The Capitalists Challenge You—Workingmen!

Proclamation by the Communist Party of America

MARTIAL law has been declared in Gary, Indiana! Soldiers of the regular army, soldiers who have served overseas, who have waded through the blood of their fellows on the battle fields of Europe, as the capitalist press is gloatingly declaring, are now in control.

The army of occupation entered Gary fully equipped. Automatic rifles, hand grenades, machine guns and heavier cannon, cannon that can clear two soldiers.

United States industry.

The workingmen of the United States? What has happened in the City of Steel that requires this murderous equipment for the destruction of human lives?

The workingmen of Gary are engaged in a struggle against the capitalists. They have suffered long. Low wages, long hours of exhausting work in the heat of the steel foundry. Life-sapping toil with no limit for human life. This has been their lot. Yet they revolted. Rising suffering and hunger, rising the assault of the brutal hulks of the Steel Trust, who do not even stop at murder, they resisted to the strike to make their masters lighten the conditions of their toil. They organized their power and united dared challenge to a test of strength the great industrial octopus which dominates the steel industry.

Gary is the City of Steel. It was built by the order of the Steel Trust. The influence and control of the Steel Trust extends to every nook and corner of the life of the city. Its spies are everywhere. The local government is its tool and expresses its will. This Steel Trust municipal government forbade the workingmen to show their solidarity by parades and public meetings. It hoped by keeping the workers apart to break their spirit, to give encouragement to the few scabs who were working.

For two weeks the workers submitted. They permitted the Steel Trust government to trample underfoot the democratic rights which they had so often assured were the heritage of the people of this country. They let the industrial masters demonstrate clearly that not "democracy" but iron-fisted autocracy was, for the workers, the aftermath of the war.

Then these workers broke into spontaneous protest. The mayor, the Steel Trust tool, had forbidden them to meet in public. He had forbidden them to parade through the streets. But they would meet and would parade.

They formed in line with five hundred uniformed men, strikers all, at the head of the "-ee and marched through the heart of the city.

This mass action of the workers won. Their mass power conquered. The orders of the mayor became mere rags of paper. Ten thousand workers marched through the heart of the city and in place of upholding the orders of the mayor the militia and police cleared the way for the strikers—became their servants because they were showing their power.

But capitalism was not done. The Steel Trust does not only have at its beck and call the power of the local government, but the national government, the State, is equally its servants. The workers had won the first skirmish through their mass power. They must be taught a lesson. They must be cowed and thrown back into their former position of abject slaves.

The orders went forth. Soon the long line of truck-loads of regular soldiers were on the way to Gary. The men who the workers had been told a short year ago, were fighting their battle for democracy upon the blood-stained fields of Europe, and whom they had been urged to support by giving the last of their strength to the work of production, these men were coming to teach them "democracy." And with them came their instruments of murder, their automatic rifles, their hand grenades, their machine guns, the cannon that could clear a street two miles long in a few minutes, and the helmets that the workers of Gary had produced. Gary was to be shown how the Czar and Kaiser treated rebellious workingmen.

The National Government, the Capitalist State, had stepped in. The Steel Trust was in danger of being beaten. It might have to submit before the power of the workers. To save itself it brought into the field the instrument forged by the capitalists to uphold their system of exploitation and oppression, the State, which in spite of all its democratic pretensions is but the physical expression of the Dictatorship of the Capitalists.

WORKMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, THE CAPITALISTS ARE CHALLENGING YOU! They are demonstrating before your very eyes that the government which is theirs, for use against you when you dare strike against the enslavement which they force upon you.

The homes of the workingmen of Gary are being raided, their meetings forbidden, their literature confiscated by the military regime which controls Gary. Martial law is supreme. The instruments to destroy the lives of the workers are ready.

Are you, workingmen of this country, going to submit meekly to the use of military invasion and force to break your strikes? Shall the iron heel rule unchallenged?

This is the hour to save the workers.

