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FIRST VICTORY OF THE FIGHTING ARMY OF LIBERATORS

DEBS FINDS COMFORT IN THE HOSPITAL WARD OF THE ATLANTA PRISON

The Army of Liberators has scored its first victory. The visit of Liberator attorneys Sharts and Castleton, and Marguerite Prevey to the Atlanta penitentiary has resulted in the transfer of Debs from labor in the clothing department and 14 hours a day in a steel cage to comfortable quarters in the hospital ward.

Debs should have been placed in the hospital ward the first day he arrived at Atlanta prison. Debs is not a well man, and his age should bespeak for him conveniences and comforts not necessary to the younger prisoners.

But no, the aim of those who are Debs' jailers seemed to be to break Debs' spirit.

They wanted him to break down.
They wanted him to beg for mercy.
They wanted him to desert his Socialist principles.

And now they found out that Debs is not that kind of a man. They have found out that he would sooner die than give in an inch.

In the last weeks Debs has lost 14 pounds. Always slight of build, he was merely a shadow of himself when visited by the three representatives of the Army of Liberators. His eyes were deeply sunken into his head and it could be plainly seen that he was suffering, not only physically, but also and mostly, spiritually.

He was suffering because those about him were suffering. It cut him to the heart to see fellow prisoners punished. It wounded him deeply to see those about him denied sufficient food. And so, sensitive as he is, he suffered with them and suffered the more.

"You'll have a dead man on your hands soon, and the workers will say he was killed in prison"—these were the parting words of one of the Liberator representatives to the warden of the Atlanta penitentiary.

These words were ominous. They undoubtedly made the warden think harder than he has for some years. And the result was that Debs is now enjoying a real bed, a window that looks out upon the world, books and an environment more conducive to mental calm.

Again we say — maybe you've never been in jail. Maybe the weight of steel bars and stone walls have never depressed your spirit and deadened your every impulse. Maybe you don't understand.

But those of us who have been in jail know what it means to get away from the cage. We know what it means to get a glimpse of the outside world. We know what it means to see a new face, to get away from the depressing prison routine, to even bathe a hand in a ray of sunshine.

As prison life goes, Debs is now in heaven.

The Army of Liberators has made this possible. The Army of Liberators will make more than this possible. **FREE DEBS AND ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS**—that's our minimum demand and our slogan is—**NO REST UNTIL WE WIN!**

Ever onward then. Have every move you make and every word you utter count for **LIBERATION**.

Unless we have sufficient funds, nothing can be done. **AND REMEMBER—MONEY IS NEEDED.**

ONCE MORE WE SAY—SECURE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE LIBERATION FUND FROM YOUR FELLOW WORKERS AND FRIENDS.

NOT TOMORROW OR NEXT WEEK—BUT NOW! For the sooner we hear from you the sooner Debs will be freed.

Join Us in this Battle Today

Join your helping hands with ours—with the hundreds who have joined the Army of Liberators. All Liberators are now laboring determinedly for the freedom of Debs and all the rest. They will welcome you into the army. Send today for an application blank and a Liberation Fund Contribution List. Your assistance is needed. Give it.

Address—**THE LIBERATORS, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.**

ATTENTION!!

Locals - Branches - Members

The police control of the Germer Convention at Chicago made it necessary for the new National Executive Committee, elected by you, to call the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party to order in another hall in the same building. The convention was regularly organized and then adopted the new name "Communist Labor Party" for our organization. All Locals, Branches and members desire to affiliate with the Left Wing faction of the former Socialist Party. Now the Communist Labor Party, under the principle laid down at this convention should communicate at one with national Headquarters, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

OHIO LOCALS ATTENTION

Ohio Locals should continue their municipal campaigns under the name of "Socialist Party". The adoption of the new name can date from time immediately following the November elections.

In the Next Weeks Issue Resolutions Passed by the Communist Labor Party Convention.

Proclamation to the Membership

Comrades:—

The great war has shaken the world's foundations. Many idols have crashed to the ground, showing their hollowness. The war has torn the mask of patriotism, democracy, and idealism from Capitalism and laid bare the brutal features of man-devouring imperialism. It has shown the workers of the world that their true interests lie in International class solidarity, exercised upon the field of revolutionary class and mass action.

In this crucial moment the Socialist Party of the United States has betrayed the working class. It sold out the birthright of the workers for a mess of pottage consisting of political respectability and alignment with the interests of the petit bourgeoisie.

The Socialist Party employed the Chicago police department to throw out of the national convention the duly elected delegates of the membership while it packed the convention with "Socialist" aldermen from New York, the very ones that voted for the erection of an arch of triumph in glorification of the victory of American soldiers over the Red Guards of proletarian Russia at Murmansk.

The Socialist Party at the Chicago convention repudiated the real proletarian International — that organized at Moscow. It even found words of excuse for the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It disgraced the word Socialistism.

In this emergency your delegates, on August 31, met in convention called by the revolutionary national executive committee, elected by you last spring upon the basis of the Left Wing program, and formed the Communist Labor Party of the United States. We have chosen the name Communist Labor Party because the

word "Socialist" has been internationally discredited by the Scheidemanns everywhere.

Realizing the need of unity between all revolutionary forces, the convention of the Communist Labor Party, left nothing undone to bring about unity with the Communist Party convention, which convened at Chicago on Sept. 1st. Conference committees were elected; the appeal for unity was carried to the floor of the Communist convention; and the declaration adopted instructing our national officers to exert every effort for a unification of the two parties. So far our efforts for unity have not met with success. The entire matter will be submitted to you in detail and we are confident that you will defer judgement until then.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party appeals to you to repudiate the traitors of International Socialism in the reactionary Socialist Party and to pledge yourselves, your energy and all, to the great struggle of working class emancipation.

We are confident that your judgment will finally be in our favor and that you will help to unite the forces of the American working class under the banner of the Communist Labor Party, an integral part of the Third—The Communist International.

**LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!
FREEDOM FOR ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS!
VICTORY TO COMMUNISM!**

Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney,
L. E. Katterfeld, Edward Lingren, Max Bedacht
National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party.

A. Wagenknecht,
Executive Secretary.

The Question of Unity Between The Communist Labor Party and Communist Party

ALL OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS WHICH PASSED BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE TWO CONVENTIONS AT CHICAGO.

We here publish, for the information of all Left Wing adherents, all the documents which passed between the conventions of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, upon the question of unity.

These documents prove conclusively that no more sincere nor earnest efforts for unity could have been made than were made by the Communist Labor Party. We permit these documents to speak for themselves and we request a thorough reading of them by all comrades.

(This document was sent to the Left Wing delegates at the Emergency Convention by the delegates at the eleventh hour to form a new party.)

Invitation from the Left Wing Council

Chicago, August 30th, 1919

The National Left Wing Council extends its greetings to all the Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Socialist Party Convention. Though we have no official part in the Emergency Convention, nor any part in its caucus, we still recognize that our responsibility, as well as yours, extends to all the Left Wing membership of the Socialist Party; and it is in recognition of this responsibility, and in the realization that the Left Wing movement now demands expression in a Communist Party, that we urge all Left Wing delegates to join with us in the organization of the Communist Party of America. The Joint Call for our September first Convention, which is made part of this message, makes ample and fair provision for the seating of all Left Wing delegates at the Communist Party Convention.

For the National Left Wing Council:
Louis C. Fraina
Maximilian Cohn
John Ballam
C. E. Ruthenberg
I. E. Ferguson, Sec.

Headquarters: 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago.

(Immediately the Left Wing delegates decided to quit the police controlled Germer convention, these Left Wing delegates constituted themselves the regular Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, officially called by the new National Executive Committee. It heard the report of this committee and the new National Secretary and at once elected a committee of five to confer with the organization committee of the Communist Convention in order to secure unity. The two committees met and the latter gave the committee from the Left Wing delegates the following document.)

Statement to the Left Wing Delegates By The Joint Organization Committee of The Communist Convention

The Joint Organization Committee of the Communist Party Convention composed of the National Organization Committee and the National Left Wing Council can make no decisions for the convention. The question of voting in the convention is a question for the Credential Committee. Every person who comes into the convention holds his seat and has his vote subject to the final actions of the Credential Committee. Our committee could not go beyond the matter of preliminary arrangements.

We have, however, acted on the question of making up the roster of delegates who shall participate in the preliminary organization of the convention. We have acted on the basis of the Joint Call; the Convention will be organized by delegates who present credentials according to the Joint Call. This Joint Committee has already decided that delegates who have credentials to this convention regardless of the participation in the Emergency Convention shall have votes in the preliminary organization. We therefore present to your committee the Joint Call as an integral part of this answer.

This technical situation does not effect the essential question of unity. This is a convention question, and it will come up in due

course through the work of the Credential Committee. We ask your committee, therefore, to make up for our Credential Committee a complete list of your delegates, the organization and number of members they represent in each instance, and such instructions, if any, as each delegate or individual may have. This will give us the basis we need for acting on the proposal of unity.

