

The Communist

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Five Cents

NEW ATROCITIES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

(Appeal by wireless of the president of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.)

A monstrous new crime has been committed in Berlin by the government of the German Social Democrats. The government of Scheidemann and Noske in a bestial manner shot the old revolutionist, former representative of the Polish social democracy in the Second International—Comrade Leo Tyshka. For over thirty years Tyshka has fought for the cause of Socialism in the ranks of the workers. He headed the heroic struggle of the Polish proletariat at the time when he built revolutionary barricades in Warsaw and Lodz. Tyshka spent many years in prison, as a fighter for the cause of the workers; in 1906 he was sentenced to eight years of hard labor. When he succeeded in escaping, he began to work again for Socialism immediately. The November German revolution found him in a Berlin prison, where he was thrown by the government of Wilhelm II. For ten years Tyshka was one of the most active and faithful workers in the ranks of the German revolutionary movement. Together with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, he was the chief organizer of the Spartacan group, later known as the party of German Communists. International Socialism knew no more self-sacrificing, purer, or energetic worker than Leo Tyshka. And this comrade was shot by Scheidemann and Noske who call themselves social democrats. Leo Tyshka was shot because he was a merciless foe of the bourgeois regime. The Communist International appeals to all workers of the world to take off their hats before the grave of this valiant fighter, an organizer of indomitable energy. The Communist International believes that the day is not far off when the workers of Germany will give to the bourgeois henchman and butchers of the Berlin communists what they deserve; to Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

G. ZINOVIEV.

Wilson and Kolchak

A Washington dispatch under the date of July 25th contains the statement that President Wilson "advised the Senate that the American military expedition in Siberia was there primarily to protect and maintain the operation of the Siberian railway."

Ostensibly, the reason for keeping open the Siberian railway is to benefit the Russian people. The dispatch informs us that "Mr. Wilson said that there was no intention of interfering with Russian sovereignty."

The facts of the case show, however, that the United States is interfering with the internal affairs of the Russian people, just as other Allied Powers have interfered ever since the workers' government came into power in Russia.

With the assistance of "our democratic Allies" direct interference with the affairs of the Russian people has been going on. Ten thousand American troops, together with a much larger force of Japanese, and smaller contingents of troops of other nations, are occupying territory, keeping the Siberian railway open and maintaining "order".

We are informed in the same dispatch that "the forces of Admiral Kolchak are entirely dependent upon these railways". This puts an entirely different complexion on the whole matter. Who is Admiral Kolchak? A truthful answer to that question at once reveals the game the United States is engaged in. It is well enough the prattle away about helping the Russian people, but does the assistance loaned to Kolchak bring help to the Russian people? The term "loaned" is used advisedly, for Kolchak will pay for the assistance given with the natural resources of Russia and the enslavement of the people.

Kolchak is a reactionary and counter-revolutionist of the worst type. Mr. Wilson's co-operation with him in the suppression of the Russian people, proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the glittering ideals which have blinded the American people were but the empty vaporings of one of the cleverest phrase-mongers who ever had the distinction of dictating to a nation.

A truthful statement of the conditions existing in the territory ruled by Kolchak will show that the people suffer greater hardships there than under Bolsheviki rule. Kolchak, the czarist, has established a dictatorship that for brutality was never equalled by the black rule of the Czars. The story of the Death Train of Siberia, over the road which the United States is helping to keep open, is a tribute to the idealistic motives which guide the schoolmaster at Washington. The hundreds and thousands of revolutionary workers who have been executed because they struggled for their liberation is a fine tribute to the President's love for the downtrodden peoples of the earth. In view of these facts one cannot fail to realize that the United States has allied itself with the imperialists of the world against the proletariat.

In spite of the assistance given to their opponents by the Allies, the Bolsheviki are gaining in strength and widening their frontiers. Kolchak's reputed victories are but bluffs to fool those not informed on the actual situation. In reality, his right has been cut off from its base and suffers badly, while the left is vainly trying to connect with Denikin's army. He is preparing to evacuate Omsk, the seat of his government. General Denikin is still holding the same territory he held a year ago, and has made absolutely no progress, in spite of his boast of having captured 200,000 Bolshevists in the last twelve months. Without the support of the Allied Powers the counter-revolutionary forces in Siberia would crumple like a house of cards. The workers of Russia will not be denied. Theirs is an irresistible force which the reactionaries cannot check. Their fine courage and fighting ability is a challenge to the proletariat of the world to help them by conquering their own master class.

TRIBULATIONS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS

Towards the end of March two Russian communists from England arrived in Petrograd; Comrades Segal and Hyman. Together with Comrade Sermus they had been arrested by the Lloyd George government early in February, suspected of spreading bolshevist propaganda. For about a week the comrades were in prison in London, and then on February 12th left England. Comrade Segal says: "Guarded by English detectives we crossed from London to Newcastle, and thence to Bergen. In Bergen the Norwegian detectives proposed that we take a train to start immediately for Stockholm. It appeared that from London an order had been given to all stopping points of the steamship on which we arrived, and to all cities on our way, to watch us carefully, and not to allow us any freedom of movement. The police of neutral states deemed it their duty to carry out the orders from London. Invariably, policemen would come down to the ship, and take us under their wing. We were especially watched on a train en route to Stockholm. At a station before Christiania, the Norwegian secret service man who accompanied us came into the train, took our passports, and took us over to a hotel, ordering us to come to the police department the following morning. We were detained there for three and one half hours, and then were sent to the railroad station. To our astonishment we found no police at the station in Stockholm. From the station we went to the Swedish socialist, Comrade Strem, who is acting as the Russian consul in Stockholm. However, our freedom was short-lived. Detectives came into the restaurant where we were eating our lunch, and told us that we were to spend the night at the police department. Learning of our arrest the next morning, Comrade Strem came to the police department. It appeared that by the order of the Swedish authorities, obeying the orders from the English government, we had to proceed under arrest to Finland.

