The High Cost of Democracy
THE Plumb Plan

T HE controversy precipitated by the Railway Workers is a vital and interesting one, exposing many aspects of that social problem which must become the great issue in the days to come.

Progress is implied in the Brotherhood proposal because of recognition of the determining fact that labor cannot permanently improve its status by dickering with wages and prices. But the proposal does not develop the implications —the necessity of breaking the power of the capitalists and placing control and management of industry in the communistically organized producers.

The Plumb Plan proposes that the United States Government shall purchase the railways and place them in the control of a government corporation, the Board of Directors of which shall be elected by the owners. The owners are to be given the privilege of not paying more than 4 per cent interest, interest, these bonds to be "redeemed" after a period of years. Profits, up to a certain point, are to be divided between the government and the workers, to "reinvest" at a low rate of interest. Financiers are to be dispossessed of managing powers, the roads to become actual organs of transportation instead of material for speculation.

This plan has certain features which, while promoting a more efficient Capitalism (and State Capitalism) would not promote the workers' emancipation:

1) The roads would still pay a tribute to capital, which would possess the means for exploitation.

2) It would make the railroad workers a privileged caste, united with chains of iron to the capitalist state against the whole working class.

3) The application of this plan to the whole of industry is not feasible, since capital must have opportunity for investment, and these would be denied under a universal Plumb Plan in industry.

4) The government representatives on the Board of Directors would be the selected representative general capitalist interests, as would the representatives of the railway officials, who are socially, politically and economically integral parts of the capitalist class.

5) The Plan does not break the power of the capitalists or the capitalist state; and the power of the state must first be broken before there can be actual socialization of industry by and for the workers.

In effect, the Plumb Plan proposes a modification of the power of the capitalists and the state, in which no capitalist power is transferred to the workers as workers. But capital is a unity; and you cannot socialize one industry while the whole of industry is under the domination of finance-capital. The Plumb Plan, even if it did propose to socialize the railways—which it does not—would be equivalent to sneaking in at the back door.

The railway workers, as other workers, vaguely realize that their burdens are imposed upon them by the profit system. They must end this system. They can end it only by a general assault upon that system, by the conquest of the power of the state, and the socialization of industry by means of workmen's control, a policy that is recommended as a preliminary step in the program proposed in Communist industrial unionism.
The Left Wing Unites

The action of the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, and the Central Committee of the Federated Russian Federations in issuing a Joint Call for a Convention on September 1 to organize a Communist Party, ends the split in the Left Wing.

This is agreement, not compromise. It unites the actually revolutionary and Communist forces on both sides. The character of the agreement is shown in the vote: the decision of the National Council was by a vote of five to two, and that of the Federations by a vote of eight to four. A small faction on both sides interested more in personalities and clique control than in the Communist Party opposed this unity of the Left Wing.

The decision of the National Council is in accord with the purposes of the Left Wing Conference of June 21. The Conference favored the organization of an American Communist Party: the disagreement fundamentally was on procedure.

The procedure adopted by the majority of the Left Wing Party until the Emergency Convention in order to rally the revolutionary masses. The actual stage of the situation was to come to a climax at the Emergency Convention. This implied a separate convention called by the new N. E. C. of the Socialist Party. It was clear that a new unity of the Left Wing forces from the reactionary moderates and constitute a Left Wing convention. In the Socialist Party a separation was attempted of the Left Wing Convention from the old N. E. C., packed by the moderates—a package that has been more than assured by the expulsion of Massachusetts and Philadelphia Left Wing Conferences and the coming expulsion of Ohio. In answer to these new conditions, the National Council, realizing that the moderate was to assure the organization of a Communist Party has several relations with the new N. E. C. and the Emergency Convention, concentrating all its forces for the organization of a Communist Party on September 1.

The controversy within the Left Wing must now end; the few comrades on both sides who are discontented with the decision to unite are acting against the Communist Party.

Some of the problems in dispute are still unsolved, but they will be solved at the Communist Party Convention. The task now is to organize the convention, to get an adequate representation of the revolutionary forces into the Socialist Party. Upon this task depends the future of the revolutionary movement in this country.

Comrades of the Socialist Party: Upon you depends a great decision. Upon you is now the task of drawing the logical conclusions from your revolutionary action, and rallying to the Communist Party. A majority of the new N. E. C. elected by you has issued a declaration in favor of a Communist Party: this new N. E. C. and you, comrades, must now recognize that the actual fulfillment of this declaration depends upon the Communist Party Convention of September 1.

