

the holding of a Convention, but on the method of electing delegates.

6. We, of the City Committee, feel that we have in no way violated the State Constitution or the Rules of the City Committee. On the contrary, we feel that the State Executive Committee is unlawfully exercising its powers in upholding the rule of a small minority who, at the present time, in spite of the efforts of the majority, are unlawfully maintaining their control of the Party machines in Locals New York and Bronx. By your action you are lending your aid to the violation of the most sacred Party principle and discipline, namely; the opportunity of the rank and file to initiate and determine for itself Party Policies and Tactics, and to that extent, the accusations you make against the Left Wing of disrupting and splitting the Socialist Party is hurled back at you and you will be held responsible to the Party Membership.

Fraternal submitted,
For City Committee,
EDWARD I. LINEGREN,
MAURICE L. PAUL,
ALBERT PAULY.

A General Party Membership meeting of Local Queens will be held this Monday, June 16th, 8.15 P. M. sharp. The order of business for the meeting will be as follows:

1. General discussion on the present crisis in the Socialist Party.

And the policies and tactics leading up to the same.

2. Action of National and State Executive Committees expelling entire State organization, Language Federations and Locals.

3. Revocation of the Charter of Local Queens.

Admittance to the meeting will be by membership card only. Members are requested to be on time as the questions are very pressing.

MAURICE L. PAUL,
Organizer, Local Queens.

ONE hundred and thirty-six delegates attended the opening of the Jewish Federation Convention which took place in Boston on June 1. The Right Wing got into action as soon as the proceedings opened. It elected its own credentials committee which proceeded to admit all Right Wingers, pass upon the validity of those holding proxies and deprive seventeen Left Wing delegates of seats on various flimsy pretexts. About fifty-three Left Wing delegates succeeded in being seated.

On the question of abolishing the "reform planks" in the Socialist Party platform, the fight between the two wings developed, ending in thirty-eight Left Wing delegates bolting from the convention when the Left Wing Manifesto and Program, which embodied their principles on the question at issue, was defeated.

Together with the seventeen delegates who had been deprived of seats by the Right Wing Credentials Committee the bolting delegates formed a convention in a hall below. This convention was immediately joined by twelve more delegates from Left Wing locals, who reported that as they were under instructions from their locals not to bolt they were unable to take part in the new convention, but that they refused to participate in the convention dominated by the Rights and were returning home. They further reported that they were in complete sympathy with the Left and would request their locals to join the Left Wing Federation then being formed.

It is stated that the number of delegates appearing at the convention did not constitute the full strength of the Left Wing, as many locals were forced to vote by proxy, owing to being unable to meet the traveling expenses. Locals such as Seattle, which are Left Wing, were forced to accept the proxy given them by the Secretary. Most of the western locals had to vote by proxy and in each case the vote was thrown to the Right Wing although many of these western locals are definitely known to be Left.

The Second Jewish Branch of New York, which has been re-organized by the Right Wing, sent five delegates, while eleven other members of the same branch were present and voting as proxies, though it was formed only a few days before the convention, and the rules state that no branch can send more than one delegate, if it has been organized less than three months.

The Left Wing Convention organized the Jewish Left Wing Section and elected a temporary secretary and temporary Executive Committee of nine. It is planned to hold another convention shortly to organize on a permanent basis.

The Left Wing, as shown in partial election returns, has swept the Socialist Party. Early returns indicate a complete victory for revolutionary So-

cialism, the conquest of the Party for the Communist International.

The official vote on International delegates from eleven states—Georgia, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida, Rhode Island, Maine, Kentucky, Arkansas, Minnesota, Michigan and Massachusetts, gives the following results:

John Reed, 7,679; Louis C. Fraina, 7,077; A. Wagenknecht, 5,423; C. Ruthenberg, 4,523; I. E. Ferguson, 2,538. These, the candidates receiving the highest vote, are all Left Wing candidates. The moderates of the Right Wing received these votes: Victor Berger, 1,139; Adolph Germer, 908; Seymour Stedman, 789; James Oneal, 778; A. I. Shipiloff, 663; Algernon Lee, 565; John M. Work, 457.

In these eleven states, Kate Richards O'Hare has overwhelmingly beaten Morris Hillquit for International Secretary. Incomplete reports from other states indicate that the Left Wing has secured a substantial majority in all state organizations. This is the election that the moderates on the N. E. C. are trying to steal.

In the District 1 elections for National Executive Committee, returns from Maine, Rhode Island and Massachusetts give these results: Louis C. Fraina, 3,130; Nicholas I. Hourwich, 2,544; E. Lindgren, 1,472; Ludwig Lore, 940; Morris Hillquit, 838; James Oneal, 688; A. I. Shipiloff, 519.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

National Executive Committee

1. Ruthenberg 1,199 votes
2. Harwood 1,120 votes
3. Prevey 1,058 votes

International Delegates.