The insults to which we were subjected by the White Guard

of Finland surpassed anything we had undergone since leaving "hospitable" England. In Abo we were arrested as soon as we landed and sent to the police department. After remaining there for two hours, we were transferred to the prison, where we were held for two weeks under a severe regime. Then by administrative order we were sent in freight trains with criminals to Viborg. There again we were imprisoned for about two weeks. Our stay in Finnish prisons, as we found out later, was a part of

a prearranged plan of bourgeois rulers of England. It was a sort of revenge against Comrade Sermus for the outburst of indignation among the London workers, provoked by his arrest. From Viborg we were sent under arrest to the Pyelostrov. But in Terioki we were landed and sent to prison, kept there a few days, only for this new insult: the Finnish swash-bucklers sent us to Pyelostrov, and thence to Red Petrograd, which we left about ten years ago, owing to our revolutionary activity."

Regarding Latvia's Army

Soviet Russia knows quite well the Lettish sharpshooters. The Russian proletariat knows the sacrifices of the Lettish soldiers, laid on the altar of the socialistic revolution. Despite all attempts of our enemies, despite Lochart's subsidies, lies of the Kazan and Siberian counter-revolutionists, the Lettish troops have remained faithful defenders of the Socialistic revolution. And when the battle cry was raised: "To Latvia!" the Red sharpshooters and the Lettish workers came forward from the vast expanses of Soviet Russia toward the west, in order to create their own Soviet Latvia.

Many still think that Red Latvia acts separately from Russia, but this is a great error. Latvia is so closely connected with the Russian Social Revolutionaries that there can be even no thought as to their being separate.

If one speaks about the uprising of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and of capturing power at all cost, this can be said of the Lettish proletariat. They had taken the power into their own hands, even before the arrival of the Red Sharpshooters. The Lettish soldiers have proven to be the defenders of the proletarian gains. The whole civil population thought that the clearing of the Baltic region from the White Guards was a matter of a few days. But in the higher directing spheres, people regarded this question quite differently, and expressed grave apprehensions. I remember how, after the taking of Valki and Volmer, Comrade Vatzetis was indignant when the main forces moved not towards Reval, but against Riga. It was not the fault of Vatzetis that his strategic plan was not complied with. But this is not the subject of our discussion. One thing is clear: the apprehensions of the directing military heads have come true. All

know the results. Sections of the Ethonian Red Army had to retreat. The heaviest burden of fighting with the White Guards and Esthonian and Finnish bands was carried out on the northern front of Latvia. The offensive of the Esthonian-Finnish White Guards began at the time when the entire front of Latvia was yet weak. At many points and in many directions comparatively small detachments were operated, which have not yet succeeded in effecting a junction. War commissarists were not yet organized, through which we might have begun mobilization and training the mobilized and volunteers. Further military operations disclosed immediately that the army of Latvia had not reached the stage desired and that it had passed through a period of disease. The army of Latvia at the present moment is undergoing the same things as the Russian Red Army underwent at the beginning of its existence. The third conference of communist sections of Lettish regiments, which took place in Riga on February 20th, was characteristic. The question of building up a Latvian Army was discussed at this conference. From the reports from different localities it became clear that the Latvian Army suffered from lack of discipline, and that this had produced a ruinous effect. The officers' command had not teamed up yet. Rights and duties of separate organs are not yet defined. Every one looks at the army's business from his own particular point of view, and pursues his own method. And as a result, the wagon is still there. Latvia's army is an inseparable part of the whole Russian Red Army, and must carry out the task put before it by the whole revolutionary front. Therefore the building of the Lettish army must be conducted according to one common principle on one united front.

Official Organization Bulletin

To all Locals, Branches and State Organizations:

Dear Comrades:

Many Locals and groups have already answered the call of the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party. Many new Communist Locals have been organized, and many are in the process of formation. Some are discussing the advisability of aligning themselves with the new party, and to these we would say: "Do not hesitate. Let there be no unnecessary delay. Begin at once upon practical constructive organization work."

How To Organize A Communist Local

Take the initiative in your locality, call a meeting and form your branch organization; proceed immediately to elect delegates to a preliminary conference composed of delegates representing each fifty members or fraction thereof. This city conference shall elect a local executive committee of not less than seven members. From the members of this executive committee elect a secretary, organizer, literature agent and financial secretary. As soon as the organization is completed, communicate immediately with the secretary of the National Organization Committee.

Supplies

Temporary charters, application cards, membership cards, dues stamps and other supplies may be secured from the National Organization Committee. Branches of Language Federations suspended from the Socialist Party will secure supplies and dues stamps through their Federation Executive Committees or Translator Secretaries. Branches endorsing the call for the formation of the communist party and who are now affiliated with Federations not yet suspended from the Socialist Party may secure charters and supplies in the same manner as the English branches.

Delegates To The Communist Convention

The first convention of the Communist Party of America will convene in Chicago, Ill., on Monday, September 1st, at 9:00 A. M. Branches, Locals and State Organizations concurring in the call for the organization of the Communist Party are entitled to representation at this convention. The basis of representation shall be one delegate for each organization, and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members or major portion thereof. Each Language Federation shall be entitled to one fraternal delegate at the convention. In instances where States concur in the call, they shall send delegates as States. In other States, Locals and Branches may send delegates as such. In cases where a portion of a Local concurs in the call, such portion of a Local shall be entitled to a delegate.

Financing The Convention

Organizations sending delegates will be assessed \$50.00 for each delegate. This fund will be applied to equalize the railroad fare of all delegates to the convention. Organizations having less than 250 members, and which are unable to pay this amount, are urged to send delegates. A special fund will be created to defray their traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organization sending delegates. In the event that delegates are not provided with funds, the National Organization will provide rooms and meals.

Do not fail to be represented at this historical convention. All delegates, either directly or through Local Secretaries, are requested to communicate with the National Organization Committee immediately following their election. Uniform credential blanks will be furnished by the Committee.

Special Convention Fund

To assist those organizations which are unable to meet the expense of sending delegates to the Communist convention, a special convention fund has been created. Individuals and organizations are urged to contribute to this fund to the end that no group shall fail to be heard because of its lack of finances.

Organization Fund

The National Organization Committee has inaugurated a country wide campaign of agitation, education and organization. Funds are needed to place speakers and organizers in the field. Several comrades are ready to start out on this new

(Continued on page 7)

Why the New Party?

