Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

CHICAGO, ILL., SEPTEMBER 27, 1919
Five Cents

The Call to Action

The American proletariat is restless. Its more progressive elements have caught the vision of the proletarian revolutions in Europe. The mass of the workers suffer under more acute oppression, and are anxious for a change; but they are not conscious of means and purposes. Capitalism is adopting the most terrible methods of repression to maintain the workers in subjection, while it proves by its deeds utter incapacity to solve the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. The workers are eager for a solution; they are developing the impulse toward workers control of industry; they are moving slowly, but surely, toward the consciousness of aggressive action against Capitalism.

Into this situation the Communist Party projects itself, with a realistic program and a clear understanding of the problems. The impulse generated by the Russian Revolution is now seizing upon the workers of the whole world. The Soviet Republic is intact. But even should the Russian Soviet Republic break down, as in Hungary and Bavaria, the revolutionary inspiration will not break down. It will develop stronger and stronger, until the workers of the world end Capitalism.

For the great fact is that we are now in the epoch of the proletarian revolution. Capitalism cannot endure, it cannot solve its own problems. It has come to the end of its resources. Peace Conferences may meet in Paris, but the process of economic and political disintegration goes on. Capitalism weakens more as each day passes; and as Capitalism weakens the workers develop a fuller understanding of their problems and the necessity for action.

The capitalists of the world, in a last desperate attempt to defend their power, have banded in the League of Nations. But the conscious workers of the world are equally organizing, organizing in the Communist International, which issues its challenge to the League of Nations and which will crush that League.

With the organization of the Communist Party, the conscious American proletariat affiliates with the Communist International. The revolutionary spirit is now organizing itself here, organizing in a party of action, determined upon the conquest of power.

The Communist International is not a thing of a day. It is not the sport of a few romantic revolutionists. It is the proletarian response to the requirements of the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism; it is the movement of Marxism in action, the expression of the revolutionary struggle.

Capitalism in its murderous despair tries to strangle the workers' movement for emancipation. Let the Communist proletariat answer! Capitalism is dividing the world economically and financially, forging new chains; for the workers of the world. Let the Communist proletariat answer. Capitalism is at the end of its historic mission; it is in the worst enemy of progress and civilization. Let the Communist proletariat answer!

Responding to the call of the Communist International, and building upon the basis of revolutionary experience in Europe, together with the revolutionary experience of the American movement, the Communist Party organizes for action. On with the struggle! Unify the conscious elements of the proletariat! Make the Communist Party actually the party of the militant proletariat!

The problems are large, but they do not daunt us. The task that we must perform is a necessary task, vital and vitalizing. Upon our movement depends the future of the proletariat. Upon our proletariat depends the future of world Socialism, since American Capitalism is now the most powerful and reactionary; and only with the crushing of American Capitalism can the proletariat of the world realize its emancipation.

We know that the struggle will be a hard one. We know that the master class will use all means at its disposal to crush our movement.

But the more the repression, the more will we struggle to awaken the workers to action — action against Capitalism, action for the Social revolution.

To the Communist Party — the revolutionary struggle and the future!
Crush Russia!

A UNCONFIRMED REPORT comes from Paris that the Peace Conference has decided to crush Russia, withdrawing all troops. Immediately General March, of the American General Staff, declares that if this is so, it refers to Russia but not to Siberia. Why not Siberia? The masses of Siberia have given proof of their opposition to the alien invaders, Kolchak's Government has no support, and is maintained by Japanese bayonets.

The answer is this: Siberia is considered by the Allies as Japan particularly. The Japanese have secured supremacy in Siberia, their troops being used not only to crush the revolutionary mass armies, but to secure economic and financial control for Japanese capital to exploit the immense natural resources of Siberia.

British troops are still in possession of the Baku oil regions, perhaps the richest in the world. Oil today is a necessary factor in industry, particularly in transportation and naval power; that is why international Imperialism is preparing to crush the Soviet Republic. The decision of the Allies Peace Conference is a result of the complete collapse of the military campaign against the Soviet Russia. On practically all fronts the Bolshevist armies are securing victory after victory, and it is becoming clear that the struggle is coming to a peace with Soviet Russia. The allies do not dare send their own troops against the Red Army; it has been proved that the military campaign of the Allies crushed by the Red Army, and their hirelings accordingly, become agents of the union officials.

But there is a more serious phase. The check-off system is an attempt to control the unions by a small clique of officials; it is the best scheme yet invented by the employers and their hirelings accordingly, becoming agents of the union officials.

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This system existed for years in the United Mine Workers. This union was a typical example of the check-off system. The unionism of the A. F. of L. is a check-up upon the check-off system. It is the best scheme yet invented by the employers and the workers. It is a system of bringing the workers to the union officials. The employers and their hirelings accordingly, become agents of the union officials.

But there is a more serious phase. The check-off system makes it necessary for the workers to turn to the unions. It means that instead of the workers paying their dues directly to the union officials, they have to send them to the employers and their hirelings accordingly, becoming agents of the union officials.

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Tactical Problems

The revolutionary reconstruction of the American Socialistic movement, the utmost in understanding of fundamental principles is necessary. The Left Wing in the Socialist Party, while Communist in its impulse, inchoate elements which did not accept the fundamental principles of the Left Wing.

A part of them were produced by the fact of the struggle assuming temporarily the character of a struggle for control of the Socialist Party administration. This is illustrated with the "crooks" in the Party, comrades who had for years been waging a fight for administration control. Moreover, there were comrades who affiliated with the Left Wing simply because they were inflamed against the Party by Gers& C. In the revolt against the old Party, it is elements played their part, and perhaps a not unimportant part; but their contribution the limits of its participation in elections is slight, assuming the negative character of allowing the Communist Party to develop in its foundations by its criticism of their errors. A large portion, if not most, of the delegates assembled at the Communist Labor Party convention consisted of these non-Communist elements, and of elements not yet clear on Communist fundamentals. Moreover, this assembly of the Socialist Party convention, not because they had a definite mandate to organize a Communist Party, but because they were united with the tactics of Gers& C. Surely, this is not organizing a new Party on the basis of fundamental principles and tactics.

This fact is proven by the declarations of the Communist Labor Party Convention. These declarations the utmost confusion concerning fundamental principles and tactics.

This confusion is most apparent in the Communist Labor Party's attitude toward pro-parliamentary action and participation in elections. It uses terms concerning "agitation and propaganda" but it nowhere defines the limits of its participation in elections. In fact, the Party's attitude apparent is that it shall participate in all elections.

To participate in all elections for all offices of the capitalist state is to rob Communist parliamentary action of its class and revolutionary element. To elect executives is to assume responsibility for the capitalist state, and to prepare for a repetition of all the evils of the old Socialistic parliamentarianism.