Our spirit in the matter is epitomized in a resolution which this committee adopted unanimously in its first meeting to have all bolting delegates from the S. P. Convention to sit with us, in a reserved section, as special guests of the Convention, until the disposition of credentials give us the basis for exact answer. The convention may also decide to take up this question aside from the work of the Credential Committee. In either case we will make as prompt answer as possible.

I. E. FERGUSON
O. C. JOHNSON
JOHN KERACHER
DANIEL ELBAUM
LOUIS C. FRAIN
C. E. RUTHENBERG
D. E. BATT
A. KOPNAGEL.

(The conference committee from the Left Wing delegates decided, upon receipt of the above document, to await the election of a similar committee by the Communist Convention, a committee which could truly speak for the convention. The Russian Federation, which controlled the Communist Convention, was not in favor of the dictation for unity and voted the question of electing a conference committee down. This resulted in the withdrawal from the Communist Convention of about forty delegates, mostly from English or organizations. Eventually the Russian Federation delegates agreed to the election of a conference committee. This committee sent the following document to the Left Wing delegates who were excluded from the Germer police controlled convention, which had in the mean time, because of the long wait to hear from the Communist Party Convention, organized permanently into the Communist Labor Party.)

Statement to The Communist Labor Party Convention By The Communist Convention.

Before the beginning of the war in August 1914, sharp differences in principles and tactics had made themselves apparent in the parties within the Second International. In each country there was the faction which placed its reliance upon the parliaments of the bourgeois state for the transformation of capitalism into Socialism. This faction, the dominant element in the Socialist Party in practically every country, directed its tactics and agitation to the end of attaining a majority in the parliaments. They argued that this majority, through legislative action, would end the power of the capitalists in industry and build up the structure of the new society.

In harmony with this conception it considered the activities of its parliamentary representatives for reform measures intended to improve the position of the workers under the capitalist system as the method by which Socialism would be established.

In sharp conflict with these Moderate Socialists stood the Revolutionary minorities, which rejected the idea that the struggle could be won in the bourgeois parliaments. The Revolutionary Socialists contended that the emancipation of the working class could not be achieved through the capitalist state but only through the overthrow of the capitalist state by the mass Power of the workers and the establishment of a new organ of state Power by the working class, in the form of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the transformation of Capitalism into Communism.

Between these groups stood the wavering centre. Revolutionary in phrases, it was never revolutionary in action. Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existence a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures under the capitalist system, this faction nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Capitalism would be abolished.

It required the test of action under revolutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcilable differences between these factions. Under the test of action it was found that Moderate Socialism betrayed the class struggle in favor of "reconciliation of the classes." Moderate Socialism is today directly and openly counter-revolutionary. The Centre, because of its vacillation, is even more dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the revolutionary class struggle.

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advanced stage, the influence of the social revolution in Russia and struggle in Germany have deepened the differences between the three factions. After months of agitation and discussion we find, at this moment the old party splitting into three organizations corresponding to the three fundamental differences of viewpoint which have heretofore existed in the one party.

(Continued on page 3.)

"The principles and tactics of the Communist Labor Party are not to be construed as meaning or implying a resort to crime, sabotage, violence or terrorism. We expressly declare that we do not advocate or justify crime, sabotage, violence, or terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political transformation.

DEBS' PERSONALITY THE SAME IN PRISON AS IN FREEDOM.

By Samuel Castleton.

The United States Government has a penitentiary on the outskirts of Atlanta, Georgia, where it houses a motley crew of yeggmen, counterfeiters, white slavers, fraudulent bankrupts, murderers, and other criminals who have violated the penal statutes. It is a low, spacious building of marble that squats on a slightly elevated hill, and can be seen through and over the spiked railings and virgin woods. A beautiful spacious lawn and daisy colored flowers act as a mockery and poetical perversion — as though placed there for the purpose of finishing the prisoners with its view.

Within the past year or more the Government has been sending a steadily increasing group to this institution — a gallant band of idealists and political radicals who have fearlessly expressed their opinions regarding the late war. Here they are garbed in prison overalls, their scalps shaved, their photographs made, numbers given them, where they are incarcerated fourteen hours daily in iron cells. It has fallen to the lot of these political radicals to be thrown in dungeons and dark cells known as "blind-doors" where they dine on bread and water twice, and sometimes three times daily.

The latest radical to join this group is that famous champion of the cause of the proletariat, that defender of the under-dog, the oppressed, the enslaved victims of this capitalistic world — Eugene V. Debs. He is sixty-three years — of age, tall and lanky, in fact emaciated. A few straggling hairs embellish an otherwise bald head, and through a pair of cheap spectacles is seen a pair of honest, straight-forward, keen and searching eyes. His face is thin, and rather tan, and his jaw is firm and strong. There is something remarkable about the expression of his face. It expresses the soul of honor, an idealist's search for truth; the spokesman whose only guide is his conscience, his motives altruistic, and a deep profound love for his fellow men. One glance at him and you can see the uncompromising revolutionist, the fighter for progress. When he clasped my outstretched hand, and replied to my query, "How are you, comrade?"

"I am well, comrade, thank you," and in the word "comrade" a magically beautiful smile illuminated his face. I know that he was thinking of his millions of comrades all over the world and their struggle for the great economic change that will ultimately overthrow the capitalistic system. "Gene is reticent concerning himself. He has no personal grievance, or ill feeling, towards anyone. 'Tell the boys I am right, I am being well treated — as well as can be under the circumstances.' Debs hates the system of penal institutions, and he does feel sympathy for his fellow prisoners. He knows that the capitalistic system is wrong in its definition of crime and in its punishment of criminals. Because of his deep sincerity he commands the respect of the warden and of the subordinate men in charge of this prison. There is a marked affability on the part of the warden. There seems to be a studied courtesy on the part of all the officials in their attentions to Debs, and Debs knows this. But he will not stand for any favoritism, even though he be the beneficiary. It is foreign to his nature to want to receive treatment denied any other prisoner. He refuses to see the hundreds of visitors for he knows this privilege would be denied others. "I will not have a bite of food that any other prisoner cannot have. I won't read a newspaper, magazine, or periodical, that any other prisoner cannot read. I don't want anything that every other prisoner cannot get." His smile of love and comradeship, his fine radiant personality is a great Socialist propaganda within this institution. Thirty years ago, the warden confided to me, he heard Debs deliver a speech in Milwaukee, and his manner of telling it seemed to be reminiscent of pleasure. "I remember it very well. It was very cold and snowy at the time." And with a smile, said, "But I have not told Debs about it."

Strict rules prevail around prison interviews. Between prisoner and visitor, sits a guard armed with club in hand who listens to every word that passes between them. Strict scrutiny is exercised lest some secret pass between them. In the case of Debs a certain feeling of respect and awe exists. I was struck with the fact that the guard remained at the door, and that there was no tendency to intrude upon our privacy. It is as though some high official of Washington had sent instructions that special care and special treatment be given him. There seems to be a realization that millions of people are interested in the fate of Debs. His incarceration has placed him in the position of a martyr though he himself finds it repugnant to be considered such. Debs has the spirit of youth. His expression radiates optimism. "Comrade, the world is moving faster, our vision is becoming clearer, our world will soon be here." I have seen Debs time and

(Continued on page 3.)

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION

Introductory

The battle within the Socialist Party has been made and won. As was predicted at the National Left Wing Conference and again at the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio, the reactionary Socialists did seek and get the aid of the police in preventing the party membership, thru regularly elected delegates, from control of the convention.

Yet, the battle within the Socialist Party for Left Wing principles has been won, the Left Wing element in the party is now the Communist Labor Party, and all that remains of the old reactionary coterie is but a skeleton, amply signifying its demise.

Adolph Germer reported to his packed convention that the membership of 109,000 of January first had dwindled to 39,000. This 39,000 has now been about completely whiped out by the formation of the Communist Labor Party by 82 delegates from 22 states. The minutes, the official acts of the Communist Labor Party convention appear below.

The existence of two Communist Parties after the Chicago conventions was an event which very few Left Wing Socialists expected. The difference between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party is not one of principle, but rather one of organization control. The Communist Party was called into existence by the Russian Socialist Federations, whereas the Communist Labor Party was the logical outgrowth of the fight within the Socialist Party for Left Wing control. The Communist Labor Party made many sincere efforts to unite with the Communist Party, while both were in convention, upon a basis of equality. These offers for unity were denied by the Communist Party for reasons not yet altogether clear. The convention of the Communist Labor Party, just before closing its deliberations, passed a motion extending a standard invitation for unity to the Communist Party, and instructing the national officials of the Communist Labor to accept every invitation for unity upon a basis of equality from the Communist Party or any other revolutionary working class organization.

We look forward to many bitter words from spokesmen of the Communist Party in criticism of the stand taken by the Communist Labor Party. We shall not answer in kind. The official documents for themselves and inform the membership that we of the Communist Labor Party made conscientious endeavors for unity. The demand of the Communist Party that we enter its convention as individual delegates so that what were termed objectionable elements could be weeded out of our ranks, could not be accepted by the Communist Labor Party. Objectionable elements were just as prevalent in the Communist Party. Our invitation to the Communist Party that the two conferences committees be named the joint credentials committee to pass upon credentials of both conventions was not accepted and our request for a joint session of the two conventions met a similar fate. More than we did to bring about unity could not be done.

