
Report of Executive Secretary to the National Executive Committee: Chicago, Illinois — Aug. 8, 1918.

by Adolph Germer

Report delivered to the Conference of State Secretaries and Socialist Officials, Chicago.
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Chicago, Illinois,
August 8th, 1918.

To the National Executive Committee
of the Socialist Party.

Comrades:

In this report I have chiefly confined myself, except for a brief comment, to a review of Party activities since the St. Louis Convention [April 7-14, 1917], together with such recommendations as I feel should be considered at this meeting.

At no time since our movement was founded, in fact, at no time in human history, has mankind been taxed, in life and treasure, as during the world war started 4 years ago. This is the price we are paying for speeding the breakdown of the old order and hastening the realization of the Socialist goal.

In this country, as in every other, the war has profoundly changed the economic system of pre-war days. Far reaching and important changes have been introduced in industry. Employers (and certain elements in the labor movement) in the past, looked upon government control as an intolerable infringement of rights, and as impracticable of operation. These innovations have been accepted temporarily at least, under protest, from the element that still clings to the individualistic and competitive traditions. Government control was justified by the Democratic administration as a "national necessity," and it was explained that the unprecedented situation called for drastic action.

As Arthur Henderson so well says, "We have entered upon a new world. With the main features of this new world we are yet unfamiliar."

Naturally, those who exploited labor before the war and who are exploiting labor during the war, will seek to shape the new world in such a manner as to continue the exploitation when the war is ended. Profit is the one god worshipped by the industrial overlords, irrespective of the burdens it imposes on the people. This was so clearly brought out in the report submitted to Congress by the Federal Trade Commission under date of June 29, 1918, which shows that in 3 years the 5 big packers alone have gouged the people for \$121 million in excessive war profits.

If the profiteers will fleece the American people to the tune of hundreds of millions in excessive war profits, when the flower of American manhood is giving its life on the battlefield to crush the Prussian military despotism, what is it that these bleary-eyed and conscienceless monsters of finance will not do when the war is over and the cry of the Prussian danger can no longer be raised. Then, perhaps, the finger will be pointed to the Orient and we will be warned against the "Yellow Peril," or Mexican "encroachment."

The outstanding feature of the report of the Federal Trade Commission is that in the industries where coercion and intimidation against the Socialists and organized labor have been practiced most, the excess war profits has kept pace with the increase in coercion and intimidation. Profits is the reward plutocracy exacts for its denial of the fundamental rights — freedom of speech, press, and assemblage — which have

always been the proud boasts of this nation.

The members of the Party look to this conference of party officials to formulate a positive and constructive program to guide us during the congressional campaign, and after; a program that will in clear and definite language give our solution to the grievous wrongs of the present order.

In this connection I want to express a word of appreciation to Comrade Alexander Trachtenberg, of the Rand School, and to the other comrades who worked with him, for their painstaking efforts in formulating and submitting a draft for a Congressional program, copies of which have been distributed among you. This will form a splendid basis for your consideration.

Peace.

We are asked, "Why talk peace when there is no peace?" But if nations prepare for war during times of peace, it is also right that we should prepare for peace in times of war.

Peace is bound to come sometime and we want it at the earliest possible moment with the least possible cost in life and treasure. In the hope that President Wilson could be induced to initiate a peace movement, the National Executive Committee on February 9, 1918, addressed the following communication to the President and Congress:

Chicago, Ill., February 9, 1918.

To the President and Congress of the United States:

The war frenzy which has gripped many nations, including our own, is waning. The Socialist Party, therefore, through its National Executive Committee, deems it to be its duty to state its views as to the best methods of obtaining a speedy, general, and democratic peace.

We endorse unreservedly the peace program of the Russian Socialist government, based upon the demand for the evacuation of all territory occupied by hostile forces and its physical restoration from an international fund — the right of all nations and inhabitants of disputed territories to determine their own destinies — the unrestricted freedom of travel and transportation over land and sea — full equality of trade conditions among all nations — universal disarmament — open diplomacy — and an effective international organization to preserve peace, to protect the rights of the weaker peoples (including the natives in the colonies), and to insure the stability of international relations.

We are unalterably opposed to all annexationist and

imperialistic designs, all plans of forced geographical and political readjustments, and all punitive measures included in the war aims of the contending ruling classes and their governments.

We emphatically deny that it is necessary for the people of the United States to spill their blood and waste their treasure, in order to rearrange the map of Europe. If rearrangement is necessary, it can be more speedily and more effectively accomplished by the peace conference.

The present situation demands more than the mere statement of war aims or peace terms. An agreement to enter into peace negotiations is now imperative.

To agree upon the details of peace is impossible until the representatives of the belligerent nations meet one another in conference.

The statement of detailed conditions is futile. Such details are quite as likely to multiply the causes of disagreement, magnify the difficulties, and delay peace, as they are to bring peace.

We earnestly urge you to recognize officially the present Russian government and to accept immediately its invitation to take part in the peace conference of the Russians and the Central Powers. We also urge you to make every effort to secure the participation of the allies in the conference.

A decision by our country and the allies to join in the conference will electrify the peoples of the world. It will take the ground from under the crowned robbers of the Central Powers. It will deprive the autocrats of all arguments now used to deceive their people and maintain themselves in power.

This is the road to peace.

**Morris Hillquit,
Victor L. Berger,
Anna A. Maley,
John M. Work,
Seymour Stedman,**
National Executive Committee.

Adolph Germer,
Executive Secretary.

We have heard and read a great deal about propaganda conducted in this country by German agents. It is claimed that such propaganda has alienated the people of this country. Feeling that similar activities would have a similar effect in Germany and Austria and there aid in the peace movements, the National Executive Committee directed me to send the following cable, through Comrade Trotsky.

February 19, 1918.

Leon Trotsky,
Petrograd, Russia.

Convey to the German and Austrian comrades hearty congratulations of American Socialists on their revolutionary activities for peace.

Under the Trading with the Enemy Bill we submitted the above cable to the Secretary of State with the request for permission to send it. We were advised as follows:

Department of State
Washington

February 9, 1918.

Mr. Adolph Germer,
Executive Secretary, Socialist Party,
Room 405, 803 W Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Sir:

The Department acknowledges the receipt of your communication of the 5th instant, in which you inquire whether you would be permitted to send a certain message to Petrograd.

You are informed that the matter is one of the decision of the Censor.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:
Abvey A. Adee,
Second Assistant Secretary

I then submitted it to the cable company so that it would be transmitted to the Cable Censor.

Several days after submitting the cable I asked the cable company for a report as to its disposition and the information I received was that no report could be given and I was directed to the Chief Cable Censor in Washington. I wrote Comrade Meyer London to call on that official and seek information concerning the disposition of the cable, but he was told that none was available. On March 9, 1918, I wrote a letter to the Chief Cable Censor. It seems that the Post Office Department held it up along with a volume of other mail from this office and I heard nothing from Washington until the 1st of July. The reply to my inquiry is as follows:

Navy Department
Office of the Chief Cable Censor
Washington

June 28, 1918.

Sir:

Your letter dated March 9th [1918], and postmarked in Chicago June 25th, has been received. A representative of the Honorable Meyer London called at this office on

February 26th with reference to the cablegram which forms the subject of your inquiry. I can but confirm the statement made at that time that no information is available concerning the disposition of messages.

Very respectfully,

Thomas P. Bryan,
Lieutenant-Commander, USNRF,
Assistant Chief Cable Censor.

Mr. Adolph Germer,
Executive Secretary Socialist Party,
803 West Madison Street,
Chicago, Ill.

It seems that if this war is conducted to crush the Prussian Military Autocracy, anything that the Socialist Party might do to break the faith of the people of the Central Empires toward their government and any act that will encourage the movements to overthrow Kaiserism would be gladly welcomed by the Democratic administration. But evidently this is not the case.

Every effort we have made to get in communication with the Socialist and Labor movements of the Central Empires to encourage them in their activities to end the rule of the military autocracy, has been defeated by the Democratic administration. I know that I voice the sentiment of every member of the Socialist Party when I say that we are eagerly willing to hasten the downfall of the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg by aiding the revolutionary forces in Germany and Austria.

Here it may not be amiss to point out that the capitalist press of this country rejoiced in and gloated over every victory won by the bourgeois White Guards of Finland over the army of Democracy. In view of this we may well ask, who is it that is more in sympathy with Kaiserism than with real democracy? It may be necessary to wait for the slow judgment of history to prove the hollow pretensions of our adversaries.