GATHER IN GREAT MASS MEETINGS. BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE UNENLIGHTENED WORKERS THE MEANING OF MARTIAL LAW AT GARY. SHOW THEM THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO STRIKE AGAINST LOW WAGES AND BAD WORKING CONDITIONS BUT THAT THE STRIKE MUST BE DIRECTED AGAINST CAPITALISM.

THE WORKERS MUST CAPTURE THE POWER OF THE STATE. THEY MUST WREST FROM THE CAPITALISTS THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH THE CAPITALIST RULE IS MAINTAINED.

The answer to the Dictatorship of the Capitalists is the Dictatorship of the Workers.
Nearly half the steel workers (1910) put in 72 hours, or 6 days of 12 hours, with extra stretches of 20 to 30 hours. In the blast furnace and other departments, 20% of the entire force, the men put in 84 hours or more per week. The percentage working the 7-day week is as high today as it was in 1910. The 1-7 schedule is as follows: 10 hours for 12 days, then 14 hours for 12 nights, with two continuous shifts of 24 hours when the change is made from day to night, and 2 periods of 24 hours off in the four weeks. That there is nothing inherent in the industry which requires these hours is conclusively settled by the resolution adopted in April, 1907, by the finance committee of the steel corporation in favor of the 6-day week. Most of the subsidiary companies failed to act on this recommendation, for fear of cutting into dividends. Under pressure of public attacks an investigation was made by a committee of stockholders in 1911. This committee reported: "We are of the opinion that a 12-hour day of labor, followed continuously by any group of men for an indefinite number of years means a decreasing of the efficiency and lessening of the vigor and vitality of such workers."

The Chicago Tribune recently printed an extract from a speech by William B. Dickson, First Vice-President of U. S. Steel, delivered May 27, 1916, as follows: "It is my deliberate judgment, after almost thirty years of continuous connection with the industry, the early part of which was passed in manual labor in the mills, that the present conditions, which necessitate the employment of the same individual workman twelve hours a day for seven days a week, are a reproach to our great industry and should not in this enlightened age be longer tolerated." Nearly a decade has gone by, presumably adding to the world's enlightenment.

During the war about a million additional workers came under the 8-hour day standard. Under pressure of the war production, adjustments were made in wages to meet the higher prices, but these adjustments have fallen behind the rise in prices. As to the propaganda now being carried on about high wages during recent months, the national scale set by the War Labor Board for the hundreds of thousands of shipyard workers, (awards concluded October 24, 1918), will serve as a test, since the same general class of labor is involved and about the same localities. Out of 189 rates scheduled, one exceeded a dollar an hour in the Western districts, 36c, and in the Eastern, Central and Pacific districts, 46c. There were 36 rates under 10c an hour, 60 rates under 16c; 107 rates, 70c and under; and only 30 rates, covering the basic classes, 70c.

A War Labor Board award (August 21, 1918) affecting the Pollack Steel Co., at Cincinnati, also tests the war rates of pay. Of 47 rates specified there was 1 each at $1.05, 92c, 89c, 86c, 73c; 2 at 72c and 2 at 70c. Under 70c to 60c, 7 classifications; 10 others down to 40c; and 21 grades at 40c. In all cases, 5c an hour higher on night shifts. The highly skilled workers in steel are in decided minority. Their wage reduction would affect only a very small percentage.

There is no need to add statistics about prices. The 1910-1919 war period saw fourfold increases in food prices. The war production and the high labor demands have maintained these high prices until the present time. The condition of the steel worker, the sub-human existence of the worker in steel and of his family is more aggravated today than it was in 1910, when it shocked the conscience even of the company officials and stockholders. A very recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the increase in the cost of living for employees in steel establishments in steel and iron, with 164,395 employees, showed a payroll for a half year of $1,787,081,000, which figures a monthly average of less than $125, without separating the workers into the skilled and semi-skilled groups. The recent reports show decreasing employment, adding to the off-time.

