whether and when the N.E.C. may, or should, meet in such a year, shall rest with the N.E.C.

Section 11. Five members shall constitute a quorum for the regular sessions of the National Executive Committee. A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum for a special session.

Section 12. The sessions, regular and special, of the National Executive Committee shall convene in the city where is located the national headquarters of the Party.

Section 13. The National Executive Committee shall have the following duties:

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

(b) To supervise the agitation throughout the country.

(c) To render final decisions in all appeals made by members disciplined by a Section.

(d) To expel and reorganize any State Executive Committee, foreign language Federation, or Section guilty of disloyalty.

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

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

(g) To audit the books of the National Secretary and all other books of the Party annually, and to issue annually to the membership a report of the Party's finances.

(h) To submit propositions to a general vote. A proposition sent from any Section, if endorsed within six weeks by at least five others located in at least three different states, shall be submitted to a general vote; but, if in the opinion of the Committee the proposition is not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote unless ten per cent of all the Sections in good standing shall subsequently re-endorse it. The voting shall close within nine weeks from the time the proposition is submitted to a general vote.

(i) To be represented at the National Convention by the National Secretary, who shall have a voice in all its proceedings, but no vote, and shall bear no other credentials.

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

(k) To issue membership cards, and also to provide transfer cards to members.

Section 14. The Committee may make its own order of business, and may compensate its officers from the Party treasury, according to the labors performed.

Section 15. The expense of the N.E.C.

members while attending sessions shall be covered through a special assessment of one dollar to be imposed once every year, using one stamp in conjunction with the Mileage Assessment, the total assessment thus to be levied once a year to be two dollars. [See also Article X.]

Section 16. The National Executive Committee shall elect a Sub-Committee for the purpose of carrying on the executive work of the Party during the time intervening between the sessions of the National Executive Committee; said Sub-Committee to act on its behalf in conjunction with the National Secretary and subject to the instructions and control of the National Executive Committee, and the latter shall elect all other local committees and officers at the national headquarters that it may deem necessary.

Section 17. The Sub-Committee shall be composed of nine members.

Section 18. The whole or any part of the above-mentioned Sub-Committee is at any time subject to recall by a majority vote of the National Executive Committee, adopted while in session or by written communication.

Section 19. The Sub-Committee may, at will of the National Executive Committee, be chosen from the membership of the Sections located within a two hours' ride from the national headquarters.

ARTICLE VI National Secretary

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

Section 2. 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.

Section 3. The National Secretary shall be the Financial Secretary of the Party and shall act as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He shall not be a member of the National Executive Committee, and shall have a voice in all its proceedings but no vote.

Section 4. No charges filed against the National Secretary by the subdivision of which he is a member shall be considered until or unless the provisions of Article VI, Section 5, have been carried out, and then only if he is removed from office.

Section 5. The National Secretary may be removed upon application of at least five Sections located within at least two Regions, the initiating Section to submit its application to the National Office for the necessary seconds. If sufficient seconds are received within six weeks after the call for seconds has been issued by the National Office, the question shall then be submitted to the entire membership for a referendum vote.

Section 6. In case of vacancy in the office of National Secretary, the National Executive Committee shall fill the vacancy temporarily, and at once proceed to nominate two candidates and submit the same to a general vote of the whole Party for the selection of a permanent National Secretary.

ARTICLE VII National Convention

Section 1. The National Convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or Presidential election year; but, if ten Sections in three different Regions so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special conven-

tion. The city and date of the convention shall be determined by the National Executive Committee.

Section 2. Each state and each Language Federation shall be entitled to one delegate for every 35 members and one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof, the apportionment to be made on the average membership for the twelve months of the preceding year. Any state having less than 35 members, but with one Section in good standing, shall be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a state.

Section 3. The State Executive Committee shall call for nominations for delegates and alternates, such nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections with instructions as to the number of candidates and alternates for which each member has a right to vote. The delegates and alternates shall be voted upon separately, and no member may at the same time be a candidate for delegate and alternate. Acceptance of nomination for one constitutes, *ipso facto*, rejection of the other.