A fundamental reconstruction must be our basis for preparedness-for-peace. However, in a preparedness-for-peace movement the Socialists of America are not alone. The Socialists as well as the capitalist forces of Europe have launched after-the-war movements. In this country, too, the masters of finance and industry have pointed out the urgent necessity for preparing for the after-the-war period. Needless to say that the ideas of the capitalist class of all countries of social

reconstruction after the war differs widely from the ideas of the Socialists. The industrial overlords want to continue to live from the service of labor while the Socialists want labor to enjoy the full fruits of its efforts. Here, then, is a clarion call to the workers to unite their forces and close up their ranks for a social reconstruction that will put the aims of labor into practical operation.

The Democratic Party has lost control of the capitalist forces. In spite of government control of several of the basic industries, the people are still the victims of private ownership with its consequent profiteering. No definite program has been issued by the Democratic Party outlining what will happen with the industries now under the "control" of the government. The tendency seems to be to restore them to the private management which we have seen to be woefully inefficient and disastrous.

The Republican Party, according to an interview by Chairman Will Hayes, will openly oppose the federalization of industries and will "stand pat" for the continuation of private ownership.

It is clear that neither of the dominant political parties intends to deal with the causes of the social disorder. The Socialist Party will stand alone with a message to the oppressed and exploited people of this country, which will bring the nation out of its present chaos.

We must emphasize that the one vital issue in this, as in all previous campaigns, springs from the private ownership of the means of life which involves all the tragic phases of capitalist society. It is upon this issue that we must make our appeal to the masses to rally to the Socialist Party.

The necessity for the control exercised over the several industries by the government is an unanswerable indictment of the whole system of private ownership, and we Socialists must insist that never shall they go back to private management. On the contrary, we shall demand, and if the Socialist Party is placed in power we shall introduce, the principles of common ownership and democratic control which form the basis of our movement, in contradistinction to so-called "government ownership," which guarantees the profits to the private owners and exempts them from responsibility.

Membership.

The past 15 months constitute the most trying period of the party's existence. In the years gone by we were attacked by the old and natural enemies of Socialism. During the past 15 months, former members of the Party have joined hands with plutocracy in a bitter tirade against us.

Papers have teemed with vile denunciations of the Party and the National Executive Committee. This is especially true of *The New Appeal*, which thrives on sensationalism and patent medicine advertisements.

I replied to one of the attacks of *The New Appeal*, pointing out that they had willfully and maliciously misrepresented the NEC and asked for a correction. Although this was months ago, no acknowledgment or correction has been made.

A few members of the Party have sought to conduct unofficial referendums, but be it said to the credit of our membership no attention was paid to would-be disrupters.

In spite of all this bitter opposition our membership figures are highly encouraging.

Following is the average yearly membership from 1903 to and including last year:

1903	15,975
1904	20,763
1905	23,327
1906	26,784
1907	29,270
1908	41,751
1909	41,470
1910	58,011
1911	84,716
1912	118,045
1913	95,957
1914	93,579
1915	79,374
1916	83,284
1917	80,694
1918 (first 6 months)	82,932

I am also giving you the monthly dues stamp sales by states for the year 1917, and for the first 6 months of 1918, and the averages for those periods.

	1917												Averages	
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	For 1917	For 1916
Alabama	120	120	240	100	220	240	---	---	200	---	400	---	137	175
Alaska	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	200	400	50	127
Arizona	860	440	650	452	600	900	---	700	---	---	644	---	437	549
Arkansas	654	214	360	641	314	241	537	229	632	373	63	624	407	627
California	856	4499	1693	2752	1333	2699	1610	2318	1207	2083	1645	1600	2,025	2,259
Colorado	1212	440	800	701	724	1121	900	552	1152	621	901	1052	848	797
Connecticut	1311	1529	1482	1037	1380	1401	1170	1048	1307	1803	838	1211	1,296	1,325
Delaware	226	170	---	---	60	1	146	32	220	25	---	195	90	38
Dist. of Colum.	91	200	50	60	370	240	40	150	170	100	100	120	141	188
Florida	100	420	40	---	801	25	---	---	400	51	45	---	157	358
Georgia	100	240	---	100	130	100	80	120	---	120	---	120	93	131
Idaho	530	827	595	989	312	689	285	250	506	188	467	298	495	884
Illinois	6090	6817	7247	7490	6706	9991	9072	10291	9475	9446	12461	8432	8,626	6,600
Indiana	2199	1894	2849	1485	2013	2332	2136	3443	1460	2402	3073	2306	2,304	2,048
Iowa	1316	658	720	792	666	909	600	755	449	797	920	914	791	950
Kansas	1404	358	1342	1110	800	1987	1334	1448	3557	2165	1599	1193	1,525	1,389
Kentucky	160	220	240	310	240	400	340	380	380	300	340	140	288	258
Louisiana	294	160	191	240	100	151	220	120	240	351	120	111	192	233
Maine	138	345	258	310	232	143	320	680	233	517	317	200	108	339
Maryland	507	596	693	336	509	249	94	777	715	817	273	231	483	322
Massachusetts	5142	5510	6459	4486	4609	3998	4420	6645	6331	4795	4996	3546	5,078	5,039
Michigan	3729	1669	4344	1291	3121	3393	2067	2852	3466	3077	4235	2421	2,972	3,218
Minnesota	3563	2528	2437	2959	2099	3174	3528	2916	2505	2516	1910	3400	2,711	3,565
Mississippi	54	4	40	2	---	---	4	80	60	---	100	200	45	57
Missouri	750	1676	1637	1031	1880	1023	1649	1947	816	1602	1551	422	1,332	1,298
Montana	333	942	796	425	159	1265	121	222	20	143	824	184	461	721
Nebraska	540	380	590	---	923	338	320	355	239	460	222	380	396	558
Nevada	---	---	300	---	300	110	70	---	15	33	346	---	98	443
New Hampshire	660	612	406	399	364	394	415	204	448	373	563	527	447	563
New Jersey	1423	3381	3485	1757	3518	1467	5909	3212	1524	6002	3869	3458	3,250	3,115
New Mexico	100	100	---	430	---	100	240	148	140	143	---	260	138	278
New York	12040	8515	10957	9922	11959	15175	14344	9923	10336	19481	12166	12642	12,285	9,774
North Carolina	50	90	280	---	60	---	160	20	---	---	---	---	55	49
North Dakota	200	---	600	200	40	545	230	162	250	170	---	300	225	843
Ohio	6202	8804	2375	6618	4973	6388	7167	8785	7357	6514	6523	6815	6,543	4,690
Oklahoma	7000	7000	4000	2000	2000	3000	2000	2500	1000	1000	4437	3700	3,303	9,369
Oregon	1914	887	120	290	294	2406	1250	260	425	376	1154	550	827	1215
Pennsylvania	11416	5374	5820	6456	6532	5929	7829	6717	7414	7705	7621	6675	7,124	6,325
Rhode Island	180	200	440	500	455	540	180	720	1275	204	262	176	429	378
South Carolina	---	---	200	---	---	---	200	---	---	---	200	---	50	35
South Dakota	540	---	780	596	300	547	1185	1396	3	680	---	284	526	469
Tennessee	240	60	262	110	110	266	228	120	162	240	---	144	162	340
Texas	653	1838	512	533	1122	475	437	80	301	175	324	472	577	1,896
Utah	90	875	60	76	102	441	1110	521	363	---	220	298	346	401
Vermont	20	242	280	130	40	140	85	80	165	132	73	150	128	283
Virginia	312	260	240	120	275	---	290	260	---	200	---	90	171	259
Washington	4035	2946	1186	2921	4020	1509	3253	3314	4045	483	2120	1614	2,620	3,103
West Virginia	434	70	317	460	597	532	387	9	464	223	733	---	352	579
Wisconsin	4735	1861	3498	2959	2271	3344	6641	1815	3820	5424	4824	3138	3,694	3,092
Wyoming	249	736	308	349	480	290	334	414	294	341	435	362	383	751
Canada	---	---	---	10	10	1	11	1	---	---	---	73	9	194
Canal Zone	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	24	---	---	---	---	---
Hawaii	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	60	32	---	---	---	---	---
Puerto Rico	92	120	---	282	200	---	57	232	151	---	---	---	95	611
Estonian Fed.	260	200	500	---	500	---	600	---	---	---	400	---	---	---
Foreign Fed.	569	1600	420	780	800	1080	923	1020	740	503	240	300	2,762 *	---
Lithuanian Fed.	---	---	---	---	---	---	3336	---	16	199	16	---	---	---
Polish Fed.	1100	---	---	400	400	700	400	400	---	400	600	400	---	---
Russian Fed.	---	400	500	500	---	400	1380	---	500	---	---	---	---	---
Ukrainian Fed.	---	600	600	600	600	1200	600	600	600	1840	1200	1200	---	---
Membs. at Large	21	26	128	160	8	3	---	---	1	4	---	13	40	32
Totals	86834	79653	74327	68678	72631	83992	92256	81283	77605	87597	86570	73341	80,694	83,539

*-[Total] includes all Foreign Fed. out of National Office and Foreign Exempt. [—A.G.]

