

The Communist

Official Paper of the Communist Party of America

Vol. I, No. 1

Chicago, Ill., Saturday, July 12, 1919

Five Cents

Call for a National Convention

For the Purpose of Organizing the Communist Party of America

In this the most momentous period of the world's history capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

Only one Socialism is possible in the crisis. A Socialism based upon understanding. A Socialism that will express in action the needs of the proletariat. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The Communist call of the Third International, the echo of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has evidenced by its expulsion of nearly half of the membership that they will not hesitate at wrecking the organization in order to maintain their control. A crisis has been precipitated in the ranks of revolutionary Socialism by the wholesale expulsion or suspension of the membership comprising the Socialist Party of Michigan, Locals and Branches throughout the country together with seven language federations. This has created a condition in our movement that makes it manifestly impossible to longer delay the calling of a convention to organize a new party. Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is but an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the "right" and "center" to sink together with their "revolutionary" leaders.

The majority of the delegates to the Left Wing Conference in New York weakly neglected to sever their connections with the reactionary National Executive Committee. Rendered impotent by the conflicting emotions and lack of understanding present they continued to mark time as Centrists in the wake of the Right. Their policy is one of endeavor to capture the old party machinery and the stagnant elements which have been struggling for a false unity, who are only ready to abandon the ship when it sinks beneath the waves of reaction.

The condition which confronted the minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference has been met by issuing this call for the formation of a Communist Party of America. The delegates issuing the call represented the following organizations: Socialist Party of Michigan, Left Wing State Convention of Minnesota, Locals Buffalo, N. Y., Chicago, Ill., Union Local, N. J., Cudahy, Wis., Rochester, N. Y., Rockford, Ill., Kenosha, Wis., New York, Providence, R. I., Nanticoke, Pa., Milwaukee, Wis., Boston, Mass. and the Polish, Lettish, Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Esthonian Federations.

No other course is possible; therefore, we, the minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference, call a convention to meet in the city of Chicago on September 1st, 1919 for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party in America.

This party will be founded upon the following principles:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the powers of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers, and for the re-organization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical

form of the rule of the finance-oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper class rule, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of the working class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups: (a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center," representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The Communists.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the center is necessary.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of revolutionary trend of the communist movement, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International communist press is to carry on propaganda for the abolition of this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of

social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

Program of the Call

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-Partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership Leagues and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchistic or democratic republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Socialist transformation.

4. The Party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaign should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasion of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of Socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no separate city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary Socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come, within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the

council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated, of a centralized party organization.

Organizations indorsing the principles and program outlined as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the convention in Chicago on September 1st, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every five hundred members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, also, that each Language Federation shall have one fraternal delegate at the convention.

Provided further, that in states where the states are organized, they shall send delegates as states. In states which are not organized, the locals shall send delegates as such. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send a delegate.

National Organization Committee

Dennis E. Batt
D. Elbaum
O. C. Johnson
John Keracher

S. Kopnagel
J. V. Stilson
Alexander Stoklitsky

Send communications to the National Office of the Organization Committee: Dennis E. Batt, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Bulletins

Chicago, Ill., July 10.—Eighty-one delegates of the Communist League of Chicago after hearing the report of their delegates to the Left Wing Conference unanimously endorsed the action of the minority group and repudiated the action of two delegates, I. E. Ferguson and Wm. Bross Lloyd who remained with the majority group. The meeting sent greetings to the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, pledging its unqualified support. As a concrete expression of their approval the delegates voted an appropriation of five hundred dollars from the League treasury for the purpose of aiding the committee in its work of organizing the new party. It was further decided to proceed at once with the formation of a Local which will be known as Local Cook County of the Communist Party. The new Local starts in with a membership of more than four thousand and urges all other groups who are in sympathy with the new party to proceed immediately in the work of organization.

Pittsburg, Pa., July 2.—“We, three hundred members of Local Allegheny County, Socialist Party, send our greetings to the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party. Long live the Communist Party of America! Long live the Third International!”

New York, July 9th, 1919.

Dear Comrade Stoklitsky:—

I wish to notify you that the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Federation has decided to join the newly created movement for the formation of a Communist Party. Until recently we were in favor of delaying action until the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, but as we have received no assurance from the Majority delegates of the Left Wing Conference that it is their intention to organize a Communist Party, therefore, we, the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party sever our connection with the National Council elected by the majority delegates to the Left Wing Conference and affiliate with the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party, with headquarters in Chicago.

More than seventy-five branches of the Ukrainian Federation, Socialist Party, have approved the action taken by me at the Left Wing Conference in New York; but in spite of this I am sending out a new bulletin to all Branches of the Ukrainian Federation, Socialist Party, and assure you that more than five thousand of our members will solidly support the action of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Federation.

Please notify the secretary of the National Organization Committee which has issued the call for a convention in Chicago on September 1st, that it is our desire that he add the name of

(Continued on page 6)

On the Party Horizon

By ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY

Comrade Lenin, in his pamphlet "Lessons of the Revolution," lays great stress upon the educational role played by crises and revolutions upon the masses.

He says: "A revolution marks a critical transition in the life of the great popular masses. Of course, only a fully matured crisis renders a real revolution possible and necessary. Moreover, even as a transition period in the life of a single individual teaches him much, leads him through an emotional stage suffused with new rich content, so also does a revolution teach a whole nation in a relatively short time highly instructive and valuable lessons."

An historical crisis is taking place in the American socialist movement. The Socialist Party of the United States is being rent by its own internal contradictions. The time for its inevitable breakdown has arrived. In this historical process the differentiation between the disciples of revolutionary Marxian socialism and the socialism of, the social traitors, the American Scheidemanns, and the socialism of the ever-hesitating and wavering Center becomes clearer and clearer.

