
An Appeal to the Investigating Committee of the NEC.

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To Our English Speaking Comrades in the Socialist Party:

In order that all may know the truth and the facts in the controversy that has just passed under the investigation and decision of the National Executive Committee, this special edition of *Socialisti* is sent out.

We comment [*sic.*] your earnest attention and consideration to the contents of this paper.

For the best interests of the Party and the future of Socialism and the organization of the working class it is essential that the facts that follow should be made a part of your knowledge of the present conditions prevailing in the Socialist Party.

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An Appeal to the Investigating Committee of the NEC.

To the Investigating Committee elected by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to investigate the controversy within the Finnish Federation.

Dear Comrades:—

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee, Sept. 19, 20, 21, 1914, an appeal was made by several locals of the Finnish Federation that had started and already were supporting, financially or otherwise, the new paper *Socialisti*; by the Board of Directors of the *Socialisti*, and by several other locals that claimed to have suffered injustice from certain Party officers,

committees, and Party organs of the Finnish Federation. After hearing both sides, the Executive Committee decided to conduct a thorough investigation in this matter, and with a purpose to give justice to the appellants and to get the controversy settled for the good of the Party as well as of the Finnish Federation it recommended and advised the Finnish Federation to give a full and impartial hearing to the appellants at the special convention of the Finnish Organization to be held in November that had been called for that specific purpose. Regardless of the recommendations made by the Executive Committee, those now controlling the Finnish Federation have taken no steps to guarantee any representation of hearing to the appellants, but on the contrary have done everything to bar them from being represented or heard. Even at the convention they refused to grant their representatives any hearing, as to which action of the convention an appeal was made in vain during the proceedings.

1. What is the Issue of Controversy Within the Finnish Organization?

The old cry that revolutionary socialists are anarchists, etc. Within or without the working class those who either fully or partly represent the conservative ideas about socialism or its revolutionary conceptions have always attempted to advance their conservative principles, teachings, and practices with the cry that the advocates of revolutionary socialism and principles of class struggle are syndicalists, anarchists, etc. Those words are thus made a bugbear by which aid their users try to create terror in the minds of less informed workers, especially when their minds have been influenced by the capitalist press and other mediums of public opinion to give those words an undefined mean-

ing. On the other hand by calling those who criticized their conservative and confused ideas such names, they think that they can thus escape the exposition and defense of their own ideas, those terrorizing names serving in this case as a shield or cover for their unsound conceptions and tactics, which if openly exposed and freely discussed would show themselves in fact to be related to that anarcho-syndicalist philosophy for which relationship they blame or accuse revolutionary socialism. It is very easy and more common to escape an open discussion of one's own conservative ideas with the cry: "they are syndicalists, they are anarchists" — meaning those who cry to expose and advocate the principles of revolutionary socialism!

2. The Development of the Conception of the Socialist Theory, Tactics, and Propaganda in the Finnish Federation.

It is self-evident that when the socialistic movement began among the Finnish workers in America, the knowledge about socialist theories, philosophy, purposes, and ways were limited and thus the conceptions based on such slight knowledge of socialism of course was very confused. Both members and their chosen officers, organizers, and editors of the infant organizations and the papers were content with and carried away by the intense fight that necessarily began with the former organizations the workers had belonged to, namely between the church and temperance societies on the one side and the new born socialist clubs and organization on the other. In this struggle the intellectual side consisted in the rehashing of the speeches of Colonel Ingersoll, which were then translated in Finnish and everywhere in the US expounding as socialism, and as such it was the "Socialism" that the Finnish church and other revolutionary organizations fought. There also began an intense competition between the old and new organizations over the control and for the support of the issues. In this competition the "practical work" came in preponderance. It would have been almost impossible to reach the mass of the Finnish workers and especially the young people if the program of giving better entertainments, having better halls with smoother dancing floors, of developing better singing choruses, dramatic clubs, gymnastic associations, was not carried actively and lively along

by the newly organized socialist societies. It would have been very hard to reach the masses attending the halls of the temperance and other societies without such work. Thus this "hall socialism," which could as well be called a workingmen's social center movement, became the principle content and aim of the movement, [while] the real aspects of the socialist movement — the discussion and advancement of the socialistic theories, philosophy, and tactics, the participation in the American socialist movement, in its conventions, campaigns, etc. — was almost entirely neglected, especially the last named activities, or carried along as a thing of secondary importance. In the Easter District of the Finnish Federation and other places where this is still the case, a very great percentage of the membership are yet such "social center movement" socialists or as we call them, "hall socialists," whose knowledge about socialism is so small that they can not have their own conviction about its different aspects, but are easily led to accept the judgment of others, i.e., of the paper and Party organs nearest to them. Where socialism becomes a religion there will not develop a discussion of the principles or other things, but everything is pure harmony and solidarity.

But by and by the more important and more serious aspects of the socialist movement forced themselves upon the attention of the Finnish workers in the Socialist organizations, in the beginning naturally to the attention of only a few but later in an ever increasing number. With the growth of our papers began the more extensive translation of general news and articles of the American socialist press and periodicals. Through this door every question of socialism and every aspect of the labor movement forced its way to the attention of the Finnish workers and demanded to be discussed and assimilated. This process of assimilation of the news, theories, programs, etc. of the American or International Socialist and labor movement meant an ever-growing discussion and study of them and of socialism all through.

Instead of Ingersollian or other such liberalistic literature, now begins the translation into Finn of such books as James Altman's *God's Children*; Karl Kautsky, *The Road to Power*; Simons, *Class Struggles in America* and *The American Farmer*; Bogdanov's *Class Book of Social Economy*; Hillquit's *History of American Socialism*, works in socialist economy and sociology having

been translated here into the Finnish language mainly by teachers of the Working People's College. About the same time the Working People's College was organized to carry this scientific education of the American Finns more systematically than could be done through the medium of newspapers and periodicals or itinerant lecturers and speakers, or short lecture courses conducted by the locals.

Thus began the discussion of the socialist theory, program, and tactics, which grew more intensive the more the actual life of the Finnish workers brought them in close contact with American capitalism in strikes or otherwise, and with the American working class movement in the unions, shops, camps, and mills, which compelled our members to take notice of the American class struggle, i.e., the American working class movement in its every aspect.