The rest of the story is told officially in the Monthly Labor Review under "Changes in Wage Rates," as follows:

During the period February 15 to March 15, 1919, a decrease of 17.4%, affecting 40% of the force, was made in one plant, and a 17% decrease was reported by another plant, but no information was given as to the number of employees affected. Decreases of 1.5% went into effect in three establishments and affected 40% of the men in one, 23% in another, but the third plant failed to give any further data, while approximately 68% of 40% and 40% of the employment in the iron and steel establishments of other plants. Seven establishments made decreases ranging from 5% to 40%, affecting ranging from 37% of the employees in one plant, the tannery in another, the employees in the third and 31.3% of the force in the fourth plant, while the decreases in the remaining establishments affected 50% of the men in one another and 66.9% of the employees in the seventh establishment. The tonnage in one plant were decreased, but no data were given as to the percentage of number affected.—(May Monthly Review, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 182.)

March 15 to April 15: The tonnage in one plant, about 3% of the force, were decreased about 8% in one establishment. A decrease of 6%, affecting the entire force, was made by one plant.—(June Review, p. 228.)

April 15 to May 15: A number of decreases were reported in iron and steel, many of which were in evidence of the rule of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. The average percentage of the entire force in two plants was decreased 3%. The tanned leather piece in one plant were reduced 18%. About one-third of the employees in one plant were reduced 15%. The force in another plant were decreased 8%. One-fifth of the employees in one mill, with the exception of the bar of piece work, were reduced to 40%. A decrease of approximately 44% of the employees in one plant. About 40% of the employment in one plant and a decrease of about 12%; and a reduction in rates, affecting about 10% of the men, was made by another plant.

(Continued on page 4.)

As International Secretary, I make application for admission of the Communist Party of America to the Bureau of the Communist International as a major party.

The Communist Party, organized September 1, 1919, with approximately 55,000 members, issues directly out of a split in the old Socialist Party. The new party represents more than half the membership of the old party.


The Socialist Party was organized in 1901, of a merger of two elements: 1) seceders from the Socialist Labor Party, like Morris Hillquit, who split away in 1899 largely because of the S. L. F.'s uncompromising endeavors to revolutionize the trades unions; 2) the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, a purely middle-class liberal party tinged with Socialism, of which Victor L. Berger was representative.

The Socialist Labor Party, organized definitely in 1890, acted on the basis of the uncompromising proletarian class struggle. Appearing at a period when class relations were still in state of flux, when the ideology of independence, created by the free lands of the West, was still strong among the workers, the Socialist Labor Party emphasized the class struggle and the class character of the proletarian movement. Realizing the peculiar problems of the American movement, the Socialist Labor Party initiated a consistent campaign for revolutionary unionism and against the dominant craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor, which, representing the skilled workers—"aristocracy of labor"—sabotaged every radical impulse of the working class. The S. L. P. was a party of revolutionary Socialism in which organic elements revolved.

The Spanish-American War was an immature expression of American Imperialism, initiated by the requirements of monopolistic Capitalism. A movement of protest developed in the middle class, which, uniting with the previous impulses of petty bourgeois and agrarian radicalism, expressed itself in a campaign of anti-Imperialism. There was a general revival of the ideology of liberal democracy. The Socialist Party expressed one phase of this liberal development; it adopted fundamentally a non-class policy, directing its appeal to the middle class, to the farmers, to every temporary sentiment of discontent, for a program of government ownership of the trusts. The Socialist Party, generally, discouraged a demand for revolutionary unionism, becoming a bulwark of the Compromised A. F. of L. and its reactionary officials, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." This typical party of opportunism Socialism considered strikes and unions as of minor and transitory importance, instead of developing their revolutionary implications; parliamentarism was considered the important thing, legislative reforms and the use of the bourgeois state the means equally for wage-laborers of struggle and for establishing the Socialist Republic. The Socialist Party was essentially a party of State Capitalism, an expression of the dominant moderate Socialism of the old International.