There can be no return to the lethargic past. The suspension by the reactionary N. E. C. of half the Party membership is in itself of great significance. It points to the fact that counter-revolution in the Party is rampant. One has not far to go in order to realize that the drastic measures resorted to by the N. E. C. in the last few months are the direct result of the panic produced in their midst by the approaching inevitable split; and their fear of losing control of the warm nest of opportunism they have so carefully nurtured since the organization of the Party in 1891.

While the extreme Right has learned to sharply separate their opportunistic socialism from the principles of revolutionary socialism, our American Center has learned nothing. While the reactionary, counter-revolutionary social traitors have learned from the Bolsheviks to be resolute, the Center, here as everywhere in Europe, has learned nothing. Like their counterpart, the Center in Europe, they too are irresolute, they too vacillate, temporize and remain stupid. We can only wish them "God speed." BECAUSE TO US THE SPLIT NOW GOING ON IN THE RANKS OF THE OLD SO-

CIALIST PARTY IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE ECHO OF THE DEATH RATTLE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL; IT IS THE DIRECT RESULT OF A GROWING REVOLUTIONARY FERMENT IN THE GREAT MASSES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHICH ONLY THE PANIC-STRIKEN N. E. C. AND THE IRRESOLUTE CENTER WITH ALL THEIR FOLLOWERS CANNOT OR DO NOT WANT TO SEE.

In such critical times every day is to be considered a month. What can be done in one day cannot be done in months in normal times. Only the blind and short-sighted Centrists can entertain the hope of uniting, conciliating, re-organizing the two antagonistic and irreconcilable camps—the opportunists and the revolutionary socialists.

As in revolutionary crises in any country, so the revolution in the Socialist Party, the split, teaches our members in a short time the most instructive, the most valuable lessons. They learn much, and benefit by the experiences of the hour; they learn to perceive and recognize their real needs.

Shall we ignore and keep in the background this great crisis in the Party? Shall we reduce the struggle for revolutionary principles to a mere contest for the technical capture of a worthless party machine? Certainly not. Our task, the task of the supporters of the Third Communist International in America, is to widen the breach, to rigidly differentiate ourselves not only from the social patriots, but also from the unprincipled, conciliatory Centrists of all colors, shades and tendencies.

More than that. Not only must we widen the breach between the old, and, in the eyes of the American and international proletariat, discredited Party; we must at the same time launch a new revolutionary communist movement. Striking the opponents of revolutionary socialism one death blow after another from without, we must not for one moment forget the direct and ultimate aim of our struggle against the capitalist structure.

To carry on our fight successfully on all fronts it is important that we at once lay the foundations of our fortress: The Communist Party of America. All hesitation in this work of constructing the new party will beget pernicious and destructive effects upon the nor-

mal development of our movement. To retreat from this straight and clearly indicated path to the goal of revolutionary socialism, to return to the tactics of the old, disgraced party, will react as harmfully on bolshevism in America as it reacted upon the Spartacists of Germany.

Every bridge leading to the old, rotten structure of opportunism must be destroyed. The proletarian masses must not hearken to the slogans of the Centrists, calling upon them to "capture" the opportunistic Socialist Party. The capture of the old party for "revolutionary socialism" is but a declaration of war upon windmills by the Don Quixotes of the Center.

Why capture the old party? Is the name of the Socialist Party so dear to the working class? No. The name of the Socialist Party is no longer dear to the proletariat. Years of reformatory and treacherous activity have covered it with mud and slime. Shall we capture the old party for the sake of its party machine and form of organization? Its party machinery and form of organization is not fit for the cause of the revolutionary proletariat. Shall we capture it for its great mass of opportunistic literature? But that literature is only fit to be destroyed. For what then shall we capture the old party? For "revolutionary socialism"? But this slogan was good only until the rupture in the Party, and for the purpose of rupturing the Party.

BECAUSE THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY IS AN ACTUAL FACT IT BECOMES OUR SACRED DUTY TO CONSTRUCT A COMMUNIST PARTY.

Have the members and supporters of the Third Communist International endeavored to capture the Berne Conference of the social traitors? Have they adopted the slogan "We must capture the Second International for revolutionary socialism"? No, they have not. It was the Centrists only who grieved and lamented. It was the Centrists who ached for the capture of the Berne Conference, just as their counterpart the American Centrists strive to capture the American Socialist Party. Not the bolsheviks—not the communists. Yes; even though we were sure to capture the Party, we should refuse to do so: WE WOULD BUT CAPTURE AN EMPTY SHELL which would prove for us a false and disastrous step.

There is yet another argument used by our Centrists to

cover the nudity of their unprincipled position. The wavering "majority" of the Left Wing Conference justifies its desire to capture the Socialist Party convention by their very modest claim that it is their intention to attract the socialist masses away from the social traitors.

"If admission to and representation at the convention is granted to us" they say "we have the best opportunity to expose the injustice and the bureaucracy of the N. E. C. The delegates must understand us. And once they understand us they will assist us in capturing the Party. Should we, however, not be admitted, should the reactionaries refuse to seat us, we then will be justified in leaving the Convention in a body and the masses will go with us." What a pitiful argument of wishy-washy Centrists!

Now, we ask, is there no other way of getting the support of the masses? Must we stop so low as to beg admission in order that we may capture the masses? Bolsheviks never run after the masses; communists are not satisfied to be the tail. They are ever in the lead. To be the tail is the characteristic peculiarity of the Centrists. This is why we consider the majority of the Conference Centrists. We can consider them in no other light.