	1918						<i>Average first 6 mo.</i>
	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>Feb.</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Apr.</i>	<i>May.</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>1918</i>
Alabama	---	200	220	60	---	200	113
Alaska	---	---	---	375	---	---	63
Arizona	300	350	300	50	10	---	168
Arkansas	857	472	824	266	600	38	510
California	2992	2048	1883	2137	2613	81	1,959
Colorado	763	1020	1532	593	623	280	802
Connecticut	831	1942	1183	1522	1075	1091	1,274
Delaware	100	---	200	220	---	---	87
Dist. of Colum.	245	194	200	80	160	200	180
Florida	440	27	400	20	---	100	165
Georgia	140	160	140	160	---	---	100
Idaho	309	454	281	310	40	300	282
Illinois	8939	9793	12773	8888	6805	8043	9,207
Indiana	1920	2353	2596	2863	2642	1492	2,311
Iowa	599	1239	957	891	902	596	864
Kansas	1079	2094	569	1532	883	163	1,053
Kentucky	240	440	400	240	100	200	270
Louisiana	25	116	220	117	140	---	103
Maine	296	313	102	262	109	88	195
Maryland	458	336	1674	138	481	281	561
Massachusetts	5187	4793	5251	8739	4220	5252	5,574
Michigan	3033	3072	2759	2428	2718	2075	2,681
Minnesota	3811	2661	2560	3490	1996	1390	2,651
Mississippi	---	6	---	30	76	---	19
Missouri	1150	1900	2337	1042	1753	1568	1,620
Montana	167	117	253	70	32	208	141
Nebraska	656	421	772	74	40	---	327
Nevada	---	500	50	---	270	---	137
New Hampshire	161	269	457	1053	79	259	380
New Jersey	2573	2711	5742	1953	3767	2469	3,203
New Mexico	160	100	220	410	---	100	165
New York	16868	12759	15608	14120	13876	8861	13,682
North Carolina	---	---	---	---	---	---	0
North Dakota	60	545	175	113	200	---	182
Ohio	3479	11290	7230	7878	3572	3349	6,133
Oklahoma	8000	3000	3039	6000	3000	---	3,840
Oregon	1893	1270	2269	1004	1400	340	1,363
Pennsylvania	2850	12056	9459	4020	7648	3131	6,527
Rhode Island	259	700	209	670	520	180	423
South Carolina	---	---	---	---	---	---	0
South Dakota	1155	200	100	320	---	38	302
Tennessee	240	100	40	100	260	---	123
Texas	302	512	757	517	543	20	442
Utah	439	440	236	150	200	355	303
Vermont	212	165	220	40	100	75	135
Virginia	16	---	150	40	450	10	111
Washington	3462	3340	1274	655	3281	635	2,110
West Virginia	701	420	586	75	170	524	413
Wisconsin	4335	5491	7397	3444	5225	5067	5,160
Wyoming	330	766	341	157	291	519	401
Canal Zone	---	---	---	---	---	---	0
Hawaii	400	---	---	---	---	---	67
Puerto Rico	---	---	---	---	---	---	0
Estonian Fed.	400	400	400	400	400	---	334
Lithuanian Fed.	---	---	448	---	---	52	83
Polish Fed.	400	1300	1000	1200	1000	---	817
Russian Fed.	600	2000	600	1600	1000	1100	1150
Ukrainian Fed.	2400	---	2400	1200	---	1200	1,200
Membs. at Large	18	86	78	81	22	9	49
<i>Totals</i>	<i>86,650</i>	<i>97,510</i>	<i>101,371</i>	<i>84,831</i>	<i>75,292</i>	<i>51,939</i>	<i>82,932</i>

Dues Received from Foreign Federations
[ranked by size]

1917

	<i>Finnish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>Lithuan</i>	<i>So Slavic</i>	<i>Scandin</i>	<i>Bohem</i>	<i>Lettish</i>	<i>Hung</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Slovak</i>	<i>Total</i>
January	\$500.45	\$293.95	\$170.70	\$ 90.00	\$148.15	\$ 85.55	\$ 87.00	\$ 56.00	\$ 49.45	\$ 50.80	\$ 33.85	\$1,565.90
February	389.15	268.70	173.95	116.20	123.45	53.95	58.20	38.60	33.15	32.10	42.00	1,329.45
March	479.43	267.30	173.50	143.15	99.55	65.00	72.70	47.45	61.40	51.05	36.90	1,497.45
April	386.20	229.55	165.55	118.00	121.55	69.45	52.80	21.50	48.35	35.75	34.15	1,292.85
May	323.30	231.20	138.60	144.35	112.30	91.75	43.40	53.45	51.10	46.15	31.80	1,267.40
June	299.25	295.10	148.70	155.70	148.45	90.60	83.60	25.35	48.10	30.65	28.05	1,353.55
July	371.10	314.10	179.50	214.65	125.05	61.10	52.00	62.25	62.20	40.80	25.25	1,508.00
August	370.15	229.00	166.25	181.65	125.80	93.60	26.25	52.10	43.75	43.25	29.10	1,360.90
September	374.90	240.85	181.75	145.70	122.15	92.50	52.35	53.75	53.95	36.60	34.95	1,389.45
October	555.39	323.00	210.50	200.00	164.80	91.05	55.15	53.75	56.05	44.05	42.10	1,795.84
November	365.35	329.50	235.55	143.15	140.10	117.25	77.80	66.20	55.95	48.80	37.15	1,616.80
December	342.90	262.75	231.55	104.85	140.10	137.55	74.20	87.45	46.80	42.35	39.25	1,509.75
1917 Total	\$4757.59	\$3285.00	\$2176.10	\$1757.40	\$1571.45	\$1049.35	\$735.45	\$617.85	\$610.25	\$502.35	\$414.55	\$17,477.34
Wages Paid	1300.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	967.00	11,465.00
Surplus												\$ 6,012.34

1918

	<i>Finnish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Lithuan</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>So Slavic</i>	<i>Scandin</i>	<i>Hung</i>	<i>Bohem</i>	<i>Lettish</i>	<i>Slovak</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Total</i>
January	\$616.45	\$352.95	\$197.40	\$187.85	\$185.65	\$129.25	\$ 76.85	\$ 57.50	\$ 64.15	\$ 42.75	\$ 29.55	\$1,940.35
February	570.95	376.45	197.40	186.50	133.80	140.30	64.85	54.30	24.00	35.50	33.95	1,818.00
March	556.15	360.50	317.35	200.40	185.75	142.60	55.00	73.65	57.85	50.25	37.70	2,037.20
April	653.80	297.50	188.80	209.30	151.85	121.80	79.15	43.20	50.15	31.50	28.60	1,845.65
May	421.90	234.00	191.00	194.90	158.60	116.35	51.25	76.65	35.55	41.50	40.85	1,562.55
June	340.65	208.40	188.65	214.95	120.00	74.65	60.25	48.10	54.86	53.05	29.80	1,393.36
1918 Total	\$3159.90	\$1829.80	\$1280.60	\$1193.90	\$935.65	\$724.95	\$387.35	\$353.40	\$286.56	\$254.55	\$200.45	\$10,607.11
Wages Paid	650.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	631.00	6,960.00
Surplus												\$ 3,647.11

Comments on the Membership and Dues Statistics.

1. (pg. 4) The Socialist Party was actually organized in the summer of 1901. Monthly dues actually paid in that year averaged 3,971. No concrete numbers have yet emerged for 1902, but Executive Secretary William Mailly's annual report for 1903 claimed a paid membership of 10,000 for that year — an all-too-round figure, to be sure, but probably reasonably close to the mark.