But this discussion of socialist principles and tactics later grew into a more and more intensive fight in which on the one side were those who for the reason of their being industrial proletarians or by their knowledge of the English language came in closer touch with the American working class movement, or were compelled by their occupation as teachers in the college to make a deeper and continuous study of the theories and the history of the international labor movement and socialism, or as students in the college had the opportunity to more extensively study the principle and history of socialism than had their fellow workers when occupied by the work in the capitalists' mills, shops, etc., and on the other side were of course all those who for the reason that they were skilled craft workers, especially if employed by the capitalist individually, taking the work to their home, or by contract, were controlled by an individualistic conception of life, which hindered them in conceiving or assimilating the materialistic philosophy of socialism or other principles exposing the industrial basis of capitalism. Also those officials, organizers, and especially editors in the employ of the Federation or its papers, who either from the lack of knowledge of the English or any other language except the Finnish or from being too steadfastly occupied by the practical work in their positions, did not have the opportunity to make a deeper or more continuous study of the principles of socialism, and who thus preserved within themselves and defended all those confused ideas about socialism

which our movement in its infancy had accepted and had partly produced itself or that were absorbed piecemeal in a haphazard way from the press news and articles; and then there is the great mass of newcomers in our Federation, attracted to it by our entertainments, better dancing halls and floors, singing choruses, dramatic clubs, etc., who accepted as socialism whatever the official organs of the Federation have declared to be socialism, but of course more eagerly whatever has been closer to their present individualistic condition of mind, in which case such Socialism has been more conceivable than the revolutionary Marxism, which necessitates an entire revolution in one's former conception of life.

3. What are Those Confused Ideas Preserved and Propagated in Social Democracy and How The Work.

After the Finnish workers got rid of the intellectual control of the church, the Ingersollian liberalism became first their conception of socialism, and as they could not, as clearly shown in the foregoing, lead with a jump into the conception and adoption of revolutionary Marxism, the next step in the evolution of their conception of socialism was an undefined and sentimentalistic perception about the future socialistic society. This was painted for the minds of the workers with every vivid and glowing color in contrast to the present society, which was pictured as being absolutely impossible to live in. In accordance with this pessimistic state of mind in regard to the present society, i.e. in regard to the possibility of it being developed into a better one, the general idea among the American Finnish socialists at that time was that the workers must be first turned into "lumpen" proletarians before they could be socialists and become revolutionists and that all reforms only delay the coming of the future revolution of the socialistic society.

But the actual life, the many achievements within their own Federation along the lines of the social center movement already described, and later in the field of cooperative enterprises, also the ever increasing participation in the American political movement in its campaigns and conventions and in the union movement, by and by began to wear upon the impossibilistic pessimism of our members and carried a great major-

ity of them to the opposite extremity, namely to accept in the name of socialism almost every kind of reform and reformism and to oppose Marxian revolutionary socialism almost in every point of its theories or tactics, claiming it to be impossibilistic, syndicalistic, or anarchistic. The fight in our movement is now a struggle of a very undefined and confused unmarxian reformism against Marxian revolutionary socialism.

Without knowing it themselves, our so-called majority faction has thus accepted the entire program and principles of the French Millerandist reformism, except the adoption of minister portfolios in the capitalist government, which reformism was submitted to in the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam by Comrade Jaurés and there almost unanimously renounced and rejected.

And in the conception of history they fight the materialistic conception.

(a) In regard to the theory of the class struggle and classes. By their conception the working class is composed of all who work or labor. Ancient slaves, medieval serfs, modern wage slaves, small farmers, tenants, small producers, and merchants all together constitute as a whole the working class, and they do not distinguish that class, namely the modern proletarians, or wage workers of the capitalist system, upon which the working class movement and socialism in ever increasing percentage is entirely built and must be built.

(b) In their conception about exploitation they are still more confused. Instead of conceiving and adhering to the Marxian theory of the exploitation by surplus value robbed from the workers in the capitalist system of production and distribution, instead of using this as the line of division between those two classes, they divide the classes according to their incomes, in poor, rich, richer, etc., thus they take in the same class with the wage workers all who are in some way robbed, taxed, oppressed, cheated, etc., by the rich, big corporations, trusts, the government in the hands of big business, etc. They cannot see the distinction between the selling of labor power, which the wage workers are compelled to do, and of selling products of labor or commodities, which is done by the other classes.

(c) In regard to the relationship of the social productive system to the superstructure, including the state or government, which develops upon it, they are rather

inclined to reverse the other, and to make the government or state foundation and the social productive system the superstructure. They call it Anarchism or Syndicalism to say that the class character of the wage workers is an aspect of their position in the social production, that in the field of production the working class is created, developed, accumulated, concentrated, driven to organize itself and to fight as a class against the capitalist class and given that social power, significance, or importance that makes it also powerful in politics and in every other branch of the superstructure. Reversing the order, they believe that political power of a class is something by itself, self-existing, independent and not derived from the economic power of the respective class, but the original and therefore the main or controlling force in regard to the other.

Their confusion in the theories of socialism of course have led them to a confusion in their tactics:

(a) They welcome, without making the necessary distinction, even such reforms and other measures which constitute by themselves municipal or state capitalism instead of being socialistic measures within the respective political divisions.

(b) They try to make of Socialism a populist movement of compromise in the principles and tactics of socialism, in which they have gone so far they have given support to candidates of the capitalist parties or to their campaign, which is explicitly a violation of our party constitution. Others of them have been in favor of such violations.

(c) They have opposed and are still opposing, in some degree, the necessity of industrial unionism in favor of craft unionism or no unionism at all. In this they have gone so far that any criticism of the wrongs and injustices, abuses, or corruption in the craft unions or in the activity of their officers, has been either decried as anarchism or syndicalism, or such criticism suppressed entirely. Those who have tried to fulfill their duty toward the working class and socialism have been defamed and persecuted in many ways, so that the discussion of these important questions has thus been rendered almost impossible.

(d) They will claim that instead of having opposed industrial unionism, they have been fighting syndicalism and antiparlamentarism, and to prove their claim cite some specific instances.

Undoubtedly, they will quote among others the

standpoint taken in regards to political action by a former editor of *Työmies*, Lars Florell, and K.L. Haataja, formerly and at present a teacher in arithmetic and Finnish languages at the Working People's College.

Instead of accepting antiparliamentarist principles forwarded by these few individuals, the radical faction has been fighting against them as steadfastly as it has on the other side opposed the ultraparliamentarism of the conservatives. The ideas of Florell and Haataja have received no support at all in the radical faction and they have now no adherents as far as we know. Besides that, at least one of them, L. Florell, is not at all satisfied with the program and declaration of principles of the radical faction just for the reason that they give no support for the syndicalistic antiparliamentarism which he favors, as can be easily comprehended by reading the declaration of principles which has been printed in the first copy of the *Sosialisti* and then without a dissenting voice, unanimously adopted by all the radicals as their common program. (Published elsewhere in this issue).