Section 4. In a state or Language Federation having more than one delegate, alternates shall be designated as first alternate, second alternate, etc., in the order of the number of votes cast for each, and any vacancy in the delegation shall be filled in that order.

Section 5. In states having no State Executive Committees, the National Secretary shall call for nomination and election of delegates and alternates. In the case of Language Federations such call shall be issued by the National Secretary of each Federation.

Section 6. Delegates and alternates must be members in the state electing them.

Section 7. Delegates shall be members in good standing of the Party not less than two years and citizens of the United States, but a state unable to comply with these provisions may dispense with the same as far as may be necessary, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee.

Section 8. No charges shall be entertained by any subdivision against a member who has been elected a National Convention delegate, but the Convention shall investigate these charges, and, if it decides that they are groundless or frivolous, the delegate may then be seated.

Section 9. The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the states and Federations, with the exception of their fare coming and going, which latter shall be defrayed as per Article X.

Section 10. Each delegate shall have but one vote.

Section 11. The National Convention shall frame the National Platform, decide the form of organization, select the seat of the National Executive Committee, and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party submitted to the Convention. A majority vote shall be necessary in selecting the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Section 12. All acts of the National Convention shall be submitted to the membership for approval by a general vote, and shall not be effective until so approved, except in the case of Presidential nominations, Platform and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

ARTICLE VIII Members-at-Large

Section 1. Members residing in states where there are no Sections may become at-

tached to the Organization as national members-at-large, paying their dues direct to the National Office, and are to be subject to the jurisdiction of the N.E.C.

Section 2. All decisions rendered by the N.E.C. in disputes involving national members-at-large shall be final, but where a decision has been rendered by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, acting in behalf of the N.E.C., the latter may review the case, if it so chooses, as in the case of all other acts by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee.

Section 3. Members residing in states where one or more Sections exist, but in a locality having no organized Section, shall be attached to the most accessible Section as Section members-at-large. Applications for such membership-at-large shall be submitted to the N.E.C. for determination as to the Section most accessible to the residence of applicant.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of members-at-large to cooperate fully with the Section of which they are members, and to make an earnest effort to attend the meetings of the Section.

Section 5. In states where there are State Executive Committees, members-at-large shall place themselves at the disposal of the said State Executive Committees in all matters pertaining to the conduct of the agitation in the state, with particular reference to agitation that may be carried on in the locality where reside such members-at-large. To this end State Executive Committees shall be supplied with a list of the names and addresses (and other relevant information) of such members-at-large. Where from two to six members reside in one locality, it is their

duty to constitute themselves a committee to work under the immediate direction of the State Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IX

Dues

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

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

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

ARTICLE X

Mileage

Section 1. The fare of the N.E.C. members and National Convention delegates shall be defrayed from a joint Convention-N.E.C. Mileage Fund, to be collected by the National Executive Committee by means of a special annual assessment of one dollar per member, and for which a stamp shall be issued in conjunction with N.E.C. Session Expense Assessment. [See Article V, Section 15.]

ARTICLE XI

The Party Press

Section 1. The WEEKLY PEOPLE (and such daily paper as the Party may at any time publish) shall be the official Party organ.

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

Section 3. The National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of all Party organs, and shall act on grievances connected with the same.

Section 4. The Editor of the official Party organ shall be elected by the National Convention, the election to be specifically approved by a general vote of the whole Party.

Section 5. The Editor shall be required to render a written report annually to the N.E.C. in Session and also to the National Convention.

Section 6. In case of vacancy in the office of Editor of the Party's official organ, the National Executive Committee shall temporarily fill the said office pending election of new Editor by the Party membership.

Section 7. The procedure in removing the Editor of an official Party organ, and in case of a vacancy in the office, shall be the same as that provided for the National Secretary, but any such Editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal shall be at once suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Section 8. The election of editors of other publications recognized as Party organs shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. The National Execu-

tive Committee shall demand from the publishers the immediate removal of an editor who may prove incompetent or disloyal, and in case of non-compliance with this demand, the National Executive Committee shall at once take charge of such publication and appoint an editor, pending election of a new editor by the membership of the Language Federation, or group publishing such paper.