2. (pp. 5-6) Germer only provides stamp sales figures for 5 of the Socialist Party's 15 or so language federations. Presumably these numbers reflect only those dues stamps purchased by the Federations directly from the National Office, as opposed to those Federation branches (such as the Finnish, German, and Jewish, etc.) who purchased stamps through ordinary channels, via the State Office. The low federation totals shown here are not indicative of the size of the Federationist component in the Socialist Party, which was much greater.

3. (pg. 7) Note that 6 Federations generated a tidy surplus for the National Office in dues collections over expenses: the Finnish, German, Lithuanian, Jewish (Yiddish), South Slavic (Slovenian and Croatian), and Scandinavian (Swedish and Danish).

4. (pg. 7) Other SP Federations, for which there was no paid Translator-Secretary in the National Office, included the Estonian, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. There may also have been recognized French and Armenian Federations, albeit miniscule.

At no time in the history of our party has the membership been subjected to such constant and vicious attacks by our old and natural enemies. To aid these reactionaries in their bitter crusade against us, men who have been honored in the party with positions of trust have joined the chorus, and like chattering parrots are repeating the language that plutocracy has coined. In their weak-kneed proclivities they have allied themselves with the worst exploiters of labor and corrupters of every avenue of public life.

These specimens, whether they are spineless or renegades, will learn, when their unclean work is done, that their "new friends" will have as little use for them as will those upon whom they now turn their backs.

Differences of opinion may always be expected in an organization of persons with strong convictions, and my criticism is not directed against those who sincerely and honestly differ with the policy of the party. It is aimed at those who maliciously seek to sow the seeds of discord in the hope of destroying the organization.

You will observe that the average membership for the first 6 months of this year is 2,238 more than the average for 1917. This is an unanswerable denial to the lies often repeated by "informers," who endeavor to bewilder the masses by the claim that the Socialist Party is disorganized.

The professional crepe hangers, who continuously sing requiem songs over the Socialist Party, may endeavor to get a new lease of life from the June figures. There is no comfort in those figures for them. The apparent decline is exclusively due to interference by the Post Office with our mail. The full July figures were not available when this table was made up but the dues stamp sales are by at least 20,000 better than June.

When we take into account the tremendous forces that are organized and working against us, the ruthlessness with which our press has been suppressed, the coercion and intimidation to which our members have been subjected, the membership showing is remarkably encouraging. If the party can hold such a membership in the face of the unprecedented odds, it is certain that when the oppressive barriers are forced down, there will be a growth of our movement such as no country ever experienced.

The test our membership is now meeting with

such admirable courage is seasoning us and is speeding the progress of our conquering march.

Organization.

The membership figures given above are additionally encouraging when we consider that for the past year little or no actual organization work was undertaken. There are two main reasons for this. First, as the venal press excited people to violation of law, it interfered with meetings and other activities. The mob spirit was most prevalent in the smaller communities where the movement was weakest and where the politicians and profiteers could more easily control and consequently intimidate the populace. In the larger cities where the movement was well established and could strike back, the Party organization has enjoyed a substantial growth.

Here, as in Europe, a general and decided reaction will set in against the profiteering on the one side and the denial of civil liberties on the other and we should without delay prepare our organization for that impending opportunity.

In my visits to numerous localities, I found that the spirit of the members is splendid, but they were in a quandary as to how to proceed with organization work. In each instance after explaining the various ways along which to proceed, they readily agreed to take up the work with new determination.

This general revival can be conducted on an extensive scale by the National, State, and Local organizations cooperating. If our press is denied the right to the mails, we must find some other way to reach the membership and the masses. "When there is a will there is a way," must be our slogan and when once the machinery is put into motion, it will bring encouraging results.

At the December 1917 meeting of the National Executive Committee, I recommended that a number of states with small memberships be grouped and that an Organizer-Secretary be employed to devote his entire time to organization work. Some of the states involved in this plan readily agreed to the arrangement, while others protested vigorously. The latter states asked the National to render financial assistance and said they would conduct the work under the old system.

I am not hopeful of ever building up a state or-

ganization when the work depends on a comrade who is obliged to toil long and weary hours in a shop or factory in order to make a living and give only the tired hours of his life to the Party. No matter how good the intentions of such a comrade are, and however willing he may be, it is beyond his physical capacity to give the service that is needed to the State Office. There is no question but that the work of such comrades who are now acting as Secretaries is helpful and necessary, but the main work should be attended to by someone whose full time can be commandeered by the Party.

I renew my recommendation made to the NEC and suggest that you fully consider this as one of the ways of rebuilding the Party organization in the weaker states.

The second reason for the failure to conduct intensive organization work is the lack of necessary funds. In this connection I want to emphasize the necessity of increasing the dues to the National Office.

Our present income is inadequate to meet all the regular financial demands and leave sufficient for vigorous organization work.

The cost of everything incident to the office has gone up and besides we still have old financial obligations that must be met.

The proposal to increase the national dues was defeated by only a few hundred votes at the last referendum. Since that there have been further increases in the cost of materials. While this conference, as such, has no constitutional authority to initiate or even propose amendments to the constitution, those present can take the question back home and, as members, urge immediate action.

The dues to the national party should be not less than 10 cents per member per month until such time as our membership is at least 200,000.

One thing, above all others, that this conference should do, and which I am sure was the intention when the section of the constitution providing for these meetings was adopted, is to find ways and means to put in motion all the available resources in the party. With the proper cooperation between all the branches in the organization — National, State, and Local — directed on the one object, organization, sufficient funds can be raised to enable us to put a force of organizers at work, simultaneously, all over the country.

Let us resolve to return home and put every atom

of the party's energy into action and come out of this congressional campaign with a doubled membership and with sufficient surplus to continue the field workers on the road after the campaign.

International Relations.

When we received work of the impending Stockholm Conference [Zimmerwald Movement, 3rd: Sept. 5, 1917], the National Executive Committee decided to send 3 delegates to represent the Socialist Party. Comrades Hillquit, Berger, and [Algernon] Lee were selected and after repeated applications, the government refused to issue passports.

Later on, the Inter-Allied Conference was held in London [3rd, London: Feb. 20-24, 1918] and I sent the following cable of inquiry:

January 3, 1918.

J. Ramsay MacDonald,
Member Parliament,
London, England.

Is Socialist Party of America invited to Inter-Allied Conference? Can date be fixed so American delegates can attend? Cable.

Adolph Germer,
Secretary.

To this Comrade MacDonald replied as follows:

February 19th, 1918.

My dear Friend:

The story about the invitation to the Inter-Allied Conference is a very long one, but putting it as briefly as possible, it is as follows:

(1) The Inter-Allied Conference held a few months ago [2nd, London: Aug. 28-29, 1917] was called by the British Section of the International, and so you were invited.

(2) The trade unionists acting together through the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress decided to call a second meeting themselves. In the meantime, communications had been received from the American Federation of Labor stating that it would not attend a Conference at which the American Socialist Party were present. The English trade unionists therefore decided not to invite you, but to invite the American Federation of Labor.

(3) The British Socialist bodies are not to be represented independently at any new conference. They are affiliated to the Labour Party and are represented indirectly by the Labour Party.

(4) The British Socialist bodies regard this as a most unsatisfactory position and they put in a protest. They are so determined, however, not to do anything that will give

their enemies a chance of saying that they delayed peace and a meeting of the International that they have decided to go no further than making a protest.

(5) It was stated in Paris this last week that the International which is to follow the Inter-Allied Conference is to be called by the International Bureau and in that event the invitations will be different. You ought to write at once to the International Bureau, claiming representation. The British Socialist bodies will be taking the same action.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours very sincerely,

J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Mr. A. Germer
803 West Madison Street,
Chicago.

On March 13th [1918] I addressed a letter to [Secretary of the International] Camille Huysmans, The Hague, Holland, and on March 23rd, to Pierre Troelstra, Scheveningen, Holland, asking that we be invited to future conferences of the Allied countries, or to the proposed International.

Receiving no reply to my first letter, I wrote again on April 30th and to date no answer has been received. On June 24th I sent copies of the letter to Comrade MacDonald and asked that he transmit them to Huysmans and Troelstra.

Just a few days ago I received word from him saying that the letters have been sent on as requested.