The Communist Party, on the contrary, adopted a realistic and revolutionary policy: its program states that nominations elections shall be limited to legislative bodies, such as municipal councils, state legislatures and national congresses. This is the Communist position. In the legislative chambers we meet the legislative representatives of the capitalist state, and fight them on the political issues of the class struggle. We do not assume responsibility for the capitalist state; in fact, our attitude makes it clear that our purpose is to destroy the bourgeois parliamentary state through the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. To participate in all elections is to strengthen the dangerous idea that we can gradually transform the capitalist state into an organ of the proletariat, gradually "grow into Socialism."

This confusion of the Communist Labor Party is made still worse by its Executive Council's action. In "The Ohio Socialist" of September 17 (Wagenknecht's paper) this notice appears:

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

This characteristic Menshevik position exposes a number of facts.

1.—The Communist Party, instead of uncompromisingly severing all relations with the Socialist Party, is still to use the name. That means ignoring confusion of the minds of the workers. The name Socialist must be dropped immediately.

2.—These municipal campaigns are waged as part of the old Socialist Party basis, with nominations for all offices.

3.—Participation in the municipal campaigns under the name Socialist Party indicates a desire to retain the votes that have been cast for the old Party—thereby making votes an important issue.

Communist Party locals will not participate in the campaign. This may appear strange to the delegates of the Communist Labor Party Convention, who did not make the distinction between campaigns and elections. But there are moments during the process of the class struggle when to participate in the campaign and not to boycott the elections will most clearly emphasize our class character and promote our program of uncompromising bolshevism. Then the slogan becomes: Boycott the elections!

This year there are two reasons why a Communist Party should boycott the elections.

First, the fact of its being impossible to make nominations for the Communist Party. We could go into the elections only by using the name "Socialist Party." This we will not avoid as we would the plague. The Communist Party will participate in the campaign, without participation, carrying the clear propagandist call of Communist.

Second, even without this situation, it would prove beneficial to boycott the elections this year. In the United States, at this moment, the most vital revolutionary tendency is that of the workers initiating mass strikes. The most important task of a Communist Party is to develop the tactics of the general political strike. The Communist Party, accordingly, will enter the campaign this year only with the message: Workers, expect nothing from the capitalist state! Your only hope is to use your mass power, to broaden your voice, to become mass political reality, to assume control of the political state. At the moment when it is necessary to strengthen this mass action tendency of the proletariat, as at this moment, it becomes necessary to boycott the elections, as the Bolsheviks boycotted the elections for the second Dunsa in 1906. As events develop, it will be necessary from time to time for the Communist Party to boycott the elections while participating in the campaign. That depends upon the peculiarity of each historic moment. That is the Communist conception of parliamentarism—that is revolutionary political action.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party (one of the members of which, A. Blum, has been rehabilitated overwhelmingly by his own branch in Cleveland), says there is no necessity in principle between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. On this problem of parliamentarism and elections there is a difference. Other Socialists develop the theory that the proletarian elements who may be temporarily attracted by the Communist Labor Party will realize that their representatives are either non-Communists or men who do not understand Communist fundamentals.

Unity—yes! But unity on fundamental principles! This statement of the consistent, uncompromising Communist Party.
THERE probably never was a gathering of working-class representatives which said what it meant and meant what it said more understandingly and more resolutely than the first convention of the Communist Party. This meeting of some 140 delegates, representing fifty to sixty thousand members, was unique in the annals of American labor, not only in the respect of the numbers present, but also in the character of the Convention itself. There was an all-pervading sense of realism about the work in hand, absolute candor in address on the problems of the Communist Party.

While the Credentials Committee was completing its task, the Emergency Committee of fifteen was elected. Before the opening of the Convention the question of admitting reportorial and non-participating delegates had raised. The Joint Organization Committee decided in favor of an open Convention, so far as space would allow. At nine o'clock Monday evening the Convention was declared organized. At once the group lines within the Convention were the Federation and non-Federation representatives. Before the body was the admission of bolting delegates from the Socialist Party Convention. This issue was reflected in the election of a Permanent Chairman. The candidates of the Federation and Michigan groups, both favoring a rigid rule of admission of delegates, were Renner of Detroit. The National Left Wing council group, favoring liberal interpretation of the Joint Call with respect to the bolting delegates, nominated Ferguson. Renner was elected.

Ferguson immediately presented the motion which opened the most intense debate of the entire Convention: that a committee of five be elected to confer with the committee of five of the Left Wing delegates who had bolted the Socialist Party Convention or had been refused seats in that Convention. This motion was defeated, 75 to 31. The effect of this vote was to cut off any recognition of the bolting delegates as a body.

This situation threatened a split in the Convention of the organization group voting on this issue under caucus unit rule. The vote was almost evenly divided between the Federation and non-Federation representatives, but the Michigan group of about twenty was now joined with the Federation bloc. The minority consisted of practically all the delegates of the Federation, California, Illinois, and the Michigan unit, and the leadership of the minority centered in the National Left Wing.

This minority organized itself in caucus, but without adopting the unit rule. The minority determined to pit its moral strength to the test of an open Convention and to contest for the Chair. The bolting convention was an abdication of democracy and the right of the minority to carry on the work of the Convention.

A clause which precipitated a lively debate was Section 7 of Article III barring from membership any person "who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest or profit". The Committee divided four against three on this provision, with Comrade Stitson presenting the side of the minority for himself, Ruhenger and Ferguson. The minority argument, as usual, was that the crisis in the world presents a matter of dues-paying in the new party, but depends on active participation in the party work and acceptance of party discipline.

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members of the Communist Party from contributing political or economic articles to publications other than those of the Party, except as to scientific journals. An attack on the party in the bourgeois press may be answered by leave of the Central Executive Committee.

The principle of centralization pervades the constitution. The new party is built on simple lines of central control, with ample opportunity for local and sectional activity. A distinct innovation is the District unit of organization, which is intended to connect the party's activities in industrial centers. The Federations are retained as administrative units of the party, and all language branches must belong to a single Federation of the one language. Sharp controversy arose over the question of the method of expelling Federation branches. An appeal was clearly made for action by the Districts.

In every case of expulsion or of refusal of admission to membership, there is a final appeal against the decision of the Central Executive Committee to expel, or language branches.
The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The destructive wars of the world are setting a new course and securing new course. Out of the night of war is coming a new day. The revolution of 1917 started the world. Capitalism, the hope of the workers to end their misery and oppression.

The workers of Russia smashed the front of international Capitalism and Imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war, and set out of agony, starvation and the attacks of capitalists, of the world, they are creating a new social order.

The class war rages fiercely in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call.

The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to put Capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the means of life. The Communist Party is a party realizing the limitations of all existing workers' organizations and proposals. The revolutionary government is necessary to free the workers from the oppression of Capitalism. The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world.

THE WAR AND SOCIALISM.

A giant struggle is convulsing the world. The war is at an end, but peace is not here. The desire of the capitalist nations for the world and the international proletariat, inspired by Soviet Russia. The Imperialisms of the world are desperately crying themselves against the sweeping proletarian revolution.

This international struggle is directed by the League of Nations and the Communist International, one for the capitalists, the other for the workers. Their different positions is dividing the world financially and territorially. It is directing the fight against the workers. It is the last effort of Capitalism to save itself.