The builders of the Communist Party dare not run after masses who hearts must be softened by the injustice of the N. E. C. We do not care for a Communist Party minus communist principles. Only consistent and principled supporters of the Third International can build a new and militant party. It is for this reason that the Minority Delegates at the Left Wing Conference decided to at once organize the Communist Party, even though there be only twenty or thirty thousand who will stand with us.

The greater portion of the delegates to the New York conference were anything but consistent adherents of the Left Wing. Rather was it an aggregation of individuals of various colors and shades, who, for one reason or another (but not because of their adherence to revolutionary principles) were disgruntled with conditions in the Socialist Party and objected to the "undemocratic" action of the N. E. C. There were Irish nationalists, ardent A. F. of L. supporters; there were mere reformers and advocates

(Continued on page 8)

THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

DENNIS E. BATT, Editor

Organization Committee, Communist Party of America
JOHN KERACHER DENNIS E. BATT
S. KOPNAGEL D. ELBAUM
J. V. STILSON O. C. JOHNSON
ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY

DENNIS E. BATT, Secretary
ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY, Organizer
J. V. STILSON, Treasurer

SUBSCRIPTION:

\$2.00 per year Single Copies 5 cents
\$1.00 six months Bundle Rates on Application

Published Weekly By THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
1221 BLUE ISLAND AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILL.
A. J. MCGREGOR, Bus. Manager

VERBAL BALOONING

With the exception of twenty or thirty wars we now have peace. That a democratic peace has been made no one can doubt after President Wilson's fervent affirmation of the fact. But, then, what is a democratic peace?

President Wilson has explained in his usual manner the League of Nations Covenant and, truly, we should be satisfied. His beautiful word picture of the League of Nations is very entrancing, but upon examination it just as meaningless as most of his previous speeches. Full of glittering generalities, it furnishes a fine verbal smoke screen for the League of Nations, which is nothing more or less than an alliance of the national groups of capitalists throughout the world.

Many senators are girding themselves for their opposition to the covenant. Their ponderous efforts are ludicrous. The squabble between "pro-League" and "anti-League" can mean nothing to the working class. It is merely the periodical "Punch and Judy" show for the edification and confusion of the "scissor-bills."

Sensible workers will keep their feet on the ground and refuse to be carried away by this verbal ballooning of either the President or his opponents. The League of Nations can never be more or less than an alliance of the robbers of the working class.

THE A. F. OF L. GAG

In the closing hours of the Atlantic City convention the "Holy Family" of the American Federation of Labor became apprehensive of the security of their future position and decided to entrench themselves.

There has been a strong tendency inside of the A. F. of L. to modernize the organization. Many workers have come to realize that the obsolete plan of craft organization is but the reflex of craft production and should pass away with the passing of craft production. They have come to understand that any organization that proposes to protect the workers in modern industry must be formed upon an industrial basis as a reflection of industrial production.

Further, as the development of the capitalist system has given a political character to strikes, by the more frequent and sudden use of the political weapons against the strikers, wage slaves have come to appreciate the value of calling a strike of the whole community.

These tendencies towards industrial organization and the general strike menace the security of the position of the dues-eaters in the American Federation of Labor and they have taken steps to stop it.

The Constitution of the Federation has been amended to make it illegal for any organization or members of the organization to advocate a general strike or industrial organization without the consent of the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor. Everyone knows how much chance there is for the Executive Board to approve of that kind of agitation.

There is an old saying that if a calf is given enough rope it will hang itself. It is quite certain that the A. F. of L. is getting enough rope. The question of its hanging rests with the workers.

THE MOONEY STRIKE

It must be admitted that viewing the country as a whole the Mooney Strike was a failure. Whether the next period of the strike in September, makes a better showing or not depends largely upon the understanding amongst the workers as to the cause of the failure of this one.

Until the A. F. of L. convention everybody was of the opinion that there would be a monster demonstration throughout the country. In reality, there were comparatively few workers on strike throughout the period set. In Chicago it is estimated by the strike committee that two hundred thousand were out, but in most of the large cities there was little if any demonstration.

In its work of crushing the Mooney demonstration the A. F. of L. served the master class well, as it did in many other ways. Merely because a capitalist politician appeared before the convention and pledged upon his word of "honor" that Mooney was going to get a new trial the strike was called off.

The so-called radicals within the A. F. of L. as well as the reactionaries laid down on the job. The reactionaries by assisting in befuddling the issue and following their old course of lending aid to the capitalists of the country. The radicals allowed themselves to be fooled by the combined activity of the A. F. of L. jobholders and government officials. The refusal of the A. F. of L. convention to indorse the strike together with Wilson's speech before the body completely demoralized them. They were apparently unprepared for the situation that confronted them. Anyone with any foresight at all should have been able to see that there would have been a government representative there to befuddle the situation. As for the refusal of the A. F. of L. to indorse the strike, who but an idiot ever expected them to do anything else? The strike should have been called in spite of the action of the convention. This the radicals within the A. F. of L. weakly neglected to do.

If a general strike is ever to be a success in this country it must be pulled in spite of the reactionary activity of the A. F. of L. leaders. Any organization that is interested in calling a general strike will take that into consideration and lay their plans to go ahead without the A. F. of L. The leaders are nothing but barnacles upon the labor movement and the quicker the rank and file follow the example of their European brothers and walk over their leaders the better.

