

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN, JUNE 25TH, 1921

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CALL PREVIOUSLY ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THE ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION WILL CONVENE IN THE NORTH EASTERN HIGH SCHOOL, WARREN and GRANDY AVE., IN DETROIT, MICH., AT 10:00 A. M. ON SATURDAY, JUNE 25th, 1921.

ROSTER OF DELEGATES

California	Cameron King, San Francisco
Connecticut	Martin F. Plunket, Wallingford
Dist. of Col.	J. W. Richman, Washington
Illinois	J. Louis Engdahl, Chicago
Illinois	Wm. F. Kruse, Chicago
Illinois	W. F. Wenschhoff, Mt. Olive
Indiana	John C. Lewis, Elwood
Iowa	Fred Fuechter, Davenport
Kansas	Ross Magill, Garnett
Kentucky	W. A. Sandefur, Robards
Maryland	S. M. Neistadt, Baltimore
Massachusetts	Harry Fieldman, Springfield
Massachusetts	Henry Puranen, Fitchburg
Massachusetts	George E. Roewer, Boston
Michigan	Lazarus S. Davidow, Detroit
Missouri	G. A. Hoehn, St. Louis
New Hampshire	Geo. Cheatham, Manchester
New Jersey	Milo C. Jones, Newark
New York	H. D. Wilcox, Elmira
New York	Chas. W. Noonan, Schenectady
New York	Samuel Orr, Bronx
New York	Charles Solomon, Brooklyn
New York	Morris Hillquit, New York
New York	Algernon Lee, New York
Northwest Dist.	Otto Newman, Portland, Ore.
Ohio	John G. Willert, Cleveland
Ohio	Jacob Ojala, Ashtabula
Pennsylvania	Jane W. Tait, Pittsburg
Pennsylvania	Jos. E. Cohen, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania	Birch Wilson, Reading
Rhode Island	Peter Marcus, Providence
Southern Dist.	H. F. Flanagan, Atlanta
Utah	O. A. Kennedy, Ogden
West Virginia	S. J. Gordon, Charleston
Wisconsin	Daniel W. Hoan, Milwaukee
Wisconsin	Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee
Wisconsin	Wm. Coleman, Milwaukee
Wisconsin	C. A. Boorman, Wis. Rapids
Wyoming	A. Carlson, Story

NATIONAL REFERENDUM "A," 1921

	Voting "Yes"	Voting "No"
Arizona		4
Arkansas	48	
California	15	56
Colorado	2	4
Connecticut	35	80
D. C.	13	13
Illinois	95	395
Indiana	22	143
Iowa	26	33
Kansas	11	11
Kentucky	3	26
Maine		1
Maryland	3	81
Michigan	21	42
Missouri	57	69
Nebraska	5	16
New Hampshire	4	51
New Jersey	24	223
New York	150	881
Ohio	24	217
Oregon	1	2
Pennsylvania	101	378
Rhode Island	1	
South Dakota	1	
Texas	3	15
Utah	3	5
Vermont	6	20
Virginia		5
Washington	2	
West Virginia	3	9
Wisconsin	691	136
Totals	1,370	2,926
Received too late to be counted:		
Oklahoma		20
Massachusetts	84	515

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

REVIVAL OF THE Y. P. S. L. MOVEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS

State Convention Held at Fitchburg, April 16-17

Regardless of the fact that the first of the present Y. P. S. L. circles Massachusetts was organized but a little over a year ago, no time was wasted in hastening the organization of the state. Upon realizing that the state had already five different circles, with a total membership of about 165 interested young people, preparations were started for holding a state convention.

On the Saturday, April 16, a group of delegates, representing the yipsels of the state, gathered at the meeting hall of the local Y. P. S. L., with firm and serious intentions of laying a solid foundation from which we were to build an organization that would not fall.

Following the election of a State Secretary, etc., there was a lengthy discussion of the improvements advisable in the work of the circles. Attempt was made toward standardizing the methods of procedure as far as practicable. Because of the different methods used by the yipsels some time was expended in the exchange of opinions, and motions were passed on the most important suggestions to be followed in the future. A little more life may be expected from hereon, as the formerly independent circles are planning to make exchanges in entertainments, hold joint outings, and work in harmony and co-operation as much as conditions allow. It was shown by the discussion that the greatest difficulty to be met by the circles, was the apparent falling off of interest in the majority of the members because the few schemes of entertainment had been exhausted by their repeated use, and no one could immediately offer new suggestions. However the delegates were all optimistic, and returned home with the experiences of all the other circles to guide them onward.

For further co-operation the convention decided to officially accept the invitation of the Finnish Socialist Party locals to take part in the great summer festival of the state, held in Fitchburg, July 2, 3 and 4.

Even considering the small membership of today, and the more or less informal convention, this event is of great importance in the history of the Yipsel movement. The effect is already noticeable in the state, for it brings upon the young people not yet members, the realization that the League is no joke, but rather a serious, progressive organization, with its strength in comradeship, and its goal the education of the future generation to Socialism and liberty. There is room for all.

