

Oct 1921

GO TO THE MASSSES!

A MANIFESTO OF THE
THIRD CONGRESS OF THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL

ALSO THE

Withdrawal Statement of the Committee
for the Third International of the Socialist
Party to the Members of the Socialist Party.

Workers' Council Pamphlet No. 1

Price: 10 Cents



Published by the
WORKERS' COUNCIL
Room 233, 80 East 11th St.
NEW YORK CITY

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THE WORKERS' COUNCIL

of the United States of America

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A Tentative Statement of Its Position and Purposes

The Workers' Council of the United States has been called into being for the purpose of aiding in the struggle to unite all class-conscious working-class groups into a truly revolutionary Socialist organization.

It pledges itself to aid in the effort to establish a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States.

For immediate organization purposes it offers the following tentative draft of a program upon which all such revolutionary elements can unite:

1. **THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL:**—Unconditional affiliation with the Third International.

2. **DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT:**—The transitional period, following the inevitable breakdown of the capitalist system, may take a long time and will unavoidably be accompanied by civil strife in one form or another. At such a time the new order has a right to defend itself, and the Communist-conscious workers and their party are then duty-bound to disregard the formal rights of the bourgeoisie as a minority of the people and build the power of the workers as the great majority upon such a strong basis and with such guarantees that the revolution will not be endangered by counter-revolution from within nor intervention from without.

3. **POLITICAL ACTION:**—Participation in all political activities, as well as electoral campaigns,

Go to the Masses!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES:

The Third Congress of the Communist International is ended. It has completed its survey of the status of the Communist proletariat of all countries.

In a number of countries, in which Communism had as yet hardly gained a foothold, the movement during the past year has become a gigantic force, capable of organizing the masses and constituting a menace to the existence of capitalism.

On the day of its initial congress, the Communist International, with the exception of Russia, consisted of small insignificant groups.

Since its Second Congress it has endeavored to create great organized mass movements. At the present time the parties in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, Norway, Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, besides Russia, have succeeded in rallying the masses to their standards.

The Third Congress asks the Communists of all countries fearlessly to continue in the great undertaking, and to put forth every effort to the work of rallying millions upon millions of new adherents to the ranks of the Communist International.

The power of capitalism will be broken only when the idea of Communism is translated into the invincible strength of the great majority of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, the backbone of the working class movement.

Go to the Masses.

"Go to the Masses!" is the battle-cry which the Third Congress issues to Communists of all countries. "Prepare for the conflict!"

The masses will come to us, they will flock to us, because the capitalist system is constantly making it clear that it can live only by continuing to em-

broil the world more and more, and by constantly increasing the chaos, the misery and the enslavement of the masses. In the face of the economic world crisis, which forces millions of workers on the streets for lack of work, the social democrats, henchmen of capitalism, and bourgeoisie who have for several years past been exhorting the workers to "work, work," are obliged to be silent.

Before calling the working class to work, it is necessary to call them to battle, and the appeal to work can be obeyed only when capitalism will have been destroyed, and when the proletariat will have taken possession of the means of production.

Capitalism and Imperialism.

The capitalist world is on the eve of new wars. The American-Japanese and the Anglo-American conflicts, the quarrels of the Near and the Far East, are forcing upon the capitalists a policy of increased armaments.

They are asking with anxiety, "Must Europe be thrust into a new world war?"

They are not afraid of sacrificing millions of human beings. For on the very morrow of the great war, in blockading Russia, they cold-bloodedly doomed millions of human beings to starvation.

What they fear, however, is that another war will hurl the masses into the throes of a world revolution. They are afraid that a fresh war will ultimately involve the uprising of the world proletariat.

They are seeking, therefore, through diplomatic means, as they did before the late war, to bring about an understanding to delay as far as possible such a crisis. But when such an understanding is brought about, it only serves to create a new tension.

The negotiations between England and America, regarding the limitation of armaments, necessarily create an attitude of antagonism towards Japan. The Franco-English reconciliation delivers up Germany to France, and Turkey to England.

The efforts which world capitalism is making to create any sort of order in the ever-increasing chaos of the world, far from bringing peace to the peoples of the world, only augment their enslavement and subject the conquered peoples to the domination of the victorious bourgeoisie.

The capitalist press is at present claiming an improvement in conditions because the bourgeoisie of Germany has surrendered to the conditions of the allies, because, in order to maintain its power, it has delivered up the German people to the monsters in control of the stock exchanges of Paris and London.