We request an earnest study of the proceedings of the Communist Labor Party convention. We call upon all Left Wing elements to affiliate immediately with the Communist Labor Party.

Minutes

Minutes of the Left Wing Caucus, held Aug. 29, at 8 P. M., the evening before the convening of the Emergency National Convention. The purpose of the caucus was to decide upon plans of action upon the floor of the Emergency Convention.

A. Wagenknecht called meeting to order and stated purpose.

A. Wagenknecht elected Chairman. E. B. Austin elected Secretary.

52 Delegates present.

Reports from various states were had.

Motion carried: that all persons who are not delegates be excluded from the meeting.

Statement of National Left Wing Council concerning their attitude towards the new Communist Party, read by C. E. Ruthenberg.

Motion carried: that those present hereby agree to abide by the decisions of the caucus or notify the chairman if they intend to act otherwise.

John Reed made statement regarding the National Left Wing Council. Motion carried: that we proceed to outline a program of action for participation in the National Emergency Convention and that no other business be considered.

Motion that Ruthenberg's statement be accepted as basis for such a program, lost.

Motion carried: that a committee be appointed to prepare a program of action.

Committee elected: Prevey, Ruthenberg, Katterfeld, and Reed.

Report of Committee.

If the Ohio Delegates are admitted to the Hall Wagenknecht endeavors to call the convention to order.

If for ANY reason this cannot be done, we do act withdraw on that account.

Chairman: Caldwell of R. I. Vice-Chairman: Kate Greenhigh; Sec'y: Wolf of N. J. Ass't: Witt of Ohio.

When rosters of delegates are read we make effort to include ALL regularly elected delegates, but failing we do not withdraw.

Credentials Committee: Reed of R. I. Zimmermann of N. J. Owens of Ill. - Sandberg of Ill.

When Credentials Committee reports we make this our minimum demand: "Ohio and all Left Wing delegates against whom no contesting delegates appear must be seated without further contest."

If they are not seated we withdraw and meet in our own hall for conference.

We fight for the immediate seating of all contesting Left Wing delegates. If all those whom our conference considers entitled to seats are not seated, we withdraw and meet in our own hall for conference.

Upon completion of the permanent organization our fundamental resolution will be offered, and we exert every ounce of our strength for its adoption. If we fail, we withdraw to our own hall for conference.

No one shall withdraw on its own initiative. We stand or fall together.

If we participate under Germer's banner we do not thereby recognize the old N. E. C. nor Germer as Secretary. We do it merely in order to give one last opportunity to the other side to aid in the effort to enforce the expressed will of the Party's membership to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Revolutionary Socialism and to affiliate it with the Communist Internationale of Moscow.

Resolutions to be introduced immediately Contested Delegates were seated.

Whereas, the party membership by overwhelming majority elected as the National Executive Committee a committee representing the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party and also elected International Delegates committed to Revolutionary Socialism and the Communist Internationale, and further declared itself in favor of affiliation with the Communist International, and

Whereas, the National Executive Committee in expelling the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slav, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish and Lettish Federations and the States of Michigan, Massachusetts, and Ohio, and in refusing to tabulate the vote on various

referendums and in keeping the duly elected National Executive Committee from assuming office, did so to eliminate the elements which stood for uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism, as expressed in the program of the Left Wing, from assuming control of the party and to hold the party machinery for the representatives of moderate Socialism.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention, declared its adherence to the revolutionary principles of the Communist Internationale and to carry out the wishes expressed by the membership by referendum vote, declares the suspension of the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slav, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish and Lettish Federations and the States of Michigan, Massachusetts and Ohio null and void and recognize the new Executive Committee of the party and its national secretary as the officials of the party, and instruct Germer and the old National Executive Committee to immediately turn over all properties and appointments of the National Headquarters to the new officials.

Motion carried that report of committee be adopted in entirety.

Motion carried that Caldwell be elected as candidate for temporary Chairman.

Wolf elected as candidate for temporary Secretary.

Zitt elected as candidate for assistant Secretary.

Harwood elected as floor leader. Floor committee elected: Richardson, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Katterfeld, and Reed.

Motion carried: that all matters decided upon by the floor committee be acted upon as a unit by all present.

The following were elected as candidates for the credentials committee: Reid of Rhode Island; Zimmermann of India; Petzold of New Jersey, Owen of Illinois and Sandberg of Illinois.

Greenhigh elected as candidate for vice chairman.

Motion carried that credentials be handed to the floor committee by contested delegates.

Motion carried that candidates for temporary offices be made the nominees for permanent offices.

Motion carried that all present meet at 9:30 in the convention hall.

Meeting declared adjourned. Respectfully submitted;

E. B. Austin Jr. Secretary of Caucus.

Minutes of the Left Wing Caucus of August 30, 1919.

This caucus was held immediately after the police, directed by Adolph Germer, had thrown all Left Wing delegates out of the convention hall, and it was learned that admission to the Convention hall was by "white cards" issued personally by Adolph Germer.

It was decided by regular action that those Left Wing delegates possessing the (Germer) white cards of admission to the Emergency Convention be instructed to attend the convention sessions and that Comrade Zimmermann, of Indiana act as floor-leader to carry out the program adopted last night.

A motion was offered to request the new N. E. C. to draft a statement to be issued to delegates. Amended to elect three additional comrades to set in conjunction with the N. E. C. Both motion and amendment carried and Comrades Boudin, Reed, Baker and Bedacht were elected by unanimous vote.

Session adjourned at 10:30 P. M. Lawrence A. Zitt, Secretary.

This meeting was one of contested delegates, other Left Wing delegates having secured "white cards" and seats upon convention floor.

Session convened at 3:30 p. m. as a meeting of contested delegates only. Comrades holding the white cards of admission were instructed to attend the convention session upstairs.

Comrade Katterfeld reported on the operations of the right-wing steam roller delaying action in the contested delegates.

It was decided to elect an Advisory Committee of three to consider the best method of presentation of the individual claims for seats in the convention. Comrades Talbert, Taylor, Wagenknecht, were chosen.

All contested delegates were instructed to appear before this committee

immediately after this session.

It was moved to send the credentials of all Left Wing delegates to the Convention thru a Special Committee and amended that one representative of each delegation contested should accompany the Special Committee.

A motion was passed to the effect that no speeches other than the mere presentation of facts be offered before the Contest Committee of the Germer convention.

It was agreed to hold a short caucus session immediately after the afternoon session of the convention.

Decided to elect a committee of five to draft a tentative order of business for the first meeting of the new grouping. Comrades Lloyd, Reed, Gitlow, Bedacht, Katterfeld and Boudin were nominated. All were elected. Session adjourned.

Lawrence A. Zitt, Secretary.

Convened at 6:40 p. m. Comrade Wolf reported in detail on the promised progress of the Contest committee, and the order in which the contest would be considered. It was shown that all the delegates of California were contested, one from Illinois, and Iowa, two from Kansas, all from Minn., Nebraska, Oregon, one from W. Va. all from Washington, N. C., one Pa., one Utah all and Wyoming one.

It was moved to instruct Comrade Harwood to present all credentials of contested delegates to the Contest Committee, or to Secretary Germer.

Motion carried.

It was decided to instruct our delegates to leave the Convention Hall immediately if Convention attempts to transfer other business or to adjourn before the final report of the Contest Committee, and to gather in the caucus room below.

Session adjourned.

Lawrence A. Zitt, Secretary.

This meeting was held immediately after the packed convention called to order by Adolph Germer, decided to transfer Convention business without first rendering decision as to contested delegates.

Minutes of the caucus of delegates unseated and those leaving the emergency Convention, held Aug. 31.

Called to order by Wagenknecht at 2:20 P. M.

Crimmons of New York chosen chairman.

Motion offered to elect a committee of three to draft a statement to the delegates seated in the Germer convention (action interrupted to allow a reading of the prepared statement.) Amended to refer statement back to the N. E. C. and the additional members.

Amendment carried.

It was decided to allow three delegates from Cook County Left Wing Convention to sit in this caucus with the privilege of a voice, carried.

Motion to request the new N. E. C. to open the Emergency Convention this afternoon at 5 P. M.

Carney made a report that the Germer convention had discovered that it can seat all contested delegates excluding those from Ohio and some from New York and yet control the convention—and that it had decided to do so.

The committee to redraft a statement offered its report, which was adopted.

TO THE DELEGATES.

We, duly elected delegates of the membership of the Socialist Party, have participated in this Convention in order to be able to appeal directly to the delegates on the floor of the Convention.

We call the attention of the delegates to the following facts:

In order solely to retain office, without adequate reason, the National Executive Committee did suspend seven foreign language federations, with a membership of 35,000, and expelled the States of Michigan, Massachusetts and Ohio.