The reactionary League of Nations is the logical result of this imperialistic war. And the actual result of Capitalism oppresses the workers. It deprives them of the fruits of their labor—the difference between wages and product constituting the profits of the capitalists. As the capitalists compete with each other, while exploiting the workers, new and more efficient means of production develop. This compels the concentration of industry which results in monopoly. Under monopoly there is rapid accumulation of capital, producing a surplus which it is necessary to export for investment. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials to control undeveloped territory for purposes of investment, is the basis of Imperialism.

Imperialism is the war. The world now being at an end, the victorious nations are concerned almost exclusively with these economic, territorial and financial problems. The United States was not interested in the war, the issue being world power; and its capitalism, having secured a position of financial supremacy, had a direct imperially interest at stake.

The war made a shambles of civilization. It bore the marks of the incapacity of capitalism to direct and promote the progress of the world. Capitalism has broken down.

But the Socialist movement itself broke down under the test of war. The old dominant moderate Socialism accepted and justified the war. It acted against the proletariat. The Mensheviks were united with the capitalists against the workers. Out of this circumsation developed the forces of revolutionary Socialism now expressed in the Communist International.

Socialism had repeatedly emphasized the menace of war. It urged the class struggle to act against the war. The Socialist congress at Basle in 1912, when Europe was on the verge of a general war, condemned the war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest. It urged using the crisis of war to "rouse the masses and to hasten the downfall of Capitalism."

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912. But upon the declaration of war, the dominant opportunistic Socialist parties accepted and justified the war of plunder and mass murder.

This was a direct betrayal of Socialism. It was an abandonment of the class struggle. The class struggle is the very heart of Socialism. The proletariat is class movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary policies, is it a guide to the International. But Moderate Socialism accepted the war and the unity of the classes, and united with the capitalist government against the working class.

The Socialist parties accepted the war as a war for democracy — as if democracy under Imperialism is anything but a direct and bloody reactionary. They justified the war as a war for the independence of nations! Not the proletariat, but the bourgeoisie, that movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary policies, is the guide to the International. But Moderate Socialism accepted the war and the "unity of the classes", and united with the capitalist government against the working class.

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The war marked the transition from the older moderate Socialism to the new Socialist of the First International. It was a revolutionary. They justified the war as a war for the independence of nations! Not the proletariat, but the bourgeoisie, that movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary policies, is the guide to the International. But Moderate Socialism accepted the war and the unity of the classes, and united with the capitalist government against the working class.

Socialism, which perverted the American party, represents the union of the proletariat and the democratic masses against the bourgeoisie. The American party was to rouse the masses to revolutionize the old order of society, to replace it by a new social order.

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since Russia was economically an undeveloped country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution in Russia and historically impossible to institute Socialism.

Moderate Socialism in Germany also acted against the proletarian revolution. It offered a capitalist parliamentary republic as an alternative to Socialism.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed nation industrially, its economic conditions were mature for the introduction of Socialism. But Moderate Socialists still rejected the revolutionary task.

The policy of Socialists that characterizes moderate Socialism; that is, its concept of the state. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary state is the realization of Socialism, a Social Democratic party developed a directly counter-revolutionary policy.

Communism rejects this conception of the state. It rejects the idea of class reconstruction and the parliamentary conquest of Capitalism. The Communist Party alone can play a proletariat role for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the state. The Communist Party realizes that it is necessary to develop separate organs of working class political power by means of which to crush the resistance of Capitalism and establish the revolutionary dictatorship.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM

Socialism in the United States, prior to the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party, was a movement of isolated and ineffective proponents of the sport of middle class movements, while the trade union and Anarchist factions.

The Socialist Labor Party after casting off of the old unionism, based on the craft skill, as a consistent party of revolutionary Socialism. Particularly, the S. L. P. realized the importance of imparting a Socialist character and consciousness to the unions.

The Socialist Labor Party, together with the experience of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, developed the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

The struggle of the Socialist Labor Party against the old unions developed a necessity from the party of elements who considered protecting the retraction of the craft unions.

The impact of the Socialist Labor Party as a consistent party of revolutionary Socialism. These, together with bourgeois and agrarian radicals, organized the Socialist Party.

The Social Democratic party of Moderate Socialism. Its policy was that of government ownership of industry, not the proletarian conquest of power. It maintained that the middle class and the leading capitalists are necessary in the Socialist struggle against Capitalism. The Socialist Party asserted in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts, making the realization of Socialism depends upon the consistent party of all the people, the small capitalists and investors, the professions.

In short, the official policy of the Socialist Party was to maintain Socialism by means of capitalist democracy.

The Socialist Party stultified proletarian political action by limiting it to elections and legal reforms. The party favored repressive trades unionism as against revolutionary industrial unions.

The Socialist Labor Party developed a purely theoretical activity, of real value, but was isolated from the masses. The Socialist Party had no worker membership, but largely of a petty bourgeois character. The war brought in new industrial proletariat elements but the party still isolated itself from revolutionary theory and practice. The proletarian masses in the Socialist Party required simply the opportunity to develop a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The Socialist Party under the impulse of its proletarian membership adopted a consistent declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration.

The "official" policy of the party on this war was that of pacific party bureaucracy united with the People's Council which propagandized a Wilson peace. The 1914-15 platform accorded with the Wilson "fourteen points" as adopted by the pro-war International Labor and Socialist Conference.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the party policy and the revolutionary proletarian temper in the party. Revolt broke loose. The Socialist Party was crushed. The Communist Party is the response to this revolt and to the call of the Communist International.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROBLEMS

The United States is now a world power. It is developing an industrial, autocratic federal government, acquiring financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. Imperialism now consciously dominates the national policy.

The war strengthened American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But the collapse of Capitalism in other countries will play upon and affect events in this country. Feverishly, American Capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism. It is utterly incompetent to solve the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program aims simply to develop power for aggression and plunder in the markets of the world. While this is not the moment of actual revolution, it is a moment of struggle analogous with revolution.

Strikes are developing, verging on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent. The strikers workers try to usurp functions of industry and of government, as in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes.

A minor phase of proletarian unrest is the trade unions organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a result of the war and peace. A Labor Party is not the instrument of aggressive working class struggle; it can not break the power of the capitalists and the profit-system of oppression and misery, since they accept private property and the "rights of capital." The practice of a Labor Party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party — co-operation with bourgeois "progressive" and reforming Capitalism on the basis of the capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletariat as moderate petty bourgeois Socialism, — the two being expressions of an identical social character and policy. They can be no compromise either with Laborism or reactionary Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency, the tendency of the workers to start mass strikes, — strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Socialist Party will endeavor to broaden and deepen these strikes making them general and militant, developing the general political strike.

The Communist Party of America is determined in the future of action the mass struggles of the proletariat, engaging directly in these struggles and emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

POLITICAL ACTION

The proletarian class struggle is essential political struggle. It is a political struggle that in the sense that its objective is political, — overthrow of the political organization upon which capitalistic exploitation depends, establishing a proletarian dictatorship of the working class.

