THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

Cleveland, Ohio.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17, 1919.

Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. \$1.00 A YEAR

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 be peak 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.

NO 85.

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 ALL OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS WHICH PASSED 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 PRISONERSthat'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

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 hicago 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 "Comunist 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

OHIO LOCALS In the Next

Ohio Locals should continue their municipal campaigns under the name of "Socialist immediately following the November elections.

Weeks Issue Resolutions Passed by the

Party". The adoption of the new name can date from time Communist Labor Party Con-

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 betraved 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 Socialism.

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 yourseles, 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.

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

BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE T CONVENTIONS AT CHICAGO.

We here publish, for the information of all Left Wing adherants, all the locumnts which passd 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 re quest a thoro 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 causus, we still recognize that our responsibility, as 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.

> Louis C. Fraina Maximilian Cohn John Ballam C. E. Ruthenberg I. E. Ferguson, Sec.

For the National Left Wing Council:

Headquarters: 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago.

(Immediately the Left Wing delegates decided to quit the police con trolled Germer onvention, these Left Wing delegates constituted themselves the regular Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, officially called by the new National Executive Committee. It beard 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 th 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 Committe 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 Creden tial Committee. Every person who comes into the convention holds his seat and has his vote subject to the final actions of the Contest and 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 Gredential 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 delegates or individuals 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 credeutials 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

(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, were not in favor of negotiation 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 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, organzed permanently into the Communist

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 Socialism prisoner cannot have. I won't read a prisoner cannot have. I won't read a prisoner cannot have is the end of attaining a majority in the parliaments. They argued that this that any other prisoner cannot read, majority, through legislative action, would end the power of the capitalists of the prisoner cannot read. I don't want anything that every in industry and build up the structure of 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 in the bourgeois parliaments. The Revolutionary Socialist 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 nore dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advenced 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, t this moment the old party splitting into three organizations corresponding the three fundamental differences of viewpoint which have heretofore xisted 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 Castelton.

The United States Government has a penitentiary on the out-skirts 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 mar-ble 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 chly colored flowers act as a mockery, and poetical perversion - as though placed there for the purpose of manishing the prisoners with its view.

Within the past year or more the dovernment has been sending a steadily increasing group to his institu-tion — a gallant band of idealists and political radicals who leave fearlessly expressed their opinion regarding the late war. Here they are garbed in prison overalls, their scalps shaved, their photographs made, numbers gi ven 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 en-slaved victims of this capitalistic - Eugene V. Debs. He is sixty-three years—of age, tall and lanky, in fact emaciated. A few stragling hairs embellish an otherwise hald 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 in search of truth, the spokesman whose only guide is his conscience, his motives altruistic, and a deep found love for his fellow men. glance at him and you can see the uncompromising revolutionist, the fighter for progress. When he clasped my outstretched hand, and replied to any query, "How are you, comrade?"
"I am well, comrade, thank you" and in the word "comrade" a magically beautiful smile iluminated his

face. I know that he was thinking of

his millions of compdes all over the world and their truggle for the

great economic change that will ulti-mately overthrow the capitalistic sy-

'Gene is reticent himself. He has no personal grievance, or ill feeling, towards anyone. "Tell the boys I am all 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 capita listic 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 mar ked 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 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 have not told Debs about it." Strict rules prevail around prison

interviews. Between prisoner isitor, sits a guard armed with club in hand who listens to every word that passes between them. Strict scrutiny is exercised lest some secret eass 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 he 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 ted at the National Left Wing Conference and againt at the State Conpredicted at the National Left Wing Conference and againt 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 partys membership, thru regularly mittee.

A mo

seen won, the Left Wing element in the party is now the Communist Labor presentation of facts be offered be-have recognized either the Old Na-carried that additional delegates to 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 existance 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 existance 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 bisis 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 standing invitation for Unity to the Communist Party, and instructing the national officials of the Communist Labor to accept every invitation for unity upon a bosis of equality from the Communist Party or any other revolutionary work-

ing 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 consciencious 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 complid with by the Communist Labor Party. Objectionable elements were just as prevelant in the Communist Conwention. Our invitation to the Communist Party that the two conference commi tees be named the joitn credentials committee to pas upon credenitals 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.

referendums and in keeping the duly

elected National Executive Committee

from assuming office, did so to eli-

minate the elements which stood for

uncompromising, revolutionary Socia-

lism, as expressed in the program of

RESOLVED, that this convention,

nternational and to carry out the

wishes expressed by the membership

Executive Committee to immediately

Motion carried that report of com

Motion carried that Coldwell be

Wolf elected as candidate for tem-

Zitt elected as candidate for as

Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Katterfeld and

be acted upon as a unit by all

Greenhagh elected as candidate for

Motion carried that credentials be

Motion carried that candidates for

Motion carried that all present mee

Meeting declared adjourned.

Respectfully submitted;
E. B. Austin Jr.

Minutes of the Left Wing Caucus

This caucus was held immediately

delegates out of the convention hall,

Zimmerman, of Indiana act as floor-

leader to carry out the program adop-

A motion was offered to request

Session adjourned at 10.30 P. M.

having secured "white cards"

seats upon convention floor.

Lawrence A. Zitt.

Secretary of Caucus

handedto the floor committee by con

temporary offices be made the no

at 9.30 in the convention Hall

of August 30, 1919.

Germer.

ted last night.

The following were elected as

elected as candidate for temperory

littee be adopted in entirety.

perory Secretary.

sistant Secretary.

ice chairman.

present.

declared its adherence to the revolu-

Therefore, be it

Minutes

Minutes of the Left Wing Caucus, held Aug. 29, at 8 P. M., the evening the convening of the Emergency National Convention. The pur- trol of the party and to hold the party plans of action upon the floor of the plans of action upon the floor of the machinery for the representatives of moderate Socialism. Emergency Convention.

A. Wagenknecht called meeting to order and stated purpose.

A. Wagenknecht elected Chairman.

E. B. Austin elected Secretary. 52 Delegates present.

Motion carried: that all persons the States of Michigan, Massachusetts who are not delegates be excluded and Ohio null and void and recognize from the meeting.
Statement of National Left Wing party and its national secretary as Council concerning their attitude to-wards the new Communist Party, read the officials of the party, and instruct Germer and the old National struct Germer and the old Nationa

by C. E. Ruthenberg. Motion carried; that those present turn over all properties and appurtenances of the National Headquarters to the new officials.

chairman if they intend to act other-John Reed made statement regarding the National Left Wing Council. Motion carried that we proceed to Chairman. outline a program of action for participation in the National Emmergency Convention and that no other

business be considered. Motion that Ruthenberg's statement he accepted as basis for such a

Motion carried that a committee be Reed.

appointed to prepare a program of Mot

Committee el berg, Katterfeld, and Reed.

Report of Committee. If the Ohio Delegates are admitted didates for the credentials committee; to the Hall Wagenknecht endeavors

to cal lthe convention to order. If for ANY reason this cannot be of Illinois and Sandberg of Illinois. done, we do act withdraw on that account.