By Oakley C. Johnson

The Left Wing has recently, through its official organ, the Revolutionary Age, viciously attacked the project of organizing a Communist Party in America. Incidentally, they have attacked with even greater vehemence the persons at present acting as organizers of the movement, and have freely hurled the epithet "menshevik." The latter point, however, we can afford to ignore, for, as Fra Elbertus once said: "If your opponent defeats you in an argument, all is not lost; you can still call him names." We leave this last resort of the debater to our friends of the "left."

But these would-be revolutionists shout "All power to the Left Wing!"

What a miserable paraphrase of the Russian slogan "All power to the Soviets!" The comrades now organizing the Communist Party prefer to be something more than a mere "wing." At a time such as the present, when a most momentous turning point in the world's history is before us, we cannot dilly dally along as a mere faction within a party. We cannot longer handicap ourselves in such a way, but must build up NOW an organization which shall function efficiently as "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties . . ."

But, remonstrates the "left," why not wait two or three months, try to capture the N. E. C. convention on August 30, and THEN, if we can't capture it, organize a new party. This sounds very logical on paper. But the facts show how fallacious is such a proposal.

Note the following:

What the Facts Are

First, it would be practically impossible to capture the old party, for at the time of the Left Wing Conference the National Executive Committee had already expelled one State (Michigan) and suspended seven language federations, and has since expelled Massachusetts, as well as suspended or expelled various isolated Locals and Branches throughout the country. None of these organizations could elect delegates to the August 30 convention with any real hope of being seated. There would, therefore, be scant chance of "capturing" the old party.

Second, even if it were possible to capture the old Socialist Party of America, it would be inadvisable, to say the least, for such a capture would gain nothing but the reputation the Socialist Party has built up in the last few years—not a very useful asset to any revolutionary group. So reactionary has that party been, that it was not even invited to attend the Communist International at Moscow, although many other groups in this country, most of them not over-scientific, received such invitation.

Third, we don't need to remain in the old party to reach the rank and file with our message, for most of them have already heard it, and are with us. What is needed now is not continued procrastination, but the stirring call for action, in order that the Socialist Party membership may awaken to its needs and its responsibilities. To do otherwise would be to deliver the party membership—and

they are what count—over to the old officialdom for another year, bound hand and foot, thus betraying the proletariat in its present struggle for a clarified movement.

Fourth, a period of two or three months, although it may seem a small matter to the procrastinating "left," is nevertheless an important period, for what is done in this time will vitally affect the progress of socialism for the next decade. This is the psychological moment, and to delay two months might mean indefinite delay. Moreover, it would give the National Executive Committee an undue advantage, which they would be sure to utilize. It is of utmost importance that machinery for communist party organization be set in motion immediately, so that the crisis that is bound to come in the affairs of the Socialist Party of America on August 30 may not find revolutionary socialists unprepared.

Is a Split Necessary?

Now some comrades, we are aware, will regret that the Socialist Party should split, and they will especially deplore our split with the Left Wing. It is indeed regrettable that working class ranks should not be firmly united, but if they were, capitalism could be immediately abolished without further argument. What is needed is a revolutionary party, small if need be, but united upon Marxian principles, thus forming a nucleus around which the working class can unite. It is impossible efficiently to unite conflicting programs, to harmonize inharmonious principles. The only party that can function in a social crisis is one absolutely united on principle and method. The old Socialist Party, of course, is not even revolutionary, and the Left Wing at its conference in New York City exhibited the most diverse aims and tendencies. The "left," as represented by its present leaders, is merely a heterogeneous mass held together by a mere name and by a few revolutionary catchwords. The outstanding fact of the events of the past few weeks is, that the Left Wing is not a unit in any proper sense of the term.

It was necessary, therefore, to split not only from the old party but also from the dilatory "left." No matter how regrettable, this splitting up is historically a necessary process. The same thing has happened in most of the countries of Europe, notably in Russia. In the latter country the Social Revolutionaries split into Maximalists and Minimalists, and the Social Democrats into Bolsheviki and Mensheviki. Out of these four (and more) socialist parties in Russia, the Bolsheviki finally emerged triumphant. This same process of splitting, which preceded the formation of a real socialist party in Russia, is now taking place in the United States. The question is not, How shall we stop the split? but, Which faction is historically correct from the standpoint of scientific socialism? The communist party calls for endorsement only on this proposition.

That "Stolen" Platform!

As to the contention of the "left" that we appropriated their platform, it is a piece of petty argument. The minority of the Left Wing Conference did make use of a part of the work of the Conference, but this part was the common work of all the delegates, insofar as they could agree at the time, and the Minority has as much right to it as the Majority. Furthermore, the Minority expended its best efforts in attempting to get the Conference as a whole to take a revolutionary stand, and only near the close of the session, worn out by the strain, did they at last draw up a call and manifesto. In this call they made use of such portions of their common work in combination with original material as would best serve as a working basis for the calling of an organization convention, and as a tentative outline for its work. True, the call may not be a perfect one, but it is a basis for getting something done, and the September 1st convention will give ample opportunity for its amplification.

Can We Do It?

The final question is, What chance have we for success in organizing a new party? Is there sufficient support?

There is, without question, practically unlimited support for a Communist Party. The election returns which resulted in the first series of expulsions by the N. E. C. show that the Socialist Party of America officialdom has scarcely a shred of power remaining. Only a definite move in the direction we are taking is needed to shake down their house of cards. As for the "left" wing, it represents only a small clique in New York and Boston. The vast majority of the Left Wing still remaining nominally with them are simply waiting to see what will happen. The Minority of the Left Wing Conference numbered thirty-one delegates, a good third of the entire number. Furthermore, this Minority were more widely representative of the entire country than the Majority, for in the Minority were delegates from all the important socialist centers, including Chicago, New York, Detroit, Buffalo, Rochester, Minneapolis, and Milwaukee. The entire State of Michigan, whole Federations (including the Russian), and Locals and Branches all over the country joined in a body. The Ukrainian Federation has lately voted to join the Communists, and an expelled Bulgarian branch from the Socialist Labor Party has also applied for admission. With the communist movement growing daily, there is no danger of lack of support.

All Power to the Communists!