The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state. Communism does not propose to "capture," the bourgeois state and consecrate its mechanism to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails, the capitalist class can benefit the working class.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the existing form of government, for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, it has been a "bourgeois" government.

Out of these facts, the party, in its action, follows the revolutionary proletariat in the sense of the term, and fights against the reforms of the moderate Socialists.

The struggle for power will, therefore, be the central problem of the party, and the struggle for power, as its name indicates, will require the intervention of that part of the party, which has the deepest convictions of the possibilities of the state, the Socialists.

UNIONISM AND MASS ACTION

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a valuable capital, the petty bourgeoisie were not organs of the militant class struggle.

Today the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of Capitalism; an instrument of Capitalism and in accepting State Capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriated large numbers of the skilled workers of their skill; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power, by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large scale industry, trades unionism resorts to object with which it is to accept imperialist State Capitalism to maintain the privileges as against the skilled industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the industrial proletariat — the machine workers. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, is the authentic basis of the class struggle. Deprived of skill and craft division, the old petty isolated strike is reduced to the status of auxiliary of the bourgeoisie.

These facts of industrial concentration developed the concept of unionism in the American labor movement, and mass action among the unorganized.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms that develop out of the same proletarian struggle. Mass action develops as the spontaneous
activity of unorganized workers in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unskilled. In these strikes large masses of workers are unified by the impulse of the struggle, developing a new tactic and a new ideology. Mass action is industrial in its origin, but it acquires political character as it develops fuller forms. Mass action, in the form of general political strikes and demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletariat and bourgeoisie upon the bourgeois state. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it becomes the bourgeois state. More and more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsive to life itself, the form of the aggressive proletarian struggle under capitalism. Out of this develop revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletariat conquest of power.

The conception of mass action has liltty in common with Syndicalism. In its mass impulse, Syndicalism was a protest against the futility of parliamentary. But anarchistic Socialism and the joint appeal to the proletariat to make a clean break with bourgeois dependency. Syndicalism demands the recognition of the proletariat as a class, instead of the power of the state. Syndicalism is the practical basis of the whole working class into industrial unions. It is much easier to realize the ambitions of the proletariat than to subvert the conditions of feudalism.

But the present is feudalism. To the proletariat the appeal the men are asked not to press their demands; hence, they should examine the conditions.

Many of these strikes have taken on a serious aspect. Workers have been murdered by hirings of the bosses and riots are numerous. Usually the trouble is provoked by the bosses of workers and pickets and prot by the agents of the employe.

The mining districts are seething with unrest and there is a possibility that the transportation system of the country may be tied up. The railroad workers, the "aristocracy of labor" before the war, no longer occupy their favored position. At one time number of the country, they are today among the most poorly paid. The increase in the prices of the necessities of life has far outstripped their wage increases. The conservation of the railroad workers has proven costly.

Conditions have become so serious that our honorable president is using the mass strikers for the purposes of the capitalists. It is precisely this situation that has led to the rise of the rising tide against the bourgeoisie. The Communists argue that the proletariat and the workers must organize their own power and their own administration.

The High Cost of Living

The cost of living haunts the working class and the workers are becoming restless. The underlying cause of the present unrest in this country is the high cost of living. Such as the advances in the money wages of the workers has been more recent years. There are few persons who have never been faced with the problem of the price of the necessities of life. It is the workers who must bear the burden of the increase in the cost of living. The working class must organize its own self-government, its own administration. The Communists argue that the proletariat and the workers must organize their own power and their own administration.

The appeal to the capitalists for increased wages is a form of authority of the employer over the worker. Bourgeois democracy promotes the dictatorship of capital, assisted by the press, the pulpit, the armaments and the bourgeois state. It is precisely this syndrome that is now the instrument of democracy, since the middle class has a political and financial emission of bourgeois democracy, accepts imperialism. The revolutionary action is the expression of the proletariat. It disrupts bourgeois democracy. It is the action of the proletariat in all forms of the state. Syndicalism is the practical basis of the whole working class into industrial unions. It is much easier to realize the ambitions of the proletariat than to subvert the conditions of feudalism.

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The Program of the Party

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the ultimate political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeoise state. The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolutionary period in the certainty that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. The Communist Party is primarily and exclusively devoted to revolutionary work.

I. The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state.

(a) The Communist Party shall keep in the forefront of its appeal for the proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. As the opposition to the bourgeoisie is broken, it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears until finally the state dies and there are no more class distinctions.

(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns and the political struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, in the purpose of revolutionary propaganda and education.

(c) Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party shall not introduce or support reform measures. Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose the oppressive character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to propagate the ideas of the revolution.

II. The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class the main line of its work and develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate only to the extent that it can achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass struggle.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency toward the general mass strike which takes on a political character and reflects the irreversible movement toward proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall engage in the mass movement of industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. As strikes must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the common assumption of industrial and social control.

(a) Every local and district organization of the Party shall establish contact with the 'special units in its territory—the shops, mills and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(b) Shop Committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

III. The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing the revolutionary implications. Industrial Unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism; it signifies the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial Unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A.F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow, for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be unified in a Central Council whenever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to overcome the spirit of the concept of the trade union as a sector of the dominant capitalist state, as indicated by the limits of its leadership, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; conversely, any movement analogous to the shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

V. The unorganized unwilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the revolutionary reserve. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial union organization and action.

VI. In close connection with the unorganized workers of all nations, making necessary the Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its revolutionary character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all classes conscious workers.

VII. The United States is developing an aggressive character toward Imperialism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of Capitalism.

The struggle against Imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this phase.

(a) There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against Imperialism.

(b) The Communist Party emphasizes the common character of the struggle of the workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.
The Communist Party and Communist Labor Party

September 27, 1919

There are no doubt many who will find it difficult to understand how it came to be that two new parties were formed at Chicago the first week of September instead of one. The breaking up of the old Socialist Party, under challenge of revolutionary experience, came much more rapidly than was anticipated.

There was such startling quick and sure response to the Left Wing propaganda that the advance guard of the Left Wing found itself completely unprepared and pushed behind. On the other hand the frantic efforts of the old officialism to stave off personal retirement and the reorganization of the party of the old officialism precipitated the crisis.

The demands for new policies and a new officialism on a series of resolutions of demands, was answered by wholesale expulsions and the aggressive membership. The threat of the old party officialism to stave off the revolution along the lines of the Left Wing National Convention was answered by wholesale expulsions. The Left Wing National Convention could interpret its mandate from the Left Wing National Convention as a clique affair, without fair representation of all the Left Wing membership must become a fight against the Socialist Party.

Here was the issue upon which the Left Wing forces split. There was the persistent belief that the Left Wing membership could find the right method by which to tear the old organization out of the clutch of the old officialism. With over 50,000 members disgruntled, and with the Right Wing openly proceeding to call into its Emergency Convention the Left Wing groups, the other ground, the apparent indifference to Communist principles in joining together elements opposed in fundamental viewpoint but agreed on the starting of a new party. The first objection was answered by the agreement on representation which went into the Joint Call for the September first Convention. The second objection was answered by the reunion of the Federation with the Left Wing, which removed the least possible deviation from the fundamentals of revolutionary Socialism at the Convention. Only the small Michigan group refused to accept the full implications of the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Conference.

