

The Left Wing Unites

THE action of the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, and the Central Committee of the Federated Russian Federations in issuing a Joint Call for a Convention on September 1 to organize a Communist Party, ends the split in the Left Wing forces.

This is agreement, not compromise. It unites the actually revolutionary and Communist forces on both sides. The character of the agreement is shown in the vote: the decision of the National Council was by a vote of *five to two*, and that of the Federations by a vote of *eight to four*. A small faction on both sides interested more in personalities and clique control than in the Communist Party opposed this unity of the Left Wing.

The decision of the National Council is in accord with the purposes of the Left Wing Conference of June 21. The Conference favored the organization of an American Communist Party: the disagreement fundamentally was on procedure.

The procedure adopted by the majority of the Conference was to wage the fight within the Socialist Party until the Emergency Convention in order to rally the revolutionary masses for a Communist Party. The struggle was to come to a climax at the Emergency Convention. This implied a separate convention called by the new N. E. C. of the Socialist Party, a convention that would at the start separate the Left Wing forces from the reactionary moderates and constitute a Left Wing convention under Socialist Party auspices to organize a Communist Party. In this way, the struggle to rally the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party could proceed and the new Communist Party become the historical continuation of the revolutionary elements in the old party. It was a procedure that, assuming the unity of the Left Wing forces, would have achieved great results.

But the Conference split. A minority decided to repudiate the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party and proceed directly to the organization of a Communist Party.

The division constituted more than a split in the Left Wing: *it was a split of the real Communist elements in the Left Wing*. The breaking of our organization unity would have been unimportant; but the breaking of our *revolutionary* unity was disastrous.

The development of events placed both groups in an untenable position. The minority at the Conference learnt that not all who favored a new party were necessarily Communists and were compelled to rely for their English-speaking expression upon comrades whom the Federations themselves admit are not actually Bolshevik, real Communists. The National Council realized that not all who *in words* accepted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing are necessarily Communists, and was plunged into a struggle with Centrists.

The waging of this struggle to a conclusion meant disaster. It meant that the Federation comrades would more and more depend upon the non-Communists from Michigan (who are essentially parliamentarians, repudiating industrial unionism and mass action) while the National Council of the Left Wing would verge more and more toward the Centre. The fatal logic of trying to "put it over" each other, would make each group draw farther away from the real issue—the organization of a Communist Party adapted to American conditions.

In the minority that seceded from the Left

Wing Conference there was a clique that played petty politics, engaging in a gamble for clique control of the new party.

In the majority at the Left Wing Conference there were Centrists, comrades not concerned exclusively with the organization of a Communist Party but with "modifying" the old party and securing control for themselves as against Germer & Co.

The agreement on a joint call for a convention to organize a Communist Party on September 1 unites the Communist elements in the Left Wing, gives each the opportunity of casting off their non-Communist adherents, and uniting all the Communists irresistibly for the conquest of power in the new party.

There was always a larger issue involved in the secession of the minority from the Left Wing Conference than the small clique interested in control, and that was the Communist Party issue. This issue, on which the Left Wing now unites, evoked an enormous response from the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party for a Communist Party, making as clear as crystal the sentiments of the Left Wing masses.

There was another factor which destroyed the campaign to use the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party as the basis for organizing a Communist Party, and *that is the failure of the new N. E. C. to call a separate Socialist Party Convention under its own auspices*. Left Wing delegates who now go to the Emergency Convention are going to a convention of the old N. E. C., packed by the moderates—a packing that has been more than assured by the expulsion of Massachusetts and Philadelphia since the Left Wing Conference and the coming expulsion of Ohio. In answer to these new conditions, the National Council, realizing that its mandate was to assure the organization of a Communist Party has severed relations with the new N. E. C. and the Emergency Convention, concentrating all its forces for the organization of a Communist Party on September 1.

The controversy within the Left Wing must now end; the few comrades on both sides who are disgruntled with the decision to unite are acting against the Communist Party.

Some of the problems in dispute are still unsolved, but they will be solved at the Communist Party Convention. The task now is to organize the convention, to get an adequate representation of the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party. Upon this task depends the future of the revolutionary movement in this country.

Comrades of the Socialist Party: Upon you depends a great decision. Upon you is now the task of drawing the logical conclusions of your revolutionary purposes, and rallying to the Communist Party. A majority of the new N. E. C. elected by you has issued a declaration in favor of a Communist Party: this new N. E. C. and you, comrades, must now recognize that *the actual fulfillment of this declaration depends upon the Communist Party Convention of September 1*.

It is indisputable that the old party is not in accord with revolutionary Socialism. Deprived of the stimulus of the Left Wing agitation within the party, it must more and more rely upon counter-revolutionary moderates, more and more become a Labor Party in fact if not in name. It is equally indisputable that the masses in our country need a Communist Party, aggressive, alert, rallying the masses for the struggle against Capitalism. There is but one way of answering the call of our revolutionary comrades in Europe and the Communist International, and that is to organize a Communist Party. In spite of all and every thing!

The Negro Issue

THE race pogroms organized against the Negro are now apparently under control. Commissions and legislatures are discussing and investigating the "problem," but no action is proposed except such as may maintain the *status quo* or make it worse as against the Negro.

The South cackles in glee at the experience of the North and insists that the only right procedure is to deprive the Negro of all political and social rights, and maintain him in subjection—precisely as the South has done for generations. The politicians of the South are solemnly informing the North that the only way to solve the problem is to repress the Negro; and many of them indicate that mob violence against the Negro and lynching are necessary factors in the process of repressing these submerged people.

All this is contemptible. But the most contemptible aspect of the situation is the exploitation of sex and sex hysteria.

The argument is general that the Negro soldiers were corrupted in France. While in this country they recognized their white "superiors," but in France, is the argument, they were treated as "equals," and they developed "arrogance" in consequence. The fact is that the French have more consideration for the colored races, and acted toward the Negro accordingly. But the lecherous and putrescent minds of certain Americans have distorted this social consideration into a sexual issue; one United States Senator speaks of the Negro soldier as "French-Women ruined." None but a poisonous mind could speak in this fashion.

A member of Congress introduces a measure to prohibit inter-marriage between white and colored people. The whole issue of the equality of the Negro is being consciously distorted into whether white and colored persons should marry. But this is a perversion of the issue.

Equality for the Negro has nothing to do with intermarriage; it is a demand for economic, political and social equality. The whites can accord the Negro equality without being compelled to accept marriage. The hypocrisy of this whole intermarriage issue is exposed in the large numbers of mulattoes in the South, the product of white cohabitation with Negro women, particularly by the "old manor" aristocracy which is most insistent upon maintaining the "purity" of the white race.

The Negro issue is an economic and political issue. The Negro problem is developed by the designs of the propertied classes to maintain the workers in subjection, and accomplish this in a measure by dividing the Negro and white workers on a race issue,—precisely as in California the propertied interests use the Japanese to inflame racial hatred and divert the minds of the workers from the class struggle.

The Negro constitutes a large portion of our proletariat. The white workers must realize that there can be no emancipation for them without the co-operation of the Negro, just as there can be no co-operation for the white workers if the Negro is allowed to become the reactionary tool of the capitalist interests.

As a preliminary toward the achievement of Negro equality, it is necessary for him to achieve *class equality*,—the recognition by the white and colored workers of their identity of interests as a class, their equality in economic bondage, and their equality of purpose in destroying economic oppression as the only means of securing social and economic equality.