But industrial concentration proceeded feverishly, developing monopoly and the typical conditions of Imperialism. Congress—parliamentarism—assumed an aspect of fullfill as Imperialism developed and the Federal government became a centralized autocracy. The industrial proletariat, expropriated of skill by the machine process and concentrated in the basic industry, initiated new means of struggle. The general conditions of Imperialistic Capitalism developed new tactical action in Europe and industrial unionism in the United States, the necessity for extra-parliamentary means to conquer the power of the state. The old craft unionism was more and more incapable of struggling against concentrated Capitalism. Out of this general situation arose the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905—an event of the greatest revolutionary importance. The I. W. W. indicted craft unionism as reactionary and not in accord with the concentration of industry, which wipes out differences of skill and craft. The I. W. W. urged industrial unionism, that is to say, a unionism organized according to industrial division; all workers in one industry, regardless of particular crafts, to unite in one union; and all industrial unions to unite in the general organization, thereby paralleling the extra-parliamentary structure of modern Capitalism. Industrial unionism was urged not simply for the immediate struggle of the workers concerned in the problem of whether the workers to assume control of industry.

Previous movements of revolutionary unionism, such as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the American Labor Union, united in the I. W. W. The Socialist Labor Party was a vital factor in the organization of the I. W. W., Daniel De Leon formulating the theoretical concepts of industrial unionism. Industrial unionism and the conception of overthrowing the parliamentary state, substituting it with an industrial administration based upon the industrial unions, was advocated by De Leon to the general theory of Marxism.

The Socialist Party repeatedly rejected resolutions endorsing the I. W. W. and industrial unionism, although supporting the I. W. W. in the Northwest where the new unionism was a vital factor. These disputes came to a climax at the Socialist Party Convention of 1912. The tactical issue of industrial unionism was decided at that time, whether parliamentarism alone constituted political action, whether parliamentarism alone could accomplish the revolution or whether extra-parliamentary means were indispensable for the conquest of political power. The Socialist Party Convention, by a large majority, emasculated the Marxian conception of political action, limiting it to parliamentarism; an amendment to the party constitution defined political action as "participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform." That year the Socialist Party, by means of a petty bourgeois liberal campaign, polled more than 900,000 votes for its presidential candidate, but thousands of militant proletarians seceded from the party in disgust at the revolution by revolutionary industrial unionism, while William D. Haywood, representative of the industrialists in the party, was recalled on referendum vote as a member of the National Executive Committee.

The organization of the Progressive Party in 1912 made "progressivism" a political issue. The Socialist Party adapted itself to this "progressivism." But this progressivism was the last flickering expression of radical democracy; Theodore Roosevelt harnessed progressivism to Imperialism and State Capitalism. A new social alignment arose, requiring new Socialist tactics.

2. The War, the Socialist Party and the Bolshevik Revolution.

After 1912, the party officially proceeded on its peaceful petty bourgeois way. Then—the war, and the collapse of the international. The official representatives of the Socialist Party either justified the betrayal of Socialism in Europe, or else acquiescently silent, while issuing liberal appeals to "humanity." (Continued next page)
The Socialist Party carried on a active campaign against intervention in Russia. However, this campaign did not emphasize the revolutionary implications of the situation in Russia, as making mandatory the reconstruction of the Socialist movement. A campaign against intervention must proceed as a phase of the general campaign to develop revolutionary proletarian action.

3. The Left Wing Develops.

During 1918 the Socialist Party was in ferment. The membership was more and more coming to think in revolutionary terms. Then came the armistice and the German Revolution. The response was immediate. On November 7, 1918, a Communist Propaganda League was organized in Chicago. On November 9, Local Boston, Socialist Party, started to issue an agitational paper, "The Revolutionary Age." This paper immediately issued a call to the party for the adoption of revolutionary Communist tactics, emphasizing that the emergence of the proletariat into the epoch of the world revolution made absolutely imperative the reconstruction of Socialist. In New York City, in February, 1919, there was organized the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party. Its Left Wing Manifesto and Program was adopted by local after local of the Socialist Party, the Left Wing acquiring a definite expression. The Left Wing secured the immediate admission of the Lettish, Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Bohemian federations of the party, representing about 25,000 members. The official organs of the federations did splendid work for its own program.