Chairman: Coldwell of R. I. Vice-Chairman: Kate Greenbeigh; See'y. handedto the flow Wolff of N. J.—Ass't. Witt of Ohio. tested delegates. When roster of delegates is read we make effort to include ALL re-

gularly elected delegates, but failing minees for permanent offices. we do not withdraw. Credentials Committee: Reed of R.

T. Zimmermann of N. J. Owens of Mll.—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

If they are not seated we with
are and meet in our own hall for delegates out of the convention hall for the convention ha aonference. We fight for the immediate seating and it was learned that admission to

of all contesting Left Wing delegates. If all these whom our conference considers entitled to seats are nat seated, withdraw and meet in our own hall for conference.

Upon complotion of the permanent organization our fundamental resoevery ounce of our strength for its vention sessions and that Comrade adoptics. 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 the new N. E. C. to draft a statement to be issued to delegate. roster, we do not thereby recognize to be issued to delegates. Amended to elect three additional comrades to act in conjunction with the N. E. C. more last opportunity to the other side. one last opportunity to the other side to aid in the effort to enforce the Bedacht were elected by unanimous have been neither expelled nor sustant and control of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor sustant and control of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor sustant and amendment of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor sustant and amendment of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor sustant and amendment of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor sustant and amendment of the states of the states of the states and the states of the sta into a Party of Revolutionary Social asm and to affiliate it with the Com munist Internatonale of Moscow.

Resolutions to Be Introduced Immediately Contested Delegates were delegates, other Left Wing delegates Locals and Branches whose member-

Whereas, the party membership by overwhelming majority elected as the National Executive Committee a commeeting of contested delegates only. mittee representing the revolutionary in the Socialist Party and also elected International Delegates the convention session upstairs. committed to Revolutionary Socialism further declared itself in favor of roller delaying action in the contes- Party. offiliation with the Communist Inter. ted delegates.

*Committee in expelling the Russian, the individual claims for seats in the from New York, on the plea that delegates to support Left Wing pro-Tungarian, Polish and Lettish Feder Massachusetts, and Chio, and in rofinsing to tabulate the vote on various ted to appear before this committee permit only their own hand-picked A member of the Executive Com-

the Convention thru a

A motion was passed to the effect

Germer convention. It was agreed to hold a short cauternoon session of the convention. Decided to elect a committee of lin 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 contest would be considered. It was shown that all the delegates of California were contested, one from Illi-Iowa, two from Kansas, all from Minn., Nebraska, Oregon, one from W. Va. all from Washington, N. Y. one, Pa. one, Utah all and Wy-

It was moved to instruct Comrade Harwood to present all credentials ship which has sent us here to with ment of this party of proletarian com of contested delegates to the Contest draw to another hall, where we will munism, and

before the final report of the Contest Committee, and to gather in the cauus 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 the Left Wing, from assuming contransact Convention bussiness without first rendering decision as to contes-

Ited delegates. Minutes of the caucus of delegates enseated and those leaving the emer gency Convention, held Aug. 31. Called to order by Wagenknecht at 2.20 P. M. tionary principles of the Communist Crimmons of New York choser

chairman. Motion offered to elect a committee by referendum vote, declares the suspension of the Russian, Lithuanian, of three to draft a statement to the Reports from various states were South Slavic, Ukrainian, Hungarian, delegates seated in the Germer convention (action interrupted to allow Polish and Lettish Federations and convention of the prepared statement.) delegates seated in the Germer a reading of the prepared statement.) Amended to refer statement back to the new Executive Committee of the the N. E. C. and the additional mem

Amendment carried.

It was decided to allow three delegates from Cook County Left. Wing Convention to sit in this caucus with the privelege of a voice, carried. to open the Emergency Convention this ED N. E. C.

afternoon at 5 P. M. Carney made a report that the Germer convention had discovered that it can hall in this building. seat all contested delegates excluding those from Ohio and some from New the roster of delegates was read, York and yet control the convention— showing 82 delegates representing 21 Comrades Katterfeld, Wagenknecht, and that it had decided to do so.

The committee to redraft a stat-Harwood elected as floor leader ement offered its report, which was by acclamation. Floor committee elected: Richardson, adepted.

TO THE DELEGATES.

in order to be able to appeal directly Secretary by acclamation. to the delegates on the floor of the Convention.

We call the attention of the dele Reid of Rhode Island; Zimmermann gates to the following facts: In order solely to retain office. of India; Petzold of New Jersey, Oven 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 land were chosen and istructed to

> For the same reason, the National Executive Committee did refuse to recognize the will if the Party membership, as expressed in the referendum votes upon the election of Naional Executive Committee, Internaional Delegates. International Secretary, and the referendum upon the question of affiliation with the Third International, the referendum upon the calling of the National Eemergency Convention, and the referendum

members in good standing. The National Executive Committee the Convention hall was by "white did repudiate the overwhelming vote card" issued personally by Adolph of the Party membership to effect that they vacate their offices It was decided by regular action that those Left Wing delegates potive Committee duly elected to take ssessing the (Germer) white cards of office July 1. 1919, and that they rein favor of the new National Executive Committee duly elected to take admission to the Emergency Convenfused to turn over the property of the Party to the new N. E. C. tion be instructed to attend the con-

The organizing committee of this Massachussetts. oody, without any reason, did yesterday morning refuse to grant admission to delegates from California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, New Jersey, Utah: peing regularly elected delegates against whom no contesting delegates have

gether the vast majority of the Party declarations of the Third International This meeting was one of contested ations illegally elected, representing of New York State. ship exist largely on paper.

of them representing states which

Session convened at 3.30 p. m. as a legates to the fact that when duly sending greetings. All ordered into elected delegates to this body attemp-Comrades holding the white cards of ted to enter the Convention Hall admission were instructed to attend yesterday morning, they were forcibly ejected by the police, acting his release, together with other class conventions of the right-wing steems of Adalph Germer, war prisoners. It was decided to go and the Communist International, and operations of the right-wing steam former National Secretary of the on record as assuming responsibility

The action of the Committee on and that telegrams be sent to Debs It was decide to elect an Advisory Contested Seats, in refusing to con- and others offering assurances of the Whereas, the National Executive Committee of three to consider the sider the case of the delegates from continuation of our support. convention. Comrades Talbert, Taylor, they had been expelled from the Party, gram and Elkhart endorsing the

It was moved to send the creden as may be submitted to them. Connounced that his organization was tials of all Left Wing delegates to sidering that through the exclusion of wholeheartedly with us and would af-Special Com- delegates representing the great ma- filiate with the new organization at

Convention, we hereby declare: That if so far we have taken part in attendance and entitled to seats in that no speeches other than the mere this Convention, it is not because we the convention. fore the Contest Committee of the Germer convention.

It was agreed to hold a short cau
Convention as legal. We have done fraternal delegates without vote, cus session immediately after the af- it merely in order to give one last Comrade Greenwood of Illinois was opportunity to the illegal officialdom seated as regular delegate.

in charge to submit to the expressed The body decided to make the tem

bussiness for the first meeting of the is to transform the Socialist Party the session. Comrade Prevey was grannew grouping. Comrades Lloyd, Reed, into a Party of Revolutionary So ted by general consent the privelege Gitlow, Bedacht, Katterfeld and Bou- cialism, and to affiliate it with the to offer resolutions on Debs and all Communist International of Moscow. class was prisoners and to Mrs. Debs What has transpired up to now assuring her of our sympathy, supmakes it clear that the Party officials port and hopeful activities. Resoluillegally in control of the National tions were adopted and ordered wi-

Office and the Convention machinery, red. are determined at all costs, and by all The report of the N. E. C. was reare determined at all costs, and by all The report of the means, no matter how foul, to prevent ceived and approved. committee, and the order in which the file from finding expression in this tem was received and approved. Convention.