At the same time, however, this press which is at the beck and call of high finance, announces the economic ruin of Germany, deploring the heavy taxes, which will fall like a hailstorm on the unemployed masses this fall, and will formidably increase the price of every morsel of food and every bit of clothing.

Bankruptcy of the Capitalist Regime.

The Communist International, which bases its policies on the calm and objective examination of the present world situation, because it is only thru surveying the field of action with clear-sightedness and in taking accurate account of the situation that the proletariat will conquer, the Communist International says to the proletariat of all countries:

Capitalism has so far shown that it cannot secure to the world even that degree of order which it enjoyed before the war. Its present work cannot lead to a single new order of society, but can only prolong your suffering and the process of the decomposition of capitalism.

The World Revolution Is on Its Way.

Everywhere the capitalist world is rocking on its foundations. The second appeal which the World Congress of the Communist International makes to the proletariat of all countries is the following:

"We are marching forward to new and difficult battles. Arm yourselves for the new struggles."

Prepare the United Front of the World Proletariat.

The bourgeoisie cannot assure to the workers either work, bread, housing or clothing. However, it shows great capacity in the organization of war against the proletariat.

Ever since the moment, when the bourgeoisie, for the first time was at a loss how to proceed, ever since it conquered the great fear caused by the workers returning from the war, ever since it resolved to prolong after the war its alliance with the traitors of the proletariat, namely the social-democrats and the bureaucrats of Trade Unionism, the bourgeoisie has consecrated all its forces to organize the white guards to fight against and to disarm the proletariat.

The world bourgeoisie is even at this moment armed to the teeth and ready, not only forcibly to suppress any proletarian insurrection, but also, if necessary, to provoke insurrection in order to annihilate the proletariat before it succeeds in organizing a united and invincible front.

Against the strategy of the bourgeoisie, the Communist International pits its own. If the power of capital can throw armed bandits against the proletarians, the Communist International has a weapon which cannot fail. It is the proletarian masses, the single and unconquerable front of the proletariat.

Once the millions and millions of proletarians will enter the struggle in united ranks, the bourgeoisie will be at the end of its rope and all of its forces will no longer be of service to it. The trains transporting the white guards being sent against the proletariat will be stopped, the troops will be overcome with remorse, and the proletariat will wrest their weapons from them and will use them against other organizations of white guards.

If the proletariat will present a united front against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, it will have captured the enemy, who at that time will have lost

the first condition for success, to-wit: a belief in victory, which only the treason of the social-democrats and division within the working masses could still give it. The victory over world capitalism can come only thru convincing the majority of the members of the working class.

Against Social-Democrats and Trade Union Bureaucrats.

The Third Congress of the Communist International demands that the Communist parties of all countries and the Communists in the trade unions direct all their efforts towards the liberation of the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic parties and the trade union bureaucracy. This will not be done unless the Communists of all countries, in these trying times, when each day increases the privations of the working masses, prove that they are the advance-guard of the working class, that they will uphold it in all its struggles, and that they will lead it in the fight to free them from the burdens which capitalism has heaped upon them far beyond what they can bear.

It is necessary to convince the working masses that the Communists alone are fighting for a betterment of their condition, that the reactionary Social-Democracy and trade union bureaucracy would rather see them die of hunger than fight for them.

There is no longer any question as to fighting the traitors of the proletariat, the agents of the bourgeoisie on theoretic grounds, or to debate the question of democracy and dictatorship. Rather they must be fought on questions of bread, salaries, wages, of labor and housing.

Moscow versus Amsterdam.

The first field of battle and the most important is that of the trade union movement. Before all, it is necessary to lead the struggle of the Red Trade Union International against the Yellow Amsterdam International.

It is necessary above all to capture the strongholds of the enemy installed in our own camp.

Purge your Organization of Centrist Tendencies.

Develop an Aggressive Spirit.

It is only in fighting for the most simple interests of the working masses that we can organize a united front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; that we can make an end to the disunion of the proletariat; which alone assures to the bourgeoisie a possibility for continued existence. But this proletarian front can only be inspired with the joy of battle when it will be sustained by the Communist Parties, which are strong in spirit and which possess an iron discipline.

That is why the Third Congress of the Third International, at the same time that it flings to the Communists of all countries the cry, "Go to the Masses! Create a strong, united front!" urges them also to banish from their ranks all those elements which might weaken the morale and discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat and of the Communist Parties.