The Joint Call went out twenty days before the September first Convention was accepted by the Massachusetts State Convention of August 11, with practically no Federation representatives present, by vote of 62 to 7. It was accepted throughout New York. It was accepted in Cleveland and Philadelphia. It ended all controversy on the question of the September first Convention in many other important locals.

Obviously the time was too short for action upon the Joint Call in the Western States. But it is beyond challenge that the strategists who maneuvered the Communist Labor Party Convention were fully informed about the Joint Call. Benjamin Gitlow of New York was a member of the National Left Wing Council, John Reed was an Associate Editor of The Revolutionary Age, the official Left Wing paper; Alfred Wagcnknecht, Ludwig Lore, Edward Lindgren, L. D. Kettler, John Cannon, A. G. Daly, and all these were fully informed of the situation, and most of them were under direct membership mandate to go into the Communist Labor Party Convention.

When the bolting delegates from the Emergency Convention came together Sunday night, August 31st, determined that there could no longer be any basis of compromise with the Right Wing, it was proposed by C. E. Ruthenberg that the first order of business be the consideration of unity with the Communist Party Convention which was to meet the next day. But this was voted down 37 to 31. There were some who still had in mind negotiations with the Right Wing, and some who were really determined to make out of this chance grouping of bolting delegates a third party in opposition to the Communist Party. There were a few in this body who sincerely believed that it was their special mission to start the new party, regardless of the lines of party split.

Only after this meeting of bolting delegates had been given the semblance of a new party organization was the question of the Communist Party Convention raised. A committee was appointed to confer with the Joint Organization Committee of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party Convention and to take up the step of uniting the two conventions. On Monday morning the two committees met. The Joint Organization Committee was made up of the representatives of the Communist Party, and the representatives of the Communist Labor Party. It was made up of the representatives of the two conventions.

The following are the documents interchanged between the two conventions; a committee of five having been appointed by the Communist Party Convention for the purpose of preparing the action.

STATEMENT OF 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 friction which must arise between the bourgeoisie and the socialist element. In the bourgeois state for the transformation of capitalism into Socialism. This faction, the dominant element in the Socialist Party in practically every country, directed its tactics and agitation to the end of attaining a majority in the parliament. They argued that this majority, through legislature action, would end the power of the capitalists in industry and build up the structure of the new society.

In harmony with conception it considered the activities of its parliamentary representatives of no importance in view of its aim to improve the position of the workers under the capitalist system as the method by which Socialism would be established.

In sharp conflict with the Socialists stood the "Revolutionary minority," which rejected the idea that the class struggle could be carried forward by the parliamentary approach to the bourgeois legislature. The Revolutionaries contended that the emancipation of the working class could not be achieved through the parliamentary state by the overthrow of the capitalist state by the mass power of the workers and the establishment of a new form of organization by the working class, in the form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the transfor-
RATION OF CAPITALISM INTO COMMUNISM

Between these groups stood the waver-
ing centre, revolutionary in phrases, it was never clear. Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existence a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures, the Left Wing movement has been, unfortu-
nately nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Cap-
itism would be abolished. It required the test of action under rev-
olutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcil-
able 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 class enemy." The Left Wing movement was more easily controlled by the Right party upon its adherents. They have made use of revolutionary phrases and openly counter-revolutionary. The experience in an advanced stage, the Socialists have been politically and ideologically united. This in fact has made the Left Wing movement within the party a question of party regularity; they have asked for support upon the basis of object.ion to an organization which is to be considered a separate party within the Communist Party. Our convention would lose its real meaning if every additional delegate did not meet the test of action under the same conditions as delegates already seated. This instruction carries with it the clear implication that every additional delegate who votes in our convention must meet the test which puts him on the same membership basis as the rest of us. He cannot, in addition to the votes already assigned within our Convention, must be in cor-
respondence with the membership of the state organization he represents.

There are a few delegations who have made use of revolutionary phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which separate the Right Wing from the Left. There are delegations who are with you because of per-
sonal grievances against the old party apparatus or have deepened the differences of viewpoint which have heretofore existed within the party.

Out of the Socialist Party Convention, easily the Right Wing used ruthless manipulation, there gathered in your convention delegates who for a large portion of their lives are opposed to any association with the Right Wing. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of control of the old or organ-
ization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party apparatus or have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Party. They have been the Left Convention.

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialistsagandists, who have already been rejected for full participation in our Convention. Others who have such credentials will be similarly received by the Left Convention. There may be other cases which would meet the same general test in a differ-
ent way, according to the principle already stated.

Delegates from the Left Wing States or other organizations, that is organizations which have accepted the Left Wing platform, but have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Convention, and who have already been rejected for full participation in our Convention, will be similarly received by the Left Convention. You represent delegates who for a large portion of their lives are opposed to any association with the Right Wing. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of control of the old or organ-
ization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party apparatus or have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Party. They have been the Left Convention.

The Left Wing movement within the party, certain elements of your group, we represent a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation—Michigan, who were united on principle, but for political advantage.

The National Left Wing Convention was stamped by these elements into its viola-
tion of the National Left Wing Convention decision and reluctantly joined in the call for a Communist Convention. The convention which have adopted the Left Wing platform, and have no instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Party. The duty of making what is now cal-
led the Left Convention a new party is only another way of concealing the fact that you represent a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation—Michigan, who were united on principle, but for political advantage.

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tion of the National Left Wing Convention decision and reluctantly joined in the call for a Communist Convention. The convention which represent the true to Moscow International. This world at least means that the Left Convention represent a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation—Michigan, who were united on principle, but for political advantage.

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THE COMMUNIST

September 27, 1919

your convention. We are, however, desirous of uniting all the forces of Communism into one solid phalanx to oppose both capitalism and the elements of moderate bourgeois Socialism. We are sure that in the course of time all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in your convention, you cannot justly criticize any delegate's presence.

We must refuse your demand to come into your convention as individual delegates. We, as delegates regularly assembled in the Communist Labor Party Convention. We represent a stable and permanent organization. We have obeyed all agreements of the Left Wing Congresses, which were legitimate. We have also obeyed the mandates of the party membership as expressed at the party conventions. We are sure that in the course of time all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in ours, we are sure that in the course of time all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in ours.

We claim ours is the advantageous position, yet we are willing to meet you upon a basis of equality. Unity can be effected and should be effected, so that out of the existing crisis, instead of two parties, each claiming to compete with the Socialist International, and each desiring that right, only one party of Socialist Socialism will emerge.

Toward this end we propose: That the two Conference Committees shall constitute a joint credential committee to go over the roll of names to see whether they really contain any irreconcilable elements, and if possible, to agree upon a joint recommendation to both Conventions.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION.