As a matter of fact, be it here stated that Comrade L. Laukki, who will be accused of having favored those antiparliamentarist ideas of Haataja and Florell, already at that time opposed them, not by the way of calling them names, as was done by the conservatives, but trying to show and demonstrate to them the futility of antiparliamentarism and the necessity of political action of the working class, professing in his article that even the most radical syndicalists will sooner or later be forced to the adoption of political action.

But while agreeing with this fact they will claim the inconsistency of Comrade Laukki's stand, making the allegation that he has been giving his support to sabotage in certain articles published in *Työmies*, when he was Managing Editor of it. The truth about these articles is that Comrade Laukki at the time, 1911 and 1912, when the French syndicalistic movement and its new tactics came under a wide discussion in the American Party press, advocated that they should also be discussed in the Finnish Socialist papers so that Finnish workers would be informed about a question of importance to the workers, and would be able to intelligently determine their position in regard to the question. Though Comrade Laukki explicitly stated in his articles that the power to decide the question as to whether those new tactics should be adopted or not

belongs to the respective unions and labor organizations and Socialist Party, and that he would not decide that side of the question but would abide by the ruling party, yet the opponents of industrial unionism began to holler that he was favoring sabotage.

This claim as to whether Laukki had been advocating sabotage or not was later mitigated to read that he had indirectly favored it by certain phrases in his articles. After this Comrade Laukki in the shareholders meeting of *Työmies* stated that he had not either purported to give nor had given even an indirect support to what was claimed of those loose phrases, and the shareholders meeting was satisfied. Still later, to make his position clear and of no doubt that he was not directly or indirectly favoring what was claimed about him, he wrote an article in which he explained causes, nature, and results of such tactics. This article was written before the National Convention passed its resolution in the matter and shows clearly that the claim about Laukki's syndicalism is only advanced with the ulterior purpose to fight the revolutionary socialism and industrialism, which principles he has been continually expounding.

Further, they have claimed and undoubtedly will claim before the investigating committee that the Working People's College of Smithville, Minn., has been the hotbed of syndicalism and anarchism, to disrupt, and that the students have been taught to criticize and oppose the work of the Federation, its organs, and officials. It is true that many of the students when they have left the college have begun to use criticism, but it has been entirely turned against the wrong ideas, often absolutely foreign, and opposed to revolutionary Marxism, in which name these erroneous ideas have been advocated; or against the ignorance, the errors, and miscarriages of the Federation officials and organs, but not against the Federation or Socialist Party, as claimed by those who have been thus criticized.

It is self-evident that after a deeper study in the principles and history of the Socialist movement, workers began to criticize them and their fellow-workers, and their erroneous conceptions about it. And such criticism is not only a right of the members, but it is a duty, and of course, welcome to every movement.

Only when those errors or wrong ideas and acts that come under criticism cannot bear it, but begin to

quite it, or entirely suppress it by every kind of underhanded or bureaucratic measure and means, then, not the criticism but the suppressing of it will cause the disruption of that organization where it is perpetrated. The disruption within the Finnish Federation is very clearly and positively a result of a very fierce opposition in the main, of the officers in the organization against any criticism of their erroneous ideas, errors, or plain miscarriages in the offices.

And their claim that syndicalism has been taught in the College has never been proven, although the Executive Committee in control has made wide investigation...explicitly in this matter. To the contrary, in the College on this question of syndicalism, the professors lecturing in social sciences have tried to explain and emphasize the differences between the individualistic syndicalism of small labor groups and the revolutionary collectivist unionism of the industrial masses; the futility of the former and the strength of the latter named. In the College there has been prepared by Professors Sirola, Laukki, and Rissanen, all of whom are accused of being the very leaders of the syndicalist propaganda within the Finnish Federation, a compendium of their lectures on the questions of tactics and programs of the labor movement and socialism, of which the synopsis of the lectures on syndicalism submitted to the committee will clearly show the exact position of the College and the Professors on this question. And just for the reason that neither on this nor on any other question has the College or its Professors favored individualistic ideas or activities but, on the contrary, have very emphatically supported by their teachings only collectivist revolutionism both in principles and tactics, economic and political activity, they have been opposed by the other faction or the conservatives, whose conceptions are at the bottom through and through individualistic and reformistic.

But they say the College and the radical locals have been fighting the American labor unions, especially in the later years, among others, the WF of M [Western Federation of Miners]. Now to give the Committee the clearest and most telling demonstration of the singular relationship of the foreign speaking workers in regard to the labor unions, the case of the Finnish Metal Miners vs. WF of M will be here cited as a good example.

The first experience of the Finnish miners with

this labor union of which they had received the most favorable impression through the American Socialist press and from which they therefore hoped much was, however, that they could not agree with everything within this "industrial" union, especially not with the acts and policy of the officials of the WF of M. The strike of the Minnesota iron miners in the summer of 1907 is the case referred to. In this strike the Finnish miners, who, before that, were already to a very great degree affected by the socialist propaganda, showed how eager the workers were to join a labor union, which they believed to be a revolutionary and uncompromising representation of the working class. But then this strike, and as a matter of fact to a very great degree from the fault of the strikers themselves, turned into an absolute defeat instead of into a great victory for the strikers and the WF of M, the enthusiasm of the workers for the WF of M died off and they began to look with distrust on this union, especially as during the strike some organizers and officers of the WF of M had made themselves guilty of acts by which they lost the confidence of the workers. Afterward, however, while still giving this, at that time the most revolutionary industrial union, their support and hoping that it might develop so as to better represent the interests of the toiling miners, the Finnish socialist miners began to put the WF of M and especially the activity of its officers under a close scrutiny. As good fighters, easily organized in strong industrial and resourceful organization, liberally contributing to the collections, besides willingly paying all the dues and assessments levied on them for the benefit of strikes, etc., the Finnish miners were of course desired in WF of M by its officers and of course, for these reasons, liked by class conscious workers. But, on the other hand, for the reason that they were mostly socialists, and besides that developed to demand square dealing on the part of the officers in the unions, they were looked upon by those as troublemakers, and therefore, at least secretly, hated by every conservative element or corrupted officer in the union. This was clearly demonstrated in the case of the Butte Finnish Miners, members of the WF of M who were in the spring of 1912 together with a number of American Socialists fired in a body from the mines and put on the blacklist by the mining companies for the only reason that they were the backbone, not only of the socialist movement in Butte, in

which the success of the Socialist Party was in a very great degree due to their incessant and untiring work, but also of the movement among the members to develop their local union into a fighting organization against the copper trust, which the corporation feared almost more than anything else.