> in proceeding to conduct further business before the question of seating. "Resolved. That we hereby declare siness before the question of seating the Socialist Party to be the Party It is our duty to the Party member-

heart the true interest of the Social Communist Party list 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.

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

"The membership of the Socialist" confronting the world today, and place the Socialist movement of this overwhelmingly in favor of affiliation from the Organization Committee of the restant and the Communist Party (attached

CONVENTION CALL

The Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party will be called to or-der at six cleck this afternoon August Blst, in the hall on the first floor of this building.

present. COMMITTEE SO-

was passed unanimously. The delegates then registered and

adjourned to 6 P. M. THE FIRST SESSION OF EMERG-ENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION

Motion to request the new N. E. C. CALLED IN THE NEWLY ELLECT-Convened by Chairman Crimins at 6.30 P. M. Decided to rent the larger

owens of Illinois, elected Chairman elected by ballot.

Prevey of Ohio, elected Vice Chairman by acclamation. Reed.

Motion carried; that all matters

Medicided upon by the floor committee have participated in this Convention

Motion carried; that all matters

Medicided upon by the floor committee have participated in this Convention

Austin of Kentucky, elected Asst.

Lloyd of Illinois, elected Sergt. at Arms by acclamation. Decided to adopt the order of buis

sess submitted by the N. E. C. Decided to employ a Stenographer to record the proceeding of this convention. Motion was passed to elect a credentials Committee. Coldwell Carney, Baker, McSlarrow and Eng-

he earliest oportunity. A motion was passed to hear the of the day by acclamation, and John report of the N. E. C. and the N. E. Zimmerman of Indiana was elected Secretary pro tem, but to defer action Vice Chairman by acclamation. until after the report of the credentials committee.

stated that the N. E. Č.

new National Executive Committee: of police during sessions of the Ge-Fraina, Hourwich, Lindgren, Ruthenberg, Harwood, Prevey, Lloyd, Batt, Keracher, Nagle, Hogan, Millis, Katterfeld and Wicks. Also that the N. E. C. reinstated

the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Ukrainian, Lettish, Hungarian, and Polish Federations and Michigan and

Action was deferred. Sec'y. Pro-Tem Wagenknecht reported on the development of the Left Wing movement and submitted a fi-Oregon, Washington, Florida, nancial statement of receipts and ex-West Virginia, these delegates penses since assuming the duties of N. E. Sec'v

Action deferred.

Decided to consider communications, but defer action. 1.) From State Sec'y, Dillon of New Mexico, assuring us of that Other delegates, representing alto states adherence to the principles and

Telegram from Sec'y. San Jose. Cal. urging support of Left Wing Pro-We call the attention of the de-gram. National Left Wing Council, the records.

Comrade Prevey reported in detail on the Debs case and the fight for for further action along this line

Letter from Indiana locals urging

should accompany the Special Com- will if the Party membership in this (report attached hereto) in detail, showing that 87 delegates were in

eive to draft a tentative order of will of the Party membership; which porary organization permanent for

the revolutionary will of the rank and The report of the N. E. Sec'y. pro-Under consideration of the Party The action of this official machine Situation Comrade Ruthenberg offe-

in violation if its own previously adopted rule, makes impossible our States, and that we extend an invifurther participation in this gathering. tation to all revolutionary working Y. P. S. L. class groups to join in the

Jommittee, or to Secretary Germer.

Motion carried.

It was decided to instruct our delegates to leave the Convention Hall immediately if Convention attempts to dictation of a corrupt and usurping immediately if Convention attempts to officialdom.

A motion requesting Comrade Friedfor five to confer with a similar com mittee from the Organization Committee from the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, the National Left Wing Council, or the Communist Party Convention, regarding the immediate amalgamation of these to confer with a similar committee from the Organization Committee from the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, the National Left Wing Council, or the lest. We appeal to all those who have at bodies, with our party to form the sudience amounting to \$91.14.

volutionary march of the fighting thereby indicating its approval of the herto) and the Committee recommenwith the Communist International, principles of Communist Socialism. led that we proceed with the regular the membership to transform the So-Communist Party occurs. cialist Party into a party of Communist Socialism, therefore be it.

National Left Wing Council 101 vinc | result;— result;— Yea, 65. CIALIST PARTY. amendment was offered to declare our A Wagenknecht, Secy Pro. Tem. selves the Communist Convention of The motion to call the convention America, and send invitations to others revolutionary groups and to the socalled 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.

The Vote on the Katterfeld mendment was 54 yea and 22 nay. Adjourned to the larger hall where A motion to proceed with the election Wagenknecht,

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

Respecfully submitted, Lawrence A. Zitt. E. B. Austup Ass't. Sec'y.

MORNING SESSION Sept. 1, 1919.

Minutes of the morning Session o Sept. 1. Convened at 10.45 a. m. by retire immediately and report at Chairman Prevey. Comrade Charles Baker of Ohio was chosen chairman

A motion to elect a committee to arrange the financing of delegate Marguerite Prevey reported for the and the convention was carried. The N. E. C. on Party activities since its following comrades were electet: Tayelection and its selection of Wagen-lor, Richardson, Prevey, Lloyd and mecht as N. E. Secretary pro tem. She Wagenknecht. A motion carried inmet for the structing this committee to confer purpose of assuring the holding of the with the N. E. C. with reference to emergency convention; ousted Germer finances.

and substituted Wagenknecht, can-vassed referendum returns and de-clared the following elected to the ning this building in re. to presence A motion carried that the resolution mer Emergency Convention be recor ded in our minutes.

To the Delegates of the National Socialist Convention

Dear Comrades and Friends: On behalf of the Die and Toel

Makers' Lodge No. 113, International Association of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection. when we as an organization conas individual members main as your protectors, or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest.

remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardship on you, but for the best interest of the socialist party and the labor movement in general. Yours for International Solida-

Executive Board. Die & Tool Makers Lodge No..

L. P. VANCE, CARL HARIG, G. T. FRANCKEL, PAUL POKARA A telegram received from Richmond Cal. extending greetings to the Left Wing Convention and requestion that no compromise be made was ordered

into the record. A telegram receiving from the Y. P. S. L. of Anderson, Ind. demanding that all, delegates to the National Emergency convention be seated, took

the same courd. The minutes of the sessions August 31st. were read and approved after correction in re. New York State

A motion was passed that M. K Friedman, of South Bend, Ind. be

the receipt of a collection from the

A motion carried to adjourn for one half hour, providing that we An Amendment to the amendment reconvene earlier if the Confering Committee returns.