AARNE J. PAAKKARI,

The International Working Union of Socialist Parties

REGULATIONS for the Executive Committee

§1. The Executive Committee is elected by the general conferences of the Working Union at the suggestion of the incorporated parties.

§2. The Executive Committee is constituted by two representatives of each party which has more than five votes in the conferences, and by one representative of each party having five votes in the outside.

§3. The Executive Committee appoints a bureau of five members elected from its midst.

§4. The regular business is discharged by a secretary who is appointed by the Executive Committee to facilitate communication between parties, to see to the carrying out of conference resolutions, to organize an intelligence department, and to take the initiative in common actions.

§6. For defraying costs there will be a levy of a yearly minimum contribution on each party amounting to five per cent of the total income of the party concerned.

§7. These regulations may be altered any time by general resolutions of conferences.

II. RULES

§1. The "International Working Union of Socialist Parties" is a union of such Socialist parties as realizing Socialism by the conquest of political and economic power along the lines of the revolutionary class struggle. The Working Union is not an International embracing the whole revolutionary proletariat, but a means to create such an International.

§2. The Working Union has the task of unifying the activities of the affiliated parties, arranging common action and promoting the establishment of an International which will embrace the whole revolutionary working class of the world.

§3. The Membership of this Union is open to Socialist parties who belong to neither of the party alliances calling themselves the "Second" or the "Third International," who acknowledge these rules as binding on themselves, and who carry out the decisions of the General Conferences of the Working Union.

§4. The carrying out of these resolutions is entrusted by the Working Union to an Executive Committee, whose sphere of activity will be decided by rules to be laid down by the General Conferences.

§5. Expenses will be defrayed by the members of the Working Union in accordance with their financial means, but they shall contribute a yearly minimum subscription which will be fixed by the General Conference.

§6. The resolutions of the Working Union are binding on all its members; in particular all parties belonging to the Union engage not to enter into any separate negotiations for joining with other international organizations, and, for the rest, to determine their international policy by mutual agreement.

THE TWENTY-ONE POINTS

Conditions of Admission to the Communist International.

The First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions of admission to the Third International.

At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress, in the majority of countries only Communist currents and groups existed.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is convening under different conditions. At the present moment, in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and groups but Communist parties and organizations.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really Communist. The Second International is completely broken. Seeing the complete helplessness of the Second International the intermediary faction and groups of the "center" are trying to lean on the ever strengthening Communist International, hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain "autonomy" which should enable them to carry on their former opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion.

The desire of certain leading groups of the "center" to join the Third International now is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the majority of conscious workers of the whole world is growing stronger every day.

The Communist International is being threatened with the danger of dilution with the fluctuating and half-and-half groups which have as yet not abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be mentioned that in some of the large parties (Italy, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, etc.,) the majority of which adhere to the point of view of Communism, there is up to this moment a considerable reformist and social pacifist wing, which is only awaiting the moment to revive and to begin an active "sabotage" of the proletarian revolution, and thus assist the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lesson of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The unity between the Hungarian Communists and the so-called Left Social Democrats cost the Hungarian Proletariat very dearly.

In view of this the Second World Congress finds it necessary to establish most definite conditions for the joining of new parties, as well as to point out to such parties as have already joined the Communist International the duties which are laid upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International rules that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows:

The Conditions

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and

should correspond to the program and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula; it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the Party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labor unions or co-operatives—it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents—reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labor movement (Party organizations, editors, labor unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and followers of the "centre", and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank-and-file working men.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where, in consequence of martial law or other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The working

class can gain no victory unless it possesses the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work, or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

Social Pacifism

6. Every party desirous of affiliating with the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance, Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

Oppressed Peoples

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" Imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in word but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism.

These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "center." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

The Trade Union Internationals

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow labor unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International Unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able fully to do its duty only when it is organized in a sufficiently thorough way, when it possesses an iron discipline, and when its party center enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this center with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal, should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organizations, in order systematically to free the party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social and democratic programs should, within the shortest time possible, draw up a new Communist program in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the program of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party be-

ing confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the congress of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

THE PARTY NAME

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country, section of the Third Communist International. The question of the renaming of a party is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeoisie of the world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank and file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their committee members and of all their central institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the party should affiliate with the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "center" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the party.

This applies principally to the delegates at the Special Congresses of the party.

Relations with the Communist International

Report by Executive Secretary

At the National Convention held in Chicago, commencing August 30, 1919, two resolutions were submitted on the question of international affiliations. Both of them, the majority and the minority reports, were submitted to referendum. The referendum closed on January 10, 1920 and resulted in the adoption of the minority resolution.

The national office had no means of communicating direct with Moscow. We waited nearly two months in hopes of being able to send our application direct to Moscow by courier. No such opportunity occurring, the application was published in our press service and given all possible publicity. Copies were sent to the Communist International addressed in care of numerous Socialist Parties and individuals in Europe who were known to be in communication with Moscow. The letter was as follows:

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY

Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary
220 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

March 4, 1920.