In those trying days the Finnish miners, just on the eve of the campaign for the general and municipal election, were most barbarously persecuted by the mining companies for their socialistic and class conscious union stand, that very organization which had in the most solemn way bound itself to defend its members against even such oppression on the part of the capitalists cowardly deserted them. In these troublesome days, the Butte miners, who knew about the history of their local union, decided to bring to light the hidden cause of the degradation of this great labor organization, to make it into a better one. Many things were in those days revealed to the Finnish workers all around the US about such aspects of the WF of M — about the corrupt relationship between the companies and its officers, things which these workers had not know before or even dreamed to be possible. The Butte Finnish miners have together with the great majority of miners of other nationalities at least revolted against all this vile corruption of their union officials, against the control of the company; when they had revolted with the purpose of obtaining the control of their union in their own hands so that they could use it to defend themselves against the oppression and exploitation of the companies, then they are decried as syndicalists, anarchists, disloyal to their union, etc. And, by whom, have they thus in the most inhuman manner been defamed? Sad to say, among others, by their own papers, namely — the Finnish Socialist Miners of Butte by *Työmies*, that paper which they themselves nourished to be their true defender in the fight for social justice against capitalist injustice wherever this appeared.

And the experience the Finnish copper miners had in the Michigan copper mine strike with American labor unions has still more opened their eyes to wonder over the inconsistencies in American labor unionism. The fact that whatever help the strikers received from outsiders, except what they obtained from the WF of M and UMW, was donated to a very great degree by the Finnish Socialists, and especially the fact

that the great AF of L, despite all hopes of the strikers and all assurances of their organizers and *Työmies*, did not come to the help of the strikers. This created bitterness in the hearts of the strikers and Finnish workers in general, of course, against this organization, the accusing words of [WF of M leader] Moyer that “if the strike is lost, it is the fault of the AF of L” taking deep root in their minds. To expect the Finnish workers after such experience not to criticize those organizations and not to try to get the wrongs in the unions to which they have belonged corrected, would be to expect too much.

It would be suicide for the Socialist Party or its organs, if they would turn themselves into a tool to force the workers, namely members of the party, under penalty of expulsion from the party to give their support or join a union which the workers have themselves through such experiences come to condemn. This is exactly what has been attempted by the Finnish Federation, and this, among other features in the fight about the control over *Työmies* has been the desire of the Finnish organizers of the WF of M — to influence *Työmies* and place it in the control of the conservative faction within our Federation, which sides with the officers and official organs of the unions and the WF of M rather than with the membership, helping the former to suppress the criticism and demands of the latter. *Työmies* is now merely a tool of WF of M officers against its former Finnish members.

In the case of the new Finnish Socialist daily, organized by the locals and members which have not only been deprived of the right to bring into the open their conceptions, their criticisms of abuse, etc., within the organization itself or elsewhere, but who were robbed of the paper they had founded and loyally supported among others also for that purpose, namely the *Työmies*, in regard to this new paper, the conservatives maliciously decry that *Sosialisti* is syndicalist or advocates syndicalism, disloyalty to the party, etc.

The standpoint taken by *Sosialisti*, its program and editorial policy, is clearly shown in its declaration of principles and it is the best proof of how entirely false their claim is.

We beg the Committee to give special attention to those paragraphs of the declaration, in which *Sosialisti* expounds its position in regard to political action, social evolution and reforms, and labor union-

ism, industrial and craft, and explains the reasons why and how *Sosialisti* is in favor of those actions or forms of labor organization, etc. As a matter of fact, we point out that the other papers have not any consistent program drafted and that is one reason why their editors are confusing everything.

Further, we submit to the Committee a whole mass of articles in which the campaign programs of several state organizations of the party are completely translated and especially explained to the Finnish workers, and other articles of the same nature, which proves that *Sosialisti* has been a true Socialist paper. As a matter of fact, we again point out to the Committee that our conservative papers have not cared to help the Finnish workers with such articles and translations to receive information about the Socialist campaign program, the election procedures, etc. Their Editor's time has been lost almost entirely in writing defamatory articles against comrades and locals.

In the case of Richard Jones, a Duluth attorney who had in the primaries last spring been nominated as candidate for State Senator, the conservatives will demonstrate that in *Sosialisti* advice had been published to the Socialist voters not to vote for Jones. The fact in this case is that such advice had been really published, but, as the documents of the St. Louis County Committee of the Socialist Party prove, [this is explained by] the just reason that Jones had refused to comply with the advice and demands of the Country Committee conducting the Socialist Party campaign in St. Louis County, Minnesota, and therefore he was duly declared not to be the candidate of the Socialist Party.

In the case of Mrs. Staples, Mrs. Fournier, and Nash, of Minnesota, *Sosialisti* has been taking a stand against the same phenomenon as in the Jones case, or against the disregard on the part of those comrades of the party constitution, which explicitly forbids the party members to give support to the candidates of other political parties. In this the accusers of those comrades have been mainly the Minnesota English speaking locals, and also those Finnish comrades or locals who belong to the conservative faction. The editors of *Työmies* alone and against the protest of its own present followers has given support to these open violations of the party constitution. If the stand taken by *Sosialisti* in regard to the acts of those comrades is syndicalistic, then so also is the clause in the party con-

stitution in which our party most emphatically declares itself for independent and uncompromising political action and makes the assistance of other parties a party violation.

Their claim that *Sosialisti* or the locals backing it are controlled or led by the IWW is pure fiction. As a labor union the IWW has received of *Sosialisti* the consideration due to it as have the other unions. At the same time, *Sosialisti* has been very emphatically and uncompromisingly fighting such tendencies in the IWW as are not in harmony with the Socialist principles of political action, but are individualistic, antiparlamentarian, or against political action. On the contrary, the conservatives in our organization have been fighting against the IWW as such, as a labor organization and among others, have decided to submit to the Party a motion that it should at its next convention declare itself positively and absolutely against the IWW and begin a fight against it in favor of the AF of L. In one of the radical locals, namely in Local Eureka, Cal., a motion that Finnish Socialist locals should join the IWW directly has been made, **but it has not received any support, either from *Sosialisti* or any other local.**

And in conclusion, we desire to bring to the attention of the Committee that we are not at all desirous or bound to answer — nor can our faction, *Sosialisti*, or Working People's College be made to answer — for every word or line said or written by every individual person now belonging to our faction. In the other faction there is a great majority which has sided with it entirely because of ignorance of socialistic principles and labor movement history and therefore leave it as soon as they begin to study socialism and become better informed about it.

There are, on the other hand, not a few in our faction who have sided with us because of the injustices which they have had to suffer at the hands of the officers and organs of the Federation or for other such causes of personal character, but not for the reason that they had already eliminated our principles, which they undoubtedly will do, by and by.