It is indisputable that the old party is not in accord with revolutionary Socialism. Deprived of the stimulus of the Left Wing agitation within the party, it must more and more rely upon the counter-revolutionary moderates, more and more become a Labor Party in fact if not in name. It is equally indisputable that the masses in our country need a Communist Party, aggressive, alert, rallying the masses for the struggle against Capitalism. There is but one way of carrying out the call of our revolutionary comrades in Europe and the Communist International, and that is to organize a Communist Party. In spite of all and every wing.

The Negro Issue

The race pogroms organized against the Negro are now apparently under control. Commissions and legislatures are discussing and investigating the "problem," but no solution is proposed except such as may maintain the status quo or make it worse as against the Negro.

The South cackles in glee at the experience of the North and insists that the only right procedure is to deprive the Negro of all political and social rights and maintain him in subjection—precisely as the South has done for generations.

One can only hope that the politicians of the South are solemnly informing the North that the only way to solve the problem is to repress the Negro; and many of them indicate that mob violence against the Negro and lynching are necessary factors in the process of repressing these submerged people.

All this is contemptible. But the most contemptible aspect of the situation is the exploitation of sex and sex hysteria.

The argument is general that the Negro soldiers were corrupted in France. While in the country they recognized their "superiors," but in France, the argument, they were treated as "equals," and they developed the consequence. The fact is that the French have more contempt for the colored races, and acted toward the Negro accordingly. But the lecherous and putrescent atmosphere of the French city added to this social consideration into a sexual issue; one United States Senator speaks of the Negro as "Women ruined." None but a poisonous mind could speak in this fashion and divert the minds of the workers from the class struggle.

A member of Congress introduces a measure to prohibit inter-marriage between white and colored people. The whole issue of the equality of the Negro is being consciously distorted into whether white and colored persons should marry. But this is a perversion of the issue.

Equality for the Negro has nothing to do with intermarriage; it is a demand for economic, political and social equality. The whites can accord the Negro equality without being compelled to accept marriage. The hypocrisy of this whole intermarriage issue is exposed in the large numbers of mulattoes in the South, the product of white cohabitation with Negro women, particularly by the "old manor" aristocracy which is most insistent upon maintaining the "purity" of the white race.

The Negro problem is an economic, political issue. The Negro problem is developed by the designs of the propertied classes to preserve their interests in subjectation, and accomplish this in a measure by dividing the Negro and white workers on a race issue, precisely as in California the propertied interests use the Japanese to inflame racial hatred and divert the minds of the workers from the class struggle.

The Negro constitutes a large portion of our proletariat. The white workers must realize that there can be no emancipation for them without the co-operation of the Negro, just as there can be no co-operation for the white workers if they do not come to recognize this imaginative tool of the capitalist interests.

A preliminary toward the achievement of Negro equality, it is necessary for him to achieve class equality—the recognition by the white and colored workers of their identity as workers under the same economic bondage, and their equality of purpose in destroying economic oppression as the only means of social and economic equality.
**Shall the Beast Rape Mexico?**

**An Appeal from Mexico City.**

By A. Nymayov

man people. Posing as the friend of the Hun-
garian masses, Clemenceau tried to win over
with promises of a "fair deal" those centrist
elements which had hesitatingly and half-
heartedly supported the Soviet Power. In this
entry into Budapest with savage butchery is
nothing but the embodiment of the hatred of
the bourgeoisie. Comrade Kun was right,
in his last speech made at the meeting
of Soviet representatives, he prophesied how
horrible would be the reign of terror following
the fall of the proletarian government.
We cannot bear any of blame against the
Communists. They did not surrender until the
Hungarian proletariat and the
working class were theirs during the construction of
the Holy Alliance using the swords of Nicho-
las' soldiers brought "peace and order" to
Hungary, so in 1919 the IZov Alliance of
English-French-American Imperialists resur-
rected the reactionary ideals of Nicholas.

But the historical background of to-day is
not that of 1848. With revolutionary senti-
ment ever increasing throughout Europe the
Hungarian Commune may yet return to life.
No usurpation of power can erase from the
minds of the working class the experiences that
were theirs during the construction of the So-
viet. The inspiring memory of the abolition
of the feudal bond, of the triumph of So-
cialism no one can destroy. The words of
Bela Kun must and will be realized, of the day
to come when the Hungarian people can once
more express their will, and it is our task to hasten that day by dedicating
ourselves to the firm establishment of Inter-
national Communism.