The Congress of the Communist International confirms the exclusion of the Socialist Party of Italy until the time when it will have broken with the reformers and excluded them from its ranks. This decision confirms the opinion of the Congress that if the Communist International wishes to lead the millions and millions of workers in the struggle, it cannot afford to have within its ranks reformists, whose aim is not the victorious proletarian revolution, but the reconciliation between capitalism and reformism. Armies that will tolerate as their leaders men who speak in terms of compromise with the enemy, will be surrendered and sold to the enemy by those very leaders.

We Lack Revolutionary Fervor.

The attention of the Communist International has been drawn to the fact that within a number of parties that have excluded reformists from their

ranks, there still exist tendencies indicating they have not completely rid themselves of the spirit of reformism, and that even though they do not look to reconciliation with the enemy, are nevertheless not sufficiently energetic and aggressive in their propaganda for the preparation of the workers for the struggle against capitalism. **They are not working decidedly enough towards the revolution of the masses.** These parties are not capable in the course of their daily work to provide the revolutionary inspiration with which to animate the masses. They are not capable of daily strengthening the fighting spirit of the masses by their fervent enthusiasm.

These parties do not believe that they should utilize favorable conditions for conflict and thus allow great revolutionary currents to go to waste. This was notably the case at the time of the occupation of the factories in Italy and the strike of December in Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist parties should strive to develop an aggressive attitude in their very midst. They should train themselves to become the general staff capable of turning to immediate account favorable conditions for combat, and when there arises spontaneous movements within the proletariat, to make them of maximum value by clear-sighted and courageous direction.

Strive to be the advance guard of the class-conscious working masses. Be their heart and their spirit. This is the cry with which the Third Congress of the Communist International challenges the Communist parties.

To be the advance guard means to march at the head of the masses, as their party and as the bravest and the most far-seeing.

Only when the Communist Parties will become such an advance guard, will they be able not only to organize a united front of the proletariat, but to lead it to the battle which will conquer the enemy.

Against the strategy of capitalism pit the strategy of the proletariat. Prepare for the conflict.

The enemy is strong. It has had centuries of

experience in the exercise of power, and that has given it consciousness of strength and the will to maintain it. The enemy is strong, because it has learned thru hundreds of years how to divide the proletarian masses, how to domineer and enthral them.

The enemy knows how victory is gained in civil strife. It is for this reason that the Third World Congress of the Third International calls to the attention of all Communist Parties the danger that exists in the fact that in strategic matters there is a decided difference in ability between the controlling and possessing classes, and the working class fighting for the acquisition of power.

The events of March in Germany have shown the great danger which exists when the leaders of the working-class, the Communist advance guard of the proletariat, are forced to fight before the great masses are ready for it. The Communist International hails with joy the knowledge that hundreds of thousands of workers in the whole of Germany are ready to rush to the aid of the menaced workers in Central Germany.

It is in this spirit of solidarity, which causes the proletariat of a whole country, nay the whole world, to rush as one man to the defense of an endangered proletarian party, that the Communist International sees the sign which bespeaks victory.

The Communist International approves of the Communist Party of Germany putting itself at the head of the working masses who offered themselves in the defense of their threatened brothers. At the same time, however, the Communist International feels that it is its duty openly to announce the following to the workers of all countries:

In such cases where the advance guard is compelled to enter into a struggle, and where such struggle would hasten the mobilization of the whole working class, the advance guard should bear in mind that if it is alone and isolated, it is not in a position to make a decisive assault; that if forced to fight alone, it should as far as possible, avoid an armed conflict with the enemy, for the victory of the proletariat over the armed

white guards can only be won by the entire mass of the proletariat. If the majority of this mass is not prepared to engage in the struggle, the advanced guard, which is an unarmed minority, should not attempt to launch an attack against an armed enemy.

Thanks to the battles of March, the Communist International has learned one thing more to which it calls the attention of the proletariat of all countries. It is necessary that the whole working class be prepared by a daily, incessant propaganda, constantly more intensive and extensive, for the struggles which are imminent. And when they enter the combat, they must have full comprehension of the significance of the rallying cry.

Proletarian Strategy.

