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ism"—that "socialism" which for years and years was an inspiration to all opportunists.

Knowing that the party would never renounce its opportunistic, petty-bourgeois position while the reins remained in the hands of the persons who advertised in their papers (for money) the candidates of the corrupt capitalist parties (Berger in Milwaukee Leader), or such who were showing their "loyalty" to the "working class" by having their photographs in soldier's uniform printed in the campaign leaflets (former Mayor Van Lear of Minneapolis)—the revolutionary elements realized that it was possible to fight against such reactionary rule in the party only by organizing the revolutionary forces for the benefit of Revolutionary Socialism.

In the meanwhile the war came. The masses became restless. Individual members of the party and entire branches began to demand from the party officers answers to the question raised by "democracy." Something had to be done, because silence on the part of the opportunists would take the party machinery out of their hands. In order to save their "authority" from going into bankruptcy the opportunists convoked the famous convention at St. Louis and there betrayed the members of the Socialist Party by feigning that they had become radical. Their fear was that the party might turn still more radical (read Berger's confession in Judge Landis' Court at Chicago), and they secretly hoped to turn the party back again into the old rut as soon as the "heat" of the "fanatics" was gone. They accomplished this splendidly during the time of greatest reaction by announcing that the party members should interpret the St. Louis platform "according to their views." But they made a mistake again. It is true, there were many members who indeed acted according to their own personal "views." However the "spirit" of the radicals not only did not evaporate, but on the contrary, it captured still greater numbers of the party members than before.

Then the Russian, German and Hungarian Revolutions placed squarely before the party the clear question: will it go with the reactionary elements, which during the entire period of the war have so earnestly worked for bourgeoisie; or will it go with that socialist movement, which the worst reaction of the four years has failed to bring down? To answer this question a party convention was necessary. But the National Executive Committee did not see any reason for calling the convention, explaining through the mouth of Germer, that . . . the "regular" convention is coming the next year (for the nomination of candidates to governmental offices) and it will be possible to solve there "all such" questions; and if the convention should be called now, it would be a hard thing even to cover the expenses. . . .

Where is the secret of this refusal to call the convention? It is here: The Left Wing in the party might send to the convention the majority of delegates, to put the party in a position as fearful to the opportunistic "modernists" as is hell to the true believer. The Left elements would unite the party with the European Communists, so hateful to Victor Berger & Co., and still worse, this convention might arrive at the conclusion that no place could be spared in the party to the brothers of Phillip Scheidemann. In order to fool the party members the National Executive Committee planned the "Amnesty" convention instead of the party convention, and

"found" money to pay Mahlon Barnes \$50.00 a week for the "preliminary arrangement" of the convention. They thought everything would be smoothed out this way. In their scheme to call the "amnesty" convention the party officers renounced even its class character, they decided to call the convention not in the name of the party but in the name of some colorless league and they invited for its organizers even such elements as officers of the American Federation of Labor (who gave no answer at all) and of the People's Council (which but recently refused to allow Comrade Debs to make a speech; which adopted the Wilsonian "fourteen points" etc.—yet the party members, earnestly desiring to free the prisoners, in the absence of the opportunity to discuss the question of "Amnesty" Convention more fully, at first did not oppose such decision of the N. E. C., at least to no extent.

Entirely different, however, was the sending of delegates to the conference of social-traitors at Berne. The National Executive Committee was vigorously denounced in this instance even while in session in Jan-

send from everywhere the strongest protests against such decision of the committee—not only against wasting of money on the pleasure ride of a couple of opportunists but also because of bringing the greatest shame upon the Socialist movement in this country; they demanded not only the recall of this decision of the committee, but at the same time to help the real Socialists of Europe to establish the Third International. But the N. E. C., the majority of whom understand Socialism not a bit better than does William Jennings Bryan, having in its hands the party machinery and understanding well its power, again decided to ignore the demands of the membership, still hoping that the revolutionary spirit would disappear and all will be "well" again.

It is true it took some time for that spirit to assert itself. But it did assert itself. The returns of the elections of the officers of the party have shown that the opportunists were beaten to the dust, that party management was taken away from them. And, mark you, they are "grown men," as Goebel says, and know that they can dictate the party's position

bers. Everybody knows that only the State itself has a constitutional right to expel members, no one has given such right to the N. E. C., and therefore the purpose of Gerber's coming was something else.