The Hour of Trial in Hungary

BY A. NYEMANN

The claws of the Big Brute of North Ame-
rica are on Mexico's throat!
The nation trembles and well she may. "In-
territorialism" is the name that knows what
intervention will mean—starvation, torture
and slavery. Like starving India and wretched
national.

Imperialism, the consummate product of inter-
continental war, awaits its jaws in gleeful anticipation of the feast that
will already have accomplished their object
and on August 3rd the Hungarian
Republic, with the moderate Socialist elements
at its head.

However, the Anglo-American war and the
Occidental-Oriental war, are likely to be killed
in embryo by the death of their parent, the
capitalist system.

The war with Germany
capitalism against British capitalism. Wall
street
will not crash down before the time is ripe.
Such a war would draw into the maelstrom of murder
and mayhem all of the world and will
be riveted on the chains of Wall Street
slavery. It is as certain as the dawning of
another day.

Mexico has one hope, one real hope and
only one. It is Socialism in the United
States and England. The overthrow of Capitalism
in the nations that want to annex her, will
destroy the incentive for annexation. Noth-

ing else will and as long as the incentive
remains, intervention is the inescapable con-
sequence of the expanding trade needs of the
present Anglo-American alliance.

Capitalist governments care nothing for
murdered men, violated women, starving child-
en. They care only for profits, profits, pro-
fits. If the price of these profits is Mexican
blood and tears, Mexican agony and suffering,
they will pay the price without a qualm.

THE Hungarian Soviet Republic which was
proclaimed on March 3 fell in a desperate
fight with the thousand-headed hydra of inter-
national imperialism. On August 1st the
Bela Kun government was forced to resign
and on August 3rd the Hungarian Soviet Repub-
lic was re-named the Hungarian Peoples
Republic, with the moderate Socialist elements
at its head.

Let us pause and review the events which
have transpired during the last two weeks.

On August 26th the most important represent-
ative of international imperialism, Clemence-
au, appealed to the Hungarian people to
overthrow the Soviet government and replace it
with a government of the "people." In this
appeal Clemenceau emphasized the statements
that the Allies would refuse peace to the So-
viet, that the blockade would continue and
that Hungary sooner or later would be forced
to yield because of starvation.

The entire appeal reviled with hatred and
threats against the revolutionary people of
Hungary. It also contained statements
suggestive of Wilson's playing with the Ger-

don's financial strength, and nothing short of
ruthless, merciless war will remove England
as its rival. Signs of the struggle con-

The American masses, Clemenceau tried to win over
with promises of a "fair deal" those centrist
elements which had hesitatingly and half-

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As the hour of trial approaches, as the
organizers of the war between the countries
of the Eastern Orient, Japan.

This war is also inevitable if Capitalism does
not crash down before the time is ripe.
Such a war would draw into the maelstrom of murder
and mayhem all of the world and will
be riveted on the chains of Wall Street
slavery. It is as certain as the dawning of
another day.

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Soviet Russia and Peace

By Arthur Ransome

REPORT OF A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIETS

The foregoing basis the Russian Soviet Government is ready immediately to begin negotiations either on Prinkipo island or in any other place selected with all the powers of the Entente together or with separate powers of their number, or with any Russian political groupings whatsoever, according to the wishes of the powers of the Entente. The Russian Soviet Government begs the powers of the Entente immediately to inform it whether to send its representatives, and precisely when and by what route. This note was dated February 4th, and was sent out by wireless.

From the moment when the note appeared in the newspapers of February 4th, it was believed that the Allies would respond to the note immediately. Every point in it was criticized and counter-criticized, but even its critics, though anxious to preserve their criticism as a basis for political action afterwards, were desperately anxious that it should meet with a reply. No one in Moscow at that time could have the slightest misgiving about the possibility of a revolution in Russia.

The overwhelming mass of the people and of the revolutionary leaders want peace, and only turn desire for peace into desperate, resentful aggression. Everywhere I heard the same story: "We cannot get things straight while we have to fight all the time." They would not admit it, I am sure, but few of the Soviet leaders who have now for eighteen months been wrestling with the difficulties of Europe have not acquired, as it were in spite of themselves, a national, domestic point of view. They are thinking less about world problems, or increasing the output of textiles, or building up an industrial district from distant coal-fields. I was consequently anxious to hear what the Executive Committee of the Soviet Government on February 5th, it had been decided before the meeting, it will be well to make a short summary of the note in question.