For the same reason, the National Executive Committee did refuse to recognize the will of the Party membership, as expressed in the referendum votes upon the election of National Executive Committee, International Delegates, International Secretary, and the referendum upon the question of affiliation with the Third Internationale, the referendum upon the calling of the National Emergency Convention, and the referendum to reverse their actions above alluded to—this last referendum being seconded by more than fifteen thousand members in good standing.

The National Executive Committee did repudiate the overwhelming vote of the Party membership to the effect that they vacate their offices in favor of the new National Executive Committee duly elected to take office July 1, 1919, and that they refused to turn over the property of the Party to the new N. E. C.

The organizing committee of this body, without any reason, did yesterday morning refuse to grant admission to delegates from California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, Florida, Utah, West Virginia, these delegates being regularly elected delegates against whom no contesting delegates have appeared at this convention, and most of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor suspended.

Other delegates, representing altogether the vast majority of the Party membership, are contested by delegations illegally elected, representing locals and branches whose membership exist largely on paper.

We call the attention of the delegates to the fact that when duly elected delegates to this body attempted to enter the Convention Hall yesterday morning, they were forcibly ejected by the police, acting under the orders of Adolph Germer, former National Secretary of the Party.

The action of the Committee on Contested Seats, in refusing to consider the case of the delegates from Ohio, and the contesting delegates from New York, on the plea that they had been expelled from the Party, shows clearly that the ex-officials in charge of this convention intend to permit only their own hand-picked

delegates to vote upon such questions as may be submitted to them. Considering that through the exclusion of delegates representing the great majority of the Party membership, it is impossible to bring to bear the will of the Party membership in this Convention, we hereby declare:

That if so far we have taken part in this Convention, it is not because we have recognized either the Old National Executive Committee, or Adolph Germer as National Secretary, or this Convention as legal. We have done it merely in order to give one last opportunity to the illegal officialdom

to charge to submit to the expressed will of the Party membership, which is to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Revolutionary Socialism, and to affiliate it with the Communist Internationale of Moscow.

What has transpired up to now makes it clear that the Party officials illegally in control of the National Office and the Convention machinery, are determined at all costs, and by all means, no matter how foul, to prevent the revolutionary will of the rank and file from finding expression in this Convention.

The action of this official machine in proceeding to conduct further business before the question of seating contested delegates has been decided, in violation of its own previously adopted rule, makes impossible our further participation in this gathering.

It is our duty to us in holding a withdrawal to another hall, where we will be permitted to carry out the will of the membership and our duty as revolutionary Socialists, free from the interference of the police and the dictation of a corrupt and usurping officialdom.

We appeal to all those who have at heart the true interest of the Socialist movement in this country, and the Social Revolution throughout the world, to join with us in holding a real Emergency Convention, which will rise to the international emergency confronting the world today, and place the Socialist movement of this country in the front rank of the revolutionary march of the fighting proletariat of the world.

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mittee of the Italian Federation announced that his organization was wholeheartedly with us and would affiliate with the new organization at the first opportunity.

The Credentials Committee reported (report attached hereto) in detail, showing that 87 delegates were in attendance and entitled to seats in the convention. It was moved and carried that additional delegates to the regular quota announced by the old organization should be seated as fraternal delegates without vote, Comrade Greenwood of Illinois was seated as regular delegate.

The body decided to make the temporary organization permanent for the session. Comrade Prevey was granted by general consent the privilege to offer resolutions on Debs and all class war prisoners and to Mrs. Debs assuring her of our sympathy, support and hopeful activities. Resolutions were adopted and ordered revised.

The report of the N. E. C. was received and approved.

The report of the N. E. Sec'y. program was received and approved.

Under consideration of the Party Situation Comrade Ruthenberg offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we hereby declare the Socialist Party to be the Party of Communist Socialism in the United States, and that we extend an invitation to all revolutionary working class groups to join in the development of this party of proletarian communism, and

"That we elect a special committee of five to confer with a similar committee of the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, the National Left Wing Council, or the Communist Party Convention, regarding the immediate amalgamation of these bodies, with our party to form the Communist Party of the United States."

An Amendment to the amendment was offered by Comrade Katterfeld reading as follows:

"The membership of the Socialist Party in a recent referendum voted overwhelmingly in favor of affiliation with the Communist Internationale, thereby indicating its approval of the principles of Communist Socialism. This Convention believes, therefore, that it has a clear man date from the membership to transform the Socialist Party into a party of Communist Socialism, therefore be it

Resolved: That this convention elect a committee of five to confer with the Organizing Committee of the Communist Party and the National Left Wing Council for the purpose of determining a basis for amalgamation of the two bodies. "An amendment was offered to declare our selves the Communist Convention of America, and send invitations to all others revolutionary groups and to the so-called Communist Party, to form a party of revolutionary socialism. Motion for previous question was lost.

Motion for previous question was lost. Later a motion for the previous question was carried. A motion to vote by roll call was carried.

Vote on the Katterfeld amendment was 54 yeas and 22 nays. A motion to proceed with the election of the committee of five was carried. Comrades Katterfeld, Wagenknecht, Lore, Greenhigh, and Bauer were elected by ballot.

Motion carried that the committee elected meet with the Organizing Committee of the Communist Party tomorrow morning and report back at 10 a. m.

A motion to adjourn was carried. Respectfully submitted,

Lawrence A. Zitt, Secretary.

E. B. Austin Jr. Ass't. Sec'y.

MORNING SESSION

Sept. 1, 1919.

Minutes of the morning Session of Sept. 1. Convened at 10:45 a. m. by Chairman Prevey. Comrade Charles Baker of Ohio was chosen chairman of the day by acclamation, and John Zimmermann of Indiana was elected Vice Chairman by acclamation.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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Six Months 50c
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Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17, 1919.

Question of Unity

(Continued from page 1.)

Out of the Socialist Party Convention, easily controlled by the Right Wing by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delegates who for a large variety of reasons are opposed to association with the Right Wing. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of those in control of the old organization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party upon legalistic grounds. They have emphasized the questions of party regularity; they have asked for support upon this basis, not upon understanding and acceptance of Communist principles and tactics.

There are delegates in your group who have made use of revolutionary phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which separate the Right Wing from the Left. There are delegates who are with you because of personal grievances against the old party officialdom or against the Left Wing officialdom.

One of your delegates, for instance, in his statement before the Socialist Party contest committee, specifically repudiated ever having endorsed the Left Wing or being in sympathy with it. There are delegates with you on the basis of objection to "foreign" control, thus showing inability to grasp the first principle of Communism. Think of such an objection against an organization which is to be the American Branch of the Communist International!

In the Communist Convention are to be found the representatives of the conscious Communist elements in this country. In contrast to your heterogeneous holding delegates, most of them without a mandate from any membership for the organization of a new party, the delegates in our convention came clearly instructed to form a Communist Party based upon the principles and tactics of the Communist International.

It must be remembered that a Communist Party gains nothing by additional membership unless that membership is consciously Communist. Ours must be a party closely united on fundamentals.

In considering our proposal for a unity of all the delegates now in Chicago who represent Communist groups, it must be kept clearly in mind that our convention is absolutely bound by a mandate from our membership for the presence of 125 delegates and 9 fraternal delegates in this city. These delegates represent 58,000 members. Their mandate from this membership is stated in the Joint Call. Obviously our Convention is bound by the call which brought it into existence.

By this we do not mean to lay down any rule of formalism. To say that we are bound by the Joint Call is only another way of saying that our convention means a fundamental basis of agreement arrived at by discussion among these members. Every delegate in our convention owes his seat to the fact that our Committee on Credentials has had placed before it the documentary evidence of a membership mandate to organize a Communist Party.

Our convention would lose its real meaning if every additional delegate did not meet the same test. There is nothing in the nature of an adventure in our work. It has been deliberately planned; it is the calculated response to the development of the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party; it is not an accidental gathering of Socialist Party members who happen to agree at the moment that a new party might be the right way to give expression and force to the revolutionary Socialist movement in this country, speculating as to what response such an experiment might meet.

This is our instruction from our Convention: that every additional delegate must present his credentials to our Credentials Committee in the same manner as delegates already seated. This instruction carries with it the clear implication that every additional delegate who votes in our convention must meet the test which puts him on the same membership basis as the rest of us. His vote in addition to the votes already assigned within our Convention, must be in correspondence with the membership of the state or organization he represents.

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialist and Communist conventions who have already been received for full participation in our Convention. Others who have such credentials will be similarly received through the Credentials Committee. There may be other cases which would meet the same general test in a different way, according to the principle already stated.

Delegates from the Left Wing State or other organizations, that is organizations which have adopted the Left Wing program, but have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Convention and who were not elected in opposition to the Communist Convention, therefore fail to participate as voting members of our body, will be seated as fraternal delegates. This Committee will favor the exclusion, however, of delegates who opposed the Joint Call for the Communist Convention in favor of the Emergency Convention or who were elected on such opposition.