Convention was reconvened at 12.30 the Communist Party (attached Convention believes, therefore, order of business until such time as that it has a clear man date from the permanent organization of the

Motion carried that every delegate participating in this convention by Resolved: — That this convention that act confirms his dicision to reelect a committee of five to confer tain his seat in this convention until with the Organizing Committee of a definite decision is reached on the EVERY delegate, is requested to be the Communist convention and the final report of the Conferring Comminerate.

National Left Wing Council for the tree. Roll call vote showed following

Yea, 65. Nay, 9. Session adjourned until 3.30 p. m. Respectfully submitted, Lawrence A. Zitt, Secretary E. B. Austin, Jr.

AFTERNOON SESSION Sept. 1, 1919. Minutes of the Afternoon session of September 1st. Convention reconvered at 3.50 m. It was decided to proceed with the election of committees. Elections

Committee on International Relations. Lore, Boldin, Bedacht Lleyd and Christiansen. Committee on Resolutions.

esulted as follows:--

Crimmins, Prevey, Broms, Firth and Committee on Constitution. Wagenknecht, Dolsen, Owens, Austin ed by regular action.

and Petzolt. Committee on Platform. It was decided to suspend the rules and combine the Labor committee with the Platform Committee.

Reed, Richardson, Carney, Greenhahlg and England. Committee on Organization, Education passed and Propaganda. Coldwell, Katterfeld, E. B. Boudin and Greenwood.

Committee on Ways and Means. Owens, Von Allman, Richardson, Baker and Wolf. Committee on Socialist Press and Publicity.

John Reed, Gertrude Harmon, Jack Carney, L. Lore and E. B. Smith. Committee on Class War Prisoners

Prevey, Lloyd, Swabeck, Sandburg. The Committee on Finance elected at morning session, reported having receiving \$91.14 in a collection at the morning session and \$30.68 at the the afternoon session. Report received. A motion to suspend the rules so as to amend the order of business that the setting of time for adjournment and convening shall be the first order of busness at each session, was passed.

A motion to adjourn until 10.00 m. Tuesday morning was declared out of order by the Chairman. It was decided to defer the choice of candidates for nomination as Prethe report of the Committee an Plat-

form and Labor shall have been tion, but does not think it has the received and acted upon. A motion to adjourn until 10.00 A. M. Tuesday morning was passed.

Lawrence A. Zitt Secretary. E. B. Austin, Jr.

Sept. 2, 1919. Convened at 11 A. M. by Chairman sland was elected chairman for the

MORNING SESSION

hosen Vice-Chairman. E. Ruthenberg, annonuncing his with other bills will come in from day to drawal from our convention was read day. Since we here must devise a

Cavorable upon the credentials of Germer Convention, we thereby call W. W. Cox, as a fraternal delegate upon every state delegation to furnish from the Workers International Inthus Committee as soon as possible, dustrial Union, and B. H. Lauderdale, with the following information: 1st. epresenting Texas. Action concurred

to adjourn at 1:00 p. m. to reconene at 1. p. m. Carried. Comrade Owens offered his resignation from the Committee on Ways this convention expect from the sale and Means. Accepted and Comrade of convention stamps?

CHARLES BAKER, Chairman.

laylor chosen to fill the vacancy. The credentials Committee recom mended Seating Henry Tichoner of Missouri. Approved.

Platform Committee, the delegation to read their statement to the Germer Convention, Ordered into the record, together with the fact that the Germer Convention ignored the statement by proceeding with regular business.

It was decided to reconsider the action of yesterday combining the Committees on Platform and Labor. Moion to divide the committee was passed. Body decided to rename the committee on Platform as the Committee on Program. Motion passed to elect a Committee on Platform. Comrades Clifford, Brown, Bedacht, Sandburg, Lore, Jackman and Baker were elected, and instructed to return a terse, clear, and revolutionary statement of our principles and nothing

The Committee on Labor and on Program were combined by regular action. Motion to adjourn was passed.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convened at 2. p. m. by the Cairman. Announcement that Com. J. M. Brocks of Jack Wade Alaska had contributed \$5.00 to our treasury.

Comrades Sedgewick and Lindgren were appointed to take up a collection and returned with \$42.91. It was deided to adjourn at 5:30 p. m. and reonvene at 10 a. m. Wednesday morn-

ing. E. S. Smith of Warren, O., was seated as delegat in place of Dennison, who was compelled to return home. Greetings from branch 92. Workmens' Circle of Chicago were read and ordered into the record.

The Committe on Press and Publicity offered majority and minority reports, both reports were referred back to the committee for further consideration.

Contribution of then dollars from Local No. 3 of Butte, Mont., was announced and letter ordered into the record.

The Ways and Means Committee rendered a partial report which was . adopted except the proposal to elect a new committee to handle the funds. The resolutions Committee reported effering

Res. No. 1. in re. naming the party 'The Communist Labor Party of America". Motion to adopt the resolution was passed: Talbert voting

Res. No. 2. in re. adopting the recognized emblem of the Communist

parties of the world as the emblem of THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA. Resolution was approved and emblem adopted. Res. No. 3. in re. electing a committee of five to consist of delegates connected with the agricultural industry to draft a program stating the aims of the revolutionary agricultural preletariat. Motion to adopt was passed and the committee elected. Lauderdale of

Texas, McSlarrow, Katterfeld, Hyde and Harman were elected the commit-Ways and Means Committee reported the receipt of a contribution of \$35.00 from Comrade Smith of War-

ren, O. The question of engaging I. W. W. hall, 119 Throop St. south,at \$10.00 per day was considered and it was decided to rent the same.

It was moved and passed that we extend a vote of thanks to the Machinists' Union for their courtesies and consideration during our stay here. Passed by unanimous vote.

The Committee on Class War Prisoners offered its report, which was adopt-The Press and Publicity Committee reported, considered and passed

seriatim as follows;

1st par. re. publishing a weekly 2nd. Par. in re. Editorial policy being kept in control of party was

3rd. Par. in re. publishing a month-

ly educational journal, adopted. 4th. Par. in re. joint conference of editors and party paper directors was adopted. 5th. Par. in re. publishing a monthly propaganda paper. Motion to adopt

Amended motion adopted. 6th. Par. in re. establishing a labor press association. Adopted. 7th. Par. in re issuance of monthly, bi-monthly or quarterly leaflets, was adopted. Motion to adopt the whole

report was passed. Moved to furnish the Constitution Committee with a copy of this report as adopted by the convention. Passed. A motion to reconsider the action to rent the I. W. W. hall was lost. A collection of \$42.91 for striking

igarmakers, was taken. Adjourned to reconvene at 10 a. m. LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y. E. B. AUSTIN Jr., Ass't. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

This committee considers it to be their sident and Vice-president until after duty to raise funds to defray the immediate expenses of this convenpower to make expenditures of funds. The Left Wing of Cook, County has arranged two mass meetings; which will be held tonight Tuesday, Sept. 2nd, at West End Auditorium, and Old Style Inn, with speakers of prominence in the Left Wing movement, At these meetings your committee xpects to raise several hundred dollars which will go into the treasury of this Baker. Comrade Coldwell of Rhode convention. One Hundred and twenty one dollars have been thus far relay and Comrade Bauer of Cal. was ceived from delegates present. Bills are now in the hands of this

A communication from Comrade C. committee, which must be met. Many means of meeting the expenses of dele-The Credentials Committee reported gates, who were denied seats in the How much money can this convention expect from your state? 2nd. Is your Rell call showed that there were state in a position to defray the ex-68 delegates present. It was moved penses of its delegates? 3rd. Did your state send in the money raised thru the sale of Emergency Convention Stamps? 4th. How much money can

L. F. WOLF, Secretary.

(Continued on page 3)

4...... The Ohio Socialist

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

One Year \$1.00

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EDITORS

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 no power on earth can crush me. The toto was amended to defer consideration by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delewing by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delegates who for a large variety of reasons are opposed to association with the Right Wingers. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Farty Convention the hemlock; Galileo the stake; Christ the hemlock; Galileo the stake; Christ the crucifixtion.'' A thought seemed to of the Committee on Program and Latorganization. The leaders of your group have carried on their attitude of the Content of the delegates. Amendment passed.