Addressed to them and that the absence of a reply from them was being considered as the rejection of a proposal they had never received, said that in spite of the more and more favorable position, the Russian Soviet Government considered a cessation of hostilities so desirable that it was ready immediately to begin negotiations, and, as it had more than once declared, to secure agreement "even at the cost of serious concessions in so far as these should not threaten the development of the Revolution." "Taking into consideration that the enemies against whom it has to struggle borrow their strength of resistance exclusively from the help shown them by the powers of the Entente, seeking out the weak points on which it considers such concessions possible with a view for the ending of every kind of conflict with the aforesaid powers." There follows a list of the concessions they are prepared to make. The first of these is recognition of their debts, the interest on which "in view of Russia's difficult financial position and her unsatisfactory credit," they propose to guarantee in raw materials. Then, "in view of the interests continually expressed by foreign capital in the question of the exploitation for its advantage of the natural resources of Russia, the Soviet Government is ready to give to subjects of the powers of the Entente mineral, timber and other concessions, to be defined in detail, on condition that the economic and social structure of Soviet Russia shall not be touched by the internal arrangements of these concessions." The last point is that which roused most opposition. It expresses a willingness to negotiate even concerning such annexations, hidden or open, as the Allies may have in mind. The words used are: "The Russian Soviet Government has not the intention of excluding at all costs consideration of the question of annexations, etc. . . ." Then, "by annexations must be understood the retention of this or that part of the territory of what was the Russian Empire, not including Poland and Finland, of armed forces of the Entente or of such forces as are maintained by the governments of the Entente or enjoy their financial, military, technical or other support." There follows a statement that the extent of the concessions will depend on the military situation. Chicherin proceeds to give a rather optimistic account of the external and internal situation. Finally he touches on the question of propagating the Russian Soviet Government, while pointing out that it cannot limit the freedom of the revolutionary press, declares its readiness, in case of necessity, to do this in the general agreement with the powers of the Entente the obligation not to interfere in their internal affairs." The note ends thus: "On of the packing of the archives at the time when it seemed likely that the Germans would take Petrograd. He told me of a mass material they are publishing about the origin of the war. He said that Finland came out of it best of anybody, but that France and Russia showed in a very bad light.

Just then, Demian Biedny rolled in, faster than he used to be (admirers from the country send him food) with a round face, shrewd laughing eyes, and cynical mouth, a typical peasant, and the poet of the revolution. He was passably shaved, his little yellow mouse-tache was trimmed, he was wearing leather breeches, and seemed altogether a more prosperous poet than the untidy ruffian I first met about a year or more ago before his satirical poems in "Pravda" and other revolutionary papers had reached the heights of popularity to which they have since attained. In the old days, when I was first in Russian society, he used to send his poems to the revolutionary papers. A few were published and scandalized the more austere and serious-minded revolutionaries, who held a meeting to decide whether any more were to be printed. Since the revolution, he has rapidly come into his own, for he is a typical jester, flagellating Communists and non-Communists alike. Even in this assembly he had about him a little of the manner of Robert Burns in Edin­burgh society. He told me with expansive glee that they had printed two hundred and fifty thousand of his last book, that the whole edition was sold in two weeks, and that he had had his portrait painted by a real artist. It is actually true that of his eighteen different works, only two are obtainable today.

All this time the room was filling, as the party meeting ended and the members of the Executive Committee came in to take their places. I was asking Litvinov whether he was going to speak, when a little hairy energetic man came up and with great delight showed us the new matches invented in the Soviet laboratories. Russia is short of matchwood, and without paraffin. Besides which I think I am right in saying that the bulk of the matches used in the north came from factories in Fin­land. In these new Bolshevik matches neither wood nor paraffin is used. Waste paper is a substitute for one, and the grease that is left after cleaning wool is a substitute for the other. The little man, Berg, secretary of the Presidium of the Council of Public Economy, gave me a packet of his matches. They are the matches in a folding cover that used to be com­mon in Paris. You break off a match before striking it. They strike and burn better than any matches I have ever bought in Russia, and I do not see why they should not be made everywhere. I gave Berg a new packet of them.