A few comrades on the former National Committee objected to the National Executive Committee selecting delegates to attend a conference in Europe. A call for nominations and election was sent out by the NEC to the membership, which resulted in Comrades Hillquit, Berger, and Kirkpatrick (George R.) being chosen as the 3 delegates to represent the Socialist Party of the United States at conferences held during the period of the war.

Labor Union Activities.

Unlike the trade union movement of the European Allies, the machine in control of the American Federation of Labor cannot or will not learn anything from history. While in Europe the men at the head of organized labor are insisting that after the war, if not during the war, industrial society shall undergo a fundamental change, in this country most of the labor officials busy themselves with alliances with the worst

enemies of the workers, and lead the chorus against the Socialist movement.

Is it any wonder, then, that we should receive word from abroad that the recent delegation sent to Europe by Samuel Gompers made a sad impression upon the workers of the countries associated with this government in the war? I feel satisfied that if the rank and file of organized labor here could fully understand how reactionary its "leadership" really is, in vivid contrast to other countries, a change would be made and the labor movement of this country, as in Europe, would establish the most cordial relations with the Socialist movement.

This is a matter to which this conference should give serious thought and some policy should be outlined in order that the political and economic movements of labor coordinate their efforts against the common enemy. I confess that I have no confidence in that coveted condition being established between the present official family of the AF of L and the Socialist movement, but I do have implicit confidence in it being accomplished if the proper appeal is made to the rank and file of organized labor.

With every Socialist doing his duty as a unionist, it would be a question of only a brief time until the economic and political movements of labor would march forward, a unified host.

Defense.

The report of cases involving arrest and prosecution of our members is far from complete. I sent several letters to the State Secretaries asking for a full report from their states, but not all responded. Some of those who did reply said that they could not get full reports from locals and that their record is necessarily incomplete.

The list of cases given below is made up from the scattering reports we have from State and Local Secretaries, from individual comrades, and from press reports. I have not included the cases arising out of draft evasions.

I enumerate first those in which the defendants were found not guilty upon trial or discharged upon motion to quash indictment.

In Detroit, Mich.:

1. Anthony Baborski.
2. John Fisher.
3. Harvey Hadden.
4. William Kidwell.
5. Thane H. Mains.
6. George P. Miller.
7. Leo Dergis.
8. Max Deitch.
9. U.S. vs. Herman Aberly.
U.S. vs. Saul M. Parker.
U.S. vs. Arnold Fuhrer.
U.S. vs. Max. A. Wagman.
U.S. vs. Philip Thavis.
10. U.S. vs. Powell and Robert Westfall of the case against the Michigan Socialists.

In Bay City, Mich.:

11. U.S. vs. John Peterson.
12. U.S. vs. James B. Werner.

In Grand Rapids, Mich.:

13. U.S. vs. Adolph Germer.
U.S. vs. Glenn G. Fleser.
U.S. vs. Benjamin A. Faulkner.
U.S. vs. James W. Clement, Sr.
U.S. vs. Glenn H. Pangborn.
U.S. vs. Benjamin Blumenberg.
U.S. vs. Daniel Roy Freeman.
U.S. vs. Charles J. Callahan.
U.S. vs. Charles G. Taylor.
U.S. vs. Klass W. Oosterhuis.
U.S. vs. Martin E. Elziga.
U.S. vs. Viva Flaherty.
U.S. vs. Vernon Kilpatrick.

In West Virginia:

14. U.S. vs. G.A. Gneiser.

In Indiana:

15. U.S. vs. Joseph Zimmerman.

In Ohio:

16. U.S. vs. Cecil Baily implicated with Hennacy.

In Nebraska:

17. U.S. vs. George Kapinski.

In Kansas:

18. U.S. vs. George W. Kelihege.
U.S. vs. Dr. Eva Harding.
U.S. vs. Ike Gilberg.
U.S. vs. Ernest Newman.

There were convictions in the following cases:

In Ohio:

1. U.S. vs. Ammon A. Hennacy.
U.S. vs. Harry E. Townsley.

They are now serving terms in the Atlanta penitentiary.

In Detroit, Mich.:

2. U.S. vs. Sugar.
U.S. vs. Welch.
U.S. vs. Diamond.

Sugar and Diamond were fined and Welch was sent to the penitentiary and the other defendants (Powell and Westfall) were discharged. In this case the defendants' local counsel agreed upon terms of punishment and entered a plea of guilty.

In Minnesota:

3. U.S. vs. J.O. Bentall.

Conviction. Case pending on appeal.

4. U.S. vs. A.L. Sugarman.

Conviction. Pending on appeal.

In West Virginia:

5. U.S. vs. Edwin Firth.
U.S. vs. Raymond Green.
U.S. vs. Henry Howes.
U.S. vs. Hilton Bias.

Conviction; case appealed. Judgment affirmed and defendants serving 6 months in Cabell County Jail at Huntington, W.Va.

The foregoing shows that the National Office has participated in 23 cases, out of which number we were successful in 18 and unsuccessful in 5. The num-

ber of defendants were 49, out of this 38 were acquitted and 11 convicted.

Of these 11, three agreed upon sentence and pleaded guilty — Sugar, Welch, and Diamond. Only 1 of these 3 was sentenced to the penitentiary. Of the remaining 8, four are serving 6 month terms in the Cabell County Jail, namely Firth, Green, Howes, and Bias. Hennacy and Townsley are serving 3 year sentence in Atlanta penitentiary. Their cases were not appealed and this was pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Townsley and local counsel. We have appealed every case unless directed to the contrary by the defendants or other local representatives. The remaining two cases are pending on appeal as follows: U.S. vs. Sugarman, in the US Supreme Court; U.S. vs. Bentall has been appealed to the US Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit.

Referring to the case of U.S. vs. Sugarman, Comrade [Seymour] Stedman says: "I recommended to local counsel that Mr. Schwartz appeal this case to the Circuit Court of Appeals. I have felt there were greater hopes of a fair interpretation of the law in this court of appeals than in most any other, not only because of the wide reputation as lawyers which the judges of this court have, but also because there is a wide difference among the District Court judges on the interpretation of the various sections of the Espionage Law.

"Contrary to my advice, Mr. Schwartz has taken the Sugarman case to the US Supreme Court, and in his assignment of errors he has not assigned a constitutional question. Therefore, the Supreme Court may dismiss this case without passing upon any of the questions involved and it was the best case which we have pending for the purpose of trying out the sufficiency of the indictment, because in this case the indictment alleged no facts whatsoever, and restricted itself to charging the offense in the language of the statute."

The cases now pending in which we have exclusive charge of the defense or in which we are participating are as follows:

1. U.S. vs. A.L. Sugarman.
2. U.S. vs. J.O. Bentall.
3. U.S. vs. William J. Head.
4. U.S. vs. Emil Herman.
5. U.S. vs. Eugene V. Debs.
6. U.S. vs. Victor L. Berger.

U.S. vs. Adolph Germer.

U.S. vs. Irwin St. John Tucker.

U.S. vs. J. Louis Engdahl.

U.S. vs. William F. Kruse.

7. U.S. vs. Robert L. Burleson & W.F. Morton.

8. U.S. vs. Felix Jansuki.

9. U.S. vs. Robitnyk Printing Co. (Ukrainian Federation).

10. U.S. vs. Laudan, Sawczyn, and Swinewsky.

11. U.S. vs. John LaDuca & Victor Buttis (Italian Federation).

In connection with the foregoing report it should be emphasized that the Party in every instance has made a defense as adequate and complete in the cases where comrades were unknown as in the defense of a most distinguished and prominent comrade. The prominence of a comrade has made no difference in either the energy, expense, or care. In two cases we were somewhat handicapped by having 2 or 3 cases placed on trial at once, but in only two instances has this prevented Comrade Stedman from actual participation in the trial, and that was in the two cases of John Peterson and Joseph B. Warner, who were defended by Beckenstein & Seltzer. In both of these cases there was a verdict of not guilty.

In other cases we made the following appropriations:

Clinton H. Pierce, et al, Auburn, NY, \$100.

Elizabeth Bael, et al, Philadelphia, \$250.

Kate Richards O'Hare, \$250.

Emil Herman, State Secretary of Washington, \$300.

Charles L. Drake, \$200.

Joseph M. Coldwell, Providence, RI, \$100.

In addition to this, Comrade Seymour Stedman, our general counsel, has given advice and has drawn legal documents in numerous other cases.

Other Cases Reported.

Alaska.