The total delegates for any state or other organization will be reduced by the number of delegates for such organization already seated in our convention.

ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY,
C. E. RUTENBERG,
DANIEL ELBAUM,
MICHAEL S. HOURWICH,
I. E. FERGUSON,
Committee of Communist Convention.

Sept. 3, 1919.

(To this document the conference Committee of the Communist Labor Party made the following answer.)

Reply of The Communist Labor Party To The Communist Party

We waive answer to the introduction in your statement because it contains no point of controversy, neither do we care to propagandize the Communist Convention for we are sure that the introduction to your statement is common knowledge among revolutionary socialists.

The Left Wing movement is not a child of a day. Left Wing movements have existed in the Socialist Parties of the world ever since we have had Socialist Parties. The only difference between the Left Wing factions of today and those of before the war, is that the Left Wing factions of today have added to their fund of knowledge the experiences of the war and revolutions.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution, Left Wing manifestations in the Socialist Party of this country became more pronounced, and gradually crystallized until a very large element in the Socialist Party accepted the Left Wing position. This eventually resulted in the suspension and expulsion from the party of a portion of the Left Wing element by a reactionary officialdom. When this definite break occurred a conference was held in Chicago, at which Fraina, Keracher, Ferguson, Rutenberg, Stoklitzky and Stilson were present. It was there agreed to carry on the fight for the Left Wing and its principles within the Socialist Party in order to rally all Left Wing forces for a final battle against Right Wing control.

At this conference it was unanimously decided to divide the necessary work to be done. The duty of making wide propaganda was given to the "Legalistic" fight was given the Ohio State Office of the Socialist Party and it was agreed that the Revolutionary Age should continue its propaganda for the Left Wing dominance of principle. Under these circumstances, any criticism of our group of making a "Legalistic" fight is unworthy of those who make it.

The decision to carry on the fight within the Socialist Party was endorsed by the Left Wing National Conference and again at the meeting of the new national executive committee held in Chicago in July. Members of your group, Fraina, Rutenberg and others, there again agreed to this course. Despite these repeated decisions to carry on the fight for Left Wing control within the party, certain elements in your group began to organize a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation in Michigan combination which united not upon principle, but for the political expediency.

The National Left Wing Council, a creature of the National Left Wing conference, violated its instructions, was stamped into joining this call for the organization of a new party.

The group we represent remained true to all edicts officially issued by National Convention of the Socialist Party, and carried the battle to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, and there made a decisive fight. We shall probably never find ourselves in agreement with the tactic of flopping from one position to another at the rate of nearly twice a week, in direct violation of the mandates of higher governing bodies and agreements.

We agree that the sentiment of the membership in a large organization can never be definitely gauged. However, the Socialist Party membership, by a vote of about 10 to 1, decided to affiliate with the Moscow International. This would at least mean that by far greater majority of the membership of the Socialist Party subscribes to the Left Wing program. The Left Wing delegates who compose the convention of the Communist Labor Party, are unanimously in favor of carrying out this decision of the party membership.

(Continued on page 4.)

DEBS' PERSONALITY

(Continued from page 1)

time again. "Tell the boys that my spirit has never been better than now." And with a smile, "My male is unbroken, my spirit and my labors are the only things that count with me."

Debs is uncompromising. Yet, I cannot imagine a man more amenable to suggestions, more tolerant of others' views, more eager to exchange opinions. There is no trace of obstinacy in his make-up. When Debs feels that he is right he stands by his convictions. With him principles and ideals are treasures far greater than life itself. "I love life, I love my fellow men, I love my wife most dearly, I love my neighbors, and am a domestic man by nature. During the thirty-four years of my marriage I can truthfully say that I have not spent a night away from home except when traveling on my business. Much as I love life and the things that are dear to me, I am satisfied in my conscience that I am in the right. Free expression of opinion is an inalienable right. I exercised that right. I spoke the truth as I saw it, and no power on earth can crush me. The attitude of the United States Government, of nothing new, Socrates took the hemlock; Galileo the stake; Christ the crucifixion." A thought seemed to strike him, and he talked of Lincoln, the great kind-hearted man of the people, and his attitude towards those who differed with him, and those who criticized his administration. And as he spoke one felt the cogency of his argument in showing how liberty has been crushed. He feels that the Supreme Court of the United States has sealed its doom in its interpretation of the laws regarding the right to the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly, and he takes the stand that he has not committed any act that needs apology.

Speaking of his fellow political prisoners, he said, "We will go out together, or remain together." It is a question of principle, not of individual favoritism. Debs is one of those straight forward, simple and sincere men who hate quibbling and detest legal technicalities. He would not barter his imprisonment for freedom on a legal technicality and prefers isolation, even death, to receiving his release on any other ground except justice.

He has lost fourteen pounds, at his age, the loss of weight is dangerous, he said. "I will go out together, or remain together." It is a question of principle, not of individual favoritism. Debs is one of those straight forward, simple and sincere men who hate quibbling and detest legal technicalities. He would not barter his imprisonment for freedom on a legal technicality and prefers isolation, even death, to receiving his release on any other ground except justice.

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ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY.

Moved that the National Executive Committee is hereby instructed to at the earliest convenience possible enter into correspondence with the Communist and revolutionary parties of North and South America for the purpose of formulating a plan for holding a conference to discuss closer relationship and the laying of the foundation for a future Communist Republic of the Western Hemisphere.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.

1. We hold that the land question cannot be settled under Capitalism.

2. That all land should be the property of the workers.

3. That only use and occupancy should entitle the individual to land.

The committee further wishes to report: We believe the question of the agricultural worker and his relation to the revolutionary movement in general, and the Communist Labor Party in particular, is a question that cannot be adequately considered and properly set forth in the short time at the disposal of this convention. Therefore we recommend:

That this convention elect a committee to take up the consideration of this subject in detail.

That this committee draw a program which it shall submit to the National Executive body of the Communist Labor Party at some specified time in the near future, to be submitted to a referendum of the membership of the Communist Labor Party.

Minutes Communist Labor Party Convention

MORNING SESSION

Sept. 3, 1919.

Convened at 10:40 A. M. by the Chairman for the day and Zimmerman of Indiana Vice-Chairman.

It was decided to adjourn at 1:00 P. M. and reconvene at 2 P. M. The Minutes of Session held on Sept. 2nd were approved.

The Chairman ruled that delegates bolting from other conventions and wishing to be seated in the C. L. P. Convention must be regularly considered.

Greetings from Scandinavian Comrades of Duluth assuring us of their continuous support were received and ordered into the record.

The convention decided to instruct the Committee on Press and Publicity to secure reports of the proceedings of all Socialist Conventions being held in Chicago and furnish copies for the delegates.

An action to adopt the report in toto was amended to defer consideration until copies can be furnished all the delegates. Amendment passed.

A motion was passed that the report of the Committee on Program and Labor be considered seriatim. The Chairman ruled that the only matter before the body was the report of the Platform Committee.

A motion to adopt the same was amended to consider seriatim. Passed.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 2 P. M. by the Chairman. It was decided to adjourn at 4 P. M. The Credentials Committee reported favorable on the Credentials of Fannie Crowell of Arkansas, Minnie Rivkin of Ohio and A. D. Svarjesski of Ill. These delegates were seated.

Convention resumed consideration of the Platform Committee report.

4. Amended to substitute for the paragraph submitted, the following: (The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the Workers into a class, the overthrow of the Capitalist Rule and the Conquest of Political Powers by the Workers. The Workers, organized as a ruling class, shall, thru their Government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. (All Power to the Workers.) Adopted as amended.

5. Paragraph ordered eliminated.

6. Paragraph ordered eliminated.

7. Adopted as read.

8. A motion to adopt was amended to insert the words "on the platform field." An amendment to the amendment was offered reading: "To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the Conquest of Political Power to establish a Government adapted to the Socialist transformation."

A motion to grand Comrade Zuecker the floor to read a statement of the King's County delegates to the Communist Convention was passed, Zitt of Ohio voting no.

A motion to table the statement was lost and a motion was carried to file the motion, and grant the request of these two delegates to be seated.

Resumed consideration of paragraph 8 of the Platform Committee report. By general consent of the body a substitute for the whole was offered, reading: "To this end we ask the Workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party to make it their Political expression in their struggle for the control of the Powers of Government." The substitute lost. 28 Yes, and 41 No. The amendment carried 46 Yes and 22 No. Motion to adjourn was carried.

EVENING SESSION

Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 7:40 P. M. and decided to adjourn at 11 P. M. and reconvene at 10 A. M. Thursday September 4th.

The resignation of E. B. Smith from the Press and Publicity Committee was accepted and Comrade Swabek chosen to fill the vacancy.

Resumed consideration of the Platform Committee report.

9. Amended to strike out the word "and thus unite their political and economic power" and substitute "in the I. W. W., the one big union."

Amendment to the amendment to insert "and work together with the Communist Labor Party for the destruction of the Capitalist State, etc."

Both amendments were tabled and an amendment offered to strike out "we also urge the Workers to organize" and substitute "we also pledge our support to the Workers in organizing themselves on the Industrial Field."