A motion was passed that the report the crucifixtion.'' A thought seemed to of the Committee on Program and Latorganization. The leaders of your group have carried on their delegates. Amendment passed. the old party upon legalistic grounds. They have emphasized the questions of the great kind-hearted man of the man ruled that the only matter before man Bauer. Decided to adjourn at 1 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 who criticised his administration. And A motion to adopt the same was

phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which as he spoke one felt the cogency of 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 has been crushed. He feels that the 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 tation of the laws regarding the right Wing or being in sympathy with it. There are delegates with you on the to the freedom of speech, freedim of basis of objection to "foreign" control, thus showing inability to grasp the the press, and freedom of assembly, first principle of Communism. Think of such an objection against an organization which is to be the American Branch of the Communist International! not committed any act that needs

In the Communist Convention are to be found the representatives of the apology. conscious Communist elements in this country. In contrast to your heterogeneous bolting 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 conidering our proposal for a unity of all the delegates now in Chicago who represent Communist groups, it must be kept clearly in mind that dom on a legal technicality and preour convention is absolutely bound by the Joint Call which accounts for the presence of 128 delegates and 9 fraternal delegates in this city. These delegates for the presence of 128,000 members. Their mandate from this membership is stated in the Joint Call. Obviously our Convention is bound by the call which brought it. He has lost fourteen pounds, at into existance.

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 the his emaciated arm in her hand, the fact of our convention means a fundamental basis of agreement arrived at by fact of 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 maternal feeling, say, Gene, we list Rule and the Conquest of Political The Convention of the Capital-discussion among these members Every delegate in our convention owes his maternal feeling, say, Gene, we list Rule and the Conquest of Political The Convention of the Capital-discussion among these members Every delegate in our convention owes his maternal feeling, say, Gene, we list Rule and the Conquest of Political The Convention of the Capital-discussion among these members Every delegate in our convention owes his maternal feeling, say, Gene, we list Rule and the Conquest of Political The Convention of the Capital-discussion among these members Every delegate in our convention ower his maternal feeling, say, Gene, we list Rule and the Conquest of Political The Convention of the Capital-discussion among the convention 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; 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 county, speculating without that I could not him and the struggling proletariat, that I for the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing—the laws; they shall countered pounds of gristle, that is nothing to himself, with a laws; they shall countered pounds of gristl and force to the revolutionary Socialist movement in this county, speculating as to what response such an experiment might meet.

This is our instruction from our Convention: that every additional dele-

gate must present his credentials to our Credential 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 conventon 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 led up his overall sleve, and pointing Communist Labor Party for the Conbe in correspondence with the membership of the state or organization he

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialist and Communist conventions, who have already been received for full participation our cause." and communist conventions, who have such credentials will be similarly received through the Credential 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

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

ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY, C. E. RUTHENBERG, DANIEL ELBAUM NICHOLAS I. HOURWICH,

Committe of Communist Convention.

(To this document the conference Committee of the Communist Labor

Reply of The Communist Labor Party that the realization of Socialism is at hand, that his dream will soon be To The Communist Party

We waive anwer 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 revo

Immediately after the Bussian Revolution. Left Wing manifestations in the Socialist Party of this country became more pronounced, and gradually into correspondence with the Com-Communist Labor Party for the decrystalized until a very large element in the Socialist Party accepted the Left munist and revolutionary parties of struction of the Capitalist State, etc. 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 definate break occurred a conference was held in Chicago, at which Fraina, Keracher, Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Stoklitzky and Stilson were lationship and the laying of the foundation of the foundatio present. It we there agreed to carry on the fight for the Left Wing and its dation for a future Communist Reprinciples within the Socialist Party in order to rally all Left Wing forces for public of the Western Hamisphere. 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 what is now called 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 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 should entitle the individual to land. your group, Fraina, Ruthenberg and others, there again agreed to this course. Despite these repeated decisions to carry on the fight for Left Wing report: control within the party, certain elements in your group began to organize a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation - Michigan combination

which united not upon principle, but for the political expediency. The National Left Wing Council, a creature of the National Left Wing and the Communist Labor Party in conference, violated its instructions, was stampeded into joining this call for particular, is a question that cannot the organization of a new party.

The organization or a new party.

The group we represent remained true to all edicts officially issued by ly set forth in the short time at the line of the several Left Wing conferences, carried the battle to the Emergency disposal of this convention. Therefor National Convention of the Socialist Party, and there made a decisive fight.

That this convention elect a com-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 definately 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 morale is unbroken, my spirit and my labors are the only things that count with

Debs is uncompromising. Yet, I can not imagine a men more amenable to suggestions, more tolerant of others views, more eager to exchange opi in his make-up When Debs feels that he is right he stands by his convictions. With him principles and ideals sidered. are treasures far greater than life itself. "I love life, I love my fellow mestic man by nature. During the thirty-four years of may marriage I ine Committee on Press and Publicity read. Comrade Coldwell of Rhode can truthfully say that I have not it secure reports of the preceedings Island voting "no" on the last.

spent a night away from home ex- of all Socialist Conventions being held

Paragraphs 10 and 11 adopted as cept when traveling or on business. in Chicag Much as I love life and the things delegates. inalienable right. I exercised that right. program and labor Committee. spoke the truth as I saw it, and Supreme Court of the United States has sealed its doom in its interpre-

soners, he said, "We will go out together, or remain together." It is a question of principle, not of individnal favoritism. Debs is one of those straight forward, simple and sincere men who hate quibbling and detest legal technicalities. He would not barter his imprisoment for free-

He has lost fourteen pounds, at his age, the loss of weight is danand the struggling proletariat, that I live. Without that I could not live."

Debs is old, has a weak heart, and may die at any moment. And he may die at any moment. And he may die in prison for daring to speak fearlessly according to his light. With Debs the cause of Soci-ment was offered reading "To this end align comes first Dramatically he are adopted as read. 4. Amended to insert the words "the officials of", before the words "the unions."