GOVERNOR LOWDEN OF ILLINIOS

At the Elk's Convention in Atlantic City (Atlantic City seems to be the home of reaction!) Governor Lowden delivered himself of a speech which is highly amusing to those who understand. We quote him as follows:

"For years we looked upon the Socialist party as visionary, not destructive," he said. "The party now has thrown off all disguise. It sought in every way to obstruct this government in the prosecution of the war. It sympathized with every enemy who arose in our midst."

"Their propaganda must be met with propaganda of our own. We must show that our citizenship is not composed of classes whose interests are antagonistic to one another."

"In Russia the radicals are seeking not equality of opportunity but equality of fact. They close the schools and churches. To destroy the home they nationalize the women. They appeal to brute force. They know they must arouse class warfare, so they declare a war of the classes. They speak of the proletariat and bourgeoisie. There is neither in America."

The Governor speaks of meeting our propaganda with his own, and we challenge him to carry out his threat. If the propaganda which he handed out in his Atlantic City speech is a fair sample of his capacity, we have nothing to fear. Governor Lowden and his kind do not care to meet the socialist argument with argument, for they realize that even the best of them would be helpless in the hands of "a mere soap-boxer." The real aim of their speakers clubs and propaganda bureaus is to furnish rallying points for the Black Hundreds of America, that they may conduct their anti-Socialist pogroms.

In his statements of conditions in Russia, Lowden proves himself to be either a liar or a blatant ignoramus. The first real educational work ever known in Russia has been carried on by the Bolsheviks. As for the "nationalization of women" that charge has been proven ridiculous long ago.

With two per cent. of the people controlling ninety per cent. of the wealth, the statement that there is neither proletariat or bourgeoisie in this country is absurd. With a small minority rolling in wealth and luxury and the great masses slaving long hours to produce wealth which they do not receive, one cannot help but be convinced that there are classes in America. One class that receives its income by owning the tools of production (the mines, mills, factories, lands, etc.), this class is called the "bourgeoisie" the world over; another class made up of the

great mass of the people who live by toiling and producing the wealth of the world for meagre wages.

The very fact that capitalist apologists of the type of Governor Lowden are forced to use such silly statements is proof of their impotence; proof of their inability to stay the onward march of the proletariat. The workers' sun is rising and no modern Joshua is going to halt its progress.

THE DISEASE SPREADS

With the advent of proletarian rule in Russia the capitalists of the world became frightened at what they are pleased to call the disease of Bolshevism. And well they might be frightened, for it means their ruin. Like a contagious disease they have tried to quarantine it but with poor results. Because of their inability to understand the nature and cause of Bolshevism they have looked upon it as some mysterious malady and thought that by quarantining themselves against it they would be rendered immune. The historical development of Europe has shown that no capitalistic nation is immune, for the good and simple reason that Bolshevism is not something that is brought into a country from without.

Bolshevism is the natural result of the inherent contradictions within the capitalist system itself. These inherent contradictions in the capitalist economic system cannot be solved by the capitalist class. We cannot except them to commit economic suicide. They merely stand demoralized upon the floundering ship of capitalism and fail to comprehend the nature of the social phenomena through which they are passing. They can but pour the oil of compromise upon the troubled waters of the social sea. All the while Bolshevism becomes more strongly entrenched and breaks out in other countries.

Germany

From the insistent demands made by the Independent Socialists for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat it would appear that the workers are becoming more active in their demand for the complete abolition of the capitalist system. Bernstorff, who is working with the Hillquit socialists of Germany, urges the government to convince the world that they do not want a revolution, in order that they may regain the good graces of their former enemies, and relieve the harsh "peace" terms and severe economic strain upon Germany. In this they are likely to fail, the economic pressure will increase. The result will be the success of Bolshevism in Germany. History is working for the proletariat.

Hungary

Bela Kun is still functioning as the Bolshevik leader in Hungary, and all indications are that the Communist government is growing stronger. They are organizing themselves to resist the Allied aggressions and to some extent are defeating the economic blockade by the use of automobiles and aeroplanes. It is reported that they are using these means to smuggle gold out of Hungary for the purpose of buying contraband.

The Allies have informed Bela Kun that they cannot treat with him until he has fulfilled the terms of the armistice. The slow and deliberate way with which the communists proceed to carry out the terms placed upon them by the Allies would indicate that they are pretty sure of their position. It is a question of hanging on until the workers rise in some adjoining country. A serious invasion of Hungary would probably precipitate a revolution in the countries of the invading armies. The Hungarian Communists can afford to wait. Time is their ally.

Italy

The situation in Italy looks promising from the proletarian point of view. The trouble that has arisen over the high price of food stuffs does not necessarily mean a revolution. Nevertheless, there is the chance of it developing into a revolutionary movement. The strength of the Italian movement is testified to in their ability to establish a dictatorship of the price of food. A taste of power is apt to encourage the workers to establish a political dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Italian Socialist movement has long been one of the best in Europe and the work that they have done in the past is about to bear fruit. Italy will probably be the next to assume its place among the proletarian powers.

One of the most encouraging bits of news that we have received is that on July 11th the Seamen's Federation prevented the steamer Cablena, London to Vladivostok, from leaving the port of Naples because it was carrying eighty cases of munitions destined for Allied contingents fighting the Bolshevik forces.

France and England

In France and England the workers are assuming a more belligerent attitude. They are taking action to assist their Russian comrades by preventing, as far as possible, the sending and maintaining of expeditions against them.

Among the syndicalists a division is developing. One tendency is toward a compromise between the classes the other toward a more revolutionary position. A new organ has come out as the mouthpiece of the revolutionary element, "L'International." "L'International" promises to fight interference in the affairs of the Soviet Government. The giant Labor is slowly awakening from his age long sleep.

