

issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic development of 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. Communist 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 implication 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 Communism 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 precalculation. 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 tactic 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 ac-

cepts 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 endorsing the principles and program outlined above as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the Convention at Chicago on September 1, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, that States which are organized and endorsing this call shall send as States. In States which are not organized the organized locals accepting this call shall send delegates as locals. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send delegates.

Provided further, that organizations composed of less than 251 members shall be given fractional votes; and provided that the total vote for each State represented at the Convention shall not exceed one, plus one per 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Organizations sending delegates will be assessed Fifty Dollars for each delegate. This fund will be applied to equalize railroad fare of all delegates to the Convention. Organizations having less than 251 members which are unable to pay all of this amount (\$50) are urged to send delegates. A special fund will be created to defray their traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organizations sending delegates. In the event the delegates are not provided with funds for rooms and meals, effort will be made to assist them.

Do not fail to be represented at this historic Convention. All delegates, either directly or through their local secretaries, are requested to communicate with the National Secretary immediately following their election. Uniform credential blanks will be furnished.

For the National Organization Committee,
DENNIS E. BATT, Sec'y.

For the National Left Wing Council,
I. E. FERGUSON, Sec'y.

On all matters relating to the Communist Convention, address: 1221 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

AN OPEN LETTER

To the Revolutionary Socialists of the United States:
Comrades:

Realizing the utter futility of "capturing the Socialist Party of America for revolutionary Socialism," I have definitely and for all time severed my affiliation with that organization and have joined the Communist Party of America, which is the one organization in this country based upon the principles of international socialism as enunciated in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 and subsequently elaborated by its authors, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, also by Lafargue, Dietzgen, Labriola, etc., into the system known as scientific socialism. The fundamental principles of that which has come to be known as the theoretical system of Marx have been practically applied by Lenin and Trotsky and the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki). History has gloriously justified that socialism and emphatically shown to the world the futility of that pseudo-socialism of which the Socialist Party of America has been an inglorious example.

The position I take today is not in any way an alteration of the position in opposition to the reformist, compromising, conciliatory attitude of the Socialist Party that I have taken since 1914. Since that time I have been convinced that the Socialist Party was not only the greatest impediment to real socialism in America, but I have had abundant evidence

also that its paid officials—national and state secretaries, speakers and organizers—also every National Executive Committee it has ever had, did everything in their power to prevent the dissemination of scientific socialism; even stooping to the gutter in order to besmirch anyone who had the audacity to challenge its compromising position.

Time passed and in 1916 I was fortunate enough to become associated with the Michigan movement as speaker and organizer. There, for the first time in my experience in the movement, I came in contact with the small group of revolutionary socialists who co-operated with me in the dissemination of real socialism. The organization and educational work carried on by that group placed Michigan in the front ranks of the revolutionary movement and permeated the organizations in surrounding states.

Since October, 1917, I have been on the Pacific Coast and my activity in the movement there resulted in my election to the so-called National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. In that capacity I came to Chicago and participated in the committee meeting of July 26-27. It was apparent to that committee that the old National Executive Committee, representing pseudo-socialism, which had already expelled the state organizations of Michigan and Massachusetts and suspended the language federa-

tions, was determined to maintain control of the party machinery. The new N. E. C. in a proclamation to the membership, justly accused the old N. E. C. of disrupting the organization, but subsequent events have proven conclusively that the majority of the new N. E. C. does not possess sufficient foresight and understanding to enable it to function for the vanguard of the proletariat in this country.

The so-called "left wing" which has carried on a propaganda of criticism within the organization had split into two groups—a minority, represented by the Michigan movement and the language federations, which declared for withdrawal from the old party and the immediate organization of a Communist Party; and a majority which desired to remain within the party and capture it for "revolutionary socialism." The majority of the so-called "left wing" was composed of a most peculiar combination of individuals with most diverse and in some instances fantastic conceptions of the proletarian movement; the materialist and the Roman Catholic, the sentimentalist and the nihilist, the pure and simple industrialist, and the pure and simple parliamentarian, formed a heterogeneous conglomeration that could only result in confusion. Opposed to that element was the minority who withdrew from the June 21st conference and issued a call for the immediate organization of