Section 9. No member, committee, or Section or Language Federation of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee, and then only on condition that all the property of such paper be vested in the National Executive Committee free from any financial or legal liability, the editor of such paper to be subject to the provisions of the preceding section.

ARTICLE XII

Language Federations

Non-English-speaking Language Federations nationally organized shall be attached to the S.L.P. on the following basis:

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

Section 2. Each Federation shall be represented on the N.E.C. by one member.

Section 3. Each Federation shall be represented in the National Convention of the S. L.P. by one delegate for every 35 members or major fraction thereof, as provided in Article VII, Section 2.

Section 4. Branches of Federations shall be represented in the State Conventions and State Executive Committees of the Party with vote and voice upon all matters pertaining to the conduct of political campaigns,

provided they are citizens of the United States, but they shall not participate in decisions pertaining to internal Party matters, as to do so would mean the exercise of dual membership functions.

Section 5. All equipments, including machinery, office equipment, real estate, and all other things of value, which are held in custody by the Language Federations, shall be the property of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which at all times shall have full jurisdiction over such properties, as with all other subdivisions of the Party, without responsibility for any indebtedness incurred by the Federations and other subdivisions.

Section 6. The units of organization shall be known as Branches. Branches shall have jurisdiction over their own members in conformity with provisions in Article II.

Section 7. No member of a Federation Language Branch shall at the same time be a member of a Section of the Party.

Section 8. The constitution and by-laws of the national bodies of Language Federations shall be subject to approval by the N.E.C. of the Party, and shall contain all fundamental provisions of the National Party Constitution.

ARTICLE XIII

Miscellaneous

Section 1. (a) This Constitution may be amended by the National Convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the Constitution, except that required for approving the acts of a National Convention, amendments may be proposed by any Section to any proposition so laid before

the Party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together with the original proposition. The result of the vote must be reported fifteen weeks after the first call is issued.

(b) The National Secretary shall at the earliest possible moment transmit to the Sections a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each Section.

Section 2. At all elections and in all voting, unless otherwise provided, a plurality vote is sufficient to decide.

Section 3. All voting on Party matters requiring a ballot shall be duly signed by those voting.

Section 4. Sections, local and state organizations may make rules for their action, providing these do not conflict with any rules duly provided for their formation and procedure, nor with any rules of the State or National Organization. All rules of the Sections, local organizations and state organizations shall be submitted for approval to the National Executive Committee.

Section 5. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern the organization in so far as special rules are not provided.

Section 6. It is the duty of every State Secretary and Section Organizer to transmit promptly to their respective Sections and members all official matters and communications sent to them from the National Executive Committee for that purpose.

Section 7. No member of the National Executive Committee, nor any other national officer, nor any of their subalterns or appointees, shall have power to raise any loan or loans or otherwise incur any liability in the name of the Socialist Labor Party, without first securing the express approval of the

membership of the Party by general vote.

Section 8. No Party institution shall extend credit to organizations of the Party sending for supplies.

Section 9. All organizers employed by the National Organization shall be under the complete control and jurisdiction of the National Executive Committee. No charges shall be entertained against a national organizer unless, or until, he has been previously removed by the N.E.C.

Section 10. (a) No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall voluntarily join any so-called labor union other than the Industrial Union when organized, and then only after such Industrial Union has been officially recognized as bona fide by the Socialist Labor Party—EXCEPT in cases where the means of making a living depends upon such Socialist Labor Party member's joining a particular craft or kindred union.

(b) If a member of the Socialist Labor Party feels obliged to join such union (for the reasons stated) it becomes his duty, upon all proper occasions, to expose to his fellow union members the true character, and total inadequacy of the craft and other pro-capitalist unions, and to instruct them, as far as circumstances permit, as to the vital necessity, purpose and functions of the Socialist Industrial Union.

