

# Hillquit's Tammany Hall Is Beaten by the Real Tammany Hall

By JOHN PEPPER

"The Albany Conference was a complete failure"—is the summary made, not by a Communist, but by Morris Hillquit. And we can add to it: The entire policy of the Socialist Party has shown itself in Albany a complete failure.

What was the Conference in Albany? Simply a continuation of the NATIONAL Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, on a STATE SCALE. The Cleveland Conference declared for participation in the primaries of the old capitalist parties on a NATIONAL scale, but permitted the organization of labor parties on a STATE BASIS. The Albany Conference was a political convention of the labor movement of New York State. New York State has ten million population, and one and a quarter million organized workers. It ranks first in population and is the richest industrial state of the Union. The Socialist Party has its center of gravity in New York. New York is the only place where the Socialist Party has any influence in the trade unions.

The tactics of the Socialist Party within the "Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action" ought to have succeeded in New York State, if anywhere. AND FOR THAT VERY REASON, THE DEBACLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN ALBANY IS NOT MERELY AN ORDINARY DEFEAT, BUT A DECISIVE COLLAPSE OF ITS ENTIRE POLICY.

**Race for the Grace of Reactionary Leaders**

What has been the entire policy of the Socialist Party during the last year? AN ALLIANCE WITH THE CONSERVATIVE AND REACTIONARY LABOR LEADERS

**AGAINST THE RANK AND FILE, AND AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.** The Socialist Party did not once dare to attack Gompers in the last year. It fought against amalgamation, betrayed the Labor Party idea in Cleveland, slandered Soviet Russia, and barred the Communists from every labor conference whenever possible. All this has been done by the Socialist Party in order to win grace and favor with the reactionary labor leaders.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS BUILT ITS ENTIRE TACTIC UPON THE LABOR LEADERS. It has prostituted itself for Gompers, Johnston, Stone and Keating. It went to Albany as a prostitute. It put on its finest opportunist clothes, applied a thick coating of Gompers-ronge on its face, and perfumed itself with the strongest anti-Bolshevik patchouli. But all in vain. The reactionary leaders of the railroad brotherhoods were so much afraid of the labor party idea that they could not tolerate in their midst even the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is weeping now, and is wailing that altho it sought a compromise at any price, and altho it offered everything it had, even its honor, it was thrown out of the Albany Conference nevertheless. We can't help it but we have no compassion for the Socialist Party. Its tears and its wailing are but the tears and the wailing of a prostitute who has been thrown out without pay, by roughnecks, after a wild night. The Socialist Party demanded payment; but the railroad leaders declared that it was merely love, and kicked her out.

**Tammany Hall vs. Tammany Hall**  
The petty Tammany Hall of Hillquit dominates the Socialist Party completely, just as the real Tammany

Hall dominates New York's Democratic Party. Hillquit went to Albany with the whole apparatus of his petty Tammany Hall; but to his great surprise he found there—the real Tammany Hall of New York, in the persons of ex-Mayor John Fitzgeralds and William E. Fitzsimmons, the Democratic attorney of several trade unions. Hillquit was surprised, but at first wanted to fraternize even with the Tammany Hall politicians; and the love between the real Tammany Hall and Hillquit's petty Tammany Hall was for a while day really strong and stirring. But we all know that love can easily turn into hatred. Hillquit recbunts in the New York Call: "The break came late Sunday night, after a day of seemingly cordial exchange of sentiment and harmonious co-operation. It was as definite as it was unexpected and inconsistent." And the New York Call reporter writes that the attacks of the real Tammany Hall against Hillquit "Came dangerously near personal insults on the part of several Democratic Party leaders who secured the floor." Hillquit attempted all the cunning of an average lawyer, but Fitzsimmons, the Democratic attorney, understands the old game better than Hillquit. It was a spectacle for the Gods, as these two lawyers fought against each other. Hillquit declared that Tammany Hall is, "The most malodorous and corrupt political organization in America." Fitzsimmons declared that Hillquit's petty Tammany Hall, the Socialist Party, "Has no good faith and is not honest." Hillquit declared that Fitzsimmons hasn't the right to speak in the name of the workers and that he represents the interests of the Democratic Party. Fitzsimmons declared that Hillquit hasn't the right to speak in the name of the workers, and that he represents the interests

of the Socialist Party. We believe that both lawyers were entirely right. **OF COURSE IN THE END, THE REAL TAMMANY HALL REMAINED VICTORIOUS, AND HILLQUIT'S PETTY TAMMANY HALL WAS SIMPLY KICKED OUT.** The scores of Socialist Party delegates rode proudly to Albany on a special ship. We are curious to know what special vehicle they used in their quick exit from the Albany Conference.

**From Cleveland to Albany**

What are the causes of the debacle of the entire Socialist Party-tactic? We can say that for us, this debacle of the Socialist Party tactic did not come as unexpectedly as for the Socialist leaders. We predicted beforehand that it will happen that way. We wish to analyze now the chief reasons for the defeat.