Communiques

Our ex-comrade Seymour Stedman visited Detroit recently and attended a membership meeting of Local Wayne County. He was welcomed by the chairman, Dennis E. Batt, who remarked that he sincerely hoped that Mr. Stedman would meet with the same success in doing the dirty, contemptible work of the National Executive Committee as upon the occasion of his former visit.

Really, things have come to a pretty pass when the great Seymour Stedman has to go on the road organizing for the Socialist Party!

We learn that the National Office of the Socialist Party has dispensed with the services of five former employees. 'Smatter, Adolph, business falling off?

Former State Secretary of Michigan in sending out a call for an Emergency State Convention instructed Local secretaries to see to it that delegates to the convention were elected in the proper manner. This so shocked Adolph Germer that he put up an awful howl in the Eye-Closer. Perhaps you would not have fallen from grace, John, had you proceeded according to the formula "The constitution be damned."

It seems that a certain delegate to the Left Wing Conference from Ohio was laboring under the impression that the Conference was going to organize a political party and not an industrial union.

Again the ax has fallen and another State joins the ranks of the "outs." The Socialist Party of Massachusetts has been cast into the outer darkness by a vote of 10 to 3. Secretary Germer of the Seven Saviours has ordered the present State secretary to turn over his office and the property of the organization to his successor. What we would like to know is what steps Adolph will take to enforce his ukase. Scheidemann used machine guns—will the pupil measure up to the standard set by his master?

A definition by Jim Larkin: Suspicious person—one who writes books.

And by the way, the delegates to the Left Wing Conference were given a treat when Larkin described the raid upon the offices of the representative of the Soviet government by the agents of the Lusk Investigating Committee. Speaking in Madison Square Garden to an audience of some ten thousand people Jim pulled this one: "The office was raided by a gang of bastard Irishmen led by a god damned lousy Scotchman!"

The workers may not have read the Capital of Marx but they sure do bear the marks of capital.

The great problem at the Left Wing Conference was to "capture the Socialist Party for socialism" . . . the majority delegates are still "holding the bag."

Michigan is being re-organized! Otto Branstetter is meeting with great success. He has organized one Local of seven members and a Jewish Branch which was expelled by Local Detroit for participating in nationalistic activities has applied for a charter. Oh yes, even Michigan has its opportunists, and these are free to join with their fellows.

"Let's all get together with Michigan on September Morn," quoth the dough-boy delegate from that dear old Rockford, Ill.

(Continued from page 2)

the Ukrainian Federation, Socialist Party, to the list of the organizations which have endorsed this action.

Also we would be pleased to have copies of all bulletins and official documents sent out by the Organization Committee since its existence.

Awaiting an early reply, I remain,

Yours for Communism,

P. L. LADAN,

Secretary, Ukrainian Federation,
Socialist Party.

Boston, Mass., June 30.—The following resolution was adopted at a membership meeting of the Russian Federation Branches:

"Taking into consideration that, 1st, a split in the Party has been precipitated by the action of the National Executive Committee, which is but the logical step of the reactionists; 2nd, that further connection with these reactionaries, even participation in their convention, would avail us nothing; 3rd, that the capturing of the Socialist Party, which is hopelessly incompetent and harmful would be but a waste of time and energy; 4th, that in this hour of crisis we must prepare the basis for a new party, for a real international movement; and 5th, that to delay this work, even for a few months, would be detrimental to the revolutionary movement in this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we send greetings to the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party, pledging our moral and material support.

"Down with the Socialist Party of America! Long live the Communist Party!"

Detroit, Mich., July 4.—"After hearing the report of Comrade Alexander Stoklitsky on the Left Wing Conference, we, sixteen hundred members of the Russian Federation endorse and fully agree with the action and policy of the Minority Delegates. The time has arrived in America to form a strong and healthy movement. We have reached the parting of the ways, not only with the reactionary, opportunistic Scheidemanns, but also with the wavering, muddled Center. We send our greetings to the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party. Stand firm, Comrades, in the great task that is yours. Build well the new Party. We are with you. Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the Third International!"

Rochester, New York, July 12th, 1919.

D. E. Batt, Secretary,
National Organization Committee,
Communist Party, 1221 Blue Island Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade:

At our regular meeting last night I was instructed to inform you that we endorse your call for a convention to be held in Chicago September 1st to organize a Communist Party, and will send delegates to same.

Comradely yours,

C. M. O'BRIEN, Organizer,
Local Rochester, Socialist Party.

COMMUNICATION PRESENTED TO THE LEFT WING CONFERENCE BY THE MINORITY DELEGATES.

Comrade Delegates:

Opportunism and revolutionary socialism are as antagonistic as the interests of the capitalist and proletarian classes. The Left Wing is supposed to represent revolutionary socialism. The Socialist Party stands for Opportunism. We cannot join hands with the Socialist Party. We must organize a revolutionary party to carry out the mission placed on the proletariat of the world by the historic march of society. We have made several efforts here. You have refused to listen to the dictates of this historic mission of the proletariat. This compelled us to refrain from participating in the deliberations of the Left Wing Conference.

However, Comrade delegates, at our caucus since your Conference adjourned last night, we have decided to make one more effort to secure your co-operation in organizing a Communist Party, in conjunction with the Language Federations and the Socialist Party of Michigan. The delegates at this caucus, taking the position they do, are convinced not only that it is impossible to capture the socialist Party, but even in the event of capturing the National Socialist Party Convention the Left Wing will have but gained control of an empty shell.