(c) No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall be permitted to hold any office in unions based on capitalist principles, or unions which reject the Socialist principles of political and economic action as laid down in the Socialist Labor Party's Declaration on Economic Organization, excepting only minor offices carrying no compensation or other emoluments, and which only involve duties

akin to strike duties, including the filing of such routine reports to the union as required under union rules, **provided** that no S.L.P. member may accept such minor office unless his means of making a living depends upon acceptance of such office, and **provided** further that the N.E.C. of the Party does not deem it to be harmful to the S.L.P. for the member to accept such office under compulsion.

(d) No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall be permitted to serve on any committee designed to promote the interests of, or to build up, craft or kindred unions, except in cases of bona fide strikes in which Party members are required [by the strikers*] to serve on strike committees, and then only for the duration of the strike. By bona fide strikes is meant any strike involving wages or working conditions, or involving general working class solidarity against capitalist class aggression.

Section 11. The chairman shall not cast his vote to produce a tie when the vote is other than by roll call or ballot. When, however, a tie is produced without the chairman having voted on the question, the chairman may then cast the deciding vote.

Section 12. All equipments, including machinery, office equipment, real estate, and all other things of value, which are held in custody by State Executive Committees and Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, shall be the property of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which at

*Through an oversight the matter in brackets was overlooked in formulating this clause. It was added by instruction of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, May 31, 1945.

all times shall have full jurisdiction over such properties, as in the case of the Language Federations of the Party, without responsibility for any indebtedness incurred by the Federations, State Executive Committees and Sections.

Section 13. Any question coming before a Subdivision dealing with matters involving the administering of censure or discipline, and all other internal Party matters, shall be handled in executive session.

Section 14. All former provisions conflicting with this Constitution are rescinded.

LAMPOONS

To Be Destroyed or Returned Unopened

Motion Adopted by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, May, 1935.

Reaffirmed by 1948 National Convention

Moved that all Subdivisions be instructed that all mail or correspondence addressed to the Section, or the organizer of the Section, be opened only by the organizer of the Section, or by such other officer of the Section as temporarily may have been appointed to act as organizer. All official correspondence must, of course, be presented to the Section for action, *all other matters of a disruptive nature, including lampoons, shall be returned unopened to the sender.* [Members-at-large are to be guided accordingly, i.e., lampoons received by them, whether obviously lampoons, or disguised as "newspapers," "bulletins" or what not, are to be returned to the disrupters unopened, or immediately destroyed.]

Platform of the Socialist Labor Party of America

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, in National Convention assembled on this 4th day of May, 1952, reaffirms its previous platform pronouncements and declares:

The crisis that shakes the world today is a revolutionary crisis. It is one of those crucial points of history when an outmoded system is in a state of impending collapse, and a new order is waiting to be born.

The capitalist system rose on the ruins of feudalism—in this country on the transplanted feudal power of the British Crown. It had a mission to perform, the mission of establishing mass production and of organizing the workers in industry in keeping with that purpose. Its mission has been fulfilled: Abundance is now possible for all without arduous toil. But in fulfilling its historic mission the capitalist class has rendered itself useless—nay worse, it has become an encumbrance on the productive process, an incubus on society as a whole, and its continued presence as a useless class has become a menace to our very civilization.

Accordingly, the downfall of the capitalist system is certain. It is foredoomed by contradictions resulting from the division of society into classes and the exploitation of wage labor. Its economy is kept going today by armament and the waging of war. Without this huge, war-inciting multi-billion-dollar war-preparations program, capitalism would

quickly sink in a quagmire of economic depression.

This is a permanent condition. The plutocratic rulers are committed to a permanent arms economy. In order to stave off the threatened economic breakdown, they are compelled to build and amass ever more military weapons and supplies, thereby accelerating the forces, inherent in capitalist rivalry for world trade, that are leading fatedly to a third world war.