The whole of the section sub-titled to the section sub-titled sub-titled to the section sub-titled to the section sub-titled su to his out-stretched, sinewous arm, quest of Political Power to establish said, "I would tap these veins and a Government adapted to the Socialist give my last blood for my comrades and our cause." The cold clammy A motion to grand Comrade Zucker

One night while reading a legal locument in connection with his case, Debs fell asleep on his bed of concrete, and dreamed of his fellow prisoners. They were all transported to reseated. the village grocery at Terre Haute, Indiana, - to Pete's place. - Pete, his schoolmate when he was a lad. Pete was kind and good, and the gaunt and hungry prisoners were there, and Debs and Pete were talking. the pies came out, and just as they were about to ravenously munch them, Gene woke up — his legal document still in his hand. Gene laughed as he told this, for he knows that in these lays of swift moving events, in these ried. days when a great revolution is sweeing over the earth, and the proleta-

"Tell the comrades not to worry bout me. If they will cast their eyes owards Atlanta they will see a torch he dome of the prison heralding that the glad day is at hand."

ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY.

North and South America for the pur- Both amendments were tabled and an pose of formulating a plan for hold-amendment offered to strike out "we

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.

1. We hold that the land question an not be settled under Capitalism. 2. That all land should be the property of the workers.

That only use and occupancy The committee further wishes to

cultural worker and his relation to the revolutionary movement in general, read. be adequately considered and properly set forth in the short time at the before "oppose the will, etc."

That this committee draw up a program which it shall submit to ment to strike out "Michigan and program which it shall submit to the National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

Tead and Sec. 4 striken out.

Art III, Sec. 1, It was decided to read refer the whole Article back to Committee.

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

Tead and Sec. 4 striken out.

Art III, Sec. 1, It was decided to read refer the whole Article back to Committee.

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states."

The National Executive body of the Wisconsin and other states." Communist Labor Party at some spe-

Minutes Communist Labor Party Convention COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

man of Indiana Vice-Chairman.

Minutes of Session held on Sept. 2nd cipation" for "Salvation." were approved.

Convention must be regularly con-shall organize shop branches to con-

Greetings from Scandinavian Com-Organization in the Shops and Factorrades of Duluth assuring us of their eis and to encourage them to organize men, I love my wife most dearly. I continuous support were received and in one big union. I love my neighbors, and am a do ordered into the record.

This amendment

in Chicago and furnish copies for the read.

An action to adopt the report

A motion to adopt the same was amended to consider seriatim. Passed left the city. So ordered. 1. Adopted as submitted by the Com-

2. Amended to read (Capitalist imperialism) instead of (State Capitalism). Amendment adopted.

Amended to change the (full) to (all) and insert (is taken) just before the words (the Workingnot committed any act that needs class). Adopted as amended. Sessio

AFTERNOON SESSION Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 2 P. . by the Chair reported favorable on the Credentials talist state." Adopted. of Fannie Crowell of Arkansas, Minnie of Ill. These delegates were seated.

the Platform Committee report.
4. Amended to substitute for the submitted by the Committee and comparagraph submitted, the following: bine it with that adopted by the Con-(The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the Workers into must get you out. You cannot afford Powers by the Workers. The Workers, to lose any more weight." He good-naturedly replied; "That is nothing— fourteeen pounds of gristle, that is the laws; they shall own and control all. This," pointing to himself, "is land, factories mills, mines, transall. This, pointing to himself, is land, factories mills, mines, trans-nothing. It is the spirit that counts. portation systems and financial isnti-It is only my will to live that keeps tutions. (All Power to the Workers.)

> 5. Paragraph ordered aliminated. 6. Paragraph ordered eliminated. 7. Adopted as read.

we ask the Workers to unite with the

A motion to table the statement was lest and a motion was carried to file the communication, and grant the request of these two delegates to be

Resumed consideration of paragraph 8 of the Platform Committee report. By general consent of the body a subtitute for the whole was offered, reading 'To this end we ask the Workers to unite with the Communist Labor and they said. "Boys, let's eat." And Party and to make it their Political expression in their struggle for the control of the Powers of Government. The substitute lost. 28 yea. and 41

EVENING SESSION

Sept. 3, 1919.
Reconvened at 7:40 P. M. and decided to adjourn at 11 P. M. and to reconvene at 10 A. M. Thursday September 4th.

The resignation of E. B. Smith from the Press and Publicity Committee was laming in the sky, a torch above accepted and Comrade Swabeck chosen to fill the vacancy.

Resumed consideration of the form Committee report.

9. Amended to strike out the word 'and thus unite their political and Moved that the National Executive the I. W. W., the one big union." ommittee is hereby instructed to at Amendment to the amendment to inthe earliest convenience possible enter sert "and work together with the support to the Workers in organizing whole. hemselves on the Industrial Field.'

> passed Comrade Cimmerman being absent unity was read and ordered into the Comrade Gitlow was elected as Vice- record. Chairman and a motion was passed nviting Comrade Wm. D. Haywood to Bentheysen, anent definition of "Comaddress the Convention Thursday after | munism'' was filed. noon at 3 o'clock on the subject of

'Class War Prisoners' The Committee on Program and Labor submitted its report. It was We believe the question of the agri- decided to consider it seriatim. The declaration was adopted

> Part Two. 1. Adopted as read. 2. Amended to

3. Adopted as read 4. Amended to ve recommend:
That this convention elect a comGermany." A motion referring this mittee to take up the consideration paragraph back to the Committee for of this subject in detail.

nan of Indiana Vice-Chairman.

It was decided to adjourn at 1:00 ed by sustituting the word "Component of the convenience of th

PROGRAM The Chairman ruled that delegates First four sections adopted as read. bolting from other conventions and 5. Amended by substituting for the wishing to be seated in the C. L. P. whole paragraph the following "Locals" It was decided to invite the dele-

This amendment was adopted. Para-The onvention decided to instruct graphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 are adopted as

Paragraphs 10 and 11 adopted as that are dear to me, I am satisfied in my conscience that I am in the right. Free expression of opinion is an inalignable right I oversion of opinion opinion is an inalignable right I oversion opinion opini mittee 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 Chair p. m. The Credentials Committee re ported that Caleb Harrison should be seated in place of Comrade Cox, who

Committee was accepted and Harmon, and Clifford and Firth chosen to fill the amended. vacancies. Prevey was elected Chairman for the day and Gitlow Vice-Chairman. The Ways and Mens Committee were in-

structed to make a report before the end of this session. Minutes of yesterlays session approved. Resumed the consideration of the Program Committees report. Sec. 8. (as redrafted by Committee) political action of the workingclass

man. It was decided to adjourn at means action taken by the workers G. P. M. The Credentials Committee to impose their class will on the capi-A motion to reconsider paragraph of Rivkin of Ohio and A. D. Swarjessi Part one was lost. A motion to reconsider paragraph 5 of section entitled Convention resumed consideration of Program was passed. It was decided to include the original paragraph as

> The Program as amended was adopt The Convention considered the re-

port on Labor, seriatim.

Part one. 1. Amended to strike out the word

help''. 2. Amended to strike out the

'in the ranks of the I. W. W." 3. Adopted as read.

4. Adopted as read. Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 were adopted

Session adjourned at one o'clock,

Sept. 4, 1919. Reconvened at 2 p. m. Sang the International.