LETTISH BRANCH TO HOLD PICNIC

Some weeks ago, "guardians of liberty" raided the Lettish printing plant in Boston. The plant was set afire, and much of the equipment destroyed. The Lettish comrades are holding picnics and mass meetings to raise money to purchase new equipment to replace that destroyed.

Comrades wishing to assist in this work, and desiring a good time, will join with them in their picnic at White Eagle Grove, Berwin, Ill., on Sunday, August 10th.

THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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KNIGHTS OR ROBBERS?

It is a clearly established fact that Britain went into the war for purposes of noble character. Never has Britain been guided by narrow nationalistic interests. On November 10, 1914, the House of Commons, Lloyd George called to witness God Himself, in that Britain entering the war was guided by no ulterior motives. "I swear by the name of God that Britain does not desire a single yard of foreign territory. We participate in this war for consideration of noble motives—we defend the weak." The tears of unfortunate Belgium forced the British lion to dive into the whirlpool of war. In his parliamentary speech of February 27th, 1915, the same Lloyd George with indignation branded as slanderous inventions of the enemy rumors to the effect that Britain was striving to seize foreign lands. He said that Britain played only one part; that of the merciful Samaritan.

War has ended. Let us see what became of the promises of British imperialism. According to the Versailles "peace" (abolishing any possibility of a permanent peace), the following territories went over to Britain: German East Africa possessions—384,180 square miles; 7,665,000 population. (Before the war there were in German East Africa ninety British citizens;) German possessions in southwestern Africa—322,000 square miles; 190,000 population; Samoa Island—1000 square miles; 36,136 population; Nauara Island, Bismark Archipelago, German part of New Guinea, Solomon Islands. Poor God of British imperialism in the name of whom the earthly semi-god Lloyd George gave his vow! During the war Britain has completely put her paw on Egypt. The seizure of Egyptian territory, in the language of diplomacy, is called a protectorate. The Allies, including the American government, approved the act of British protectorate over Egypt. We must give here some details as to how Britain pocketed the thirty million population of Egypt. The advance guards of British imperialism appeared in Egypt towards the end of the eighties. Britain solemnly declared to the world that she came save Egypt from Turkish atrocities. She, Britain, had in view only the welfare of Egypt. She never dreamed of a British protectorate over Egypt, much less the conquest of the country. The late Gladstone (prominent English statesman) used to say that Britain staked her honor for the freedom of Egypt. These assurances of Gladstone were repeated from year to year by Lord Salisbury, Chamberlain and Campbell-Bannerman. And, in spite of all this, Egypt has been annexed. It has become a British colony. This is how the "word of honor" of the British imperialists has been kept. The attitude of the Egyptian people toward their foreign oppressors was manifested very clearly this spring, in the form of several armed uprisings. All honest elements in Egypt revolted against the British tyranny. And the mailed fist of Britain still reigns in Egypt.

Such are the British conquests on the African continent. If this is not highway robbery in broad daylight, what is it? To crown all this, Britain now has an eye on the former German colonies, Cameron and Togo. She will have to come to an understanding on this question with Mr. Clemenceau's France. We are sure that she will get a fat slice of it. From this dry list of plundered riches, the reader will make a corresponding conclusion; knights or robbers?—ex.

MEXICO NEXT?

It seems that the Yankee capitalists are getting ready to satisfy their appetite for the natural resources of Mexico. The yellow press is clamoring for intervention for the ostensible purpose of "protecting American lives and property."

That is the avowed purpose, but beneath it is one that is far more compelling. The respect for lives shown by the American government has not been so great as to lead us to take seriously this hue and cry about the sacredness of human life. If the government were to show a little more concern in protecting the lives of the workers here at home we might fall for the bluff and bluster about safeguarding the lives of American citizens. Just a few days ago five workers were murdered at Argo, a suburb of Chicago, and we have noticed no haste on the part of the government to punish those guilty or to remedy the conditions which made this outrage possible. Human life, as such, is not sacred in the eyes of the ruling class in this country. There is one thing, however, that is sacred in the estimation of our dear masters: **private property.**

For years surplus American capital has been employed to exploit the natural resources of Mexico. That country has been a fertile field for the investment of wealth wrung from the sweat and toil of the American workers. Revolutions have been financed by Wall Street that they might be in a position to secure rich concessions south of the Rio Grande.

Quite naturally, the Mexicans have learned to hate the Americans because of their sinister activities. Concessions made to American capitalists have carried with them the right to exploit the workers in the most ruthless and brutal fashion. The natives, coming into contact with the great corporations only through the persons of overseers and managers of properties, have taken their vengeance upon them. From the samples they have seen the Mexican have come to hate all Americans for their brutality.

Things have come to such a pass that the American and British concessions in Mexico cannot longer be profitably exploited. America must intervene if the investments are to "pay." If "our" government does not, England will, and that would mean the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine.—America for American imperialism. The imperialistic element in this country is anxious to seize Mexico, and if the people can be worked up into the proper psychological condition it will be done. Yankee imperialism needs room for expansion and what would be better than to seize a country so rich in natural resources and so conveniently located as Mexico? True, it would be in conflict with the principles of democracy and the rights of small nations—but leave that part of it to the school-master at Washington. With a few glittering phrases he can easily explain that away.

THE LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE.

The number of the Free Nations was augmented by the addition of the Rhinish Republic. Another people has been liberated from the yoke of Prussianism.

All will remember the conflict engendered at the Peace Conference by the determination of France to annex the Rhine provinces. Not satisfied with the return of Alsace-Lorraine and the acquisition of the Saar valley, the French delegation was determined that the whole of the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine should be joined to France.

The population of the Rhinish province is mostly Catholic. The French imperialists utilized the age-long hatred between the Catholics and Protestants, who comprise the majority of the German population, in order to set the conservative Catholics against the Fatherland. A separatist movement was organized, the object being separation from Germany and the establishment of an "independent republic."

Certain local capitalists would benefit by this arrangement. The transfer of the Saar valley to France deprived the Rhinish manufacturers of the much needed coal and other raw materials. A desire to save their skins at any cost was engendered in the German capitalists by the harsh tremors imposed upon Germany by the Allies.

Concessions and privileges were to be granted the province if the separatist movement succeeded. France went so far as to promise freedom from the high tariffs which were placed upon German goods, if the Rhinish Republic were created. It is clear, then, why Rhinish capitalists were such enthusiastic Separatists.