Then there was Stéklov of the "Izvestia," Madame Kolonina, and a lot of other people whose names I do not remember. Little Bu-
A revolution is taking place in Moscow, and now I am ready to discuss any philosophy you like, from Berkeley and Locke down to Bergson and Wells. I have come to talk about the change in the air, the way people are talking and the general uprising of a new spirit, and I am surprised to say against Lindley. I remember when I first heard of the Soviet, and my mind was allowed to rest in peace. But now it stands armed, and I have left Vologda some three months ago and I will see him alive again. He told me he intended to resign the resentment he felt towards M. and that I should learn the art of releasing himself from his position. I hardly believe that I had been away six months. And indeed he is half-dead. He has never seen it as the centre of disaffection in a district and I lost its teeth. Chicherin speaks as if he thought of this last Note to all the Allies having any result. He estimated the opposing strength and the meeting began. When I saw the long-haired Avanesov take his place as secretary, and Sverdlov, the president, lean forward a little, ring his bell, and announce that the meeting was open and that "Comrade Chicherin has the word," I had expected to see him again. You feel it was left Vologda some three months ago and was now going to Turkestan. He did not dis­Miss the argument he felt towards M. Noulens (the French ambassador), who, I thought, had stood in the way of agreement last year, but said that he had nothing what­ever to do with it.

At last there was a little stir in the raised presidium, and the meeting began. When I saw the lean, long-haired Avanesov take his place as secretary, and Sverdlov, the president, lean forward a little, ring his bell, and announce that the meeting was open and that "Comrade Chicherin has the word," I had expected to see him again. You feel it was left Vologda some three months ago and was now going to Turkestan. He did not dis­Miss the argument he felt towards M. Noulens (the French ambassador), who, I thought, had stood in the way of agreement last year, but said that he had nothing what­ever to do with it.

Chicherin's speech took the form of a general report on the international situation. He spoke a little more clearly than he was used to be heard, and I was glad to see that the collapse of Imperialism had gone so far that it had lost its teeth. Chicherin speaks as if he were a dead man or a ventriloquist's lay figure. He never dreamed of releasing himself from drudgery by hanging it over to his subordinates. He is the last to be left alone that comes unconvincingly into his eyes. Partly in order to avoid people, partly because he is himself accustomed to work at night, his section of the Foreign Office keeps extraordinaires, both of whom are not to be found after about five in the afternoon and works till four in the morning. The actual material of his report was interesting, and while the Brest peace, and he had lost no opportunity of putting forward this theory of the League of Nations since the middle of this year. Chicherin in his last Note, he said it had at least great historical vitality, and gave his summary of the Brest peace, and he now admitted that the actual material of his report was interesting, and while the Brest peace, and he had lost no opportunity of putting forward this theory of the League of Nations since the middle of this year. Chicherin in his last Note, he said it had at least great historical vitality, and gave his summary of the Brest peace, and he now admitted that the
Dear Comrade Wagenknecht:

THE National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, has decided to sever relations with the new N. E. C. and the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party. In accordance with this decision and my own action on September 11, I tender my resignation from the N. E. C.

At its sessions, the new N. E. C. decided in favor of an American Communist Party. The realization of this decision now makes mandatory the acceptance of the Communist Party Convention of September 1 as the only real fact by those members of the old N. E. C., such as Katterfeld and Harwood, who are more interested in the unity of the old party than they are in the construction of a Communist Party.

What was in my mind at the N. E. C. meeting, and what was the basis of the decision to sever relations with the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, was that the new N. E. C. would assume complete control of the Convention, implied actually holding a Communist Party convention, other than the Convention of the old N. E. C. This, again, implied holding our Emergency Convention in a hall other than that secured by the old N. E. C., thus giving the unity of the old and new parties to our own organization separate from that of the old N. E. C. But your decision, as Temporary Secretary of the new N. E. C., to hold the "our" convention in the same hall as Germer's brought the following rejoinder: "Any Left Wing delegates who now go to the Emergency Convention are going to the convention of Germer & Co.," packed by the moderates in order to secure control for counter-revolutionary Socialism.

The original plan for the fight within the party was right, but owing to the defection of the Federation elements and owing—let us admit it—to our own hesitation, this plan was completely spoiled. To adhere to it now, under new conditions, is to co-operate with Centre elements and to act against the Communist Party.

As I see it now, the revolutionary course that the new N. E. C. should have followed was, after its declaration in favor of a Communist Party, either to call for a Communist Party Convention or immediately resign and leave the fulfillment of this declaration to the only body capable of realizing it—the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party. Either of these acts have made the issue clear as a Communist issue; it would have challenged the party; it would have split the old party immediately. But the split apparent was not desired by Katterfeld and Harwood. They want to maintain the unity of the party and throw out the old administration—to "throw out the crooks," as Harwood phrases. Our struggle, however, is not a struggle against the administration or the "crooks," but a struggle to separate the revolutionary elements from the moderate elements, and construct a Communist Party. It is necessary to split the old party in order to realize a Communist Party in fact as well as in name. The new N. E. C. in order actually to realize the Communist Party it resolved in favor of, must recognize this necessity. I split and rally the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party for the Communist Convention.