A motion to table until after hearing the report of the Labor Committee was passed.

Comrade Zimmerman being absent Comrade Giltow was elected as Vice-Chairman and a motion was passed inviting Comrade Wm. D. Haywood to address the Convention Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock on the subject of "Class War Prisoners."

The Committee on Program and Labor submitted its report. It was decided to consider it seriatim.

Part Two.

1. Adopted as read. 2. Amended to insert the word "effectively" just before "oppose the will, etc."

3. Adopted as read. 4. Amended to eliminate the words "The break with Germany." A motion referring this paragraph back to the Committee for redrafting was adopted.

Part Three.

1. Amended by substituting the word "Control" for "Ascendancy." Section 2 and 3 adopted as read. 4. Amended by striking out the first sentence and beginning with "Economic." 5. Amended by substituting the word "Communist" for "Socialist" and "Emancipation" for "Salvation."

PROGRAM

First four sections adopted as read. 5. Amended by substituting for the whole paragraph the following "Locals shall organize shop branches to conduct the Communist Propaganda and Organization in the Shops and Factories and to encourage them to organize in one big union."

This amendment was adopted. Paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 are adopted as read. Comrade Caldwell of Rhode Island voting "no" on the last.

Paragraphs 10 and 11 adopted as read.

The Special Conferencing Committee reported submitting a communication from the Communist Convention and their answer. The action of the Committee was approved, and committee continued. Adjournment was taken.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.
E. B. AUSTIN Jr., Ass't.

MORNING SESSION

Sept. 4, 1919.

Convened at 10:35 A. M. by Chairman Bauer. Decided to adjourn at 1 P. M. The Credentials Committee reported that Caleb Harrison should be seated in place of Comrade Cox, who left the city. So ordered.

Caldwell's resignation from the Organization, Education and Propaganda Committee was accepted and Harmon, Clifford and Firth chosen to fill the vacancies.

Revey was elected Chairman for the day and Giltow Vice-Chairman. The Ways and Means Committee were instructed to make a report before the end of this session. Minutes of yesterday's session approved.

Resumed the consideration of the Program Committee report. Sec. 8. (as redrafted by Committee) "The political action of the workingclass means action taken by the workers to impose their class will on the capitalist state." Adopted.

A motion to reconsider paragraph of Part one was lost. A motion to reconsider paragraph 5 of section entitled Program was passed. It was decided to include the original paragraph as submitted by the Committee and combine it with that adopted by the Convention.

The Program as amended was adopted as a whole.

The Convention considered the report on Labor, seriatim.

Part one.

1. Amended to strike out the word "help."

2. Amended to strike out the words "in the ranks of the I. W. W."

3. Adopted as read.

4. Adopted as read.

Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 were adopted as read. 4. Amended to insert the words "the official of" before the words "the unions."

The whole of the section sub-titled "Recommendations" was adopted as read and the report as amended, was adopted as a whole.

Session adjourned at one o'clock, after instructing a committee composed of McSarrow and Richardson to invite W. D. Haywood to address the Convention at 3 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Sept. 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 2 P. M. Sang the International.

A contribution to the Convention of 10 dollars was received from the first Russian Communist Branch of Chicago and their request for the first charter was referred to the N. E. C. to be elected.

It was decided to adjourn at 7 P. M. The Platform Committee reported on Paragraph 9 previously referred back. After rejecting a proffered amendment, the paragraph was struck out and the Platform as previously amended was adopted as a whole.

A communication from Harrison (George, No. 1158 Leavenworth, political prisoner, was read. It was decided to send this comrade our greetings and that copies of his letter be furnished all the delegates.

A communication from Com. W. D. Haywood was received stating that it was impossible for him to address the Convention. Secretary instructed to reply.

It was decided to elect a Labor Committee of seven. Carney, Sprunk, Bauer, England, Giltow Swabek and Richardson were chosen, after ruling out the motion that the convention rule covering the size of committees applied only to convention committees and not to permanent committees.

The Committee on Unity (Special Conferencing) was instructed to draft a statement addressed to the delegates of the Communist Convention and distribute them to the delegates.

The report of the Committee on International Relations was read, considered seriatim and adopted as a whole.

The report of the Committee on Agriculture was read and adopted. Greetings from the Executive Committee of the Bronx Left Wing, urging unity was read and ordered into the record.

A communication from Com. J. van Benthuysen, a new definition of "Communism" was filed.

(stricken out, (j) cared for in Art. 5, (k) stricken out and Section 2 stricken out. Sections 3 to 9 adopted as read and Section 10 stricken out. Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION

Sept. 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 7 P. M. It was decided to adjourn at 10 P. M. and reconvene at 9 A. M. Friday morning.

Statement in re. proposed intervention in Mexico was read and adopted.

It was decided to invite the delegates of the Communist Convention to meet with us in informal session regardless of the standing of delegates.

A committee of three was selected to proceed immediately to the Communist Convention and convey the invitation. Reid, of R. I. Swabek and England were selected.

Session Adjourned.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.
E. B. AUSTIN, Ass't. Sec'y.

MORNING SESSION

Sept. 5, 1919.

Convened at 10 A. M. Dolsen of California elected Chairman, and Bauer of the same state Vice-Chairman.

Decided to adjourn at 12 noon.

Committee on Constitution reported in detail.

Article 1, Section 1. Adopted as submitted by the Committee.

Article 2 First Three Sections adopted as read. Old Section 4 stricken out. Section 5 concerning the pledge amended in fourth line by striking out the words "itself into a political party" and substituting the words "Politically and Industrially". Adopted as amended.

Article 3, Section 1. Amended by changing the word "affairs" to read "policies". Section 2. Amended to read "The National Executive Committee shall be composed of five members." Section 3 a, to read as follows: "The members of the National Executive Committee shall be issued on the first day of December of each year. Section 3 b. The traveling expenses of members of the N. E. C. in attending meetings of the Committee, and a per diem not exceeding \$6.00 shall be allowed out of the National Treasury. Section 4 of old constitution stricken out.

Article 4, Section 1 A, B and C adopted as read. D stricken out. E adopted as read. F, G, H, I, J, K stricken out. Section 2, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th adopted as read. Section 10 stricken out.

Article 5, Section 1. Adopted as read. Motion made and passed that we elect our new National Executive Committee immediately after the report of the special conferencing committee. Paragraph F, G and J of article 4 were ordered incorporated in article 5. Article 6 stricken out. At this point business was suspended to hear the report of the Conferencing Committee. Report received and Committee discharged. It was decided to elect a Committee of three to draft a historical statement on the whole matter of unity. Wagenknecht, Swabek, Caldwell, Richardson and Jno. Reed were nominated and constituted the Committee. A resolution by Comrade Katterfeld extending a standing invitation to the Communist Convention to meet with us for purposes of Unity was adopted.

Nominations for National Executive Committee were made as follows: Owens, Bilan, Katterfeld, Crimmins, Prevey, Bauer, Bedacht, McSarrow, Sandberg, Carney, Lindgren, England, Lore. Moved and passed that candidates should rise and state their occupation. Vote by ballot was taken. It then was decided that the names of the ten highest candidates be submitted to the Convention and those receiving a majority of the votes declared elected. The Tellers reported Comrades Bilan, Carney and Reed declared elected by a majority. The Chair declared these three elected and a motion to proceed to vote upon the four receiving the next highest vote and the two receiving a majority be declared elected, was passed. Comrades Bedacht and Lindgren declared elected as members of National Executive Committee. Session adjourned to reconvene at 3:30 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Sept. 5, 1919.

Decided to adjourn 6:50 P. M. and to reconvene again at 8.

Communication from the Executive Committee of Local Bronx, of New York Left Wing on Unity was ordered into the record. Telegram to the same effect from the 57th Dist. of New York endorsing action of Zuecker and Lindgren was ordered into the record.

By general consent of the Convention it was decided to reconsider paragraph 6 of Part 1 of the program. Motion to strike at the word "direct" was passed. Tellers reported that Comrades Owens and England were elected alternate members of the N. E. C. Comrade Crimmins chosen Vice-Chairman to fill vacancy.

The Committee on Resolutions reported offering a resolution on the definition of direct action and political action. Same was referred back for redrafting.

Ways and Means Committee reported having received a total of \$164.67. Report accepted and recommendations concurred in.

Resumed consideration of the Constitution.

Article 7, Section 1. Substitute Section by Committee was adopted. Section 2 and 3 adopted as read. The whole of Article 8 was stricken out.

Article 9, Section 1. Amended to read "National Convention of the Party shall be held yearly, etc." Section 2 adopted as read. Section 3 amended to read "Regular Conventions shall be called for May 1st." Section 4 amended to strike out the last sentence covering period of time of Party Membership. Adopted as amended.