Such individuals have, of course, the inclination to diverge from the principles our faction has adopted and is generally adhering to. That their diverging and sometimes entirely opposing ideas have appeared in the *Sosialisti* is due to that principle in the policy of

the *Socialisti* which is clearly stated in the first paragraph of the Declaration, that according to our firm belief the best way to get unsound ideas dispersed is to give them publicity and thus bring them under the purifying fire of discussion.

The conservative opponents of *Socialisti*, Working People's College, etc., try now to make them answer for such purely individual writings or acts, which have been condemned and opposed, their unsoundness explained by those institutions and organs which are accused of them. It is a general policy with all those who cannot find fault in the principles and policy of the respective institutions of movements to search for such ways to attack them. Rather than ruin the working class movement by bureaucratic suppression of its supporters which it does not agree with, *Socialisti* will give them publicity and by a continuous and uncompromising exposition and explanation of the principles of [the] revolutionary socialism it has adopted for its program, [it will attempt] to get those comrades to agree with the principles of International Socialism.

4. What Kind of Tactics Have Been Used by the Administration and its Supporters in the Guise of Defending and Hiding the Conservative Ideas Referred to Above?

1. Due to their individualistic and conservative conceptions, the so-called majority faction has used every kind of bureaucratic method of silencing and suppressing the advance of revolutionary socialism and subduing its advocates within the Finnish organization. In their imaginary fight against syndicalism and anarchism they consequently feel justified in using any and all methods, personal persecution, violation of the principles and laws of the party organization, arbitrary suppression of the rights and liberties of individual members and locals, etc. Against whatever wrongs we socialists fight, the moral of the Jesuits of the Roman Catholic church in the Middle Ages cannot be justified in our fights. That our majority faction adopts such methods is the most lucid demonstration of conservatism and the futility of their cause.

2. Usurpation of power and atrocities by the present administration, the Eastern District Committee, the papers in the hands of the controlling faction, and other officials in some locals or committees to-

wards locals and persons representing or belonging to the other faction will be partly shown in the following:

(a) In direct violation of the constitution and rules of discipline a systematic public slander and persecution has been started against such individual members as have represented the Marxian revolutionary socialism. Once stated by the press, this has become an established custom generally and, as a consequence, members in our Federation — not only in one faction, but similarly on both sides — are using most bilious language towards each other.

(b) Similar persecution has been extended to apply to locals as well as organization committees or institutions that have protested or disavowed [the majority faction]. In connection with this and other matters censorship has been applied even to official communications of party locals and organs, not to speak of unofficial letters or articles, regardless of the fact that our party press is by rule and established custom the only channel of communication and open forum for discussion within our organization.

(c) Financial boycotting, secretly and openly, has been perpetrated towards certain locals and institutions, especially the Workers' College.

(d) Some locals, namely Ashtabula, Ashtabula Harbor, and Warren, Ohio; Donora and Erie, Pa.; Bronx, NY, have been expelled from the organization and were attempted to be expelled also from their respective state organizations of the Socialist Party for the reason that they have refused to submit to such boycotting and have, relying upon their rights in the party, refused to be parties in such boycotting of institutions and individuals, which they have been ordered to do under penalty of expulsion. This has been done in spite of a reversive order by a constitutionally higher authority than the Federation, the National Executive Committee, and without attempting to reverse the order of such higher authority through the membership referendums our constitution provides.

(e) Members and locals have been incited not to fulfill their duties, such as paying their special assessments, etc., for the institutions under such persecution, an several locals have readily acted according to such advising and urging.

(f) A healthy and active local (Negaunee, Mich.) has been most flagrantly expelled from the party and

deprived of its right to possession of its property through the aid of an injunction handed down by a capitalist judge, the above mentioned party organs undertaking to defend this incident as well as a general rule.

(g) When the Executive Committee of our organization at that time first, could not approve the action of a party paper and the Eastern District Committee, fighting another organ of the party, the Workers' College; second, could not allow the Eastern District Committee to expel locals from the organization for the reason that they had refused to boycott the College and its agent, who was then traveling among the Finnish locals by the consent of the Executive Committee; third, would not sanctify the manner and methods with which Finnish Local Negaunee was expelled from the party and the great majority of its members deprived of their right to settle the matter and prevent it being taken into capitalistic court by making a thorough investigation with the aid of the Central District Committee and urged the Michigan State Executive Committee to do likewise;

Because the members of the Executive Committee did their duty the meanest possible kind of public slandering against the committee as a whole and especially against three of its members, who, in the subsequent election of organization officials, ran for re-election, was started and kept on continuously by *Raivaaja*, the Eastern District Committee, National Committeeman Frank Aaltonen of Michigan, and their followers. During the last election of the Executive Committee, *Raivaaja* published and republished a slate for the membership to vote for as their next Executive Committee and the same slate was also published in *Työmies*. The Eastern District Committee (a committee elected exclusively for propaganda purposes) published in all the locals in the country with a lengthy article containing the most vicious charges and insinuations against the Executive Committee members, while publicity was denied to the other side. In short, the readership was one-sidedly told by the party press, and by some party committees that were controlled by the press, for whom they must vote and for whom they must not vote on a referendum ballot in order to safeguard themselves from being thrown out of the Socialist Party as "syndicalists," "doubleyuns," and anything devilish enough for a decent person and a

simple party member to be of being so named. Consequently the entire *Raivaaja* slate was carried as an Executive Committee for 1914 by a safe plurality.

(h) The new Executive Committee started to aggravate the already critical situation from their first act, admitting the newly organized local in Negaunee into our organization without trying to settle the controversy between the two Finnish locals in Negaunee. Its second act rescinded some decisions of the former Executive Committee at the demand of the Eastern District Committee, in spite of the fact that such decisions had been in force several months and that no attempt or proposal had ever been made to annul them according to our constitutional provisions. [The new Executive Committee] also took sides with the editors of *Raivaaja* and the Eastern District Committee (some of whom were the same persons) in personal persecution and obstruction of the work of our Translator-Secretary [J.W. Sarlund], who was reelected without opposition at the time the Executive Committee was elected.

(i) Without any authority to do so, the Executive Committee has arbitrarily refused to publish or submit for seconds duly made motions for membership referendum, to wit: A motion by Local Ashtabula, Ohio, calling for referendum to annul the action of the Executive Committee in rescinding certain decisions of the former Executive Committee; motions by Locals Monessen, Pa., and Butte, Mont. concerning a proposed investigation of the Working People's College; motions by Locals Red Lodge, Mont., and Portland, Ore. proposing that the decisions of the Executive Committee of June 17th, 1914, expelling and suspending locals and members that were known to be supporting in any manner whatever the new paper *Sosialisti*, be set aside in order that all factions might take part in the election of delegates to the coming special convention where the question of the organization's relation to the *Sosialisti* and its supporters was to be finally decided.