Against the strategy of the enemy we must pit the intelligent and carefully considered strategy of the proletariat. The courage, the enthusiasm, the determination of the advance guard will not be sufficient. The struggle must be prepared and organized in such a way as to enlist the great masses of the workers. They must be mobilized and given to understand that they are engaged in a struggle for the attainment of their most vital interests.

The condition of world capitalism will ever become more critical and it will try more and more to impede the coming victory of the Communist International by throttling its advance guards, if isolated from the bulk of the masses.

We must therefore plan to avert this danger thru a propaganda that will awaken all the masses. We must engage in a work of energetic organization of Communist parties which will assure their influence over the masses, and will make them capable of calmly judging existing situations, refusing the fight when the forces of the enemy are superior, and fighting where the enemy is disrupted and the masses united.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is well aware that it is only in combat that the working masses will form Communist parties capable of attacking the enemy with lightninglike rapidity in cases where the enemy is in an inferior

position, and of avoiding combat under unfavorable conditions. That is why it is the duty of the proletariat of all countries to learn to benefit by the lessons which the working classes of one country has learned as a result of great sacrifices, and to apply them internationally.

Take care to preserve discipline in the struggle.

The working class and the Communist parties of all countries are not entering a peaceful period of propaganda and organization. At the present time capitalism is preparing a series of assaults against the proletariat in an attempt to crush it, while making it bear all the disastrous consequences of its policies.

In this combat, the Communists should strive to develop the strongest discipline. The executive committees of their parties should take into consideration all the lessons learned during the course of former conflicts and control the field of battle. They should combine great fervor with thoro reflection. Under the watchfulness and criticism of the comrades in the party they should initiate a plan of well-considered action for the whole party.

All the organizations of the party, the press and the parliamentary groups, should follow, without flinching, the executives of the party, inspired by them, in every one of their words and actions.

To the Task.

The survey of the Communist advance-guards is ended. It has proved that Communism is a world power. It has proved that the work of organizing and educating the great proletarian armies is yet to be accomplished. It has shown that great, victorious conflicts are in store for those armies. It has declared that we will be victorious in the struggle. It has shown the world proletariat how it should prepare itself to secure victory.

It now remains with the Communist parties of all countries to enlighten their members as to the decisions of the congress, which have grown out of

the experiences of the world proletariat, in order that all the Communist working men and women may be able to enlist the non-communist proletarians for the battles which are to come.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the World Revolution!

Onward to the task of preparation and organization for our victory!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL: Germany, Heckert and Froehlich; France, Souvarine; Czecho-Slovakia, Burian and Kreibich; Italy, Terracini and Genari; Russia, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin and Trotzky; Ukraine, Chumski; Poland, Glinski; Bulgaria, Popov; Jugoslavia, Markovicz; Norway, Schefflo; England, Bell; America, Baldwin; Spain, Marino, Garcia; Finland, Sirola; Holland, Janson; Belgium, Van Overstraeten; Sweden, Kilbohm; Lithuania, Stutschka; Switzerland, Arnold; Austria, Koritschener; Hungary, Bela Kun, and for the International of Youth, Vouyovitch.

MOSCOW, SOVIET RUSSIA, JULY 17, 1921.

Save Soviet Russia!

Read the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** for the latest developments in the great famine and plague now sweeping the Volga district in Soviet Russia. Your help is needed, **NOW**.

Send all your contributions to Dr. Moses Aronson, Treasurer, Workers' Council Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 233, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

Every penny received will be turned over immediately to the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee for instant use. **HELP NOW!**

"Farewell!" to the Socialist Party!

An Appeal to Its Remaining Members!

STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO THE MEM- BERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

COMRADES:—For three years a constant struggle has been carried on within the Socialist Party to secure an adaptation of its principles, policies and program to the new conditions growing out of the world war and the Russian Revolution.

In three national conventions, at Chicago, 1919, New York, 1920, and at Detroit, 1921, as well as between conventions, the fight has been kept up, to place the Socialist Party in the front rank of the international labor movement, in the vanguard of the world struggle for Socialism.

The last National Convention of the Socialist Party at Detroit, in June, definitely displaced the party as a force working for Socialism, definitely aligned it with those elements in the labor movement that refuse to profit by the experiences of the world-war and the years of the imperialist "peace" which followed it. It threw overboard the rich lessons of the establishment of the first great Workers' Republic, of its years of heroic and successful struggles against a world-wide alliance of the forces of imperialism and treacherous would-be Socialism. The Socialist Party has thus become a hindrance rather than an aid to working class progress.