These bribes and inducements, however, might not have

sufficed to produce the desired result, had it not been for the presence of Allied troops. Those who could not be bought were sent to prison. Having thus ridden themselves of their political opponents the French General Staff announced to the world that the population of the Rhinish province declared for an "independent republic."

From all indications the population expressed but little joy at their liberation from "Prussian tyranny." In answer to the news many serious demonstrations took place in various parts of the province, later turning into a general strike. The rank and file of the French soldiers evidently did not understand the "high" motives which prompted the General Staff, for there are cases on record in which the soldiers refused to fire upon the demonstrators. It was necessary to use negro soldiers from the African colonies.

Regardless of the attitude of the population toward this coup, the plans of the French military staff are quite definite. Under the guise of an "independent Rhinish Republic" they propose to get possession of the territory which they failed to secure at the Peace Table.

Other Allied commanders take a "neutral" attitude on this question. They understand the real cause of the adventure, and presumably do not approve of it, but in reality support it. When the workers of Coblenz, as a reply to their "liberation" organized a general strike, the commander of the American army of occupation arrested the leaders and stated that if the strike was not immediately called off the strikers would be deported. The strike was called off. The same action was taken by the British commander when a strike of protest was called in his jurisdiction.

When the Coblenz "Peoples Newspaper" came out in opposition to the Separatists, pointing out that the separatist movement was the work of the French General Staff, the commander of the American troops put a ban on the paper, the reason given was that it had "criticised our Allies."

All this leads one to ask: Did not the French General Staff work with the sanction and blessing of the "peace makers" at Versailles?

To openly cut off an area of ten thousand square miles, with a native population of more than seven million inhabitants, and give it to France would have been a scandalous matter. It is quite another thing, however, when it is made to appear that the population itself is demanding separation from Germany.

The realization of this rapacious policy is pictured as an act of "liberation." In this instance much the same policy was pursued as when the United States, some years ago, organized an insurrection in Panama for the purpose of "liberating" that territory. This left the paw of the United States upon the "liberated" Panama.

The French imperialists follow the same path. The "liberated" Rhinish province will be a milch cow for French imperialism.

LA BELLE FRANCE

News dispatches contain many references to the struggle now on in the French labor movement between the old leaders and the revolutionary groups who are striving for control. As the correspondents put it, the struggle is between the conservatives and the demagogues—a demagogue being one who demands the overthrow of the capitalist system. Those who sing the song of the capitalists are "shewd", "conservative" and "sensible."

Spirited opposition to the invasion of Soviet Russia and Hungary has been developing among the French workers. This sentiment crystalized in the demand for a general strike on July 21st. Over this matter came the struggle between the radicals and the conservatives. The reactionaries won in much the same manner as did their fellows who succeeded in defeating the Mooney general strike movement in the A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City. The strike was made impossible by the tactics of the French labor leaders.

The national committee which killed the strike adopted a program demanding that France base its policy on the principles of the League of Nations. If the Shantung grab is a fair sample of the application of those principles, the French government will very likely grant this demand. Many demands of a like nature were made. It appears that in France, as in other countries, one of the first things which the workers

Communiqués

With the two National Executive Committees of the Socialist Party squabbling as to which is which, the "struggle to capture the party for the revolution" appears to have degenerated into a jurisdictional dispute.

* * *

"Air mail men strike. Call planes bad; refuse to go up in bad weather." The strike fever seems to be in the air.

* * *

Now that the call for the formation of a new socialist party which was issued by the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Michigan has been characterized as "menshevik," we suppose that the proof will be forthcoming.

* * *

A lot of perfectly good paper and ink has been wasted "explaining" that mutiny of American troops in Siberia.

* * *

It is the empty wagon that makes the most noise—and likewise the loud mouth usually is accompanied by an empty head.

* * *

The Finnish Federation endorses the Third International—providing the Third International adheres to the old and repudiated reformism.

* * *

It is passing strange that the Revolutionary Age is boasts of such an indorsement—of course they forgot to mention the reformism proviso.

* * *

The State Executive Committee of Pennsylvania has turned its back upon the "left" and returned to the fold.

* * *

There are only two roads—one leading to the camp of the opportunists the other to the Communist Party.

* * *

Translated into everyday language, "Left Wing Official News" means the personal opinions of I. E. Ferguson.

League of Nations Restaurant.

Bill of Fare.

African dark meat served on broken China.

Carved Turkey served with enriched Greece.

Small Nations hash with Red peppers.

Russian caviar a la bolshevik.

Bela Kun goulash Red hot.

Sauer kraut at reduced rates.

All dishes garnished with Yankee Democracy.

Not responsible for any damage done by Italian waiters.

must do, as a preliminary to further progress, is to clean out the reactionary leaders.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY IN GERMANY.

"Comrade" Noske, the Butcherer, has his hands full these days. His executioners are kept busy with their machine guns in the streets of Berlin.

Opposition to the Berger, Hilquit, Germer brand of "socialism is growing steadily. The rank and file of the German working class is growing steadily more revolutionary, and it is doubtful if the "socialist" servants of capitalism will be able to maintain their position much longer.

On the 21st of July the German workers made a strenuous effort to co-operate with the world's workers in an international strike. Noske, the Butcher, crushed it with machine guns and flame-throwers. In Bendorf-on-Rhine the same work was done by American soldiers.

The whole of Germany is in the throes of great strikes and it is quite evident that the government of Ebert will not last long if they continue.

By their strike activities the German masses are forcing the Centrists to take a more radical attitude. The demand now being made is that all power be surrendered to the Workers Councils.

That the revolutionary sentiment is growing is proven by the fact that the workers of Berlin paraded the streets carrying the red flag and singing the "Marseillaise" in spite of the opposition of the government.

Zimmerwaldites and their American Prototypes

By Alexander Stoklitsky

A thorough study of the international labor movement can leave no doubt in the mind of the student that questions of organization cannot be separated from political and theoretical questions.

In 1903 the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party split into bolsheviki and mensheviki. At that time it was thought by many that the split was the result of mere insignificant tactical controversies. No one then saw how inseparable from and dependent are questions of tactics and forms of organization upon theories and principles. It remained for history, our best teacher, to prove it. And the history of the revolutionary struggle in Russia since that split has proved that we cannot and must not separate these questions.