Thus, decadent capitalism has brought society to the brink of catastrophe and ruin. The question now is: Shall this doomed system be allowed to drag humanity down into the abyss? Or will the working class, in whose hands the future lies, wake up in time, organize its immense latent power, and put society on the road to safety and freedom?

The Socialist Labor Party declares that such is the crucial nature of the crisis that grips our civilization.

The plutocratic capitalists are confused, intellectually bankrupt and divided among themselves. Although they still pay lip-service to the American tradition of civilian government, in practice they have renounced this tradition and have given professional military men a dominant role in formulating foreign and domestic policy.

The Korean war, a senseless war to all but the capitalist and Russian imperialist interests which profit from it, is a tragic consequence of ruling-class confusion and the military approach in international relations.

The frequent demands by high military leaders, and even by Cabinet members, that the United States abandon its moral scruples against "striking the first (sneak attack) blow," and that the country become the ag-

gressor in a "preventive war" with Russia, are frightening evidence of the panic that is overtaking the American ruling class.

The Socialist Labor Party asserts that the ferocious conflict that divides the world and threatens to hurl mankind into the fiery furnace of global war is an imperialist conflict. It is basically a struggle between the plutocratic masters of the United States and the bureaucratic masters of Soviet Russia for control of the world's economic resources. Both these ruling groups must share the guilt for the appalling danger of extinction today threatening the human race.

Let no one underestimate the danger. A third world war would be an atomic war, a war of universal desolation. The Socialist Labor Party holds that peace today hangs only by a thread of fear. For the moment both imperialist rivals are deterred by the atomic bomb—the knowledge that if either attacks the other, retaliation will be swift and terrible.

In this revolutionary crisis the class struggle is becoming more intense.

The plutocratic capitalists sit uneasily on their mountains of stolen wealth. To secure their class privileges and to weaken the workers' resistance to increased exploitation, they have enacted the labor-shackling Taft-Hartley Law and revived the medieval weapon of the court injunction.

It is an incontestable fact that the workers are steadily falling behind in the race with living costs, which means, in effect, that their real wages, hence their standards of living, are being steadily reduced. By means of a wage freeze, restrictions on the right to strike and the regimentation of the workers that is accomplished through the faker-controlled,

job-trust unions, the American worker is being reduced to the status of an unresisting industrial serf. Thus a new form of slavery is evolving, more in keeping with the despotic needs of the present huge concentrations of corporate capital.

By means of falsehoods and smears, whipped-up hysteria, witch-hunts and loyalty oaths, the capitalist plutocrats are attacking the very heart of American political democracy. They are imposing a "black silence of fear" on millions of once proudly independent and fearlessly outspoken Americans.

The Socialist Labor Party declares that the real target of this un-American attack is not the Communists, but the fundamental rights and civil liberties of the American people. The Communists are merely a convenient and vulnerable target. It has been said, not without logic, that if there were no Communist party in America, the capitalist reaction would organize one.

The assault on liberty and the attempted Prussianization of the country via permanent compulsory military training are, we assert, desperate efforts to prolong an outmoded and doomed social system.

The Socialist Labor Party appeals to you to accept the logic of these facts:

War, fascism, exploitation, and poverty amidst plenty are the evil brood of capitalism. No person who reaches this conclusion can, without consciously aligning himself with the forces of reaction, support candidates and parties that have as their aim the reform or preservation of capitalism. In this category, besides the Republicans and Democrats, we include all other parties, whatever their designation. For one and all they follow principles of capitalism or of State despotism. One and

all they preach reforms and promise improvement of conditions that are past improving. To propose reform when a fundamental social change is called for is to help prolong the capitalist cause of war, fascism and working-class exploitation. "To reform is to preserve."

The Socialist Labor Party, therefore, calls upon the American workers of brain and brawn, and all other enlightened citizens, to repudiate the parties of capitalism and to support its program for a peaceful and orderly Socialist reconstruction of society.