The Committee for the Third

The Committee for the Third International within the Socialist Party was organized for the explicit purpose of bringing about the party's joining the Third

International on the basis of the announced "21 Points." Yet the Committee did not at all assume that its task to arrest the actual process of disintegration of the party" would be solved by merely having the party accept the 21 conditions of application. In fact, the Committee did not pretend to accept all and every opinion expressed by the Third on conditions in and tactics to be applied to the United States. It merely held:

"That all discussion as to the applicability in the United States at the present time of one or the other point of tactics as proposed by the Third International, should be carried on with the International, not outside of it."

The issue at stake was not merely an affiliation with the Third. Principles and tactics of outstanding importance were involved. The issue of international affiliation was but the clarion-call, the Third International standing out as the symbol and the incarnation of a world party of aggressive Socialist action. The inevitability of the reorganization of the party and its adaptation to new conditions was pointed to, lest it voluntarily sign its own death warrant, and acquiesce in its own burial.

The Recent Past

With the issue of affiliation with the Third International the committee set out to work, sparing no effort and missing no opportunity to carry its point during the months of agitation prior to the Detroit Convention. But it did not confine itself to mere advocacy of affiliation with the Third. An animated discussion of all the principles and tactics involved was forced to the fore. The spirit of the Third was held up as the big subject for discussion.

Of course the party leaders did not welcome our activity. They met the Committee with animosity. The Party chiefs, who on numerous occasions claimed to be desirous of the party's affiliation with the Third International were particularly venomous in their

attacks upon the advocates of the Third. Speaking the minds of the party officialdom, the National Secretary placed on the agenda of the Detroit convention the infamous resolution which proposed to expel every member favoring affiliation as one "who works either for the Communist International or for the Department of Justice and in either case—in the interests of American capitalism."

The Detroit Convention

At the Convention the leaders strategically retreated from the position of doubtful vantage that the adoption of this resolution would have given them. They made it clear, however, that the "expulsion motion" would be enforced locally, the prevalent state and local autonomy giving the local chieftains the right to do what the national leaders thought wise policy not to stress too strongly.

The Convention, reduced to 35 delegates, most of whom were national office appointees and retainers voted 31 to 4 against unconditional affiliation with the Third. By this act the Socialist Party read itself out of the fold of the international revolutionary working class movement. The Convention decisions on other matters of principle and tactics were reactionary enough to make the party unfit to join the so-called Second International. Even that body of counter-revolutionary and bourgeois-government Socialists is too revolutionary for the Detroit majority of the Socialist Party.

The Detroit Convention sounded the death knell of the Socialist Party. It lives today only as a painful survival, a reproach to its own past. Even the official party press could no longer hide its bankruptcy, and proceeded to boast of their shame.

The Call, the New York party daily, summed up the work of the Detroit Convention as a "return to normalcy." The paper discovered that "the Convention made progress and that it demonstrated more unity of opinion and policy than any gathering since the war swept over the world"

That unity of opinion had been gloriously demonstrated in the action on the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, where, according to the official party and publicity manager, "the convention was so h . . . bent on taking no stand at all, that it took no action on a motion committing the party to a stand that says that it takes no stand."

On the question of proletarian dictatorship the Convention turned down all five motions placed before it. The resolutions favoring it, against it, proclaiming it to be of no concern to the party, considering it inopportune, and providing for no stand on the principle, were all defeated in monotonous and systematic order.

Prompted seemingly by the same yearning for "unity" the Convention tabled the resolution dealing with "immediate demands," sabotage, political action, direct action, etc. And what was not tabled went to the next Convention, when "study reports" and surveys will be submitted. Thus went for study the question of party organization, propaganda and the party daily press. The party still wants to study and investigate—it is so young and inexperienced.

And yet the convention managed to overreach itself by adopting the Hillquit motion, which opens the way for fusion and political trading with all the highest bidders in the field of political radicalism. There was the Hoan proposition for immediate fusion. The Hillquit motion was to investigate the possibilities of fusion.

No wonder that "this Convention demonstrated more unity of opinion than any before it." Unity of opinion should be easily attained where no opinion exists, and this was notoriously a convention of no opinion.

The Background of Detroit.