The persistent policy pursued by the German Social-Democracy to ignore organization controversies resulted most disastrously for the revolutionary consciousness of the German proletariat. Franz Mehring, in his open letter to the bolsheviki, gives the following characteristic description of the German Independent Social-Democratic group:

"The Independent Social-Democratic Party lacks the revolutionary energy that will arouse and carry away the proletarian masses. Nothing can be said against its members as individuals. All of them desire the best for the movement. There are efficient people among them. But the party itself was born under an unlucky star."

The same may be said of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, from whom we split because of their Centrist position at the very first conference held in New York. The split was the direct result of controversies relating to question of organization and tactics, which indicated that the "Left Wingers" at the Conference absolutely lacked that revolutionary energy which is so much needed to arouse and lead the proletarian masses.

"The Independent Social-Democratic Party," continues Mehring, "endeavored all the time to prove that they did not want to split the party, although they had been partly driven out of the party by the government socialists. But the result of this very policy of hesitation, of doing things by halves, was the complete alienation of the masses, because it strengthened the belief that the Independent Social Democracy is responsible for the division in the ranks of Social Democracy".

Do we not hear the same cry here in this country? Do not our "Left Wingers" speak with the lips of the German Independents?

The "Left Wing" uses every possible means to prove that they did not want a split in the party. The "Left Wing" tries to bring tears to the eyes of the membership by pointing to the injustice of the N. E. C. The "Left Wing," whom this same N. E. C. has partly driven out of the party, like the German centrists, wants to force all to run after the party of the traitors. This "Left Wing" (why they still continue to call themselves "Left Wing" is known only to them) possesses so little vision that it can not see that in its "jump over the impediments" it has almost lost its armor.

In the movement of any country there are weak-spined elements who cannot distinguish black from white. These elements fell into a fit of weeping when the Socialist Party split into Rights and Lefts. They became hysterical when they found that the "Left Wing" had also split into communists and centrists.

These elements would like to make peace between the various groups into which the Socialist Party has split. They are those, who under other conditions, are the peace-makers between the wage slaves and the capitalist class.

When the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party split, the Russian conciliators shouted at the top of their voices: Does it pay to divide the organized ranks of the workers for such fiddle-faddle controversies? Is it right to split the party because of a difference of opinion as to the question of membership or of how to build the party?

The peace-makers of America ape their Russian brethren—the mensheviki. With tears in their eyes and sobbing voices they turn to the builders of the communist party in America and bawl: You left the majority delegates at the Left Wing Conference only because you did not want to wait two months longer. You split because of nonsensical tactical differences. An old, familiar song, indeed!

No; the unwillingness to wait two months longer is not the cause of the split in the Left Wing, though it is high time to understand that in critical times, when the old is breaking down to make room for the construction of a new movement, two months may mean as much as two years in normal, peaceful times. We split from that many-colored, unprincipled, mixed company of the "Left Wing" because we decided once for all to break with the party of the American social traitors, the Socialist Party, and also with the American prototypes of the German Independents. Among the Majority delegates we found brethren of the Zimmerwaldites whose mental cowardice repulsed the revolutionary and creative forces of the class consciousness proletarians.

Comrade Lenin, in his article "The Crisis in the Zimmerwald International" says: "The Zimmerwald International assumed from the very first a hesitating, Kautsky-like 'center' attitude which compelled the Left to stand by itself, to separate itself from the rest and to come forth with its own manifesto." Our "Left Wing" also, from the very opening of the Conference, took the vacillating position of the Center. This forced the communist-left to immediately break away and come forward with the communist call.

"The fatal weakness of the Zimmerwald International, which brought about its fiasco (from a political and intellectual viewpoint it was already a fiasco)," continues Lenin, "was its hesitancy, its lack of decision, when it came to the practical and all-important question of breaking completely with the social-patriots and the social-patriot international headed by Vandervelde and Hysmanns at The Hague."

These very defects we found in the Majority delegates. As the Zimmerwaldites, their American prototypes hesitate and are irresolute in the most important, practical, all-determining question—to completely break away from the traitorous Socialist Party, the party which sent delegates to the Berne Conference.

"We cannot remain with our feet in the Zimmerwald mud," continues Lenin. "There is nothing to expect from the Zimmerwald Kautskians, more or less allied with the chauvinistic International of Plekhanov and Scheidemann. We should, however, remain in Zimmerwald for one purpose only, to obtain more information."

Nothing could present a more vivid picture of what took place at the Left Wing Conference than these words of Lenin. If the split at the Left Wing Conference was not caused by the question of the split of the Second International, it was the question of the resolute determination to once and for all leave the American supporters of the Second International—the American Scheideman Party.

In the caucus held by the communist Minority of the Conference we emphatically declared that we could no longer work with the "Left Wing" swamp. "We remain with you" we stated openly and frankly to the Majority, "to get all information possible of your proceedings".

This was the only course left to us.

However, our peace-makers give us no rest. "Is it not the fact," they ask us, "that the program you adopted is almost the same as that adopted by the Majority? Hence it is not a question of principle which caused the split. You," they bawl, "left because we want to take part in the convention called by the Socialist Party, in order to win the masses over."

Let us answer this charge in the words of Lenin:

"It is not so much the question of numbers; it is a question of expressing correctly the ideas and policy of the truly revolutionary proletariat. Never mind about 'proclaiming' internationalism; the essential thing is for us to be, even when the times are most trying, real internationalists in our deeds.

"To wait for international conferences and congresses is simply to betray internationalism. Real international socialists are not allowed to meet at Stockholm * * *

"Let us not wait, let us at once organize a Third International * * *

As if in a mirror, the words of Lenin, full of revolutionary meaning, reflect the events in the American movement.

Deep, practical and organization controversies separate us from the prototypes of the "Independents" and "Zimmerwaldists."

These controversies are not accidental. There is no doubt

they will arise more and more. Then will it become clear to all that, here as in Russia, behind the organization controversies are hidden theoretical controversies.