The Communist Convention, in replying to the Committee of the Communist Labor Party, can take no account of the various decisions of the groups which met at Chicago immediately following the expulsion and suspensions made by the Old National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; nor of the agreements credited to the Left Wing National Conference, the New Council, the Minority group of the Left Wing Conference, or the new Socialist Party National Executive Committee. They can take no account of these and will answer for itself.

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

As to the charges of inconsistent elements in our convention, that will be tested by the program and constitution, which we publish. We have absolutely confidence that our convention will act in clarity of principle without compromise. There can be no charge of inconsistency in our party, as 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 9th. We ask 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 clear mandate of their membership, and they must realize their responsibility in assuming at this crucial time to function directly against the Communist Party.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4th, 1919.

On Friday, September 5th, a new committee from the Communist Labor Party Convention presented on the floor of the Communist Convention an invitation to both the Right Wing and Left Wing of the three Conventions.

Whereupon a motion was made and adopted that the reply to this invitation be as follows: that we have already invited the delegates of the other Convention to sit with us as spokesmen, while large numbers of these delegates can also qualify as delegates or fraternal delegates to this Convention.

CONCLUSION.

The Communist Party is now established as a solid foundation of principle and membership. The Communist Labor Party began to fall apart before the end of its life-hurrah congress. It did not represent any membership mandate in its inception; and the primary problem of its creators will be to find a membership now that appropriate slogans, poems, college yells and songs have been adopted. All sorts of extremes in opinion manifested themselves within this shaky convention and first one element and then another was forced out. Hardly one-half of the delegates remained for the new party, the most fundamental work of such a convention; and this little group thought about its work in a listless, indifferent way.

Its formal statement claims 92 delegates in the Communist Labor Party Convention. The actual roster shows 74. Of these, 14 delegates regularly in the Communist Party Convention, leaving the actual number at 74. Out of this total of 74 there were over 150 members of the party who was fully represented in the Socialist and Communist Conventions. For example, there were over 60 members of the party who was represented in the three conventions. Only in the Communist Party Convention was this representation based on actual membership, using ballots. The Right Wing had a full delegation from New York, in spite of the fact that most of the members of the Left Wing from New York to the Communist Labor Party Convention could not possibly have voted. The Right Wing had a full delegation from New York City to the Communist Labor Party Convention could not possibly have voted. The Right Wing had a full delegation from New York to the Communist Labor Party Convention.

Wanted: A War

The capitalist press is experiencing difficulty in getting the minds of the working class in this country into proper shape to allow for an invasion of Mexico. However, they are working at it overtime. Every paper that one picks up carries screaming headlines for invasion in Mexico. It doesn't seem to be making much headway, however. The workers were convinced by the "War for Democracy" that they must not take everything at face value, and they are examining the facts in the Mexican situation. Therefore they are aware that everything is not as it is claimed to be.

The interest of the workers stems from the fact that there are two Grunde are nil. The interests of the capitalists are great and it will be the capitalists' interests that the workers will go there to defend—if they go.

Members of the working class do not own any mines or oil wells or plantations in Mexico. Some newspaper owners do, and many other owners of property in Mexico control the publication of newspapers in this country. Aside from that, the imperialist needs of the capitalist in this country are driving them to seek domination over the economic resources of Mexico.

A war at this time would furnish the necessary excuse to make an attack upon the radical labor movement and therefore, is not undesirable to the capitalist class of this country. Although that in itself would not be sufficient to cause a war. The main and dominant reason is the necessity of securing the natural resources of Mexico for exploitation by United States capitalists.

Whether they succeed in this or not rests with the workers of this country. If they can be brought to believe that the working class is international and that they have nothing to gain by an invasion of Mexico the first objective will be gained. If in addition to this they can be organized to protect that international class against the workers government in these United States—then the future is theirs.

Sammy Gompers has been to Europe trying to organize the Labor newspaper to put an end to Bolshevism. He gives us the pleasant information that Bolshevism is destroying that part of the press that he says so, for Sammy is usually 100% wrong in his diagnosis of the situation. Sammy did not seem to realize that the European Labor Movement is a hundred years ahead of America and therefore knows that what caused the war and did not care to function in a crisis of action, instead of being dissipated by its own contradictions.
I. Name and Purpose

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be THE COMMUNIST PARTY of America. Its purpose shall be the education and organisation of the working class for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the transformation of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist society.

II. Election

Sec. 1. The cards of the party shall be a button with the figure of the earth in the centre in white with gold lines and a red flag across the face. The words "The Power To The Workers!" around the figure of the earth a red margin shall appear with the words "The Communist Party of the Communist International" on this margin in white letters.

III. Membership

Sec. 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party, shall be eligible to membership. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

Sec. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application to the Central Executive Committee.

"The undersigned, having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party and the Communist International and having accepted the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to accept the discipline of the party and states his intention to become a member of the party, to submit his application and pledge himself to engage actively in its work."

Sec. 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no exceptions.

Sec. 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

Sec. 5. Decisions for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation of the branch and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and a vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

Sec. 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

Sec. 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from a source which is not a part of the Communist or the Communist International or who is a member of a secret society or an organized labor union or a party of a definitely political character (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written from an economic or scientific standpoint to scientific or professional journals. Permission to answer an attack on the Communist Party in the four-color press may be granted by the Central Executive Committee.)

Provided, that the civil employment by the government is of a non-political character.

Sec. 8. No members of The Communist Party shall act as committee members or editors of any political or economic character to publications other than those of the Communist Party or of parties affiliated with the Communist International. (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written by a person of a scientific or professional character to publications other than those of the Communist Party.)

IV. Units of Organization

Sec. 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party shall be branches of not less than seven members. A branch of one thousand members or a charter shall fill out the form provided by the National Organization.

Sec. 2. Two or more branches located in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. City Central Committees may include branches in the same territory, sub-divided under the control of the central management of the party.

Sec. 3. City Central Committees and all other branches in the same state shall form State Organizations. Provided, that under the control of the Central Executive Committee more than one state may be included in a single District Executive Committee or other District organization; and provided also that District Organizations may be formed by the Central Executive Committee along the lines of industrial rather than state divisions.

Sec. 4. Branches of the Communist Party made up of members who speak a foreign language, when there are ten or more of such branches and their combined membership of at least 750 members, may form a Language Federation. Provided, that this rule shall not apply to as many of the branches as the Central Executive Committee may determine, but shall apply to such branches of not less than 50 members each.

Sec. 5. All language branches shall join and become part of the Federations of their language if such a Federation exists.

Sec. 6. All subsidiary units shall be combined in the Communist Party. Branches of the cities, states, districts, organizations may be formed by the Central Executive Committee.

Art. V. Administration

Sec. 1. The supreme administrative body of the Communist Party shall be the convention of the party.

Sec. 2. Between the meetings of the convention, the supreme body shall be the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of seven members. The convention shall also elect five alternates who shall take their places as members of the Central Executive Committee in case of vacancies in the number of their vote.