Undoubtedly the Detroit Convention did not present a totally new and radical change of attitude in our party. The Detroit actions were largely foreshadowed by the National Convention of 1920. It was that convention that marked the retreat of the party from

its advanced position in the world of labor and Socialism. The 1920 Convention yielded to the demands of the membership and nominated for the U. S. Presidency our noble martyr Eugene V. Debs and simultaneously forced on the party and its revolutionary candidate a reactionary national platform. The crying shame of that convention followed upon the heels of the Albany ouster proceedings where the party defence proclaimed obedience to bourgeois legality to be the cardinal virtue of a revolutionary movement and respectability its reward. It was the work of the New York Convention that forced Comrade Debs to say to the party committee which tendered him the nomination for the Presidency:

"I must be perfectly frank with you. I have read the platform and I wish I might say that it had my unqualified approval. . . . It could have been made more effective if it had stressed the class struggle more prominently and if more emphasis had been laid on industrial organization"

And he added the very significant words of grave warning:

"I have always been a radical, never more so than now. I have never feared becoming too radical. I do fear becoming too conservative. We must guard against any policy or attitude of fear to state our position clearly.

"Socialist platforms are not made to catch votes. Our purpose should be to state principles of the party clearly to the people. **THERE IS A TENDENCY IN THE PARTY TO BECOME A PARTY OF POLITICIANS INSTEAD OF A PARTY OF THE WORKERS. THAT POLICY MUST BE CHECKED, NOT ENCOURAGED.**"

The policy or tendency in the party to become a party "of politicians instead of a party of the workers" was not checked. The party went the full

length of it, until it is no more a tendency. It is an accomplished fact.

Political compromise and abandonment of the Socialist faith did not save the party from thorough collapse. With a doubled electorate the party ticket equalled only its vote in 1912. The organization once 120,000 strong came to the New York Convention with 38,000 and to Detroit with 17,000 members. The accelerated withdrawal of groups and individual members since Detroit, which has still further reduced its numbers, is a testimonial to the party leaders for their achievements at the convention.

The Task Ahead

Our agitation in the party has aroused a great many members. It bore all the fruit it could. There is no further need for influencing the remaining members in the party thru working from within. There is no longer the danger of leaving the membership in the custody of a leadership that either leads it nowhere or in the wrong direction. The truly Socialist elements in the party are rushing out of it, disgusted, disheartened. They lack, however, a constructive plan of action. Merely leaving the party to those who approve of its reformist policies and tactics is insufficient. We must organize to get out and get out to organize.

This is why we say to all the true Socialists in the Socialist Party:

The Committee for the Third International sees no further reason for staying in the Socialist Party. It believes the Socialist Party has completely and beyond recovery outlived its usefulness as an agency for propaganda, and an instrument for the realization of Socialism.

We prophecy the early demise of the Socialist Party and call upon all those who read the future as we do, to get ready to quit the ship that no longer sails the flag of working class Socialism.

But then the next step must follow. A new home

for constructive revolutionary Socialism must be built. Another political party of the working class must be established with the passing of the Socialist Party. It must be alive to the problems of the revolutionary age, as well as imbued with the keen sense of reality without which a working class party will be built on "a rope of sand." To the fulfillment of this task we call all of you, comrades, in and out of the Socialist Party. To the work along these lines we pledge our own energies, loyalty and service.

Comrades: Organize for the purpose of getting in touch with us and prepare for a conference, which will be called in the near future and where definite plans will be worked out and the foundation laid for a powerful American Section of the Third International.

Forward in the struggle for the realization of an irresistible party of the world's disinherited.

SIGNERS OF THE WITHDRAWAL STATEMENT:

MINORITY DELEGATES, NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1921, DETROIT: J. Louis Engdahl and William F. Kruse, Illinois; H. L. Flanagan, Southern District, C. W. Kirkendall, West Virginia; Otto Newman, Pacific Northwestern District; Charles Kolarik, Bohemian Socialist Federation; I. B. Bailin, Jewish Socialist Federation.

MINORITY DELEGATES, NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1920, NEW YORK: Steven Bircher, New Jersey; Benjamin Glassberg and Alexander Trachtenberg, New York.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (in addition to the above): Paul P. Glaser, Indiana; Morris Backall, M. Baumstein, Louis T. Herzon, Ralph Henderson Henry E. Wickwire and Hyman Schneid, Illinois; Rose Weiss, New Jersey; J. B. Salutsky, M. J. Olgin, Alexander Carlin and George Wishnak, New York.

Send all your communications and requests for information to J. Louis Engdahl, Secretary, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.