Article 9, Section 5. Amended to read \$3.50 per day in place of \$2.50. Section 6-c amended to strike out the words "to ascertain the number of unconstituted delegates and they shall permanently organize the Convention, and to substitute 'of all the unconstituted delegates.'" Article 10, Section 1. Substitute the word "Secretary" for "Committee" at the end of the paragraph. Section 2. Amended to read "No state or territory may be organized unless it has an aggregate membership of not less than 200, etc." again to amend "One Hundred and fifty per month" to read "Two Hundred per month". Amendment carried. Section 6. Substitute section as offered by the Committee was adopted.

At this point a special Committee to draft an historical statement on Unity submitted its report. Adopted and ordered into the records.

Article 10. Adopted as read by Committee.

Article 11. Adopted as read by the Committee.

Article 12, Section 1, 2 and 3. Adopted as read. Section 4 stricken out, and substitute section adopted as follows:—Each foreign language Branch, shall purchase dues stamps from the City or County Committee where such organizations exist, or otherwise from the State Office. Such purchase of dues stamps shall be received for upon a special form provided by the National Office. These receipts shall then be sent to the respective translator secretaries, who, upon presentation of same to the National Executive Secretary shall receive 15c for each stamp thus receipted. Article 13 adopted as read.

It was decided to reconvene the National Executive Committee to suspend the operation of this section until Jan. 1st, 1920. Section 5-a, adopted as read. Section B, 2nd Paragraph, ordered stricken out. Section 7. Strike out the first half of the section. Sections 8 and 9 adopted as read.

Articles 14 and 15. Adopted as read. Article 15 was amended by adding a new section to be known as section 3, to read as follows:—Any person formerly a member of the Socialist Party of America, who was at the time of the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party in 1919 in good standing in that organization, and who had signed the regular application pledge to the Communist Labor Party and shall not be required to pay the One Dollar Initiation Fee, as required in Article 10, Sec. 7. Par. c. Adopted as read.

Platform and Program Communist Labor Party

Platform

Part II.

1. The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principles set by the Third International formed at Moscow.

2. With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of Capitalist Imperialism with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

3. With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalist or is taken by the working class.

4. The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class, shall, through their government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. All power to the workers!

5. The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The abolition of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil.

6. To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation.

Party and Labor Program

Part I.

The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accordance with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the Manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow.

In essence, these principles are as follows:
1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class, world civilization will collapse.

2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

3. This new working class government — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.

Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy — which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy — but it is a proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

5. The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together — in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

7. In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle, they have, in the past, made effective use of it as a means of propaganda and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution are not ripe, the same process must go on.

8. We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated, and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

Question of Unity

(Continued from page 3.)

All actions of this convention must be in harmony with this membership decision. The 92 delegates which compose this convention represent an overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party's membership. The delegates who compose your convention, in the main, are separated from us merely because of the fact that a few reactionary officials kicked them out of the Party.

We have kept our joint agreements. You have violated yours. You deserted us, you deserted the membership of the party when it needed you most. It is therefore assuming much on your part to attempt to lay down terms to us. Despite your inconsistencies, we now offer to meet you to unite the two conventions upon a basis of equality.

We see many inconsistent elements in your convention. We are, however, desirous of uniting all forces of communism into one solid phalanx to oppose both capitalism and the elements of reactionary bourgeoisie Socialism. We are sure that in the course of time, all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in your convention, you can not justly criticize any seeming inconsistent elements in ours.

We must refuse your demand to come into your convention as individual delegates. We are Left Wing delegates regularly assembled in an emergency convention and have permanently constituted ourselves the Communist Labor Party. We represent a permanent and stable organization. We have obeyed all agreements of the Left Wing conferences which were legitimate. We have also obeyed the mandates of the revolutionary faction of the party membership as expressed by referendum. We can claim at least as much credit for the crystallization of the revolutionary elements among the Socialist Party's membership as your volatile and bolting groups.

We claim ours is the advantageous position, yet we are willing to meet with you as equals. Unity can be effected and should be effected, so that out of the existing crisis, instead of two parties, each claiming the right to affiliate with the Moscow International, and each deserving that right, only one party of Communist Socialism shall emerge.

Toward this end we propose: That the two conference committees shall constitute a joint credentials committee to go over the roster of both conventions to see whether they really contain any irreconcilable elements, and if possible, to agree upon a joint recommendation to both conventions.

Signed: KASPAR BAUER
LUDWIG LORE
KATHARINE GREENHALGH
L. F. KATTEPFELD
A. WAGENKNECHT

(The above answer was unanimously adopted by the Communist Labor Party Convention, meeting at 119 South Troop Street, Chicago, September 3, 1919.)

(We call especial attention to the definite proposal made in the last paragraph in the above document. This proposal, to have the two conference committees act as a joint credentials committee, was never given consideration by the Communist Party.)

The answer received from the Communist Party conference committee follows:

Final Statement to The Communist Labor Party Convention By The Communist Convention

The Communist Party Convention, in replying to the Committee of the Communist Labor Party Convention, can take no account of the various decisions of the groups which met at Chicago immediately following the expulsion and suspensions made by the old National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; nor of the agreements credited to the Left Wing

1. The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

2. Although the United States is called a political democracy there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class.

3. The years of Socialist activity on the political field have brought no increase of power to the workers. Even the million votes piled up by the Socialist Party in 1912, left the Party without any proportionate representation. The Supreme Court, which is the only body in any Government in the world with the power to review legislation passed by the popular representative assembly, would be able to obstruct the will of the working class even if Congress registered it, which it does not. The Constitution, framed by the capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class, cannot be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a majority may desire it.

4. Although all the laws and institutions of Government are framed and administered by the capitalists in their own interests, the capitalists themselves refuse to be bound by these laws or submit to these institutions whenever they conflict with these interests. The invasion of Russia, the raids into Mexico, the suppression of governments in Central America, and the Caribbean the innumerable wars against working class revolutions now being carried on — all these actions have been undertaken by the Administration with asking the consent even of Congress. The appointment by the President of a Council of National Defense, the War Labor Board, and other extra-constitutional governing bodies without the consent of Congress, is a direct violation of the fundamental law of the republican government. The licensing by the Department of Justice of anti-Labor strike-breaking groups of employers — such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the Knights of Liberty, the American Protective League — whose express purpose was the crushing of labor organization and all class activities of the workers, and who inaugurated in this country a reign of terror similar to that of the Black Hundreds in Russia — was entirely opposed to the principles of the American Government.

Moreover, the War and its aftermath have demonstrated that governing power does not reside in the regularly-elected, or even the appointed officials and legislative bodies. In every State, county and city in the Union, the so-called "police power" is shown to be superior to every law. In Minnesota, Wisconsin and many other states, so-called Public Safety Commissions and similar organizations were constituted by authority of the Governors, made up of representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Employers' Associations, which usurped the powers of Legislatures and municipal administrations.

6. Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot.

7. However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office — so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

Part III.

1. In America, the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in the development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education, the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

2. Moreover in America there is a highly-developed Labor movement. This makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism except through the agency of the organized workers.

Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only by a centralized economic organization of the workers.

3. The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the

industrial field with a political aim — the overthrow of capitalism.

5. It is our duty as Communists to help this process, to hasten it, by supporting all efforts of the workers to create a centralized revolutionary industrial organization. It is our duty as Communists, who understand the class struggle, to point out to the workers that upon the workers alone depends their own emancipation and that it is impossible to accomplish this through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

PROGRAM

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the Communist groups of other countries those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

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 monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. Communist platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historical period of the Social Revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

5. We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class conscious propaganda and action. Locals and Branches shall organize shop branches, to conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in One Big Union.

6. The Party shall promote big industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

8. The Party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to public office — not only the local organizations, but the National Executive Committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the Party shall be immediately expelled.

9. In order that the Party shall be a centralized organization, capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire Party shall be permitted.

10. All Party papers and publications endorsed by the Party; and all educational and propaganda institutions endorsed by the Party, shall be owned and controlled by the regular Party organization.

11. Party platforms, propaganda, dues and methods of organization shall be standardized.

SPECIAL REPORT ON LABOR ORGANIZATION

The purpose of the Party is to create a unified revolutionary working class movement in America.

The European War has speeded up social and industrial evolution to such a degree that capitalism thru out the world can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist system is in sight. In Europe it is all ready tottering and crashing down, and the proletarian revolutions there show that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of their power. The capitalist themselves admit that the collapse of European capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary working class cannot help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is faced an alternative: Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of Communism.

1. By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, a purpose not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage earners, but to gain control of industry.

2. In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognized of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and

valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America, and pledge them our wholehearted support and co-operation in their struggles against the capitalist class. Elsewhere in the organized labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the One Big Union and Shop Committee movements in Canada and the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank and file, which are proceeding without the authority of the old reactionary Trade Union officials, and even against their orders. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the lines of craft-divisions, if carried to its logical conclusion would inevitably lead to workers control of industry.

3. This revolt of the rank and file must not be allowed to end in the disorganization of the ranks of organized labor. We must help to keep the workers together, and through rank and file control of the Unions, assist the process of uniting all workers in One Big Union.