First, the Socialist Party has allied itself with the reactionary labor leaders and has lost all faith in the rank and file. It hoped that the American development would ape the British development. It hoped that the conservative LABOR LEADERS of America would create a Labor Party in America, just as the conservative leaders of the British labor movement created the British Labor Party. The Socialist Party has once more shown that it does not understand the American labor movement, that it is an outsider. Gompers and Johnston are definitely allied with the capitalists or middle class politicians, and will never be leaders of the Labor Party movement. At Cleveland the Socialist Party went so far in the service of the reactionary labor leaders as to vote for participation in the primaries of the old capitalist parties, on condition that it would be allowed to vote for its own candidates. It wished to repeat the same game in

Albany. In Cleveland it was tolerated, and in Albany it was thrown out. Why? What is the difference between the two situations?

The difference is that in Cleveland the Socialist Party was still necessary for Johnston, Stone and Keating. The Socialist Party supplied them with ideology against the immediate creation of a Labor Party, and in throwing out the Communists, The Socialist Party was a tool in the hands of the reactionary labor leaders for deceiving the militant rank and file. But since Cleveland, there has taken place the July 3rd Convention in Chicago, and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been formed. Which means that the Socialist Party could not prevent the militant left wing of the worker and farmer movement from abandoning the Cleveland fake for progressive political action. As a result, the Socialist Party lost its value in the estimation of the reactionary labor leaders. In Albany the "S. P." was no longer necessary. It was simply thrown out. It is truly a rare irony of fate that the reactionary leadership now brings up literally the same accusations against the Socialist Party which the Socialist Party made against the Communists—that the Socialist Party wanted to CAPTURE the Convention; that the Socialist Party PACKED the Convention with delegates, and that they do not want to go with the Socialist Party because if they do, people will say they are Bolsheviks.

The Socialist Party will now parade as the hero of the Labor Party idea. It will say that it was thrown out because it fought for independent political action of the working class. It will tear open its shirt and show the wounds on its chest. But that's a fake. The Socialist Party has not

defended for one minute the idea of the Labor Party—neither in Cleveland nor in Albany. If it has wounds, they are not on its chest, but on its buttock, from the kick of the reactionary labor leaders.

**Capitalist Deed and Socialist Phrase**

The Socialist Party has been preaching for months that the situation is not ripe for a Labor Party—that the workers do not understand as yet the necessity for a Labor Party. **NOR DID THEY IN ALBANY BRING IN A RESOLUTION FOR THE CREATION OF A LABOR PARTY;** and still less did they fight for the resolution of Campbell, the delegate of the Buffalo Trades and Labor Council, which was for the creation of a Labor Party. **THEIR ONLY PROPOSAL WAS TO POSTPONE ALL ACTION UNTIL 1924.** The reactionary railroad leaders and Tammany Hall politicians had easy sailing. They had something **POSITIVE AND IMMEDIATE** to offer to the workers. They offered immediate participation in the elections of next fall, thru the means of the old capitalist parties. Of course it is a false and treacherous policy against the interests of the working class. But it is an **IMMEDIATE** action. And dissatisfied workers demand **IMMEDIATE** action. The **ONLY** tactic which would have made it possible to fight against the Tammany Hall politicians and the railroad leaders would have been to urge the **IMMEDIATE CREATION OF A LABOR PARTY.** As against immediate action in alliance with capitalists, immediate independent action for the working class. **THE ONLY POSSIBLE TACTIC COULD HAVE BEEN ACTION AGAINST ACTION.** But against action in the interests of the capital-

ists, the Socialist Party had only the tactic of hesitation and passiveness. Hillquit declared at the Convention "Any definite policy would force rupture." The Democratic Tammany Hall had easy sailing. Fitzsimmons declared against the tactic of postponement of the Socialist Party. "It's allright to have lovely dream about what we can do away in the future in 1924, but we have got to do something NOW." The reports of the New York Call wrote: "MANY railwaymen declared they wanted SOMETHING NOW, they couldn't wait a year. Next year SEVERAL said: was so far off the plan for it was a dream."

The Socialist Party could not overcome the RANK AND FILE representation of the railwaymen, because it had nothing to offer them. Against the definite CAPITALIST policy of the railway leaders they did not have just as definite a LABOR policy, but only Hillquit's phrase, "No definite policy." Against the CAPITALIST "HERE AND NOW" they did not have the REVOLUTIONARY "HERE AND NOW," but only a "lovely dream" for the future.

The greatest lesson at Albany is that against the real Tammany Hall the petty S. P.-Tammany Hall is powerless and useless. **ALBANY HAS DEFINITELY SHOWN THAT THE LABOR PARTY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS CAN BE CREATED ONLY THRU THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST PARTIES, AND THRU THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REACTIONARY LABOR LEADERS.** It has shown that everyone who does not fight against Gompers and Johnston, simply delivers the working class to Harding and "Al Smith.

**Socialists Got the Boot at Albany after**

figures, Hillquit went far in making

**The Albany "C..."**

the trade unionists