For us this question is settled. We are going to build a new, militant communist party. The Centrists, hiding behind the revolutionary phrase "Left Wing," crawl backwards into the rotten stump of the Socialist Party.

Our ways have parted. One who is born to be the tail cannot be the head.

BULLETINS

The Central Executive Committee of the Russian Federation issued a communication to all Russian Branches, which concludes with these words:

"The Central Executive Committee fully endorses the action of the minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference and feels sure that all branches who have inscribed on their banner the aims of communism will embrace the position taken by the Russian delegates.

Central Executive Committee,
Russian Socialist Federation.
O. Tyverosky, Executive Secretary."

At the regular meeting of the Douglas Park Jewish Branch (Chicago) the question of affiliating with the Communist Party was discussed at length. With only two voting against the motion to affiliate with the new party was adopted. Other Jewish branches are considering the same action and it is expected that several will follow the example set by the Douglas Park Branch.

J. Spiro, District Corresponding Sec'y.

National Organization Committee:

We are sending herewith fifty dollars as a donation to the organization fund of the Communist Party and pledge our full moral and financial support to the new party.

Lettish Socialist Branch, (Chicago)
Geo. Wihtol, Financial Secretary

The semi-annual district conference of the Russian Federation held its sessions in Chicago Saturday and Sunday, July 19-20, with 34 delegates in attendance, representing three thousand members in Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, California and Wisconsin. After hearing the report of delegates to the Left Wing Conference the conference endorsed the action of the minority group, and pledged full support to the new party.

At a special city convention of the Rockford (Ill.) Left Wing after hearing the report of the Left Wing Conference, given by the delegate Morris Gordin, adopted a resolution endorsing the action of the minority delegates and pledging support to the National Organization Committee.

From Cleveland, Ohio, comes the news that the 12th Ward Branch has decided to align itself with the new Communist Party.

The organization of a communist Local in Buffalo, N. Y. is proceeding nicely. James Campbell is secretary, and Christ P. Keegan organizer. In reporting on the situation, Keegan writes: "Action speaks louder than words. I am busy reorganizing the old branches for the Communist Party. We have about six hundred at this time, there are about three hundred on the fence, like sparrows, and the rest are in the camp of the enemy. Some of the "lefts" deserted when we started organizing Communist branches. Heisler and his crowd are a sorry-looking mess." Comrades Batt and Stoklitsky will address a mass meeting in Buffalo on Saturday Aug. 2nd.

One of the strongest arguments used at the Left Wing Conference by those opposed to the immediate formation of a Communist Party, has blown up. It was announced there, in defense of the procrastinating policy, that the State Executive Committee of Pennsylvania had refused to recognize the suspensions and expulsions of the N. E. C. Since that time, however, this "left Wing" State Executive Committee has reversed its policy and lined up with the reactionaries. We are in receipt of information that Local Philadelphia has been expelled, and that there is a strong sentiment in the Local in favor of concurring in the call issued by the minority delegates for the formation of a communist party.

(Continued from page 2)

cessary work, and the scope of their activities depends entirely upon your liberality.

In sending contributions, make checks and money orders payable to J. V. Stilson, Treasurer, and designate the use you wish the Committee to make of the money.

The Communist

Twenty-five thousand copies of The Communist proved insufficient to meet the demand from all sections of the country. Because of the lack of funds we were unable to print a greater number. You can assist in the establishing of a communist weekly, by sending in immediately your own subscription and securing the subscriptions of others. Write at once for subscription blanks. See that your Local or branch places an order for a bundle each week.

The General Situation

More than 35,000 Comrades have already answered the call for the organization of a communist party. Join with them! There is no time for hesitation or delay. Start practical organization work at once. Communists the world over are succeeding because they do not hesitate—they ACT!

Yours for World Communism,
National Organization Committee
Dennis E. Batt, Secretary,
Alexander Stoklitsky, Organizer.

Organization Tour

Comrades Dennis E. Batt and Alexander Stoklitsky will shortly leave Chicago for a flying organization trip in the East, speaking in the following places:

Detroit, Mich., Friday, August 1st.
Buffalo, N. Y., Saturday, August 2nd.
Syracuse, N. Y., Sunday, August 3rd.
New York City, Monday, August 4th.
Boston, Mass., Tuesday, August 5th.
Newark, N. J., Wednesday, August 6th.

Further details may be secured through your Local Secretary and local papers, and in The Communist.

Proclamation of Archangel Communists

Proletarians of all countries, Unite!

To all mobilized:—Civil war is raging. Blood is flowing. On one side in this struggle are our brothers, workmen and peasants of Soviet Russia, heroically defending their and your freedom and independence; on the other—gathered from all sides and corners of Russia; capitalists, remnants of the Czar's officialdom, and officers, supported by the bayonets of international capital, abolishing all conquests of the revolution and declaring a relentless war against workmen and peasants. The former are our brothers, our liberators; the latter our enemies, our worst exploiters, trying again to forge chains to keep us in slavery, again desiring to fatten on our hard labor, tears and sweat. The ground is taken away from under the feet of our enemies; they feel that the hour is near when our brothers shall triumph, our brothers, who deal them blow after blow; and the hour of reckoning for all their crimes is coming, and this hour will be their ruin. The Allied forces, their main support, are hesitating; they begin to understand

the brutality and deceit of their governments, forcing them to fight on the side of oppressors against the oppressed—their own brothers, peasants and workmen. There is much less assurance in the local troops. But defending their capitals and power, our oppressors, headed by the Allies, are forcing you through unheard of atrocities and discipline, to fight against your own brothers—workmen and peasants of Soviet Russia. And here you have mobilization; hundreds of you will again be torn from peaceful occupations and your families, locked in barracks and thrown into a fratricidal war in which we will perish for the glory of international capital and our monarchists—tyrants. No, comrades, we have been fooled long enough! We have already understood the evil intent of our enemies, and they will not succeed in setting you against the Soviet workmen and peasants. But we must not spend our forces in vain before the time comes. For the time being we must not come out openly, on which the mean band which mobilizes you surely reckons. Let us not lend to their provocation.

An Open Letter to John Keracher

To Keracher, surnamed John:

A faithful messenger (the Revolutionary Age) hath brought news of thee and thy deeds. Men say that thou and thy "small clique" hath betrayed the Left Wing into the hands of confusion and disorder.