Chicago and their request for the first charter was referred to the N. E. C. to of the ten highest candidtes be re-

Paragraph 9 previously referred back. reported Comrades Bilan, Carney and After rejecting a proffered amendment, Katterfeld had received a majority. the paragraph was striken out and the The Chair declared these three elected Platform as previously amended was and a motion to proceed to vote upon

George, No. 13158 Leavenworth, political be declared elected, was passed. Comprisoner, was read. It was decided to rades Bedacht and Lindgren declared send this comrade our greetings and that copies of his letter be furnished all the delegates.

ed elected as members of National Extentive Committee. Session adjourned to reconvene at 3:30 P. M. 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 re-

It was decided to elect a Labor Com mittee of seven. Carney, Sprunk, Bauer, England, Gitlow Swabeck and Richardson were chosen, after ruling by the Chairman that convention rule covering the size of committees applied only to convention committees

and not to permanent committees. The Committee on Unity (Special of the Communist Convention and dis- | Motion to strike at the work "direct" tribute them to the delegates. The report of the Committee on

The report of the Committee A motion to table until after hearing Agriculture was read and adopted. the report of the Labor Committee was Greetings from the Executive Commit-

record.

A communication from Com. J. van baving received a total of \$464.67. Re-

Comrade Sopher, substituting for W. D. Haywood addressed the Convention on Class War Prisoners. address was greatly appreciated by the delegates. It was decided to reconsider the re-

port of the Committee on Agriculture. Report was referred back to the Committee. The report of the Constitution Com-

mittee was read and considered seriatim. Art. 1, Sec. 1, Previously cared for Section 4 amended to strike out the by the convention.

as time of Party Membership. Adopted as Art. II, Sec. 2 and 3, adopted read and Sec. 4 striken out.

MORNING SESSION
Sept. 3, 1919.

Convened at 10:40 A. M. by the Chairman and Bauer of Cal. was chosen Chairman for the day and Zimmer man of Indian Vice-Chairman and Section 2 striken out, (j) cared for in Art. 5, (k) striken out and Section 2 striken out. Sections 3 to 9 adopted as read and Section 10 striken out. Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION Sept. 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 7 p. m. It was decid ed to adjourn at 10 p. m. and reconvene at 9 a. m. Friday morning. Statement in re. proposed intervengates of the Communist Convention duct the Communist Propaganda and to meet with us in informal session regardless of the standing of delegates at 1 p. m. Friday afternoon. A committee of three was elected to proceed immediately to the Communist Convention and convey the invitation. Reid, of R. I. Swabeck and England vere 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 Shairman, and Bauer of the same state Vice-Chairman. Decided to adjourn at 12 noon.

Committee on Constitution reported n detail. Article 1, Section 1, Adopated 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 Coldwell's resignation from the Or- words "itsef into a political party" ganization, Education and Propaganda and substituting the words "Politically Industrially''. Adopted

> Article 3, Section 1. Amended by changing the word "affairs" to read "policies". Section 2, Amended to read hus-"The National Executive Committee shall be composed of five members. Section 3 a, to read as follows 'The call for the regular election of nembers of the National Executive Committee shall be issued on the first Branch, shall purchase dues stamps day of December of each year. Section from the City or County Committee b. The traveling expenses of members of the N. E. C. in attending otherwise from the State Office. Such meetings of the Committee, and a purchase of dues stamps shall be re-

> Section 2 ordered stricken out. Sections 3 and 4 adopted as read. Section 5 stricken out. Section 6, 7, 8 and 9 adopted as read. Section 10 stricken of this section of this section until

Article 5, Section 1. Adopted as read. Section B, 2nd Paragraph, read. Motion made and passed that ordered striken out. Section 7. Strike out the first half of the section. Section 8 and 9 adopted as read. Committee immediately after the report of the special conferring Committee 14 and 14. Adopted as matter than 15 the section of the special conferring Committee 14 and 14. Adopted as ing invitation to the Communist Con- as required in Article 10, Sec. 7. vention to meet with us for purposes Par. c. Adopted as read. of Unity was adopted.

Nominations for National Executive Commitee were made as follows: Owens, Bilan, Katterfeld, Crimmins, Prevey, Bauer, Bedacht, McSlarrow. submitted to the Convention and those the four receiving the next highest

AFTERNOON SESSION

Sept. 5, 1919. o reconvene again at 8.

The Committee on Unity (Special tion it was decided to reconsider para-Conferring) was instructed to draft a tion it was decided to reconsider para-War Prisoners are liberated". Adopted statement addressed to the delegates graph 6 of Part 1 of the program.

was passed. Tellers reported that Comrades Owens and England were Companied that Companies of the Companies elected alternate members of the N. E. Comrade Crimmins chosen Chairman to fill vacancy. The Committee on Resolutions re-

ported offering a resolution on the definition of direct action and political tee of the Bronx Left Wing, urging action. Same was referred back for to discharge all Convention Commttees redrafting.

port accepted and recommendations oncurred in. Resumed consideration of the Con

stitution. Article 7, Section 1. Substitute Section by Committee was adopted. Sec-tion 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 all the section 1. tions shall be called for May 1st.'

Art. IV., Sec. I, (a) adopted as "to ascertain the number of unconread, (b) amended to read "five-sev- tested delegates and they shall perents'', (c) adopted as read, (d) striken manently organize the Convention,'
7. Adopted as read. 8. Referred back out, (e) adopted as read, (f) and (g) and to substitute "of all the uncontent to the Committee. (h) and (i) tested delegates."

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 3207 Clark Avenue Cleveland, Ohio. A WAGENKNECHT, Executive Secretary.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Max Bedacht, California. Alexander Bilan, Ohio, Jack Carney, Minnesota. L. E. Katterfeld, Kansas.

Edward Lindgren, New York.

ALTERNATES L. K. England, Illinois. Edgar Owens, Illinois.

LABOR COMMITTEE Chas. Baker, Ohio. L. K. England, Illinois. Benjamin Gitlow, New York. R. E. Richardson, Utah. Arne Swabeck, Washington,

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES John Reed, New York. A. Wagenknecht, Ohio.

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." and again to amend 'One Hundred and fifty per month" to read "Two Hundred per month". Amendment carried. Section 6. Subtitute 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 Com-

Article 11. Adopted as read by the

Committee.
Article 12, Section 1, 2 and 3. dopted as read. Section 4 stricken out, and substitute section adopted as follows:—Each foreign per diem not exceeding \$6.00 shall be allowed out of the National Treasury. Section 4 of old constitution stricken receipts shall then be sent to the receipts shall then be sent to the receipts who spective translator secretaries, who, Article 4, Section 1 A, B and C adopted as read. D striken out. E adopted as read. F, G, H, I, J, K stricken out.

Jan. 1st, 1920. Section 5-a, adopted as

Articles 14 and 14. Adopted as read. Article 15 was amended by adding mittee. Paragraph F, G and J. of article 15 was amended by adding article 4 were ordered incorporated in article 5. Article 6 stricken out. At 3, to read as follows-"Any person this point business was suspended to hear the report of the Conferring Committee. Report received and Committee of the National Emergency Conventional Conven words 'the officials of'', before the words 'the unions.' and was adopted as a whole.

Session adjourned at one o'clock, after instructing a committee comrade Katterfeld extending a standto pay the One Dollar Initiation Fee, the Committee. A resolution by Com. bor Party and shall not be required

ENACTING CLAUSE.