(j) In an editorial *Raivaaja* declared a duly made motion by Finnish Branch No. 1 of Chicago, asking for recall of six members of the Executive Committee and an election of their successors through a special referendum in case this motion was carried out, to be out of order and that it could not be submitted by the Executive Committee because there is no specific clause

in our constitution in regard to motions for recall of officers. The motion and its comment was, however, published in *Työmies* and *Toveri* and the demand for its submission to a referendum of the membership was so great that it was finally submitted by the Executive Committee, although not in its original form and language.

(k) While there was a properly submitted motion for referendum (by Local Miami, Ariz.) out for seconds and thus being under consideration by the membership, which motion called for the expulsion of those individuals from the Finnish organization who were in any way connected with establishing *Sosialisti* and the suspension of such locals that had decided to support that paper, the Executive Committee at its meeting in the month of June undertook to decide the same matter beforehand. In that meeting they decided that all members and locals in any way whatever supporting the new paper should be expelled from the organization, in fact they decided upon the same matter that Local Miami had asked to be decided by the membership through referendum vote and which motion the committee itself had recently submitted to the membership as requested by the local making the motion. This action by the committee created great confusion among the membership generally; some supporters of the new paper thought they were automatically expelled from the organization; some expected an official notification of the fact. Members did not know whether or not they had a right to vote upon the Miami motion, and many refused to vote because they understood the matter had been already decided by the Executive Committee and some refused because they thought such motion illegal as far as it called for expulsion of individual members, a power which heretofore had belonged to the locals.

(l) At the time Comrade A. Rissanen, National Committee Member from Minnesota, was the editor in chief of *Työmies*. He disavowed and opposed the injustices that the Negaunee local suffered also the boycott under which the Working People's College was placed. But when he returned to the College as a professor in Economics and Sociology, the opponents of the College having extended their boycott to prevent it obtaining teachers, the opportunity to change the policy of *Työmies* had arrived. As long as *Työmies* sided with the locals and the membership of our organiza-

tion against those organs and committees above named, their grip of power was not safe, especially their control of the Executive Committee and the referendum vote. The necessity of capturing *Työmies*, the leading paper of the organization, thus grew apace with the growing bureaucracy and with the injustices perpetrated by it against the membership, the Working People's College, etc. Comrade S. Alanne, who was known to be a willing tool of the *Raivaaja*-Aaltonen machine was elected to the vacant editor's chair with the most intensive campaign support of *Raivaaja* and the other allies.

(m) When Alanne then changed the policy of *Työmies* to agree with the desires and machinations of the editors of *Raivaaja*, the Eastern District Committee, and Aaltonen, the readers and supporters of *Työmies*, members, and locals began to be dissatisfied with the paper and there upon to protest very energetically against the change. And only the fact that at that time the strike of the Michigan copper miners was going on, thus demanding the united support of all, saved Alanne and his policy from being recalled from the *Työmies*, he very cleverly making use of this situation to strengthen his position on *Työmies*. The copper miners' strike was thus turned into a shield to protect Alanne and his new policy against justified criticism and attempts to correct it, because such attempts would have easily been explained by Alanne and his associates as being intended to injure the cause of the strikers, which they actually did to quiet justified criticism. The reason that Alanne was not recalled was the very efficient support he received from the Finnish organizers of the WF of M, the cause of which support has already been explained. For the support received Alanne submitted his editorial policy and in some instances articles sent from the readers to the supervision of WF of M local representatives.

(n) But meanwhile the regular convention of the Middle District Organization was called and convened in Duluth, Minn., February 21-28, 1914, with 49 delegates regularly elected by referendum vote of the membership divided among all locals in the Middle district into election districts according to the rules. The representatives of *Työmies*, the Working People's College, and Central District Committee having one voice each in the convention.

Besides the matter of organization and propa-

ganda work of amending the constitution of the District Organization, etc., the following questions were also taken up for discussion and for action in the convention:

1. The editorial policy of *Työmies*, over which the power of the first instance to advise, correct, and control belongs, according to the Constitution of the Finnish Federation, to the District Organization;

2. The management of *Työmies*, over which the District Organization has the same power of advisement as in the previous matter.

3. The Negaunee troubles. Local Negaunee being in the Middle District and thus within the jurisdiction of the District Convention in all questions specified in the Federation and Party Constitution;

4. The case of Working People's College, which is situated in the Middle District and has always received a more liberal and stronger support of the locals and members of this district. The reason that the District Convention was asked to take this matter in its program was the activity of *Raivaaja* and the Eastern District Committee, who were at that time endeavoring to extend the boycott of the College all over the organization and had just prepared a new attack against the College. A new dormitory had just been built for the College, meeting the needs of the College. The decision of the referendum of all the locals and members supporting the College being supporters of it, this referendum was taken in accordance of the explicit-will of the organization, agreed to be in a contract made between the organization and the Working People's College Co. The opposition of *Raivaaja* and the other opponents of the College to the plan of erecting a new building had been defeated by the referendum, which overwhelmingly decided for the new building. This defeat embittered the editors of *Raivaaja* and their allies. They continued their fight after this with increasing intensity, *Raivaaja* publishing articles in which members of the organization were ordered not to pay extra dues levied for the College or otherwise to give financial support to it. The Eastern District Committee and *Raivaaja* giving support to this financial boycott of the College, advising the locals not to have entertainments to support the College, advised by the Executive Committee.

(o) After thorough discussion and investigation of all available documents the convention passed cer-

tain resolutions in regard to these questions, to wit:

1. That the editorial policy of *Työmies* should be changed to agree with the theories and conceptions of tactics of revolutionary Marxian socialism and thus to satisfy its supporters, as it has done before. To reach this end the convention recommended certain changes in the editorial staff of *Työmies*.

2. That an investigation should be made of the business management of *Työmies*, because there were in circulation well founded rumors of misconduct in the management and great deficits in the financial balance of the paper. Several weeks before the convention three members of the Board of Directors and four editors of the paper had held a meeting to discuss and agree on ways to inform the stockholding locals and party members about the confusion and misconduct in the management of the paper which placed the paper in grave danger of going into bankruptcy. This meeting they held after they had tried in vain to correct the matter through the Board of Directors, protesting against its policy of mismanagement and demanding reforms. The majority of the Board of Directors refused to give any notice to warnings and demands, but went ahead and besides that with the connivance and help of Comrade Alanne, they were not allowed the use of the paper to inform the stockholders and locals about the conditions of *Työmies* and thus to appeal to the owners of the paper to correct the matter before it would be too late. Moreover those editors and minority members of the Board of Directors were branded afterward as conspirators and the information they had to give the stockholders about the conditions in *Työmies* was alleged to be falsehood and calumny devilishly invented to injure and destroy *Työmies*. Although afterward in the annual meeting of the shareholders, which was in full control of the conservatives, the so-called calumny was more than borne out by the financial statement of the manager and the auditors by the fact of a deficit of over \$15,000. Although the charge of mismanagement was proven to be true, one of the comrades was expelled from the Waukegan Finnish Local for the reason that he had participated in the distribution of the minutes of said meeting informing the shareholders, locals, and members of the conditions on *Työmies*.

