

social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

### Program of the Call

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-Partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership Leagues and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchistic or democratic republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Socialist transformation.

4. The Party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

### The basis of our political campaign should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasion of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of Socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no separate city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary Socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come, within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the

council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated, of a centralized party organization.

Organizations indorsing the principles and program outlined as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the convention in Chicago on September 1st, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every five hundred members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, also, that each Language Federation shall have one fraternal delegate at the convention.

Provided further, that in states where the states are organized, they shall send delegates as states. In states which are not organized, the locals shall send delegates as such. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send a delegate.

### National Organization Committee

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Send communications to the National Office of the Organization Committee: Dennis E. Batt, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

## Bulletins

Chicago, Ill., July 10.—Eighty-one delegates of the Communist League of Chicago after hearing the report of their delegates to the Left Wing Conference unanimously endorsed the action of the minority group and repudiated the action of two delegates, I. E. Ferguson and Wm. Bross Lloyd who remained with the majority group. The meeting sent greetings to the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, pledging its unqualified support. As a concrete expression of their approval the delegates voted an appropriation of five hundred dollars from the League treasury for the purpose of aiding the committee in its work of organizing the new party. It was further decided to proceed at once with the formation of a Local which will be known as Local Cook County of the Communist Party. The new Local starts in with a membership of more than four thousand and urges all other groups who are in sympathy with the new party to proceed immediately in the work of organization.

Pittsburg, Pa., July 2.—“We, three hundred members of Local Allegheny County, Socialist Party, send our greetings to the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party. Long live the Communist Party of America! Long live the Third International!”

New York, July 9th, 1919.

Dear Comrade Stoklitsky:—

I wish to notify you that the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Federation has decided to join the newly created movement for the formation of a Communist Party. Until recently we were in favor of delaying action until the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, but as we have received no assurance from the Majority delegates of the Left Wing Conference that it is their intention to organize a Communist Party, therefore, we, the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party sever our connection with the National Council elected by the majority delegates to the Left Wing Conference and affiliate with the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party, with headquarters in Chicago.

More than seventy-five branches of the Ukrainian Federation, Socialist Party, have approved the action taken by me at the Left Wing Conference in New York; but in spite of this I am sending out a new bulletin to all Branches of the Ukrainian Federation, Socialist Party, and assure you that more than five thousand of our members will solidly support the action of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Federation.

Please notify the secretary of the National Organization Committee which has issued the call for a convention in Chicago on September 1st, that it is our desire that he add the name of

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