In January, 1919, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to send delegates to the Bern Congress of the Great Betrayal. This action was characteristic of the social-patriot and centrist bent of the party administration. There was an immediate protest from the membership, the Left Wing using the Bern Congress as again emphasizing the necessity for the revolutionary reconstruction of Socialism. In March we received a copy of the call issued by the Communist Party of Russia for an international congress to organize a new International. "The Revolutionary Age" was the first to print the call, yielding it immediate adhesion; while the Left Wing Section of New York City transmitted credentials to S. J. Rutgers to represent it at the congress. Local Boston initiated a motion for a referendum to affiliate the party as a whole to the new International. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the Left Wing. The Left Wing was now, although still without a definite organization, a formidable power in the Socialist Party. Previously all revolts in the party were isolated or consisted purely of theoretical criticism; now there was this theoretical criticism united with a developing organization expression. There was not, as yet, any general conception of the organization of a new party; it was a struggle for power within the Socialist Party.

About this time the call for the new Socialist Party elections was issued. The Left Wing decided upon its own candidates. The elections constituted an overwhelming victory for the Left Wing. The national administration of the Socialist Party, realizing the impending disaster, decided upon desperate measures. Branch after branch and local after local of the party, which had adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program, was expelled. Morris Hillquit issued a declaration that the breach in the party had become irreconcilable, and that the only solution was to split, each faction organizing its own party. At first the expulsions were on a small scale; then the danger.
Steel and Life.

A few days ago was overheard a conversation between two business men on board a train traveling through the steel towns adjacent to Chicago. One was apparently the manager of some chemical corporation, the other, one of the directors.

This was the first day of the strike. All...were scanning the horizon to read the news from the smoke stacks. The comments were the usual ones: that the men didn't want to strike; that it was all the doing of scheming leaders; that Fitzpatrick was out to replace Gompers; that the rank and file were far more conservative than the leaders, etc.

The train went through Gary, Hammond, South Chicago. The business men turned their talk from the strike to a building scheme which interested them because of the housing problem in connection with one or other of their plants. The train happened to be stalled along the curve of a mile or so of the trackage in Hammond and South Chicago. "One thing we have neglected," said the manager, "is the problem of housing these foreign workers."

Then, somehow momentarily losing the perspective of business: "Well, by God! there had to be one of these shacks, I guess I'd go on a strike myself."

But the thought of going on a strike was a too violent bit of heresy, so he added, "But the thought that many are planning to try the old country again, that thou­..." 11, 1919

The strike is not against the making of steel. It is not the product of the despised foreign caste. It is the product of the workers and their attainment of consciousness of group and class power.

The revolution is the issue in the steel strike. It is a palpable lie that any considerable number of the strikers have the revolutionary consciousness; and it is ludicrous that the A. F. of L. officialdom of any stripe, entertains conceptions of this strike outside the regular formulas of trade unionism. But a militant demand for human existence on the part of the workers in steel is a first epoch in the proletarian revolution in America.

The revolution is the issue because it will be learned, in defeat or victory alike, that out of the furnaces and hearths fires of steel can no longer come the shears and slabs and rails of profit-extracting industry if the worker in steel is to have the life benefits of steel. The law of profit is the law of life deprivation. Steel cannot serve both profits and life.

The revolution is to make steel serve life.

A unionism which breaks down the caste system against the unskilled and semi-skilled, a unionism which breaks down the caste division among workers against those of different color and na­...
THE COMMUNIST

October 11, 1919

The Shop Crafts Revolt.

By H. M. Wicks

OUR hundred delegates from the United States and Canada, representing various railway shop crafts, held a three-day convention in Pullaski Hall, Chicago, Sept. 25 to 27. All the crafts employed in the railway shops, consisting of carmen, boiler-makers, machinists, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, maintenance of way men and even the clerks, were represented by delegates.