Sec. 3. The Central Executive Committee shall elect from its members a sub-committee of five members, who together with the Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party shall be known as the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. The convention shall also elect a Convention of the Federation and the organization of the same city shall form a City Central Committee. The members of the executive council shall carry on the work of the party under the supervision of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. The convention shall elect an Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party. All other officials shall be appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 6. The Executive Secretary and Editor shall conduct the daily work of the supreme administrative body of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 7. The supreme administrative power of the State, District, City or Organization may be vested in the conventions of these respective units. Conventions of the State or District Organization shall be held at least once a year. Conventions of the City Organization shall be held at least once a year. Conventions of the organization shall be the supreme bodies.

Sec. 8. The Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall in each case be elected by the convention, which shall also determine the number of members of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 9. The City Central Committees shall consist of delegates elected by the branches upon the basis of proportional representation. They shall meet at least once each month. The City Central Committees shall elect their Executive Committees and Executive Officers.

Sec. 10. Each Federation shall elect a Translator-Secretary who shall have an office in the National Headquarters and whose salary shall be paid by the National Organization. Translator-Secretaries are the representatives of their organizations in the National Headquarters, and serve as mediums of communications. They shall submit monthly to the Executive Secretary and the State and District Organizations a statement showing all the dues stamps sold during the previous month. Translator-Secretaries shall not be eligible to membership in the Central Executive Committee but shall meet with the Central and the Executive Council and have a vote but not a voice.

VI. Dues

Sec. 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents which shall be receipted for an initiation stamp furnished by the National Organization and be divided between the branch and City Central Committee, where there is no City Central Committee, it shall be paid to the State or District Organization.

Sec. 2. Each member shall pay forty cents per month in dues, and shall submit to the City Central Committee if there is one, the State or District Organization at fifteen cents; State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committees in cases where there are no City Committees, at the rate of forty-five cents per stamp. Each committee shall sell stamps to branches at thirty cents per stamp.

Sec. 3. Branches of Language Federations shall not be entitled to buy stamps, but shall pay forty cents per stamp to the National Organization and shall submit to the State or District Organization at fifteen cents for each stamp sold cash in hand. Where a City Central Committee exists the State or District Organization shall remit the cents of this amount to the City Central Committees. Members of Language Federations Branches pay forty cents per month in dues, and shall submit to the branch and the State or District Organization at ten cents per month in dues to the Federation.

Sec. 4. Special assessment may be levied by the National Organization, the Central Executive Committee or the Executive Committee. No member shall be compelled in good conscience to purchase such special assessment stamps.

Sec. 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same branch or subsidiary organizations shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by the members individually.

Sec. 6. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness or for similar reasons may have such stamps furnished by the National Organization. Provided that no State or District Organization or Federation shall be allowed to furnish surplus stamps provided that no State or District Organization or Federation shall be allowed to furnish surplus stamps.

Sec. 7. Members who are more than three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be struck off the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

VII. Discipline

Sec. 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party shall be binding upon the membership of the organizations.

Sec. 2. Any member or organization violating the decisions of the party shall be subject to expulsion from the party.

Sec. 3. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal either side to the Central Executive Committee of the organization where there is no City Central Committee. Charges against the branches shall be made before the City Central Committee, or where there is no City Central Committee before the State or District Organization. Decisions of the Central Executive Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the State or District Organization. Charges against State or District Organizations shall be made before the Central Executive Committee. When a City Central Committee expels a branch of the party, the branch shall have the right to present its case to the Central Executive Committee of the Federation. If the Central Executive Committee of the Federation is unable to decide on the case the matter shall be referred to the Central Executive Committee upon documentary evidence and if the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Federation is in favor of the branch of the party, or where there is no City Central Committee, the branch shall be reinstated as a branch of the Federation.

Sec. 4. Each unit of the party organization...
shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

Sec. 2. A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall secure a transfer card from the financial secretary of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such a transfer card and upon presentation of the transfer card the secretary of the branch receiving same shall make inquiry about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

Sec. 4. All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books and accounting records which shall be printed by the National Organization.

Sec. 7. All members of the party must be party members.

VIII. Headquarters

Sec. 1. The National Headquarters of the party shall be located in Chicago. In an emergency District or State Office may be used as the National Headquarters.

IX. Qualifications

Sec. 1. Members of the National Executive Committee the Executive Secretary, Editor International Delegate, Secretary International Secretary, and all candidates for political office must have been members of the party for two years at the time of their election or nomination. Those shall be eligible to election to party offices or nomination from the petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership; or by initiative of the Central Executive Committee; or by initiative of the National Convention.

Sec. 2. All officers of the National Organization or those elected to public office shall be subject to recall upon initiative petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership. A recall vote of the membership may also be initiated by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open for discussion for at least six days after its submission and, if it has then received the requisite number of seconds it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

Sec. 4. Referendums shall be submitted without preface or comment, but the party press shall be open for discussion of the question involved during the time the referendum is pending.

XII. International Delegate and Secretary

Sec. 1. Delegates to the International Congress and alternates and an International Secretary and alternate shall be elected by the convention.

Schedule

Any branch of the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920 shall be accepted as a branch.

The provisions of Art. III, Section 4, shall not be enforced until after Dec. 1, 1919, except as to the two signatures.

RECOMMENDATION

That this Convention authorize the secretary immediately to issue a Special Organization Stmp to sell at fifty cents to create a fund for the organization of the party.

The Trend of Things

WILSON AND BHANTUNG

The argument now going on over the "Shantung Grab" between the representative of different sections of the capitalist class is highly amusing.

All of the opposition forces brand it as an act of brigandage on the part of Japan to steal this province from China. We would think that there was some particular moral stigma attached to Japan because of this act, but such is not the case. Japan is just one of the agents of the capitalists which are sent from America. In spite of the fact that there are many among many.

The argument here is not confined to the capitalists. It is a revolution of the working class.

As an American contribution towards this work two regiments of the United States Army were to be sent to Europe to police Silesia. The value of the United States Army is not the record of its performance but the decisions which it made or its war of controlling the world.

The Communists are determined that the United States should not be governed by reaction in its war of exploiting. This naturally moves the Band of Nations to the work for which it was organized.

Professor Arthur W. Calhoun seems to have called the wrath of the powers that be upon his perdigious head. It has been discovered by the department of justice that the revolution of a school of thought is not confined to the "foreign" elements. We wonder who told them. Their stupidity in the duplicating line has become proverbial, and we wonder how they stumbled upon them. Probably some other slave who wanted his job betrayed him to the agents of the capitalists.

Professors, as well as everyone else who work for a living, are forced to turn their attention to social problems, consequently, if they are intelligent, they must see the need of revolutionizing society. If the agents of reaction were intelligent in their work they might find many more in unexpected places, who accept the Communist position.

The professional workers, high collateral proletarians, have suffered a great reduction in their standard of living in the last few years and they have felt the pinch. Consequently the unrest among them. Being honest, when they consider their situation they must admit the necessity of abolishing capitalism.

The only quarrel that we have with the professors is that they have the most difficulty from the fact that they have received in capitalist institutions and generally come into the proletarian movement not to become a part of it but rather to teach the workers some easy way to emancipate themselves.