Charles Lester of Dawson, arrested for seditious utterances. Convicted and sentenced to serve one year

in Fairbanks jail and to pay a fine of \$1,000. Appeal taken and the case was dismissed, on the understanding that Lester leave the country.

Arizona.

R.M. Daguerre of Clifton, arrested for having in his possession a supply of our assessment stamps. Case was dismissed, the grand jury failing to indict.

W.F. Burluson of Yuma, loaned *War, What For?* to a woman who proved to be a government agent. Indicted on charge of attempting to create insubordination, etc. Bail, \$5,000.

Robert L. Morton of Yuma, had a copy of *War, What For?* in his possession. Indicted. Bail, \$5,000.

A.E. Nichols of Oatman, arrested and charged with attempting to injure the recruiting and enlistment services of the United States. He admitted that he had approached men of draft age and urged resistance. By advice of his attorney, he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 13 months in Leavenworth prison.

California.

Chriss Mattly of Mona Lake, arrested for distributing *The Price We Pay*. Case dismissed.

Colorado.

Pearly Doe of Denver, indicted on 6 counts and found guilty on all. The principal evidence against him was letters he sent to newspapers in which he defended Germany's submarine policy. Appeal denied. Length of sentence not reported.

Idaho.

Edward Hofstede of Orifino, charged with advising persons not to register. Held to federal grand jury under \$10,000 bond. Was to be tried last October [1917]. No further report.

J.O. Ellis of Orifino, arrested for expressing his opinion regarding the Industrial Workers. Sentenced to from 1 year to 10 years. Appealed.

Lluellyn Lloyd of Burley, John Dequer and Piper of Orifino, Phil J. Pearl and Ernest Hansen of Lewiston, arrested, but no details given.

Illinois.

John Ojala, arrested at Peoria and held for 2 weeks. Released on \$200 bond to appear before grand jury. Held over.

Emil Sturm, arrested at Rockford and held under \$25,000 bond. Indicted for conspiracy. No further details given.

Charles Bone of West Frankfort, arrested for distributing literature. Released, no charge.

A.W. Bolin of Danville, charged with violation of the Espionage Act. Arrested while distributing literature. Held under \$1,000 bond. No further report.

Grant Allen of Urbana, charged with violating the Espionage Act. Held to grand jury under \$1,000 bond.

Otto F. Branstetter, arrested at Beardstown while making a speech. No charge made. Was released after hearing.

Indiana.

Frank S. LaMonte of Evansville, charged with making unpatriotic and disloyal speeches. Disbarred from legal practice. Appealed to Supreme Court. No further report.

George Scoville, alleged to have said that some day all warships would be at the bottom of the ocean. Held for 10 days under \$5,000 bail. Tried in City Court and acquitted.

Frank S. Amend taken in charge and held in Federal Court Prosecutor's office 7 hours without charge being filed. Released.

Charles Green, Allen Flynn, and John Tyler arrested for distributing *The Price We Pay* under city ordinance, which has been passed to cover anti-military propaganda, but later declared unconstitutional. Cases postponed indefinitely.

C.L. Polo of Clifton locked up for 5 days without charges being filed, then released.

Emil Pepmueller was arrested at Vincennes for alleged disloyal remarks; held in jail for 9 days without formal charge and then released.

Kansas.

Dr. M.P. McCartney of Bird City arrested. No

record of charge. Acquitted.

Minnesota.

Jack Carney of Duluth, indicted by grand jury for violation of Espionage Act by printing Berger's Congressional platform.

Fred Miller, St. Paul, indicted for selling, as Secretary of St. Paul Defense Committee, pictures of Otto Wangerin, a "slacker," for defense fund. Case dismissed.

Thurber Lewis, arrested at Bemidji for making a speech which it is alleged violated the state law against interfering with enlistments. Out on \$1,000 bond. Hearing to be had in September.

Missouri.

J. W. Campbell of Kennett, and Ed Edmondston of Hornersville, arrested for making speeches and distributing literature. Trial was to have been held at Cape Girardeau in January [1918]. Placed under bond of \$2,000. No further report.

Thomas Cornell of St. Louis, charged with attempting to obstruct the Draft Law. Sentenced to 2 years. Appealed. No further report.

Montana.

F.A. Byerly and Edward Myhre of Galata, arrested for circulating our petition to Congress asking that the draft law be submitted to referendum vote of the people. Were held in county jail for 1 week and then released without a hearing.

Laverne Hamilton of Delphia, arrested and charged with sedition. Held from January 11 to March 7 [1918] without warrant or complaint, and then released. Was immediately rearrested, charged with disturbing the peace and seditious utterances. Trial was to be held June 1. No further report.

Nevada.

Al Shidler of Tonopah, indicted for alleged false statements about the causes of war, capitalist control, etc. He was a candidate on Socialist ticket for County Clerk and polled a large vote. Was appointed a deputy by Socialist sheriff just before being indicted. Judge

Farrington sustained a demurrer to the indictment and authorized the District Attorney to resubmit the case to the next grand jury, if he deemed it advisable. Later indicted by federal grand jury at Carson City. Under \$5,000 cash bail.

New Mexico.

T.E. Pendergrass of Boswell, arrested and bound over to federal grand jury, charged with having made false statements concerning cause of war.

New Jersey.

Frederick Krafft of Ridgefield, indicted for violation of the Espionage Act. Convicted and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. Case appealed. On appeal conviction affirmed. Now in Atlanta Federal Prison.

Tredor Fedotoff and Anton Tuchin were convicted for violation of the Sedition Law passed by the legislature of New Jersey in January 1917. Many witnesses for the accused testified that the men said nothing against the United States government, but the jury took the word of the 3 witnesses produced by the state. The defendants' witnesses testified that the 3 witnesses for the state came to the meeting with the purpose of causing trouble.

Both are now serving time, pending a new trial.

New York.

Clinton H. Pierce, Charles Nelson, Charles Zeilman, and Angelo Creo of Albany, arrested for distributing *The Price We Pay*. Tried in Auburn under the Espionage Act. Nelson was sentenced to 4 months in jail and a fine of \$50; Zeilman to 10 months in jail and a fine of \$500; Pierce to 10 months in jail and a fine of \$350; and Creo to 1 year in jail and a fine of \$300. Appealed.

Scott Nearing and the American Socialist Society of New York indicted for violation of the Espionage Act — intending to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, through and by the means of publishing and distributing a pamphlet entitled *The Great Madness*. Date of trial not set.

The case against *The Masses*, involving Max East-

man, Floyd Dell, Art Young, and John Reed was brought under the charge of conspiracy to obstruct recruiting and enlistment. The following are the outstanding facts:

(1) The business manager took one of the issues adduced by the prosecution to George Creel, who was then supposed to be the national censor, in order to make sure that there was nothing unlawful in it. Creel himself testified that he understood this to be the purport of the visit, and that he had said it contained nothing in violation of the law, so far as he knew.

(2) The editors of *The Masses* never held a meeting or any conference to plan out a future issue of *The Masses* during the time described in the indictment. Art Young was in Washington practically the whole time. Max Eastman was absent from the office almost continually. The magazine was made up, as usually in the summer months, by Floyd Dell or his assistant, from the material voluntarily submitted by the contributing editors.

(3) No committee with authority to reject contributions from the contributing editors and owners of the magazine was present during this time, and no such contribution was rejected.

(4) The defendants themselves first brought this case into the courts. In July, exactly when the alleged conspiracy would have been at its height, they went before Judge Learned Hand and asked for an injunction compelling the Post Office to admit their August [1917] issue into the mail.

(5) The injunction was granted, and although it was stayed by an appeal on the part of the Post Office, it was under the influence of this judicial decision in their favor that the defendants brought out the other two issues cited in the indictment.

(6) After the suppression of the August number, The Masses Publishing Company wrote to the Post Office Department asking for specific rulings on the things contained in their magazine so that they could make up future magazines in compliance with the Postmaster General's interpretation of the law. These requests were frequently repeated, and *never answered in any way by the department at Washington*.

(7) In September [1917], Max Eastman brought the matter to the attention of the President, so confident was he that his expression of opinions had not violated any law, and he received a cordial letter from

the President in reply.

(8) In October [1917], Max Eastman, in company with E.W. Scripps, the head of the United Press Association, called upon the Postmaster General to make application for a new mailing privilege, and received from him the promise of a reply within a week. He never received any reply, and from that day to this his letters and telegrams to the Post Office Department at Washington have been absolutely ignored.