The purpose of the convention was to devise means of dealing with the reactionary officials of their organizations who had refused to call a strike for wage increases for journeymen from 85 cents to 85 cents an hour and for helpers from 45 to 65 cents an hour, after over 90 per cent of the organized crafts employed in this industry had voted for the strike. The officials of the unions entered into an agreement with the government for an increase of four cents per hour for a period of three months. At the end of that time the proposition was to be again brought before the unions for action. The three months' clause was inserted in order to give President Wilson "sufficient time to reduce the cost of living." Many stormy discussions took place on the floor, and during the first two days there was much talk of secession from the craft organizations and the formation of a union representing the federated crafts. Finally a resolution was adopted sanctioning the establishment of a dual organization, which was defeated by a very narrow margin. The debate on this resolution brought out the fact that most of the delegates were opposed to the reactionary A. F. of L., but when it came to any definite solution of the problem of dealing with that machine there was no unanimity of opinion. Although the convention was presided over by men who had been expelled from the organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L., the principal argument against a dual organization seemed to be that that organization had been a shelter for them in the past, and that they should not destroy it, but try to "repair" it. There is always the problem of "repairing" a machine where the floor is occupied by a narrow margin. The debate on this resolution brought out the fact that most of the delegates were opposed to the reactionary A. F. of L., but when it came to any definite solution of the problem of dealing with that machine there was no unanimity of opinion.

The unrest of today is the result of the new civilization. There is a manhood and courage on the part of the strikers which asserts itself against the state of the ruling class. They illustrated their political activity by calling attention to preparations being made for a mass strike against intimation in Russia and against conscription. The communication concluded by expressing the hope that the workers of this country would not permit America to be the stronghold of capitalist reaction.

The reactionary officials of their organizations, this Socialist introduced a resolution asking that a message be sent to the president of the railway employees' department at Washington asking his immediate resignation. This idea was tabled amid the laughter of the few men there who understood the class struggle.

A number of resolutions were introduced, and on Saturday the resolution committee combined them into one resolution embodying the following demands:

1. That the rank and file be given the right to vote on the election of officials of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The right to decide its policy by popular vote.

3. The immediate resignation of all labor representatives from government commissions.

4. The immediate release of all conscientious objectors and political prisoners.

5. Withdrawal of all military, financial and moral support to any faction in Russian affairs.

6. Nationalization of all vital industries under the control of the labor committee.

7. The inauguration of a national cooperative system of distribution.

8. A policy of economic group action on the political field.

9. The formation of a national political party representative of the two great economic groups of farmers and workers.

The representatives of the labor politicians who are busily engaged in the organization of the Labor Party were there and secured the endorsement of the convention. The Co-operative Socialists delegate put up no argument against it, some of them even favoring it. On Saturday morning, after endorsing the strike of the steel workers and the policemen's strike at Boston, a communication was read from the Triple Alliance of the transport workers, railway workers and miners of Great Britain, which offered a wonderful opportunity for revolutionary propaganda and education had there been anyone on the floor capable of presenting the arguments. The communication declared that the organized workers of Great Britain had heretofore devoted themselves exclusively to "economic and industrial action of the workers," but that their recent experiences had taught them the necessity for political organization against the state of the ruling class. They illustrated their political activity by calling attention to preparations being made for a mass strike against intimation in Russia and against conscription. The communication concluded by expressing the hope that workers on this continent would not permit America to be the stronghold of capitalism.

The reactionaries were immediately on the floor, and stated that, while they endorsed such action for Britain, there was no necessity for such action in this land of democracy. All the speeches on the communication from Britain emphasized the fact that the railway shop crafts were not in opposition to the policy of the government, and that they were all patriotic citizens who would never think of using their industrial organizations for political purposes. The chairman of the resolutions committee recommended the endorsement of the demands of the Triple Alliance in Britain, and added that "those demands are not the demands of this body." The convention finally agreed to send greetings to the strikers of Great Britain.

The only other subject that aroused a great deal of heated discussion was the resolution asking for amnesty for political and industrial prisoners. A number of reactionaries contended the endorsement of such a resolution would be an insult to the "patriotic Americans who fought in France," and that a real American labor movement was in favor of long terms in prison for those who "obstructed the operations of the government during the war." A few mild mannered radicals secured the floor and spoke in opposition to that sentiment, but not one of them mentioned the possibilities of using the mass power of the workers for the liberation of political prisoners.