(p) But the resolution passed by the convention with regard to *Työmies* remained a dead letter, the Board

of Directors and Editor-in-Chief refusing to comply with the recommendations made, alleging that the convention had not been regular and impartial and that as a business corporation *Työmies* is not compelled to take notice of the resolution and demands of the convention, this being only an outside political gathering.

As a matter of fact, be it here stated that although *Työmies* and the other papers made a very vigorous campaign to disparage the resolution passed by the convention, claiming them to be null and void, locals in the Middle District did not recall the decisions of the convention by referendum vote, nor have they otherwise been overruled, so that they are still in force according to our Federation Constitution. *Työmies* refusing to comply with those duly adopted recommendations of the convention has lost its right to the support of the organization against which it then showed disobedience. The District Committee of the Middle District has for this reason declared *Työmies* to have forfeited the right to the support of this District Organization.

(q) Then the locals, stirred by the flagrant insubordination of *Työmies* under the resolution of the organization and the demand of the constitution, made a call for an extra session of the shareholders, locals, and members to discuss the situation and to take such steps as would compel the Board of Directors and Editor-in-Chief to comply with the demands of the organization. But before this extra session of the shareholders convened, the Board of Directors and their accomplices, knowing that those locals who were supporting the organization owned a controlling majority of the outstanding capital stock of *Työmies*, meanwhile began to conspire with the connivance of their allies in *Raivaaja* and the Eastern District Committee to destroy the control of these locals in the stockholding company.

This was attained by a secret transfer in the name of the *Raivaaja* Publishing Co. of 2,000 shares of *Työmies* Publishing Co. stock and receiving no money in payment for the shares, although the sale was afterward claimed to have been transacted to help *Työmies* out of the financial stringency into which it had fallen.

After this and *Bessemer* covering by this secret transfer of a controlling number of shares in the hands of the allies, a number of shares was in due order sold

to such locals, mainly in the Eastern District, that were in the control of the men in power.

Locals in the Middle District were then cajoled into depositing their funds with *Työmies* against shares or otherwise, the aim of the machine men being to get the funds without losing control of the paper, which was secured by the secret sale of stock to the allies. But these locals, suspecting foul play, did not fall into the trap. Before they were willing to buy shares they demanded a list of shareholders and number of shares they owned. And when *Työmies* first refused to send such list to the demanding locals and then published a false list, those locals kept their funds for themselves and escaped being cheated.

(r) The allies in control of the shareholders meeting approved the secret and illegal transaction of the Directors, etc., despite that:

1. It was shown to them to be against the ethics of socialism and contrary to the practice of the organized labor movement — secret and unjustified concentration of power in the hands of a few;

2. To be disruptive both in regard to the Finnish Organization and to *Työmies* itself, causing justified disgust and bitterness in the locals and among members who have thus been cheated of their rights in regard to the paper, and who had been the best and most generous supporters of it.

(s) Thus *Työmies* had entirely passed from the control of the District Organization and the locals and if they did not wish to go the capitalist courts to have their rights upheld against such illegal usurpation, they had only one way left to obtain a hearing and to defend their rights and position and that was to start a paper of their own. *Sosialisti* was thus launched and organized. And it has now, as a sworn statement of the manager shows, over 5,000 subscribers, the greatest part of them being party members, as proven by a canvass conducted among them. *Sosialisti* has the support of more than 50 locals and several groups in locals which are in the control of the conservatives. As the proxies turned over to the investigation committee will easily show, the great majority of the supporter of *Sosialisti* are old and experienced party members who have been with the movement for several years. This fact alone suffices to disprove the claim put forth that *Sosialisti* is supported by inexperienced, young members who are easily carried along by every new propo-

sition, unconscious of what they support. *Sosialisti* has the support of just those members in the Finnish Federation who have a more thorough knowledge of the principles of socialism and the largest experience in the socialist movement.

Besides the fact that the launching of *Sosialisti* was well justified as above clearly demonstrated, the starting of a new paper and the support of it is constitutional in our Federation and can not be prohibited by any constitution without encroachment upon the liberties and right of the members of the organization in question.

(t) It is self-evident that a bitter and vicious campaign of calumny, malice, and persecution was started against the new paper and all those comrades or locals who rushed to its support. In *Työmies* and *Raivaaja*, *Sosialisti* was claimed to have been organized by the Steel Trust, its editors and other supporters were described to be hirelings of this most hated capitalist organization, etc. Of course these and other infamous accusations were not at all proved, nor any attempt made to prove them despite demands many times made in connection with answers written to show and prove from what sources *Sosialisti* receives its only support. Just with the purpose to get such vicious calumny of party members and *Sosialisti* stopped, this appeal has been made to the National Executive Committee. We desire to know if the Finnish Federation can act as if it did not belong to the American Socialist Party and was not in the United States, but in Russia, practicing Tsarism.

(u) Very soon after this the Executive Committee of the Federation ruled all those locals and individual members as expelled from the organization who in any way were connected with or gave support to the new paper. Meanwhile a motion to call a referendum on this question was also made, seconded, and voted upon, the confusion prevailing in this referendum assisting its adoption, as has been explained in the foregoing.

(v) After this irregular referendum had been carried, the Executive Committee has expelled from the Federation over 20 locals and several locals have expelled members numbering from one and two to close to a hundred from the local and from the Party, some for just reading *Sosialisti*, others for subscribing for it, and others for being shareholders and otherwise more

closely supporting it. The causes for the expulsion and the respective number of members expelled for each reason above stated are shown in the proxies sent to the undersigned as their representatives, those proxies in the keeping of the National Executive Committee.

This persecution of locals and members in the Federation has still continued and although after the National Executive Committee in its session of Sept. 19, 20, and 21 had in the resolution it passed on the appeal made to it, recommended and ordered the Finnish Federation not to expel any members for the reason of reading and subscribing to *Sosialisti*, and ordered that already expelled members should be reinstated, that the situation should not be aggravated, and that a full and impartial hearing should be guaranteed to the expelled locals in the extra convention of the Finnish Federation called for the special purpose of making thorough investigation on the question in controversy and to correct the error, injustices, etc. made. Members expelled from the locals have not been reinstated, although in several cases the State and County Organizations through their committees have upon appeal to them so decided and ordered. The prevailing idea being among those locals is that they do not have to comply with the State Constitution of the Organizations when their actions or their federation rules come into conflict with the State, County, or Party Constitutions.