Our view of capturing the Socialist Party for socialism is to CAPTURE THE MEMBERSHIP away from the present hierarchy, and form a new party on the basis of the call issued by the Communist International, and the program laid down by this Conference on June 22nd. And we urge you, in conclusion, to reconsider your former action and join with us in the founding of a Communist Party in Chicago on September 1st. In the event that you will not co-operate, we must re-affirm our action of yesterday to take no further active part in this Conference. Presented to the Left Wing Conference in session assembled in New York City on June 24th, 1919, by thirty-one delegates representing the following bodies:

The Socialist Party of Michigan,	Local Rochester, N. Y.,
The Polish Federation,	Local Providence, R. I.,
The Russian Federation,	Local Cook County, Ill.,
The Jewish Federation (Left Wing),	Local Rockford, Ill.,
The Lithuanian Federation,	Local Nanticoke, Pa.,
The Lettish Federation,	Local Kenosha, Wis.,
The Estonian Federation,	Union Local, N. J.,
Left Wing State Conf. of Minnesota,	Local Milwaukee, Wis.,
The Lettish Branches of Boston, Mass.,	Local Cudahy, Wis.,
Local Buffalo, N. Y.,	Local New York.

The above have organized as the Minority of the Left Wing Conference.

KEEGAN, of Buffalo,
A. STOKLITSKY, of Chicago,
KOPNAGEL, of Milwaukee,

Committee.

Chairman of caucus,

DENNIS E. BATT, of Detroit.

Secretary of caucus,

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON, of Ann Arbor, Mich.

The above communication, presented to the majority delegates at the Left-Wing conference, while in its nature an ultimatum, was submitted with the sincere hope that it would bring about some action on the part of the majority that we could indorse.

Louis Fraina got wind of the fact that it was to be presented, asking for reconsideration of previous action. While another motion was on the floor he moved that the body refuse to reconsider or amend any action already taken. However, most of the delegates in the convention were honest, if mistaken, and raised such a storm about such an unparliamentary and suspicious motion that he withdrew it.

When Keegan of Buffalo started to read the communication, an attempt was made to prevent him, AFTER the body had by special vote given him permission to read it! In this the blackguard element were unsuccessful and he proceeded. The communication was promptly tabled and the minority delegates gave up hope of the Left Wing Conference organizing a communist party.

Comrades!

The Call of the Third International has been answered by the formation of the Communist Party of America. The expense of the propaganda necessary to make that party a success must be met. The expenses of the convention that will finally draw up the manifesto, program and constitution of the Communist Party of America must be defrayed.

In the state of Michigan an assessment of one dollar per member has been levied to meet the expense of organization. That is not excessive and should be easily met.

We have not the space to make a full page appeal to you in this matter, even if it were necessary. The space in this paper is too valuable and must be used for other purposes.

We know that you are behind us and will see the need of funds and answer the call. ACT NOW! Make your contribution as large as possible. With your loyal support the future of the Communist Party of America is assured.

Make all checks and money orders payable to J. V. STILSON, Treasurer, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
DENNIS E. BATT, Secretary

Adolph the Truth Seeker

By John Keracher

Adolph Germer, is a big man physically, but otherwise very small. As to the honesty of his opinions and the sincerity of his convictions, there can be no doubt—in fact, he is willing to twist and pervert the facts to defend his honest convictions. I do not think the man is a deliberate liar, or even a stranger to truth, but he certainly is very careless in handling facts.

In the controversy which now rages within the Socialist Party over the expulsion of the Socialist Party of Michigan and the suspension of seven Language Federations, Adolph goes out of his way to drag into the columns of the Eye-Opener an assortment of half-truths, so assembled as to "justify" the actions of the National Executive Committee.

All his bellowing and squealing and personal attacks will deceive no thinking person. The whole thing is camouflage to cover up or obscure the fact that the membership has voted the old gang out of office, and they prefer to split the Party rather than give up their control!

Under the caption "The Left Wing and how it Handles the Truth" he presumes to be in a position to know the truth about happenings in Michigan, while as a matter of fact his information is decidedly "second hand," and comes through those who have their own motives in misrepresenting the facts.

A case in point is the publication in the Eye-Opener of the following letter from a suspended Branch of Local Detroit:

"Detroit, Mich., June 6, 1919.
The Socialist Party of the U. S.

803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
Comrades:

"We, the North East Branch S. P. (Jewish) were suspended by our Central Committee for the offense of participating in a protest movement against the Pogroms on the Jewish People in Poland. (They have also suspended the other two Jewish Branches.) We cannot see that we have committed such a terrible crime against the principles of international Socialism by our participation in this anti-Pogrom movement as to deserve suspension. You Comrades of the National Executive, understand well that those pogroms are organized by the Polish bourgeoisie with the purpose to suppress the Socialist revolution in Poland by means of pogroms and the spreading of national hate. The Jewish working class are the worst sufferers of these pogroms.

As our Branch wants to be true to the principles of the Socialist Party of the United States, we would like you to advise us whether we are wrong in this guess or not.

We would also like to be informed in regard to the suspension of the Michigan Socialist Branches of the

Party and what steps will be taken with the National Executive.

Yours for Socialism,
The North East Branch, S. P.
Resolution Committee, by S. Scott."

HERE, BRANCHES ARE EXPELLED FOR PARTICIPATING IN A PROTEST AGAINST THE JEWS, MANY OF WHOM ARE OUR COMRADES.

Should some Local, Branch or individual participate in a protest against such massacres as Ludlow and Holly Grove, they would be fired out of the Socialist Party in Michigan. Who is it that is despotic?

CAN YOU AS A SOCIALIST STAND FOR THIS?