This Constitution shall be in effect immediatelly upon its adoption by this Sandberg, Carney, Lindgren, England, a temporary N. E. C. composed of five A contribution to the Convention Lore. Moved and passed that can members, to be elected by this conformal didates should rise and state their vention. They shall find that can members, to be elected by this convention. of 10 dollars was received from the didates should rise and state their vention. They shall function as the first Russian Communist Branch of occupation. Vote by ballot was taken. N. E. C. until regularly succeeded by the N. E. C. elected February-March

It was decided to adjourn at 7 p. m. receiving a majority of the votes a resolution defining Direct Action and Political action:—adopted as offered. Adjourned to meet at 8 P. M. Reconvened by singing the "Red Flag" and 'International." It was decided to elect a special Committee of five on A communication from Harrison vote and the two receiving a majority Swabeck and Gitlow were chosen the Labor. England, Richardson, Baker, ommittee.

Committee on Organization, Education and Propaganda offered its re-port. It was decided to consider it seriatim. First paragraph is adopted as read. Part 1 was stricken out, having been cared for by the Press and Publicity Committee. Part 2, on estab-Decided to adjourn 6:50 P. M. and lishing a Publishing House was adopt-Communication from the Executive Committee of Local Bronx, of New York Left Wing on Unity was ordered Supplementary recommendation, para-Sork Left wing on Unity was ordered into the record. Telegram to the same effect from the 57th Dist. of New York endorsing action of Zucker and Lindgren was ordered into the record.

The reportal consent of the Convertional appears of the Convertional ap

as a whole as amended. Amotion was passed instructing the

gage a competent editor. It was decided that Comrades Reed and Wagenknecht be elected Tempo rary International Delegates and that they act as International Secretaries until our 1920 Convention.

which have fulfilled their duties and all others were instructed to report to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee was instructed to formulate plans for a Pan-American Conference. Adjourned at 10:45 P. M. by singing Revolutionary Songs and omit cheer for So-

viet Russia and all class war prisoners.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.

E. B. AUSTIN, Ass't. Sec'y. Two lists, one from comrades J. A.

Brechtel of Pomeroy containing \$3, and one from Chas. Litz of Sandusky, O. \$3.50 were received this week.

"Herewith I enclose our bit to the Ohio Socialist Press Fund fom the Finnish Branch of Warren, O." Thus writes comrade John Karhn. The amount was \$25.00. Some hig bit we say

Comrade V. Popov of St. Louis,

Mo. has been busy with a list also. \$4.25 he sends in.

Help the press fund grow.

Platform and Program Communist Labor Party

Platform

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 stated 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 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 according with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the Menfesto of the Third International formed at Mo-

In essence, these principles are as follows: 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.

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 Commonwearth.

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 erested and controlled by the masses themselves such as for created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall transfer private rioperty 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 lave, 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

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.

1, The economic conditions in every country determine the 10rm 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

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.

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 re-presentative 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 or the capitalist class, cannot be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a mapority may desire it.

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 Carribean 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 ertra-constitutional governing redies without the consent of Congress, is a direct violation of the fundamental law of 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

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 Minessota, 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 reform 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

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 Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic

erganization 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 capi-

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 through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

PROGRAM

1. We favor international alliance of the 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 propagandize 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

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

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

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 standarlized.

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 on longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist sistem iz in sight. In Europe it is all ready tottering and crashing down, and the proletarian revolu-tions 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 abroad cannot help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crises 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

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 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

valient struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war haveearned 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 oraft-divisions, if carried to its logical conclusion would inevitably lead to workers con-

trol of industry.

3. This revolt of the rank and file must not be alowed. 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 membersof 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.

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Whitout the power of Labor, industry could not function. The needs 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 in-nugurated along the lines of the Shop Steward and Shop Com-mittee 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 an the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend the following measures: I. That all Locals shall elect Committees on Labor Organization, composed so far as is possible of members of Labor-Unions, whose functions chall 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. 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 propagardize 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 pased on the class

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 whole-heartedly 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 to 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 practise, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and Communism.

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 seperated 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 bourgeoise Socialism.

justly criticize any seeming inconsistent elements in ours. We must refuse your demand to come into your convention as individual Party. 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 member-

crystalization 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 claming the right to affiliate with the Moscow International, and each deserving that right, only one party of Communist Socialism shall emerge.

ship as expressed by referendum. We can claim at least as much credit for the

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. KATTERFELD A. WAGENKNECHT.

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

(We call especial attention to the definate proposal made in the last paragraph in the above document. This proposal, to have the two conference committees act as o joint credentials committee, was never given consideration

by the Communist Party. The answer received from the Communist Party conference committee

bor Party Convention By The Communist Convention

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 Socialis 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 Com munist 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 wil be tested by the 1 rogram and constitution which we adopt. We have absolute confidence that our convention will act in clarity of principle without com promise. There can be no charge of inconsistent elements in our party i the work of our convention shows agreement on Communist fundamentals in principles, program of party work, and form of party organization.

We can only refer your delegates again to our answer of September 3rd 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 We are sure that in the course of time, all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in your convention, yau can not mandate of their membership, and they must realize their responsibility in assuming at this crucial time to function directly against the Communist

(Signed)

Alexander Stoklitsky C. E. Ruthenberg 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 Comunist Convention with the following proposal.)

Chicago, Lll., Sept. 4, 1919.

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

Comrades:-

The Communist Labor Party of the United States in convention as embled 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 affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are welcome in the Comof the Communist Labor Party seemed good for in the eyes of the Communist munist Labor Party. 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 Final Statement to The Communist La- 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 the following motion: That we reply to this invitation that we have already us as special guests, while many of those delegates may qualify as delegated or fraternal delegates.

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

of the Socialist Party; nor of the agreements credited to the Left Wing the following letter to the Communist Convention. Still in session. To date no RIGHT NOW!

"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 nutual 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

answer has been received from Communist Party officials to this plea for 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

That we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to of the means of life by a direct ccept every such invitation from the Communist Party or any other revoluionary 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 member- of the means of life — cannot be ship that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation. But our repeated obtained without a struggle against 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 prin-

ciple 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 Inter-

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 presentatives 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 concessions from the employing class

Comrades, let us UNITE against our common foe.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY EDWARD LINDGREN MAX BEDACHT ALEXANDER BILAN L. E. KATTERFELD

WE REPEAT-OUR INVITATION FOR UNITY WITH THE COM-WE REPEAT—OUR INVITATION FOR UNITY WITH THE COM-MUNIST PARTY IS A SINCERE AND STANDING INVITATION—SHALL and thru the proletarian dictatorship, WE HEAR FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICIALS OF THE COMMUNIST establish the Communist society. 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 Communist Labor Party met and sent and suspensions made by the old National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party met and sent and sent and suspensions made by the old National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party met and sent and sen

RESOLUTION DEFINING POLITI-CAL 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 Workingelass 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 nvitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a bisis of equality, in a Unity has made it impossible to gain control 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 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 phraze, but by it is meant such united action by the Workers on the job which they may use in forcing 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 A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Sec'y. struggle with the capitalist class for the conquest of the capitalist state

> (Signed) Thomas Crimmins Margaret Prevey Edwin Firth