I did not realize, at the N. E. C. sessions, that our acts in constructing a new organization of the N. E. C. was not in accord with the project of the Communist Party. I now realize the vital necessity of the new N. E. C. ceasing to function after the declaration for a Communist Party; and I act accordingly by tendering my resignation.

We can be going to the convention of Germer & Co.? The state of Ohio has been expelled, and you are now no longer a member of the Socialist Party. You will not be admitted to the Emergency Convention, which is a Germer convention: how, then, can you call it to order as "decided" by the new N. E. C.?

I still maintain my position at the National Left Wing Conference. I still maintain that there was real value in the declaration for a Communist Party by the new N. E. C. But I now maintain that the logical action necessary to realize our purposes is to concentrate all our Left Wing forces in the Communist Party Convention of September 1.

It was simply a flourish for the new N. E. C. to "re-instate" the expelled and suspended comrades, who refuse to go back to the old party and are solid for a Communist Party.

The decision of the National Council in issuing a joint call for a Communist Party Convention is, in my opinion, complete accord with the purposes of the National Left Wing Conference. Our mandate was to work for the realization of the Communist Party; and the new decision of the National Council is necessary in order to actually realize the Communist Party which the Conference desired.

August 13.

LOUIS C. FRAIMA.

Greater New York News

BRONX NOTES

Branch 4 will hold a series of lectures at its headquarters 1358 Boston Road, Bronx, every Thursday evening.

The headquarters of Local Bronx will be temporarily located at the headquarters of Branch 4, 1358 Boston Road.

Massachusetts Convention

The Special Massachusetts Convention of August 20th endorsed the Joint Call for the September first Communist Convention by vote of 60 to 7. The State Organization was at once made part of the new party to be organized at the Chicago Convention.

This decisive step is all the more significant in that the Convention contained practically no Federation representatives, due to the split in the Left Wing. Massachusetts has about 5000 Socialist Party members, and these are divided into three fairly equal parts. The right Wing is largely made up of Finnish branches, and it is certain that a reactionary officer hold cannot hold this membership out of the Communist Party. A part of the membership of the Massachusetts section had joined itself with the Minority Conference Convention, and this makes two-thirds of the Massachusetts membership solidly within the Communist camp at the outset.

The Call for Communist Convention (Continued from page 8) will be created to defray all traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organizations sending delegates. In the event the delegates are not provided with funds for rooms and meals, the effort will be made to assist them.

Do not fail to be represented at this historic Convention. All delegates, either directly or through their local secretaries, are requested to communicate with the National Secretary, and be present for the election. Uniform credentials blank on be furnished.

For the National Left Wing Council,

LOUIS C. FRAIMA.
After considerable negotiations and without recognition of the differences existing between the Communist element represented by the so-called Minority and Majority, the Conference assembled in New York June 24 to 30, the National Council of the Left in Chicago on August 24 to 29, and the Workers’ Councils in America, in accordance with the decision of the session of the International Committee, resolving also the further possibility of participating in the proposed Conference, does hereby join with the International Committee in issuing the following call for the organization of the Communist party in America:

1. The problem of the proletariat and the task of the revolution is essentially a political problem. The political dictatorial means, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the rule of the proletariat of all lands.

2. We are opposed to the utilization of the name of the Socialist, the Socialist administration of the working-man, the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

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

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat is essentially a political struggle by the proletariat to conquer the state, to destroy and replace it by a government structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the program of Communism.

6. The fundamental reason for power is the organization of the proletariat, a gathering together of the revolutionary us, of bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

7. The organization of the proletariat must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditional impositions of the first centuries of upper class rule, demagogues and gendarmes, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it should be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not to resist the enemy, is mockery of the proletarian struggle for freedom, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

8. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class at all, such as Labor parties, Non-Partisan leagues, People’s Councils, Municipal Socialists.

9. We do not demand that the proletariat that it shall be content with the economic, political and social reforms. The task of the Communist party is to be transformed into reality.

10. We do not return to the demagogy of the club; we want no defeats and no evasions of the class struggle.

11. The basis of this demand has been sufficiently illustrated by the workers’ revolutionary working-class action.

12. The fundamental question is the overthrow of Capitalism by the international alliance of the proletariat of all lands, the basis for the attainment of the general platform, simply relating to the economic, political and social analysis of the organization of the Communist party in America.

13. The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the organization of the Communist party in America.

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