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where the Convention will meet, together with the roster of delegates. Our temporary executive secretary will call the convention to order.

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The purpose of the old N. E. C. is to retain control for moderate petty bourgeois Socialism as against the proletarian Socialism of the Left Wing. It sabotaged the election; it expelled and suspended more than 35,000 members (and threatens to expel more) in order to control the Convention. This must be prevented; and your N. E. C., accordingly, assumes full control of this Convention—the most important in the party's history—in order that it shall actually become an expression of the revolutionary Socialism in the party. No postponement of the Convention by the old N. E. C. must be recognized by the party; no pleas of lack of money must be accepted; your N. E. C. assumes full financial responsibility. At this moment of crisis in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism, to abandon the Convention is treason to the revolutionary proletariat.

On the issues of the Convention, your N. E. C. adopts the following declaration:

The movement which culminated in the calling of the Emergency National Convention of August 30, did not have its origin in a contest over administrative actions of the party executive committee; its origin was a demand by large sections of the party membership for a re-formulation of the party tactics and a restatement of its principles in harmony with the revolutionary Socialist practice of the Bolsheviks of Russia.

Local after local, in resolutions and demonstrations urged the National Executive Committee to call a convention, great masses of the membership declared their adherence to the new revolutionary principles, but the National Executive Committee, the representative of moderate Socialism—the Socialism of Scheidemann and Kerensky—acting as self-appointed guardians of the party, refused to accede to the demand of the membership for a convention.

It was only after the membership itself had taken the matter out of the hands of the National Executive Committee and had endorsed the convention by an overwhelming vote, that the convention was finally called.

In their effort to maintain their rule of the party the moderate Socialists of the National Executive Committee did not hesitate to disrupt the organization. Members have been expelled and suspended wholesale in order to influence the vote of the referendum election, and to give the old National Executive Committee and moderate Socialism control of the convention and the party. These reactionary and treacherous acts have injected into the present party situation a bitter struggle for control of the party organization and the danger exists that this factional struggle over democracy against autocracy within the organization may overshadow the original purpose of the call for a national convention—to reorganize the Socialist Party of the U. S. on the basis of the Communist Socialism which is sweeping through the ranks of the Proletarian movement of the world and everywhere bringing new inspiration and courage to the workers in their struggle for emancipation. The old National Executive Committee consciously inspired this process by attempting to refer to the convention the controversial questions over administrative actions, which its disruptive

Recognizing this danger we call upon the membership to elect representatives to the Emergency National Convention, not merely on the basis of settling questions arisen out of the reactionary administrative action of the old National Executive Committee—the issue is not party democracy as against party autocracy, but Revolutionary Socialism against Moderate Socialism—but on the basis of reorganizing the party for the achievement of Communist Socialism.

The action of the membership in this question has already been indicated in the overwhelming and all but unanimous endorsement by referendum vote of affiliation with the Communist International, side by side with the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Russia and the Communist Labor Party (Spartacans) of Germany and other Communist parties of Europe. The work of the Emergency National Convention of August 30, will be to reorganize the Socialist Party on the basis of the Communist Socialist principles and tactics outlined in the declaration of the Communist International. *Out of the Emergency National Convention came the Communist Party of the United States.*

"To carry out this purpose we adopt the following program:

I.—We re-affirm the call for the Emergency National Convention to be held on August 30, in Chicago, and call upon all party units to send delegates irrespective of any action which the usurping members of the former National Executive Committee may take.

II.—The convention will be held under the direction of this committee and the Executive Secretary elected by it will make up the roster of delegates and will call the convention to order.

III.—We call upon all sections of the party expelled or suspended by the reactionary Executive Committee and re-instated by this committee, to send delegates as provided in the rules of party procedure.

IV.—We call upon all party units expelled by state or local organizations to take such actions, in accordance with their local rules, as will insure them representation.

The Left Wing is simply the assertion of revolutionary Socialism in our party. It is a legitimate movement expressing the mass revolutionary sentiment of the party—legitimately organized to awaken the members to the necessity of Communist Socialism.

The party has, in referendum, (also suppressed by the old N. E. C.) overwhelmingly accepted affiliation with the Communist International.