The above letter and the comment thereon shows how greedily ADOLPH the TRUTH SEEKER seizes upon a perversion of facts to contrast the injured innocence of the National Executive Committee with the "autocratic" Michigan organization. Germer says that the letter from the Jewish Branch proves beyond any possible question that the National Executive Committee was not mistaken in their interpretation of the No-Reform amendment to the Michigan constitution. Now, even if this letter were truthful, it would still be but a local question and not a case against a whole State, but the writer or writers of the letter are, like Germer and the N. E. C., peddlers of half-truths.

The Jewish Branches of Local Detroit were suspended—that much is true. The City Central Committee of Local Detroit elected an investigation committee to look into the matter, but the Jewish delegates to that body stated that their Branches refused to be investigated, claiming that there was nothing to investigate. They pleaded guilty to the verbal charges made by other delegates that they were protesting against the pogroms in Poland as Jews and not as socialists. They declared that this was true and that it was their intention to continue to co-operate in the anti-pogrom movement in connection with rabbis, Jewish reformers, Zionists, capitalists and enemies of the working class in general. Had they separated themselves from these reactionary groups and continued their protests as SOCIALISTS, or even co-operated with other proletarian groups, they would not have been suspended, but this they refused to do. They were defiant of all Party discipline and made nationalistic speeches, much to the disgust of many of the Jewish delegates present at the meeting.

The amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Party of Michigan was made to take

care of just such cases. The referendum vote on the constitutional changes had not yet been tabulated, else they might have been expelled instead of only suspended. The City Central Committee of Local Detroit did not act arbitrarily as did the National Executive Committee in expelling the whole state organization for a constitutional change, the referendum vote on which had not been completed.

Germer's remarks to the effect that those who would protest against massacres such as those at Ludlow and Holly Grove would be fired out of the Socialist Party of Michigan are contemptible, to say the least. "CAN YOU AS A SOCIALIST STAND FOR THIS" he asks. That is just the trouble with the methods of the N. E. C.: taking their stand first and investigating afterwards.

This excellent national secretary goes on to record that "the moment the Michigan Charter was revoked the wires were burned with telegrams from Wagenknecht and Katterfeld, and Monday morning, John Keracher, state secretary of Michigan, was in Chicago." You're just one day to previous there, Adolph: it was Tuesday morning when I stepped into your office and you seemed surprised and demanded to know who had informed me of the action taken by the National Executive Committee.

It certainly was not the N. E. C. who gave me the information that the Charter of the Socialist Party of Michigan had been revoked. That was not their intention; they wanted to get their campaign of misrepresentation well on the way first. They were somewhat surprised to see me and were unable to answer the simple question I put to them: "Has the Michigan Charter been revoked, and if so, Why?" That clever person, George Goebel, remarked that he thought Michigan had not been expelled. After returning from lunch, and having had time to consider the manner of their answer, James O'Neal made a drawling speech explaining why the Committee had revoked the Michigan Charter. He explained that it was because our State Convention had adopted and submitted to a referendum of the membership certain constitutional amendments that Michigan had been expelled. The case was closed; their decision was final; there was no provision for an appeal. Suddenly Germer had an inspiration, he leaned forward and whispered

to O'Neal, who then began to ask questions for the purpose of gaining information to bolster up the stand they had taken. Under the circumstances I declined to answer his questions.

The expulsion of Michigan necessitated the calling of a special State Emergency Convention, which, despite Germer's assertions to the contrary, was called in the regular manner. The members of the State Executive Committee were notified as was state secretary-elect O. C. Johnson and the members of the incoming Executive Committee who took office July 1st. These officials, with the exception of one who did not respond, voted unanimously for the convention, which in turn approved the action taken by myself and the State Executive Committee.

The charge of the worthy Germer that private correspondence was carried on between myself and individuals in Michigan is as false as his other statements. The individuals corresponded with were Local Secretaries, and the garbled question from my letters in the attempt to prove that I endeavored to influence the election of delegates to the convention is a cheap trick, characteristic of all the quibbling now indulged in by the N. E. C. in their attempt to justify themselves in the eyes of the membership.

I say quibbling, for that is all it amounts to. This split, which they deliberately precipitated, was inevitable due to the development going on within the Party. What difference does it make if the division takes the form of expulsion or withdrawal? Those who desire to participate in real socialist propaganda will send delegates to Chicago on September 1st to organize the Communist Party of America.

OUR HONOR ROLL

Expelled to date by the Seven Saviors of the Revolution:

Socialist Party of Michigan
Socialist Party of Massachusetts
The Russian Federation
The Polish Federation
The Lettish Federation
The Lithuanian Federation
The Ukrainian Federation
The South Slavic Federation
The Hungarian Federation
and—
Local Rochester, N. Y.
Local Buffalo, N. Y.
Thirty Branches of Local
New York

NEXT?

The Iron Heel in the Land of the Free

Strikers at Plant of Corn Products Company Murdered by Hired Thugs

The White Guard in America is doing the work that is expected of it, and doing it well. From all parts of the country come reports of strikes involving large numbers of workers, and quite frequently these reports are accompanied by lists of dead and wounded strikers, victims of the White Terror. There are those who while mouthing the phrases of democracy send to their graves men and women who would strive to put into practice principles of democracy.

The most recent scene of the White Guard activities is Argo, Illinois. Argo is a suburb of Chicago, and therein are located several large industrial plants including that of the Corn Products Refining Company, employing some 2,500 men and girls. The men employed in this plant were well organized, the minimum wage being 50c per hour, 44 hours constituting a week's work. But the Federal Brewery Workers Union, to which the men belonged, wanted to substitute collective bargaining for individual bargaining. The demands of the men were presented to the officials of the company who promised to meet with the officials of the union to further discuss the demands of the men.