4. With this purpose in view, the Communist Labor Party welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism. We urge all our members to join industrial unions. Where the job-control of the reactionary craft-unions compels them to become members of these craft-unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists in districts where there are no industrial unions, our members shall take steps to organize one.

III.

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Without the power of Labor, industry could not function. The need of the hour is that Labor recognize the necessity of organization and education. This cannot be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the Labor movement, as has been clearly shown by the actions of the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by getting the workers on the job to come together and discuss the vital problems of industry.

3. Because of the industrial crisis created by the World War, together with the break-down of industry following the cessation of hostilities, and the interruption of the processes of exchange and distribution, there is great dissatisfaction among the workers. But they can find no means of dealing with the situation. Their Unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of today; and moreover they obstruct all efforts of the rank and file to find some way by which the becomes immediately necessary to find some way by which the workers can act.

4. We suggest that some plan of labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the Shop Steward and Shop Committee movements. These Committees can serve as a spur or check upon the officials of the Unions; they will necessarily reflect the spirit and wishes of the rank and file, and will educate the workers on the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend the following measures:
1. That all Locals shall elect Committees on Labor Organization, composed so far as is possible of members of Labor Unions, whose functions shall be:

a.) To initiate, or support, the creation of Shop Committees in every industry in their district, the uniting of these Committees in Industrial Councils, District Councils, and the Central Council of all Industries.

b.) To propagandize and assist in the combining of craft Unions, by industries, in One Big Union.

c.) To bring together in the centers of Party activity — Locals and Branches — delegates from factories and shops to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

d.) To propagandize directly among the workers on the job the principles of Communism, and educate them to a realization of their class position.

e.) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations based on the class struggle.

f.) To mobilize all members who can serve as organizers to fill the demand for men and women who can organize bodies of workers along the lines indicated above.

g.) To direct the activities of local Party organizations in assisting the workers wholeheartedly in their industrial battles, and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

2. That a National Committee on Labor Organization be elected by this Convention, which shall cooperate with the local committees above mentioned. In addition the National Committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance, and shall endeavor to give these a political character.

a.) It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary Labor movement from the different sections of the country, and from other countries, and through a Press Service for Labor and Socialist papers, shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

b.) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers, who can not only teach, but actually help to put into practice, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and Communism.

RESOLUTION DEFINING POLITICAL ACTION AND DIRECT ACTION.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

The conflict for possession of the means of life has divided Society into two classes; the class who produce but do not own and the class who own but do not produce.

The Workingclass in order to gain control of the means of life, have, by force of economic necessity been compelled to organize into their industrial and political organizations, and wage battle against the Capitalist Class, directly on the Industrial Field (thru their Industrial Organizations) (Direct Action) and indirectly on the Political Field thru their Political Organizations (Political Action).

The development of the capitalist state has made it impossible to gain control of the means of life by a direct struggle with the capitalist class on the Industrial Field without interference by the capitalist state. Therefore the struggle by the working class, to achieve its revolutionary purpose — the ownership and control of the means of life — cannot be obtained without a struggle against the state, and all struggles for the conquest of the capitalist State are Political Struggles.

In order to differentiate between direct action and political action and to clarify the confusion resulting from the improper use of these terms the Communist Labor Party proclaims that the term "Direct Action" is not to be confused with terrorism or violence, or any other perverted meaning which capitalist law makers have given this phrase, but by it is meant such united action by the Workers on the job which they may use in forcing concessions from the employing class directly without the use of the capitalist state.

That by the term "political action" is meant any action by the industrial and political organizations of the workingclass which the organized proletariat is compelled to adopt in its struggle with the capitalist class for the conquest of the capitalist state and thru the proletarian dictatorship, establish the Communist society.

(Signed)
Thomas Crimmins
Margaret Prevey
Edwin Flirth

National Conference, the National Left Wing Council, the Minority group of the Left Wing Conference, or the new Socialist Party National Executive Committee. Each of these must and will answer for itself.

This convention has no question about the rank and file of the Socialist Party. The ten to one vote to join the Communist International is one of the items which account for our presence in Chicago to organize the Communist Party of America. Examination of the ballots in this referendum and of our roster of delegates will show that it is our Communist Party membership which cast the overwhelming bulk of these votes.

As to the charges of inconsistent elements in our convention, that will be tested by the program and constitution which we adopt. We have absolute confidence that our convention will act in clarity of principle without compromise. There can be no charge of inconsistent elements in our party if the work of our convention shows agreement on Communist fundamentals in principles, program of party work, and form of party organization.

We appeal to your delegates to act on their individual judgment, not in a false sense of loyalty to an accidental grouping in a body which represents no membership organization. Some of your delegates belong with us by mandate of their membership, and they must realize their responsibility in assuming at this crucial time to function directly against the Communist Party.

(Signed)

Alexander Stoklitsky
O. E. Ruthenberg
Elbaum
Nicholas I. Hourwich

(A day after the above answer was received, the delegates at the Communist Labor Party Convention, thinking that a self seeking leadership was keeping the two conventions from uniting, decided to elect a new committee from the rank and file of the convention to visit the Communist Convention with the following proposal.)

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4, 1919.

To the Delegates of the Communist Convention, Blue Island Ave. City

Comrades:— The Communist Labor Party of the United States in convention assembled in the I. W. W. hall, this evening at 10 P. M., elected the undersigned committee to proceed immediately to your convention and extend to the delegates thereof a cordial invitation to meet with us in informal session at 1 P. M. Friday, September 5th, for the purpose of discussing the basis of unity between the two conventions.

Committee:

JAMES P. REID
L. K. ENGLAND
A. SWABECK

(The answer given this special Communist Labor Party committee is significant in that it proves the attitude of the Communist Party Convention toward the Communist Labor Party Convention. The only value the delegates of the Communist Labor Party seemed good for in the eyes of the Communist Convention was to serve as "special guests" or "fraternal delegates" at the Communist Convention.)

As to the proposal of the committee from the Communist Labor Party to hold a joint informal session of both bodies, the Communist Party passed the following motion: That we reply to this invitation that we have already extended invitation to the delegates of the Communist Labor Party to sit with us as special guests, while many of those delegates may qualify as delegates or fraternal delegates.

CHAS. DIRRA, Sec'y
Communist Party Convention
Morning Session, Sept. 5, 1919.

(Upon the last day of the Communist Labor Party convention, the resolution embodied in the following document, was passed. The following day the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party met and sent the following letter to the Communist Convention. Still in session. To date no

"By mass action is not meant or implied crime sabotage, violence, or terrorism. Mass action by the workers would never take these forms were it not for the prior action of the capitalist class and its mercenaries in the use of crime, sabotage, violence, and unlawful methods of terrorism against the workingclass. The strike, which is the usual form of mass action by the workingclass in industrial warfare, is the mere stoppage of work by mutual agreement or simultaneous impulse among the workers, a collective refusal to labor as a protest against exploitation, it would in all instances be free from crime, sabotage, violence, or terrorism, were not the political powers, now in the control of the capitalists, ruthlessly and savagely employed against the strikers."

answer has been received from Communist Party officials to this plea for unity).
FINAL COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION ISSUED BY THE N. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.
Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1919.

To the Delegates and members of the Communist Party, Comrades:—

The Communist Labor Party Convention by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, That the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in a Unity Conference, and

That we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or any other revolutionary working class organization."

The Convention has now completed its work and has adjourned. Obedient to these instructions from the Convention the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party addresses this letter to you.

Comrades, the organization of two Communist Parties is a crime. We have made every effort possible, short of turning traitor, to the membership that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation. But our repeated attempts to unite all the revolutionary Communist hosts seem to have been thwarted for the time being by certain elements in your convention.

As far as we can discover, there is no fundamental difference of principle between us. The platform, program and resolutions that our convention has adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the Left Wing program and are in strict accord with the principles laid down by the Communist International of Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International.

We are confident that the great majority of your delegates and your membership agree with us in this. Why then should we remain apart?

We hereby announce that we are ready at any time to meet your representatives to consider the question of unity on a basis of equality.

If certain elements in your Party make this impossible, we invite all individuals or groups, who may agree with us in our desire to unite all the Communist elements of the United States into ONE PARTY of Communist Socialism, to join forces with us.

All who agree on the fundamentals of Communism, all who desire to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are welcome in the Communist Labor Party.

Comrades, let us UNITE against our common foe.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY
JACK CARNEY
EDWARD LINDGREN
MAX BEDACHT
ALEXANDER BILAN
L. E. KATTEPFELD
A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Sec'y.

WE REPEAT—OUR INVITATION FOR UNITY WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS A SINCERE AND STANDING INVITATION—SHALL WE HEAR FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICIALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?—ARE THEY DESIROUS OF UNITY?—AND IF NOT, WILL THE MEMBERSHIP NOW IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ACT IN THE MATTER AND VOICE THEIR DEMAND FOR UNITY DESPITE THE STAND TAKEN BY THEIR NATIONAL OFFICIALS?—LET THE MEMBERSHIP SPEAK—RIGHT NOW!