The case was brought to trial and continued through 2 weeks. The jury disagreed. The date for the retrial has not yet been set.

North Dakota.

Kate Richards O'Hare arrested at Bismarck, charged with making seditious utterances and attempting to obstruct the operation of the Selective Draft Law. Convicted and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. Appealed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals and heard June 22nd [1918] but no decision rendered.

Ohio.

John Lewis Hammond of Marietta, charged with treason. No further report.

Cincinnati: Walter Gregory, John Hahn, Charles Thieman, Alfred Welker, Philip Rothenbusch, Arthur Tiedtke, William Gruber, Alexander Feldhaus, Fred Schneider, Frank Reis, Gustave Weis, William George, Joseph Geier, Lotta Burke, and Thomas Hammer-schmidt, all charged with treason. Indictments quashed, but they are still held on bonds pending an appeal. No further report.

Charles Baker, C.E. Ruthenberg, and A. Wagenknecht of Cleveland, charged with attempting to discourage enlistments. Indicted by Federal Grand Jury. Sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment. The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court and decided adversely.

W.S. Bennett of Akron, charged with interfering with sale of Liberty Bonds. Now in Cuyahoga County jail. Date of trial not set.

Oregon.

Floyd Ramp of Roseburg was tried in the Federal Court in Portland before a jury and prosecuted by US Prosecutor Ream. Ramp defended his own case and it ran for 5 days and received considerable attention. The jury was out only a few minutes, and brought in a verdict of guilty. He was charged with making false utterances. Was out on \$15,000 bail until sentence by Judge Wolverton to 2 years at McNeils Island [WA] and \$1,000 fine. As he had made certain admission on the stand that would be hard to overcome on appeal he finally decided to not appeal the case and he was sent to McNeils Island, but the prisoners had a food riot there and he was sent to Fort Leavenworth [KS], where he is now.

At Klamath Falls, Mrs. Blachly, treasurer of the local, was arrested and taken before the grand jury in Portland. No further information has been given as to the disposition of her case.

O.G. Johannessen of Portland was arrested for refusing Red Cross girls admission to the Socialists' dance without paying the regular admission fee, which the city ordinance requires, and also without a permit to solicit funds. He was investigated as a slacker, and was finally charged with disorderly conduct and fined \$25. The case was appealed and the judgment reversed.

P.W. Meridith of Oregon City, Socialist nominee for representative of Clackamas County, arrested about June 15 [1918], charged with discouraging young boys from selling thrift stamps; case not yet tried.

On March 28 [1918], Victor Saulit and H.J. Bishop were arrested in the Heilig Theater for not standing up when the national anthem was being played by the orchestra. Next day they were fined in the Municipal Court \$250 and 15 days for disorderly conduct. Released on \$1,000 bail each and case tried on June 28 in Circuit Court and case dismissed.

Oklahoma.

F.M. Darby of Taloga, arrested and charged with making seditious utterances. Is alleged to have said he hoped that German submarines would sink all the American ships that cross the ocean. Bound over to grand jury under \$3,000 bond, which was raised by local comrades. No further report.

P.D. Garrett of Local Joplin, Mo., arrested at Poteau, Okla., charged with making seditious utterances. Held under \$10,000 bond. No further report.

Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia: Charles T. Schenck, E.H. Wannemacher, and Clara Abramovitz arrested under charge of violating the Espionage Act. Schenck held under \$10,000 bail; Wannemacher, \$2,500; and Abramovitz, \$1,000. Charges against Wannemacher and Abramovitz were dropped.

Charles Sehl, William Higgins, Jr., J.H. Root, and Dr. Elizabeth M. Baer also arrested and held for court under \$2,500 bail each. Grand jury returned indictments against these and Schenck. Trial held in December 1917; Higgins, Sehl, and Root found not guilty by instructions of the judge, Schenck and Baer found guilty, clemency recommended. Schenck sentenced to 6 months in Mercer County Jail at Trenton, NJ; Baer to 90 days in Philadelphia City Prison and to pay a fine of \$500. Appeal for new trial denied. Appealed to United States Supreme Court, to come up in fall of 1918.

During June and July 1917, 84 members were arrested in Philadelphia for distributing literature, including "Proclamation and War Program," "The Price We Pay," and local leaflets. Eight were held under \$10,000 bail, 5 under \$5,000 by police magistrate. Habeas corpus proceedings were started, but before completed a state court released them upon signing their own bonds for \$100 each. All the rest were released. Of the 13 indicted by a state grand jury for violation of US statutes, 8 were found guilty of interfering with persons entering US service; the other 5 were acquitted on the charge of inciting to riot. Of the 8 convicted, 4 young men were sentenced to 15 days in jail and a fine of \$15. The other 3 (girls) were released on 2 years' probation. Those sentenced have served their times, and the Local paid the fines.

Ralph W. Tillotson and Leo Mittelmeier, charged with conspiracy and violation of the Conscription Act; charged with having circulated a paper entitled, "Who is the Real Coward?" with intent to interfere with the successful operation of the military and naval forces. \$10,000 bail. Convicted, but judge granted new trial.

Rhode Island.

Joseph M. Coldwell of Providence, State Organizer, arrested for distributing literature and fined \$10. Later arrested by federal authorities and charged with conspiracy. Upon trial convicted on 4 counts in one indictment and sentence to 3 years' imprisonment in Atlanta Penitentiary. Out under \$20,000 bail, pending appeal taken to the Circuit Court in Boston, Mass. Case will be heard in October. There is still one other indictment for "conspiracy" from June 4, 1917, which has not yet been tried. Out under \$5,000 bond.

Emil Yanyar of Providence, member of State Committee, convicted on 3 counts on one indictment, charged with violation of Espionage Law, sentenced to 6 months in county jail, Howard, RI. Now serving sentence. No appeal taken.

There have been several minor cases which have been either thrown out of court or dismissed for lack of prosecution.

South Dakota.

Orville Anderson, charged with attempting to obstruct the Selective Draft Act. Indicted by grand jury at Deadwood. Bond fixed at \$5,000. No further report.

William J. Head, arrested at Mitchell, charged, first, with advocating repeal of the draft act on the ground that it was unconstitutional; second, attempting to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States; third, attempting to cause insubordination, mutiny, etc. Verdict in favor of first and third counts. Convicted on second count. Bail fixed at \$5,000, which was not secured and he is now in the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth. Appealed.

Thirty-one members of the German Federation were convicted at Sioux Falls for circulating petitions. Case appealed.

Tennessee.

S.G. Gregory of Nashville, charged with obstructing the Selective Draft Act and violation of the Espionage Act. Under \$5,000 bond. Case is to be tried this month (August [1918]).

Texas.

Sixty were indicted by Federal Grand Juries at San Angelo, Dallas, and Abilene. The Dallas indictments were quashed and the defendants indicted at San Angelo and Dallas were re-indicted at Abilene, where they were tried and all acquitted except 3. The 3 cases are now pending on appeal in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans.

Washington.

Hulet M. Wells, S.V. Sadler, Aaron Fislerman, and C.E. Rice of Seattle, arrested under charge of conspiracy. Jury disagreed on first trial. Rice acquitted by instructions of the judge. Fislerman acquitted by jury. Wells and Sadler convicted at second trial and sentenced to 2 years in penitentiary. Case appealed and are out on \$5,000 bond. At second trial Morris and Joe Pass were brought into the case, charged with being co-conspirators. Convicted and sentenced same as Wells and Sadler. Now out on \$5,000 bonds pending appeal.

Olif Berild and Ed Peterson of Tacoma, arrested for circulating petitions, charged with sedition. At trial held September 6 [1917] the jury disagreed. Released under \$1,500 bond. No further report.

F.G. McMurray and E. Mears of North Yakima, arrested by soldiers and held 10 days without any charge. Were released on writ of habeas corpus.

Nils Osterberg of Everett, charged with violation of the Espionage Act. Dismissed by grand jury because of lack of evidence.

West Virginia.

Paul Bosco of Morgantown, was arrested and charged with using treasonable language. Convicted and sentenced to 10 years in the Federal Prison at Charleston. Appears to be no chance to reverse the verdict.

Wisconsin.

I.V. Yingst of Kenosha, arrested and held without charge. Habeas corpus proceedings were instituted — no report on the outcome.

Lithuanian.

Joseph V. Stilson, Secretary of the Lithuanian Federation, was arrested in Philadelphia and charged with attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, by publishing and circulating a certain leaflet in the Lithuanian language which denounced compulsory conscription. The case was to be tried in the June [1918] term, but was continued.