But instead of keeping their promise and ignoring the arrangements made for a conference with the union officials, the Company immediately made preparations for meeting the demands of the men with bullets. The number of guards in and about the plants were greatly increased and all were armed with high-power rifles; the foreman and superintendents who were not allowed to hold membership in the union were also supplied with arms. Preparations were made as for a siege, large supplies of provisions and ammunition were laid in, and sleeping quarters were constructed for the guards and scabs.

In the meantime a strike was called to force the inauguration of collective bargaining. 2,000 of the 2,500 employees peacefully refrained from working and left the details of securing their demands in the hands of the union officials. Picketing about the plant was established. A crowd of curious spectators gathered, as if they expected something to happen—and they were not disappointed.

Out from the gates of the

plant came rushing the armed guards, the guardians of privileged and propertied interests, to protect the massive concrete plant from being set afire by the immense crowd outside—this was the statement made afterwards by one of the company officials.

To protect the Company's property human lives had to be spent. The guards rushed from the factory gates and without provocation or warning immediately fired a volley into the crowd of strikers and spectators. Two were killed, a third died of wounds received, a fourth is mortally wounded and expected to die, a score were seriously injured—including women, girls and babies held in their mothers arms.

One of those killed was a Russian named Mike Marchuk. He had been conscripted into the United States army and had fought the Germans on the Western Front. Marchuk was a socialist, and the final chapter of his life, in which he was murdered by hired assassins, merely proves what he and others have long contended: **THE ENEMY AT HOME IS MORE DANGEROUS AND BRUTAL THAN IS ANY FOREIGN ARMY!**

The plant has been converted into a virtual fortress. There are at least 200 armed guards on constant duty, and about 300 armed foremen and superintendents, all of whom are well supplied with guns and ammunition.

An interesting incident of the strike was the action of the mayor. Himself a superintendent in the machine shop of the Corn Products Company and a scab. On the second day of the strike he visited all the grocery stores and meat markets and instructed the proprietors not to sell provisions to the strikers. He not only requested them to withhold credit, as reported by the Associated press, but ordered them **NOT TO SELL FOOD TO THE STRIKERS**. It was not long before this action of the mayor became known to the

women, and in a rage they set out on the trail of the honorable mayor. That dignitary took refuge in a drug store from which he was finally rescued by the police and escorted to safety in an automobile.

The strike was called on Tuesday, July 8th; the attack upon the strikers took place in the evening of the same day; then followed the attempt on the part of the mayor to starve the families of the strikers and his ignominious defeat at the hands of the women. For a few days quiet again reigned in Argo. At the end of the first week the strike was still in progress: the Company had hired some few scabs but had not succeeded in getting the plant in operation. The scabs were housed within the plant and kept virtual prisoners. The strikers appreciated the situation; they were without arms of any description while opposed to them was legalized violence.

Stores are current of workers being kidnapped and held within the plant; one report is that 43 girls, who have informed the Company and the union that they are with the strikers, are being forcibly detained.

On Saturday the scabs were allowed to leave the plant and were escorted to their homes by armed guards. Monday morning, July 13th, as they were again being taken to the plant in automobiles heavily guarded by armed thugs, they encountered a parade of strikers. The guards immediately opened fire, two women and one man were mortally wounded and are not expected to live. One of the women, who is not expected to live, is the mother of a family of four young children. Clubs were freely used and the strikers finally dispersed. The scabs were then rushed to the plant without further interference.

The strikers continue to picket the plant, and at one of their mass meetings urged that every effort be made to conduct the strike peacefully. While the situation is again quiet, there is every reason to believe that the blood-lust of the Corn Products Company will result in further attacks upon the unarmed workers.

ON THE PARTY HORIZON

(Continued from page 3)

of a new brand of pure American communism. And strange as it may seem, Comrade Louis Fraina made up the tail of this majority! Yes; Comrade Fraina turned his back upon revolutionary socialism to join hands with the luke-warm, watery, swampy majority. A warm crowd, indeed! But, Comrade Fraina do you feel entirely comfortable in this fetid swamp?

To more emphatically characterize the uncertain position of this accidental majority of the Left Wing Conference it is sufficient to point out the clear and definite negative relation, so emphatically expressed in one of the clauses in the Manifesto of the Third Communist International:

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the Center, our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the Center is necessary at a certain phase of development.

This proved to be too sharp for the majority of the "me too" communists. To attract the centrists, there "me too" communists dulled the edge of that clause.

There is nothing accidental in the American Socialist Party, nor is there anything accidental in what took place at the Left Wing Conference. As everywhere in Europe, the American Socialist Party is divided into three distinct groups: the Right, the social traitors, headed by Berger and Hilquit, and permeated with the rottenness of the Second International; the Center, with whom Fraina cast his lot, who because of misunderstanding still continue to call themselves the "left wing," and demand the capture of the party of the Right for "revolutionary socialism;" and the extreme Left, the Communists, who headed by the Russian Communist Federations and the Socialist Party of Michigan, readily answered the call of the Third Communist International!

"Down with the Socialist Party! Down with the wavering Center! Long live the militant Communist Party of America!"

THIS CALL OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WILL BE ANSWERED ONLY BY THOSE WHO CONSCIOUSLY RECOGNIZE THE TACTICS AND PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. FOR OTHERS THERE IS NO ROOM IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

THE COMMUNIST
1221 Blue Island Avenue
CHICAGO, - ILLINOIS

Enclosed find \$.....for which please send THE COMMUNIST to the address given below for.....months.

Subscription: \$2.00 per year; six months \$1.00.

Name.....

Address.....