The convention was a disappointment to many who expected firm and intelligent action against the reactionary policy of the A. F. of L., and it was clearly apparent that in principles and tactics it was absolutely dominated by typical liberal unionists, who were temporarily disgruntled at the action of certain groups of their officials.

Steel and Life.

(Continued from page 5)

more than the greater accumulation of capital, which means the ever greater demand for labor and profit. Because if the greater production were consumed by the workers, without exaction of profit, that would be for capital to commit suicide. There is only one way to end the vicious circle, and that way is to organize workmen to control the production of capital.

An organized working class is arising, conscious of its destiny to rule society. Its demands for the fullness of life must quickly become the demand for a workers' industrialism, freed from the profit cancer.

It is out of the immediate struggles, like the steel strike here and the railroad strike in England, that this power and understanding of the workers must develop. There is a manhood and courage on the part of the strikers which asserts itself against tremendously favored opposition.

The unrest of today is the birth pangs of the new civilization. There is yet to be an Age of Steel, when the ruddy ore shall be converted into the building of the dwellings of free workers.

The carriers of the new civilization are the "hunkies" who live in the miserable shacks, and whose work from dark to dark. The truth will lead them out of the darkness into the sunlight, the truth of their class power and of their way to freedom.
The Cleveland Test.

The Cleveland Branch No. of the Socialist Party has been organized with fifteen members. The Branch was called at the same time as the Convention, held at the same time as the Convention. The Branch will contain a discussion of the differences between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party based on the experience of the workers in this country.

The Literature Department.

A new pamphlet each week! That will be the program of the party during the next month or two. The first pamphlet containing the Manifesto and Program, Constitution and Report to the International, is already being shipped out.

The second pamphlet, which will be called "Communist Party and Socialist Party" and will contain a discussion of the differences between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party based on the experience of the workers in this country.

The Cleveland Branch.

Erie German Branch.

The revolt against the effort of the Executive Committee of the German Federation to force the branches of that organization into the Communist Labor Party is extending, the latest branch to join the Communist Party being the Erie, Pa. organization. When the returns are all in the majority of the membership of the German Federation will line up with the other revolutionary workers in the Communist Party.

The Communist Party central committee has also been organized at Erie.

Philadelphia Lines Up.

This is the word from Philadelphia: "The membership of the expelled Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party, consisting of 30 branches and 2,500 members in good standing, hereby applies for a charter as Local Philadelphia, Communist Party." The letter goes on to say: "There are hundreds in this city who are waiting the opportunity to join the Communist Local. The spirit of the membership is superb. We are looking forward to the receipt of the charter as the signal for launching our campaign of education and organization throughout the area.

Cleveland and Philadelphia, two locals with 5,500 members each, in one week.

The branches of Baltimore have organized their City Central Committee and applied for a charter as Local Baltimore.

Polish Branches are sending in their applications for charters in all parts of the country.

The Lithuanian Federation at its conventions in Brooklyn voted a special meeting for affiliation with the Communist Party. The Federation decided to move its printing plant to Chicago, where it will be available for printing the Communist Party papers and literature.

Thirteen former members of Local New Bremen, Ohio, have sent in an application for a charter.

The Evanston, Ill. branch has joined with fifty new members.

The North-Side German Branch of Chicago has been organized with fifteen members.

The Chicago State Convention decided unanimously for affiliation with the party.

A Pittsburgh ward branch with seventy-five members in good standing asks for information about how to obtain a charter.

The first Italian Branch of the Communist Party has been chartered in Beloit, Wis., and another branch is in the process of being organized in Pennsylvania.

Milwaukee, Too.

Milwaukee, the former stronghold of Moderate Socialism is no longer to enjoy that distinction. The Communists of Milwaukee are building a strong organization. A City Central Committee has been organized and the dubious distinction enjoyed by that city in the past will soon be wiped out by Communist propaganda and organization work.

New Party Branches.

Charters applications for new branches are ready for distribution. Seven persons who are in agreement with the constitution and program of the party may form a branch. If you can build an organization in your city write for a charter application to the address above.

