

opposed the S. T. & L. A. Charges of crooked work were made against those who were active in launching the new economic organization, accusing them of misrepresenting the object for which it was launched. Ostensibly it was to be used to organize the unorganized, but its real object, its opponents claimed, was to use it as a weapon to fight the old style trades unions. Whether diplomacy was used in securing its endorsement by the party convention in '06, interests us but little at this late day. The only question which buries all the rest is: was the launching of the S. T. & L. A. scientifically correct? The course which the development has taken both in the Socialist and trades union movement in the last five years forces all unbiased and unprejudiced persons to an affirmative conclusion.

After the '09 split the S. L. P. continued on with its adopted policy. Those who seceded (Kangaroos, so-called, and of which the writer was one) amalgamated with the Debs social democracy, out of which rose the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic party." The S. T. & L. A. was vigorously condemned by this organization and the "boring from within" policy was worked to a standstill.

As the industrial development proceeded the capitalists became conscious of the necessity of organizing Employers' Associations and Alliances in order to forestall the demands made by organizer labor. The progressive trades unionists, on their side, began to recognize the inadequacy of "pure and simple" trades unions as organized by the A. F. of L. and proceeded to form industrial unions (all trades of an industry combined into one organization). As the A. F. of L. was opposed to this form of organization a new national federated body was created, called the American Labor Union. Most of these industrial unions, including the federated body endorsed the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic party." Eugene V. Debs, along with many more prominent members of the latter party aligned themselves with the more progressive economic organization, as opposed to the A. F. of L. thereby placing themselves in identically the same position as the much condemned Socialist Labor Party. The Kangaroos, true to their reactionary instinct, set up a terrific cry of "De Leonism" and rumors of a split in the party were rife.

To cap the climax, the California comrades carried the "boring" policy so far that they launched several "Union Labor Parties" and relegated the Socialist organization temporarily to the rear. This action was endorsed by the National quorum—composed of Kangaroos—and, of course, this caused another vigorous howl to go up. Then the national committee of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party, was held soon after, the California "fusion" policy was repudiated. The National Quorum stepped down and out and they, together with most of those who were active in the "fusion deal" as it was called, withdrew from the party, in so far as any active participation was concerned.

Thus, while they were the only ones who had carried the "boring from within" policy to a consistent and logical conclusion, they had only succeeded in boring themselves out of the Socialist movement entirely.

Here was a nice predicament! Already our augers were growing rusty for the lack of something to bore for. But hold! An inspiration! A national Union Labor Party with Hearst as the Moses! (Excuse me while I blush). But really, where else could we go? We had discovered the glaring duplicity of the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic party" and had turned it down; as for the Socialist Labor Party we never gave it a thought except at those times when the periodical report of its "succumbing to the inevitable" appeared.

However, about this time the scales on the eyes of this Kangaroo were beginning to drop off. He had bored until he could go no further (backward). The instruction he had received in the hard school of disillusion was beginning to tell. He had logically followed out the "boring from within" policy, and it had landed him in the ditch.

Expediency and conciliation are henceforth to be expunged from his philosophy, for they are toboggans on the inclined plane of reaction. For five years he has been wading about in the muddy swamps of opportunism, temporizing with, and conciliatory towards, everything that spelled reaction. Henceforth he "bathes his breast" in that revolutionary stream which flows unalterably onward in its course, sweeping aside all obstructions, unequivocal, toasting high and dry upon the banks of publicity the schemes and chicanery of its enemies. At last he realizes the historical necessity of the S. T. & L. A. Destined, as it is, to be the architectural foundation of the new industrial society, as it grows, and develops in volume, the consciousness of its interests will be strengthened and sustain-

ed by its intellectual reflex—its directing force—the Socialist Labor Party, whose star is now deservedly in the ascendant. Charles H. Ross. Douglas, Ariz., June 29.

#### A KANGAROO CONFESSION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—When the news arrived in California in '09 telling of the factional strife at national headquarters and the attempted deposition of the N. E. C. of the Socialist Labor Party by the Volkszeitung element, very few of the comrades were cognizant of the true underlying cause of the trouble. Some attributed it to the wrangle over taxation which had raged for several months previous in the party press. A larger number assigned it to dictatorship. But as the rupture grew in proportions and the rank and file—influenced by party members of both factions—found themselves hopelessly divided, the smoke gradually lifted and then it was seen that the party's trades union policy was the rock upon which the party had struck.

The bulk of the membership and party activity centered in New York city. Two factions had arisen, the existence of which the outside membership were but vaguely aware. Not until the split was complete and each faction had its "People" to expose its grievances was it generally understood that the trades union question was what caused the dissension.

One faction, supported by the National Committee and the official organ, The People, insisted that pure and simple trades unions should be opposed and the workers re-organized into the S. T. & L. A. The other faction contended that from the standpoint of expediency the "boring from within" policy should be pursued and as a result they covertly