Calhoun sounds like a good old American name and we have at least one more proof that the unrest of the country is not the result of moral depravity on the part of some particular section of the working class.

MORE TROOPS TO EUROPE

On August 25th and 26th we were informed that two regiments of the United States Army were to be sent to Europe to police Silesia. The value of the United States Army is not the record of its performance but the decisions which it made or its war of controlling the world. We wonder if Germany would accept this. We wonder if the United States will not go the way of the Allies and the band of nations.

The Communists are determined that the United States should not be governed by reaction in its war of exploiting. This naturally moves the Band of Nations to the work for which it was organized. The suppression of the working class and the making of the world safe for Capitalism.

As an American contribution towards this work two regiments of the United States Army were to be sent to Europe to police Silesia. The value of the United States Army is not the record of its performance but the decisions which it made or its war of controlling the world.

We wonder if the experience of American troops in the European War has unfitted the nation for the work of suppressing the working class in other countries?
The Massacre at Hammond

By H. M. WICKS.

As soon as the police arrived upon the scene they attempted to disperse the men and used violent tactics in the attempt. A uniformed policeman tore the flag from the hands of the strikers and threw it upon the ground and then arrested the flag bearer. This act disillusioned the strikers and at that moment they realized the fact that emblems such as the flag exist as subjects of patriotic orators, but are really meaningless when workmen attempt to exercise their so-called constitutional 'right' as under them. The next act on the part of the police was to draw their revolvers and aim them at the strikers. If the strikers had been armed as front ranks turned to tell the others to disperse the first volley from the revolvers, rifles and sawed-off shot-guns was fired directly into the crowd, rapidly followed by other volleys. This continued for only the short period of two minutes, but after the crowd had dispersed the scene resembled a battlefield. There were twenty two bodies upon the ground, some writhing in agony, others had been killed instantly. Many others, including two women and a number of children were wounded and the strikers could be seen dragging many of their wounded from the field of battle. Ambulance soon arrived and it was learned that three of the victims had been instantly killed. Their bodies were removed to a morgue and the wounded taken to hospitals, where one of them died later in the day. At the morgue it was learned that all the dead had been shot in the back as they turned to disperse. That fact alone gives the lie to the capitalist press, which claimed that the slaughter of the strikers was only one policeman injured and his wound inflicted in self-defense. The scene following the massacre was indescribably horrible. At least fifty men, women and children had received gun shot wounds and were being cared for by strikers and their families. Other women and children who were unable to locate their husbands and fathers attempted to approach the bodies upon the field, but were held back by the police. Dozens of houses in the district show hundreds of marks where bullets and shot gun penetrated. When the massacre was being perpetrated the moving picture operator, who was stationed on the roof of a nearby hotel calmly took pictures of the whole affair. That fact is significant and lends support to the charge that the slaughter of the strikers was deliberately premeditated by the police.

The corporation owned paper of Hammond also the daily press of Chicago declared the strike-breakers were Americans who had decided to return to work, while those who remained out on strike were foreigners influenced by the radical agitators. While most of the strikers are people of foreign birth a large number of the strike breakers are also aliens. If it is true that the majority of the strikers were Americans it is certainly a comment on the intelligence of the 'free born American working man', and again justifies the charge that the American slaves are the most stupid on earth. As most of the population of Hammond, the same from the lower class of majority of the strikers should also be foreigners. The statement that the strikers are all Americans is simply cheap propaganda of the part of the hirelings of the Standard Steel Car Company for the purpose of intimidating the strikers. Some of the dollar patriots are offering their services free to the Hammond police department and by accident a writer for The Communist, while sitting in the police station trying to get an interview with some of the participants int he murders, overheard a telephone conversation between the sergeant of police and one Fred Berry, who is connected with the principal banking establishment of Hammond. Emory requested to be sworn in as a special policeman, along with a number of his friends, so they could help "clean out the damned foreigners." The patriotic gag is still being employed by the employers in the industries of the country, wherever there are any labor disturbances. There have been threats from the employers that if a special policeman is appointed by the police the armed force of the strike shall be driven from the district.

The strikers at Hammond have been taught the same lesson which the workingmen of the country have been taught, the workingmen are taught that it is necessary to return to work, while the employers are taught that it is their right to use a strike-breaker. The strikers at Hammond have learned the lesson that the workers in all the industrial struggles of recent years. That lesson is that those who are supposed to uphold the law destroy the law, with respect for so-called constitutional rights, when workingmen attempt to exercise them, and that the police and the armed force of the state are maintained in the interest of the ruling class and against the workers. The labor question is not a question of 'right' or 'wrong' but a question of power.

The new organization in Hammond has emerged from this experience with an understanding of the true significance of the struggle, and the members come to realize the necessity for militant organization of the workers for the purpose of destroying the system that makes possible such needless slaughter of the workers.
What the War Was About

If anyone in the United States or the Hungary after the downfall of the Houseduke Joseph, of the House of Hapsburg, Allied countries labored under the delusion that the issue involved in the late war was to make the world safe for "democracy" and annihilate autocracy before the combination of Allied money and Russianman soldiers crushed the workers' republic of Hungary, no one but an idiot could possibly believe it now.

In fact, that spokesman of imperialist capitalism, Woodrow Wilson, who created the slogan, never uses it now, as he realizes that if he does serve its purpose and should now repose in peace in the graveyard of capitalist lies, along with those other cardinal lies of capitalism: "liberty, equality and fraternity." A whole historical cycle separates the "liberty, equality and fraternity" of the French bourgeois revolutionists from the "making the world safe for democracy" of capitalist imperialism.

There is also a vast difference between the theoretical spokesmen of the rising capital and the ruling capital which serves the purposes of capitalism during the war. Every despotic act of the United States government was cloaked with that phrase; but after the workers had the courage to protest were brazenly informed that the curtailing of liberties within the confines of this nation was necessary for a short time only in order that we might more easily crush Kaiserism; those rebels who declared that Kaiserism was being introduced into the United States in a more vicious form than it ever existed in Germany were denounced as enemies of democracy and sent to prison for long terms.

While the ruling class of this nation was successfully waging an imperialistic war for the extension of its sphere of influence, force foreign nations and while it was making its feelings that workers in America were to be used to wage-slavery, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that being perpetrated against the defeated workers of Hungary again proves that our ability to make the world safe for democracy he would certainly fall for the proposition of "Freedom for All, Forever." If the slave would not get enthusiastic over the words "make the world safe for democracy" he would certainly fall for the introduction of a bill of rights for the workers' republic of Hungary, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that slogan was marketed for the workers' republic of Hungary, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that slogan "Freedom for All, Forever." So long as the popular descendants of those who spoke of the American workers to wage-slavery, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that slogan "Freedom for All, Forever." So long as the popular descendants of those who spoke of the American workers to wage-slavery, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that slogan "Freedom for All, Forever." So long as the popular descendants of those who spoke of the American workers to wage-slavery, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that slogan 

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