Suppression of Civil Liberties.

While the process of making the world "Safe for Democracy" is in full swing, the freedom of the press and freedom of speech have been impaired by the Democratic administration. It ill becomes the Democratic Party to deny to the people of this country the right to express their opinion freely through the press and from the platform, in view of the unenviable record of that party during the Civil War, when a titanic struggle was on to strike the fetters from 3 million souls.

If all the literature that we have issued before the war and during the war is what our prosecutors and persecutors charge it with being, it is mild in comparison with the documents on record issued by the Democratic Party when this country was in the throes of a civil war. I refer specifically to the resolution adopted by the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago, August 29th, 1864, and the document entitled "A Congressional Address, July 1864."

If the freedom of the press and speech are safeguards to a democracy during times of peace, they are doubly so during times when the nation is called upon to give its blood in defense of democracy.

People may not always speak "wisely," but even so, the official toga is often far from being a symbol of wisdom. Federal Judge Anderson, in the case of the US vs. Joseph Zimmerman, put these civil liberties properly when he said, "A person has as much right to speak foolishly as wisely. If we are going to limit the freedom of speech to those who speak wisely, there will probably be a deadly silence all around."

So far as we can learn, some 60 Socialist publi-

cations have come under the axe of the Postmaster General. These publications are denied the second class mailing rights because it is alleged they publish matter in violation of the "Espionage Law." But most of them go through the mail as third class matter. An "outlawed" publication is not admissible to the mails at 4 cents per pound, but it is at 1 cent per copy. If it is admissible to the mails at 1 cent per copy, by what process of reasoning is it not entitled to the regular postage rate provided for publications? The era of "mysteries" is evidently still with us.

Interference With Our Mail.

Immediately on returning the indictment against Comrades Victor L. Berger, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker, William F. Kruse, and myself, we learned from an employee in the post office department that our literature packages could not be accepted as insured parcel post mail. I immediately took the matter up with the Chicago Post Office officials, but was unable to get relief.

In the early part of June [1918] I learned that our registered parcels containing party membership dues stamps were being held up. First I went to the registry department, and was there advised to take it up with Washington. Then I went to the Assistant Post Master in Chicago, and he, too, advised me to take it up with Washington, saying, "You are surely not surprised that you are having trouble with your mail." The inspection department, acting directly under orders from Washington, I called on one of the inspectors and asked whether our first class outgoing registered mail containing Party membership dues stamps had been held up under orders from the Postmaster General's office in Washington. He, too, advised me to take the matter up with Washington, and when I asked him whether he had received orders to hold up our mail or whether he knew of any orders having been issued, he repeated his answer — "Take it up with Washington."

I had occasion to be in the East and went to Washington and called on the First Assistant Postmaster General. He advised me that the matter was to be handled by the Solicitor of the Post Office Department, and went with me to his office. On meeting William G. Lamar, Solicitor, I asked him whether his

department had issued an order to hold up our mail, and he admitted that it had, and gave for the reason that some literature had been enclosed with the dues stamps. Of course, I know that this is not the case, so far as the National Office is concerned, and after some discussion he agreed that we should write or stamp on the parcels "containing membership dues stamps only" and the parcels so marked would not be held up. Since that I have not learned of any delays in the delivery of the stamps.

Other first class mail was also held up. Letters mailed the early part of February [1918] were not delivered until the latter part of June, and some even during the month of July. We have received numerous envelopes cut open and resealed with the label marked "officially sealed." Not only has the outgoing mail been held up and opened, but we have found incoming mail also considerably delayed, opened, and resealed. When I called this to the attention of Mr. Lamar, he explained that it was opened under the authority of a search warrant, but he failed to tell me when and where such a warrant was issued.

The holding up of mail is a matter of vital importance to our movement, and in every instance where a member learns of interference,, a vigorous protest should immediately be sent to the members of Congress, to the Post Office Department, and also to President Wilson.

The fact that after the mail is cut open and the contents examined and then sent on to its destination is evidence that the mail contained nothing in violation of the laws and that the interference was unjustifiable.

Finance.

Including the cost of the St. Louis Convention [April 7-14, 1917], our total liabilities on July 1st, 1917, were \$24,000 in round numbers. On July 1st, 1918, they had been reduced to \$16,400. Against this we have assets amounting to \$23,180 in round numbers. The various special demands — the defense of our civil liberties — in a measure account for our failure to reduce the liabilities still further.

At the St. Louis Convention a resolution was passed to apportion the liabilities and then call upon each state to pay its proportionate share. This was done.

A special stamp was issued, and each state received its quota. Had each member purchased only one 25 cent stamp, our debts would have been fully met. But I very much regret to say that only a few states disposed of even a fair share of their proportion. It is needless to say that the national organization cannot properly function so long as it has a financial millstone hanging to its neck. Of course, the situations not an alarming one, but it is important enough to demand your thorough consideration if you want to make a national party what it should be.

The following is a summary of the receipts and expenditures for the year beginning with July 1st, 1917, and ending June 30, 1918.

Receipts.

Balance on hand, July 1, 1917	\$ 1,462.24
National Dues	47,390.14
<i>American Socialist</i> fund	1,500.03
Campaign fund	854.59
Dime fund	78.55
Press fund	500.94
Special Assessment	3,414.59
Convention fund	11.00
Adjustment Creditors' Accounts	146.75
Accounts Receivable, recovered	1,611.63
Liberty Defense fund	6,784.49
YPSL Dues	889.90
<i>Young Socialist Magazine</i>	1,026.00
Miscellaneous	3,610.90
Literature, cash sales	3,667.62
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$ 72,848.37</i>

Expenses.

Cost of Goods Sold	\$ 12,516.32
Wages	29,990.31
Printing, Postage, etc.	10,831.29
Stationery and Supplies	3,635.44
Telephone and Telegrams	933.35
Appropriations	198.00
General Expenses	2,491.58
Ballots	1,036.50
Rent	2,167.00
Bulletin	571.14
National Office Press Service	82.00
<i>Young Socialist Magazine</i>	621.96
Ads in <i>American Socialist</i> & Eye Opener	423.00
Liberty Defense Fund	6,312.12
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$ 71,810.01</i>

Balance on Hand, July 1, 1918 **\$ 1,038.36**

Woman's Work.

For the year beginning July 1, 1917, and ending June 30, 1918, the total receipts upon the Woman's Fund were \$4,004.66. Of this sum, \$1,488.36 has been appropriated from the fund for defense of women indicted for alleged violations of the Espionage Law and for organization work. The appropriations follow:

Colorado, Organization (balance)	\$ 78.51
New York, Suffrage Campaign	500.00
Florence Wattles, balance on tour	19.85
Kate Richards O'Hare, Defense	250.00
Elizabeth Baer, et al, Defense	250.00
California, Organization	150.00
New Jersey, Organization	120.00
New York, Organization	120.00
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$ 1,488.36</i>

Free literature has been distributed in amount \$628.00. This represents a very careful placing of leaflets, inasmuch as they were sent only to those who undertook a definite distribution and in amounts they were sure they could handle to advantage. Owing to the uncertainty of mail, the circularization of our lists of women members and sympathizers has not resulted so favorably as formerly. We have a list of about 15 hundred women, active workers and sympathizers. Heretofore, a letter sent to this list, which was kept as nearly up to date as possible, brought prompt response. A letter sent out last September [1917] brought no response whatever; a follow-up letter sent in January had a like result, and the obvious conclusion is that

neither letter ever reached those to whom it was addressed. Most of the women literature distributors have boon on our shipping list for more than a year.

The amount in the Woman's Fund July 1st [1918] is \$4,469.28.

The amount in the Headquarters Fund July 1st is \$1,184.08.

Conclusion.

I am sure that each representative to this conference comprehends fully the seriousness of the present situation and the grave responsibility resting upon those who are entrusted, by our membership, with the official duties of the party.

That our deliberation will be participated in with the sole desire to make the Socialist Party a commanding force in American political life and a vital force in the International Socialist movement is my one hope.

Our judicial conduct here, and an unflinching determination to carry on a position of constructive propaganda when this conference adjourns, will win the confidence of the masses and usher in that era when there will be no master and no slave.

Long live the Socialist Party; long live the International Solidarity of labor!

Fraternally submitted,

Adolph Germer,
National Executive Secretary.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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