1. Reed 1,396 votes
2. Fraina 1,113 votes
3. Ruthenberg 781 votes
4. Wagenknecht 760 votes

International Secretary

Kate Richards O'Hare 865 votes
Morris Hillquit 344 votes

"That the National Executive Committee arrange for an emergency Convention to be held as soon as can be arranged:

YES 1,269
No 87

Why Political Democracy Must Go

(Continued from page 4)

the American people to the position of debtors for half a century.

Another way by which the Constitution-framers profited. Although pledged to secrecy in the Convention, they used their knowledge of the proceedings to speculate in land and government securities and currency, before knowledge was made public.

An analogy with the present situation regarding the Peace Treaty with Germany, which has got into the hands of the great financial interests before it has reached the people, will readily suggest itself...

The Constitution so devised has been the framework of the American Government, and has consistently thwarted the will of the majority of the people ever since it was adopted, except in cases of an overwhelming majority. Patrick Henry, upon reading the document, exclaimed, "It is, sir, a most fearful situation when the most contemptible minority can prevent the alteration of the most oppressive government; for it may, in many respects, prove to be such."

Professor Burgess protests against the system for amending the Constitution, and in doing so, unwittingly criticizes the entire document:

"When in a democratic political society, the well-matured, long, and deliberately-formed will of the undoubted majority can be persistently and successfully thwarted, in the amendment of the organic law, by the will of the minority, there is just as much danger to the States from revolution and violence as there is from the caprice of the majority."

So much for the foundations of the American republic; so much for "the most advanced political democracy in the world." However, there have been times when the great capitalists in control of the Government, deliberately violated the Constitution, when it suited their interests; for example, just after the Civil War, when the Republicans in Congress forbade the Supreme Court to pass upon some of their reconstruction legislation, on pain of being dissolved. Toward the working-class, however the Supreme Court has become more and more the obstructive instrument of capitalist class-interest, and the Constitution an ever greater weapon against the workers; even to the point where it has upheld the conviction of Eugene V. Debs.

From time to time the Constitution has been amended, and its provisions interpreted, so as to widen and strengthen the political powers of the people in Government—in other words, our Government has become more "democratic."

But this is only in proportion as the great capitalists strengthen the Invisible Government, and as

the processes of "political democracy" became less and less able to overthrow their absolute hegemony—in other words, the center of Government has finally shifted completely from the Capitol and the White House to Wall street. This became clear during the Great War.

My next and last article of this series will point out some ways by which the American capitalist class preserves and strengthens its power.

(To be concluded.)

A Reply to a Farmer

(Continued from page 3)

In societies where the class antagonisms have not yet been developed distinctly, this public power of coercion is small. This was formerly true in our own country. This public power of coercion "increases in the same ratio in which class antagonisms become more pronounced, and in which neighboring states become larger and more populous". The United States offers a splendid example of the truth of this. In the last two decades, class lines in America have become acutely pronounced. In the same period the public power of coercion has increased in direct proportion to the sharpening class divisions. The European class struggles and wars of conquest have also nursed the public power of coercion to a tremendous size. To maintain this power the citizens pay, taxes, and the State contracts debts, loans, and makes drafts on the future.

Engels has clearly shown that "the State is a product of irreconcilable class contradictions and conflicts. But having arisen among these conflicts,

it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The antique State, was, therefore, the State of the slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal State was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative State is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor." In a democracy the capitalist class exerts its power indirectly but with more certainty. Thus in America, through its wealth, the bourgeoisie, corrupts officials, form government and stock exchange alliances, and has a more sure hold on the agencies by means of which the will of the masses is baffled. Especially in a republic, for example America, "what is good for the ruling class is alleged to be good for the whole of society with which the ruling class identifies itself". Thus we see that the American Socialist movement must be particularly on guard against the numerous snares and delusions of bourgeois democracy.

(To be continued)

LEFT PROPAGANDA MEETING

Under the auspices of

1st A. D. Socialist Party, Bronx County

This Friday eve., June 13, 8 P. M.

at

LETTISH HALL

371 Willis Ave., near 143rd St., Bronx

Speakers:

BENJAMIN GITLOW
ISRAEL AMTER
EADMONN McALPINE
LOUIS BAUM, Chairman

Admission Free to All

LEFT WING PICNIC

Sunday, August 24th, 1919,

at

EASTERN BOULEVARD PARK

Eastern Boulevard and Fort Schuyler Road, Westchester, Bronx, N. Y.

Oriental Dances by Miss Katayama and Troupe.

Other attractions to be announced later. A Red Picnic—A Great Time—For a Red Cause. Men, Women and Children of the Working Class. Come and enjoy yourselves!

Picnic starts 10 A. M.

Arranged by the Left Wing Members of Bronx. Admission 30c in advance—35c at gate

Left Wing Mass Meeting

SUNDAY, JUNE 22, at 8 P. M.

At Manhattan Lyceum

66 E. 4th Street

Admission Free