For one thing he said that one member of the executive committee of local New York always attended the meetings of various branches where the elections of any party officers were in progress and saw to it that the branches were voting . . . "properly"! In other words he put on the branches the usual reactionary paw of the corrupt politicians of Tammany Hall. But, notwithstanding the fact, that the "election boss" at the meeting was watching that the branch voted "properly," many of the branches unanimously voted for the candidates of the Left Wing and the opportunists were defeated even in such center of social-patriots as New York! Then what could be expected from places where the votes were not "sure"? All this was explained by Gerber in his hour and a half speech . . . He called attention of the N. E. C. especially to the fact that the most ballots for the Left Wing candidates were cast by foreign speaking branches; that they had "steering committees" to indicate how to vote (he almost forgot his "report" of just a few minutes ago that he was sending his "representatives" to the branches to "watch" that they should vote "properly". . .).

Then followed the report of National Secretary Germer. He remarked at the outset that the Russian, Lithuanian and some other foreign language Federations during the last few months were growing so rapidly, that it was simply an "unnatural" growth, etc. . . . And this shows nothing else but the desire and effort on the part of the leaders of these numbers of "heads" by the help of whom "they could seize the Socialist Party of America". . . Therefore he asked the committee to do something . . . to prevent the Left wingers from taking possession of the party". . .

After some time he presented to the N. E. C. the charge against the Socialist Party of Michigan because it allowed the membership to have a referendum vote on the question of the advocacy of legislative reform. In that charge and in supplement to it (everything in the official report!) Germer chided the Leftwingers so much that even Shiplacoff, that King of the Adventurists, advised omission of some parts as "not pertaining to the report." But the main point was this: the members in Michigan had voted for the Left Wing candidates—several thousand votes! Therefore without any ceremony, without paying any attention to the fact that the motion to forbid the advocacy of legislative reforms was only in the process of referendum vote and might yet be rejected (which was plainly noted also by the members of the N. E. C., Comrades Kagenknecht and Katterfeld)—this did not stop the reactionaries bent on holding the reins of the party's management in their hands at any price. They refused even to give a chance to the Comrades of Michigan to explain or vindicate themselves—they eliminated the entire organization by a single stroke of the pen. And only a fool can fail to understand that this elimination was directed not for the protection of the party constitution but for purpose of throwing out the votes undesirable to the opportunists, because the members of the N. E. C. had admitted themselves that they had no knowledge whether the Michi-

Comrades!

The Call of the Third International has been answered by the formation of the Communist Party of America. The expense of the propaganda necessary to make that party a success must be met. The expenses of the convention that will finally draw up the manifesto, program and constitution of the Communist Party of America must be defrayed.

In the state of Michigan an assessment of one dollar per member has been levied to meet the expense of organization. That is not excessive and should be easily met.

We have not the space to make a full page appeal to you in this matter, even if it were necessary. The space in this paper is too valuable and must be used for other purposes.

We know that you are behind us and will see the need of funds and answer the call. ACT NOW! Make your contribution as large as possible. With your loyal support the future of the Communist Party of America is assured.

Make all checks and money orders payable to J. V. STILSON, Treasurer, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
DENNIS E. BATT, Secretary

uary, at which time this decision was made. I myself participated in this session and strongly protested against such conduct of the N. E. C., pointing that our party, if not in fact then at least in theory held a somewhat clearer position than the traitors of working-class interests—Scheidemann, Ebert, Kautsky, Plechanoff, Henderson, Thomas, Guesde and other "socialists" of this kind. I stated that the Russian and German Communist parties were calling their conference at Moscow for the purpose of creating the Third International. Then National Secretary Germer pompously stated that no one knew about such a conference being called at Moscow and that Stilson was taking his news from the capitalist papers (as if he was "taking" his news about the conference of social-traitors at Berne from any source other than the capitalist papers!).

As soon as the party members learned that the National Executive Committee decided to join the American Socialist Party to the yellow socialists in Europe—they began to

just as long as the party management is in their hands. Therefore they decided to oppose the will of the membership at any cost. And for that purpose there is but one means—force. And here immediately after known incidents in New York where the opportunists have asked the police to throw the Left Socialists out of a meeting—a Socialist meeting. Secretary Germer went to New York on a "visit". . . The results of this "visit" was that immediately after his return to Chicago reports came that both English and foreign language branches which had joined the Left Wing were thrown out of the New York state organization. . . .

On May 24 of this year there was a session of the N. E. C. in Chicago, Julius Gerber secretary of local New York and member of the state executive committee, came to it "without invitation" as he said himself and as Germer confirmed. Now, what did he come for? He came to vindicate the conduct of New York local and state executive committee in eliminating from the party several thousand mem-