A Propaganda Suggestion.

The distribution of literature is the most effective form of propaganda. The Communist Party will rely upon this method of reaching the workers as the major weapon to enlighten and organize the workers of the world. In the past the work of selling papers and pamphlets has been the work of one man, the literature agent. The entire membership must be mobilized for this work in the future.

Try this plan in your branch. Buy a hundred Communist Party pamphlets—the Manifesto, Program, Constitution and Report to the International—is already being shipped out. Buy a hundred copies of "The Communist Party." Watch for the by-elections in the same manner.

Every branch member comes in contact with workers who will buy literature and should be given the opportunity to assist in selling pamphlets and papers. Organize your branch for this work and you will be carrying on a campaign that will bring big results.

Northwest Side Branch No. 1.

Organized in Chicago.

At the 28th Ward Headquarters, Tuesday evening, September 12th, was organized Northwest Side Branch No. 1 of the Communist Party. The 28th Ward Branch of the Socialist Party had already organized itself as the Delta Club, and the Delta Club has become a branch of the Communist Party.

It is noteworthy that Comrade Karl F. M. Sandberg, who presided at this meeting, was one of the delegates in the Communist Labor Party Convention, held at the same time as the Communist Party Convention. Comrade Sandberg gave his support to the move to join the Communist Party.

Comrade Joseph Van Beest was elected Secretary of the new branch. Meetings are set for Tuesday evenings. Applications for membership will be received fine all residents of the Northwest Side until a City Central is organized and makes other arrangements. The meeting place is at 2518 W. Fullerton Ave., and the Secretary's address is 2403 E. Paul Ave.

The action of this meeting is expected to carry the endorsement of practically all the 100 members of the old 28th Ward Branch, making this the first Ward Branch to come into the Communist Party in Chicago, as it was the first Ward Branch to take the Left Wing position as an organization.

The plan is to form an organization in your city and invite 100 comrades to form a nucleus for the reorganization of the old party on the Northwest Side.
that is needed. The desire for human existence finally struck. The desire for human existence against unionism, enough progress has been made for the calling of this strike. The desire for human existence; for human existence will carry the workers to the next fight, and then to the next.

The N. E. C., after these desperate acts and after refusing to make public the vote on the referendum to affiliate with the Communist International, decided to retain office until the convention of August 30, although constitutionally it should have retired on June 30.

The issue was now definite. No compromise was conceivable. Events were directly making for a split and the organization of a new party. The Old Guard was concerned with retaining control of the Socialist Party organization, even if minus the bulk of the membership; the Left Wing was concerned with the principles and tactics.

5. The National Left Wing Conference and After

Just prior to the session of the National Executive Committee, Local Boston, Local Cleveland and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, issued a call for a National Left Wing Conference, which met in New York City on June 21. The Conference was composed of 34 delegates representing 29 states, and coming overwhelmingly from the large industrial centers, the heart of the militant proletarian movement.

There was a difference of opinion in the Conference as to whether a Communist Party should be organized immediately, or whether the struggle should be carried on within the Socialist Party until the emergency convention August 30. The proposal to organize a new party immediately was defeated, 55 to 38. Thereupon 31 delegates, consisting mostly of the Federation comrades and the delegates of the Socialist Party of Michigan, determined to withdraw from the Conference. The majority in the Conference decided to participate in the Socialist Party emergency convention, all expelled and suspended locals to send contesting delegates; but issued a call for a convention September 1 "of all revolutionary elements" to organize a Communist Party together with delegatesosed from the Socialist Party convention.

(Continued next week)

THE WORKER IN STEEL

Auspices of the Communist Party of America
TO PROTEST AGAINST THE MILITARY INVASION AND MARTIAL LAW AT GARY

Tuesday, Oct. 14, 8 P. M. Car Men's Hall, Ashland & Van Buren

Workers unite against the suppression of Strikes by Military Force. Stand by the workers of Gary in their struggle against the capitalist class. Come in thousands and show your solidarity.

ADMISSION FREE.