(w) If the intention of the National Executive Committee had been to secure representation to both factions at this special convention by the resolution it had passed and especially by ordering the Federation to give a full and impartial hearing to the other side, it utterly failed in its intention for the reason that the Executive Committee of the Finnish Federation and others in power have done everything possible to exclude the other side from representation. Expelled locals and members were not reinstated so they could participate in the election of delegates to the convention, but the expulsion and persecution of members continued. Besides that when Local Red Lodge made a motion for referendum that all expelled locals and members should be reinstated in order that they could participate in the referendum and election of delegates to the special convention, this referendum, although seconded by several locals in each district, was arbitrarily suppressed by the Executive Committee, for the

reason that if carried the schemes of the Executive Committee and the *Raivaaja-Työmies* alliance might have gone to pieces because a majority of radical delegates in the convention would have been certain. For this reason a very great number of locals still nominally in the Federation have refrained from participating in the election of delegates to the convention because of the expulsion of radical locals and members, the refusal to follow the advice of the National Executive Committee, and the arbitrary suppression of Local Red Lodge referendum motion had all amply proved to the membership that the convention had been in advance intended to be a machine convention and not a regular representation of the membership.

Thus in the election of the delegates to this convention only 125 locals and about 3,000 members have participated; over 20 expelled locals and about 3,000 members have not had any chance to participate in the elections and the great majority — or over 100 locals and about 5,000 to 6,000 members — have refrained or more explicitly, for the reasons stated above, refused to participate in the election.

Also otherwise this special convention is irregular and anything else but representative of the membership of the Finnish Federation. Nominations of such comrades as have been known to be in opposition to the machine policy of the *Raivaaja* alliance have been “lost” by the Translator-Secretary and their names have not appeared on the ballot of candidates. Several locals have afterward made their protest against such suppression of their rights to nomination. Besides that, among the delegates were those who had not been regularly nominated at all but some members had during the election given their votes to them and the Translator-Secretary summarily declared them to be regular delegates. In one case the right to be delegate was given a former member of the Federation who has withdrawn from his local (the Chicago local) to organize a rival in the same ward, but which scheme had failed for the reason that the Cook County delegate convention had refused to charter it, said member being out of the party, his application to membership not yet decided. He is besides that still a member of the Executive Board of the Finnish Federation, although by his voluntary withdrawal from the local, all his rights in the Party should be, at least, suspended.

Therefore whatever claims the present officers

of the Finnish Federation or this special convention itself advance about the convention being the regular and constitutional representation of the Finnish Federation, the irregularity and illegality of the convention is so apparent that the approval of the convention and its resolution by the National Executive Committee would be a great error and injustice not only toward the great majority of the Finnish Federationists but also to the best interests of the Party.

The gravity of this important question should be apparent to the committee also for the reason that whenever the National Executive Committee or its investigators have declared themselves to stand for the Finnish Federation, for the united and harmonious strong organization it used to be, the present officials of the Federation and the *Raivaaja-Työmies* alliance have told to the membership that the National Executive Committee has declared itself in support of their faction and thus has automatically approved whatever injustices they have perpetrated. The chairman of their convention has openly declared that the expulsion of the radicals from the Party has already been decided. In their papers has been printed in bold headlines an announcement that one of the representatives of the National Executive Committee, Comrade [Oscar] Ameringer, has declared the radical faction to be anarchists. Such claims of partiality and collusion made by those papers and officials tend to minimize the esteem of investigators and the fairness of this trial in the eyes of the membership.

(x) We further desire to bring to the notice of the National Executive Committee the fact already well known to the investigators representing the NEC that despite the advice of the NEC included in the resolution of Sept. 19, 20, and 21, 1914, that the appellants should be given a fair and impartial hearing at the special convention of the Finnish Federation for reasons stated above, the convention did not give any hearing at all, nor did it grant the floor on the question of regularity or the irregularities and injustice of the convention, although an appeal was made to the representatives of the NEC.

Thus the convention in its representation, proceedings, and resolutions passed, represents only the other, or conservative faction of the Finnish Federation and is entitled to a hearing only as such.

(y) Of the resolution passed in this faction con-

vention, special attention of the NEC is called to the following:

1. The resolution in regard to *Sosialisti*, which shows that the Federation officials and the *Raivaaja-Työmies* faction intended to continue the persecution of all such members and locals who give their support to *Sosialisti*, or who are stockholders, subscription solicitors, editors, Board of Directors members, or originators of *Sosialisti*;

2. The resolution in regard to the Working People's College, which was declared by the convention under boycott as a bourgeois institution, which it decidedly is not;

3. The resolution to incorporate the Executive Committee of the Federation, the aim being to concentrate the legal ownership of all the property of the different locals in the hands of the Executive Committee, which would give it the power to whip the protesting locals and members into submission under the penalty of otherwise losing their halls and other property if expelled from the Federation.

Anticipating such acts of encroachment upon their rights of ownership and use of property they have themselves collected and especially after the *Työmies-Raivaaja* coalition started to cast nets around to catch the property of locals for their use, mortgaging already several halls for loans taken in favor of *Työmies*, those locals which did not desire their halls or other property to be taken from them for such ulterior purposes, among others for the purpose of suppressing and victimizing them, hurried to incorporate the ownership of their property in the name of the local. Under the ethics of socialism they were fully justified in taking

such steps to defend their property against the encroachments and intended robbery by the gang now in control of the Finnish Federation, especially as those locals thus saved the property to the Socialist Party and socialist movement from being used for the uncontrolled and ulterior purposes of the men controlling *Raivaaja-Työmies* and the Finnish Federation.

4. Despite the fact that the NEC in its sessions of Sept. 19, 20, and 21 positively declared that a language federation has not the power to expel members from the Party, [authority] which belongs to the State and other organization of the Party proper, this convention has passed resolutions demanding such disciplinary power in the Party, and there is a movement on foot to get the Translator-Secretaries of the other federations to join in such a demand. We desire to point out in this question only the fact that if such demand was conceded, there would be several parties in the Party, the members of each language federation having double power of disciplinary rights, first as members of their language federation and the second time as members of the respective State organization. Our view is that the language federations should be only auxiliary organizations under the control of the Party, its State and other regular organizations, with only the same rights to the control of members and Party matters which the American socialists have as members of the respective State and County organizations. Granting special rights [will tend to establish] an independent Finnish Socialist, a Slavic, etc. movement, instead of [these groups as] an integral part of the American Socialist movement.

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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