Albeit, the Conference hath favored "a communist party in principle," thou and thy disreputable crew of "deserters" have gone forth and men say, thou hast issued a call for the organization of such a party.

How couldst thou do this thing? O, thou unprincipled intriguer. Thou impertinent youth, thou upsetter of the well-laid plans of others, hast thou forgotten that it was Louis that created "revolutionary socialism"? Did he not, with the sweat of his brow and the ink his pen, labor long that this Left Wing should come to be? Hath not his clarion call conjured up the hosts of "revolutionists" who array themselves beneath his banner? When he had written the law of Twelve Tables, might he not look upon his work and call it good? Hath it not been written (by himself) that he shall be our modern Moses to lead us—stumbling little children—out of the tyranny of the Unsavory Seven?

Hath he not, from the fulness of his heart, admitted thee and thy companions, Batt, Johnson, Renner and Rich, who he hath said "are not bolsheviki at all"—hath he not allowed thee to be present and to speak thy mind in his very own Conference? Most certainly he hath!

And now, in thy most monstrous ingratitude, thou violator of "party discipline," thou who hast been ejected with force from one party, now dost refuse to conform to the law as it hath been written in Boston!

Couldst thou not remain in meekness of spirit and humility, couldst thou not prostrate thyself before the throne and await the word of him who hath originated all that is good in the "upsurge of the proletariat"?

Whence hast thou and thy unholy companions derived the idea that **thou** hadst ought to do with the rallying of Socialists for Socialism?

God knows, there may be those amongst ye that write books. It is known that thou hast read them. Full many a time hath the faithful sons of Israel cast scorn upon thee and thy "study class," thy Marx, thy "scientific socialism" and all that is thine?

Thou hast become much puffed up, John; thou hast encroached upon the sacred realms of Louis. Thou hast offended his will.

For hath it not been written (in the Revolutionary Age) that it shall devolve upon **him** to say **when** a communist party shall be formed and how? Yea, verily it hath, full many a time.

Think not, varlet, that thou and thy Russian satraps shall go unpunished! Thou shalt be "disciplined"; thou shalt be "repudiated"; thy "vanity" and "lust for power" shall be crushed!

Hark ye, what dreadful fate shall befall thee—Jim Larkin will not join thy *?*?*!! x?*?*!!! party! There are "bastard Irish" there, and not less than two of the "lousy Scotch" are known to be amongst ye.

Know thy end then. Thou hast not embraced the Left Wing Manifesto, therefore thou art not bolsheviki. Thou hast been weighed in the balance and found lacking in fiery speech. To thee the Book of Marx hath not been a joke; and for all these things shalt thou be thrust forth into the outer darkness.

Thy doom is pronounced! It is so written.

Revelations.

Our Comrades in the Rear of the Whites

The Russian Communist Party has undergone a long schooling in underground work. During several decades it worked underground at the Czarist regime. During the darkest moment of absolutism and triumph of Czarist counter-revolution, when the liquidators, fore-runners of the present coalitionists, appealed to the working class to give up its position, refuse to fight for ultimate aims, stop with partial demands, our party, true to the Marxian traditions, followed the "road of secret cooperation," and in the underground there was forged that glorious pleiad of workmen-revolutionists, who, after the February revolution, made the second October revolution, taking upon themselves all the burden of state-building when the proletariat took the government into its own hands. These underground experiences and traditions of struggle helped the proletariat during the great revolution. True, in Soviet Russia our party acts openly, it is the dominating party, but a considerable part of the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic is still occupied by the White Guards, and is in the hands of counter-revolution. In Esthonia, Crimea, Caucasus, where the Kolchakists and their friends the coalitionists reign; everywhere

their communes are outside the pale of law. They could only work underground. In fact, nowhere did advanced workers lay down their arms; wherever the counter-revolution was successful temporarily, the communists remaining in that territory organized their underground organizations, and disorganizing the reign of the Whites, prepared the ground for the establishment of the Soviet Great Russia in territories temporarily torn away from it. This is the state of affairs in Siberia, Crimea, Baltic provinces and North Russia.

A telegram from Dwinsk says: "Elections for the Esthonian Constituent Assembly are boycotted by the Communist Party. But the party, altho driven underground, works en-

ergetically. In Reval the communists published thirteen proclamations in forty thousand copies." And in issue 61 of "Our War," the Red Army paper of the 11th Army, on March 29th, a proclamation was issued by the Archangel communists printed in the underground printing shop. Thus, in the rear of our enemy our brothers wage their heroic struggle, being driven underground by the Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionists, together with the representatives of the English command and the Czar's generals. The Archangel communists appeal thus to the mobilized: "We must not waste our forces beforehand. We will answer the call, and come out with rifles in our hands, but not to fight against

our brothers from Soviet Russia, but at a proper time to help them in fighting the common enemy. We wait for you! We are with you!"—the Archangel workers write us. In this way, under the most trying circumstances, our comrades conduct their struggle; they call to the workers to get their rifles ready, in order to use them in a decisive moment against their oppressors, in order to join with us, workers of Soviet Russia. And not only in the North, but in other parts of Russia; in Odessa, Rostov, Ekaterinodar, throughout Siberia, these groups of communists conduct their heroic struggle. They could be temporarily crushed, but the "communist contagion" cannot be killed completely, because it is impossible to annihilate the whole proletariat, whose advance guard is the communist party. Alongside, with our mighty party acting on the ever growing territory of the Soviet Russia, there are also underground organizations of the advanced workers on territories temporarily in the hands of the Whites. But the time will come when the communist groups in places occupied by the counter-revolution will join our party.

V. BYSTRIANSKY.
(From Petrograd "Prava")

ANNOUNCEMENT

The National Organization Committee of the Communist Party of America is now prepared to supply temporary charters, application for membership cards, due stamps, membership cards, to organizations endorsing the call for the organization convention on September 1st.

These supplies will be valid until others are furnished following the action of the convention.

Due stamps will be sold to Local at five cents each.

Orders for the above supplies should be addressed to Dennis E. Batt, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill. Make checks payable to J. V. Stilson, treasurer.

National Organization Committee.
Dennis E. Batt, Sec'y.