The Socialist Labor Party program, in line with social evolution, demands the abolition of the political State with all its organs of class coercion. Political government (based on geographic constituencies), which was suited to an age of agriculture and primitive production, has been rendered obsolete by the growth of modern industry. The goal of the Socialist Labor Party is a democratic Socialist industrial government—a society based on collective ownership of the land and all the instruments of wealth production, with the management of industry completely in the hands of the workers through socially integrated Socialist Industrial Union Councils.

To bring to birth this society of peace, abundance and freedom, the Socialist Labor Party appeals to the working class of America, and all other enlightened and social-minded citizens, to support its principles at the polls by voting for Socialist Labor Party candidates. And we call upon the workers to repudiate the present unions, which accept capitalism as a finality and are faker-controlled, and to build a new union based squarely on their working class interests and with Socialism as its goal. Build the integral Socialist Industrial Union, as the only union capable of

enforcing the Socialist ballot and of assuming the administration of social production.

This program repudiates the kind of bureaucratic despotism masquerading as "Marxist" in Soviet Russia, and the reformist outfits, such as the British Labor party, falsely claiming to be "Socialist."

*

What Abraham Lincoln said ninety years ago, in the midst of another revolutionary crisis, applies with even greater force today. He said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. . . . As our case is new, so must we think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

Unite with us to save society from catastrophe—and to set an example in free, industrial self-government for all mankind! Unite with us to establish the Socialist Republic of Peace, Plenty and International Brotherhood!

Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Labor Party of America

(Adopted at the 20th National Convention, in the City of New York, April 29, 1940)

The Socialist Labor Party of America, cognizant of world-wide social disintegration, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in the following declaration of principles:

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that man cannot exercise his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production. This ownership is today held by the minority in society, the capitalist class, exercising through this ownership and control an economic despotism without parallel in history.

Government statistics* establish that 59 per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by 1 per cent of the population; that 33 per cent of the wealth is owned by 12 per cent of the population, thus finally establishing that 92 per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by 13 per cent of the population, leaving the vast majority, the working class, or 87 per cent of the population, the owners of but 8 per cent of the nation's wealth.

The ownership of the bulk of the nation's wealth by the few is conclusive evidence that labor is robbed of the major portion of the product which it alone produces. Thus the worker is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is deprived of even the necessaries of life.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the nation into two classes: the non-producing, but owning, Capitalist Class, and the producing, but propertiless, Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle, and invariably perverts government to the uses and benefit of the Capitalist Class.

The time is now here when, as the natural result of social evolution, this system has worked out its own downfall. Having completed its normal development, the capitalist system, and its political reflex, the State, are

*Federal Trade Commission Report, 1926.

now outworn. No longer able to dispose readily of the huge quantities of surplus commodities in foreign markets, each capitalist nation seeks desperately to crowd out its competitors, with the result that wars and conflicts convulse the civilized world. In this mad struggle for survival, the working classes of all nations are the chief sufferers.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises its voice in solemn protest and demands the abolition of the capitalist system. In this supreme crisis no reform measures will stand, and history teaches that where a social revolution is pending, and, for whatever reason, is not accomplished, reaction, dictatorship, is the alternative. Having outlived its social usefulness, capitalism must give way to a new social order—a social order wherein government shall rest on industry, on the basis of useful occupations, instead of resting on territorial (political) representation. This new social system can only be the Socialist Industrial Union form of Government if the needs of the vast majority are to be served and if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been in the past. Upon the despoiled workers rests the duty of effecting this revolutionary change in a peaceful, civilized manner, using the ballot and all that thereby hangs in order to effect the change.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a classconscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

We further call upon the wage workers of

America to organize into integral Socialist Industrial Unions to enforce the fiat of their ballot, and to fulfill the needs and purposes of the Socialist Industrial Union Government. Industrial Unionism is the Socialist Republic IN THE MAKING; the goal reached—the Industrial Union—is the Socialist Republic in operation.

And we also call upon all other intelligent and social-minded citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join with us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the useful producers as a collective body [including social, cultural and educational services], and substituting the Socialist Industrial Cooperative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial and international wars and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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