This acceptance of the Bolshevik-Spartacan Communist International imposes the obligation for transforming the principles and tactics of the Socialist Party in accord with the Communist International—to build the Communist Party of the United States, the constituent elements of which are the revolutionary masses in our party.

You cannot, comrades, brook any compromise on this issue. You must act, and act uncompromisingly as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Communist Party in every nation is rallying the revolutionary proletariat against Capitalism and Imperialism. Harkening to the inspiration of the Communists of the First International and of the Paris Commune, and answering the call of the Communists of Russia, Hungary and Germany, the Communist Party calls the proletariat to the final struggle.

Comrades, history calls to you! We must challenge Capitalism; we must rally the proletariat for the Communist struggle, in accord with our own conditions.

The Socialist Party is hampered in its activity. But August 30, in the Chicago Convention, will mark the end of the Left Wing controversy. Revolutionary Socialism will control. You will crush the moderates. You will act! You will transform our party into a Communist Party, to express the mass struggle of the proletariat.

Then—action! Then—the revolutionary struggle!

We must go to the proletariat. We must build our movement anew. We must get the masses in our party—and answer the Communist call for action.

There are 30,000,000 American wage-workers—the force of potential revolution. Our chief task is to awaken and organize these proletarian masses, wage the working class struggle.

It is our determination—as it is yours, comrades—to act on problems of organization. We shall, as conditions allow, develop and unify our means of action; we shall systematically develop our press under party ownership, establish a party-owned publishing house, a party school for agitators, and a comprehensive lecture bureau. We shall develop the necessary technique to get your call for revolutionary action to the masses of the American proletariat.

The final struggle is coming. Our deeds in the days to come shall make proletarian history. Comrades—prepare!

Here and There

WE, of the Left Wing, have had some experience with a group in New York who issued a paper called *The Socialist*. We now find the first number of a paper called *The Communist*, issued by a group in Chicago. As far as we are able to discover the only Socialism in *The Socialist* was that contained in the title. Knowing the difficulty of getting out a new paper we don't want to be harsh in our criticism but we must candidly admit that the only Communism we can find in *The Communist* is also contained in the name. Apparently our Communist friends are laboring under the same delusion as *The Socialist* group: That if you call yourself by a name often enough you really take on the character that the name implies.

On the first page of *The Communist* we learn that it is the official paper of the "Communist Party of America" while immediately underneath this interesting information we find a "Call for a National Convention for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party of America." Of course we are always willing to learn but we frankly admit that we are unable to see how a publication can be the official paper of something that is not yet organized. On page five we learn from Alexander Stoklitsky that the National Left Wing Convention majority is made up of wavering centrist elements which constitute a "fetid swamp." On learning this astounding fact we immediately reverted to the first page Convention call to see wherein this real Communist-Bolshevik group differed from us only to find to our astonishment that the call is lifted bodily from the Manifesto and Program of the "fetid swamp." As we said before we are always willing to learn but so far no one has told us how a Communist Party can be formed on a centrist program. We always thought there was some sort of relation between a party and the program upon which it is founded.

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The bourgeois press is jubilant over the "failure" of the General Strike in Italy, France and England. So far as we can ascertain the failure lay chiefly with the "leaders"—such "failures" have an awkward way of spelling success for the proletariat.

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We see by the papers that the English House of Commons approves the Peace Treaty—now it only requires Congress to do likewise and then everybody will know that it is an iniquitous document.

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Puzzle: What connection is there between the "rights of small nations" and Italy taking the cables from Austria?

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The *New York Times* sees in the race riots, the results of Bolshevik and pro-German propaganda among the negroes. Would it not be nearer the mark to say that the riots are the result of the Americanism of the *New York Times* brand.

Now—do not relax your agitation. Do not allow the old N. E. C. to hamper your struggle for our class war prisoners—concentrate on this issue locally. Integrate your organization. *Elect Left Wing delegates to the Emergency convention* to express your revolutionary ideals.

You shall conquer!

Act, comrades—against Capitalism and reactionary Socialism.

Greetings to the revolutionary masses in our party! Long live the Communist International!