C. Zinovief, President Executive Committee
of the Communist International,
Moscow, Russia.

Dear Comrade:—

The Socialist Party of the United States held a convention in Chicago, Illinois, commencing August 30th, 1919. Two resolutions on International Affiliation were presented to this convention.

The Majority resolution provided for participation in the calling of an international conference. The object of such conference was the formation of a new International to which delegates should be invited from the Communist parties of Russia and Germany and from those Socialist parties in all countries which subscribe to the principle of the class struggle. The resolution excluded from participation any party which participates in a government coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie.

The Minority resolution provided for direct and immediate affiliation with the Communist International, making reservations as to the application of the program to the United States until such time as a Congress could be held.

Copies of these resolutions are attached. Both resolutions were submitted to referendum of the party membership with the result that the Minor-

ity resolution providing for immediate affiliation with the Communist International was adopted. I therefore have the honor to apply to the Executive Committee for recognition of the Socialist Party of the United States of America and its admission to the Communist International.

With fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of our struggling Russian comrades, I am

Fraternally yours,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,

Executive Secretary.

Accompanying the communications were copies of the two resolutions. On account of space only the minority resolution which had been adopted by referendum, and upon which our application was based, is reprinted.

MINORITY REPORT on INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

We consider that the Second International ceased to function as an international Socialist body upon the outbreak of the world war.

All efforts to bring together the elements that made up the former International have only added strength to this collapse especially with reference to its failure to take a helpful attitude toward Russia, and its policy of hanging onto the tails of the Peace Conference in Paris and placid acceptance of rebuffs given it by members of that conference, the refusal of Russian passports, for instance.

Any International, to be effective in this crisis, must contain only those elements who take their stand unreservedly upon the basis of the class struggle, and who by their deeds demonstrate that their adherence to this principle is not mere lip loyalty.

When leading Socialists join their national government upon a coalition basis they accept and sanction policies which hinder Socialists and the working class generally from taking full advantage of the opportunities for deep-seated change which the war creates. This makes the workers content with superficial reformist changes which are readily granted by the capitalist class as a means of self-protection from the rising tide of the working class revolt.

And when Socialists use the military organization of the master class as a means of crushing the agitation of their more radical comrades they flatly take their position with the counter-revolutionaries whom they serve.

The Second International is dead. We consider that a new International which contains those groups which contributed to the downfall of our former organization must be so weak in its Socialist policy as to be useless.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in principle and in its past history, has always stood with those elements of other countries that remained true to their principles. The manifestos adopted in national convention at St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919), as well as Referendum "D" 1919 unequivocally affirm this stand. These par-

ties, the Majority parties of Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and growing minorities in every land, are uniting on the basis of the preliminary convocation, at Moscow of the Third International. As in the past, so in this extreme crisis, we must take our stand with them.

The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the "Moscow" programs and methods, but because:

(a) "Moscow" is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

(b) "Moscow" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

(c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come.

Action of the New York Convention

At the time the National Convention met in New York on May 8th, 1920, no reply had been received to our communication although there is no reasonable doubt but that it had been received in Moscow with reasonable promptness. In addition to the copies sent to Europe the communication was known to the Communist and Communist Labor parties in this country and to the Soviet Bureau in New York City which was in regular communication with Moscow. These facts were reported to the New York Convention with such facts as were known about the international situation at that time.

There were three resolutions introduced in this convention relating to international affiliations. The second minority resolution by Berger was never voted on, it being ruled out of order by the chairman and on an appeal from the ruling the chair was sustained.

Both the Majority Resolution and the first Minority resolution were submitted to referendum with the result that Majority Resolution, adopted by the convention, was approved by the membership.

MAJORITY

Report of the Committee on International Relations Adopted

The international organization of Socialism has been disrupted as a result of the world war.

The old or Second international is represented principally by the majority party of Germany, the Socialist parties of the countries carved out from the former Austro-Hungarian empire, and of most of the countries of Europe that remained neutral during the war.

The parties affiliated with this organization have largely abandoned the revolutionary character and the militant methods of working class Socialism. As a rule they co-operate with the middle class reform parties of their countries.

The Third or Moscow International was organized by the Communist Party of Russia with the co-operation of several other communist organiza-

tions recruited in the main from the countries split off from the former Russian empire and some Scandinavian and Balkan countries. The Third International also includes the Labor Party of Norway and the Communist Labor Party of Poland. Of the other important countries, the Socialist Parties of Switzerland, Italy and the United States, and the British Socialist Party have expressed their intention to affiliate with it.

The Moscow organization is virile and aggressive, inspired as it is by the militant idealism of the Russian revolution. It is, however, at this time only a nucleus of a Socialist International, and its progress is largely impeded by the attitude of its present governing committee, which seems inclined to impose upon all affiliated bodies the formula of the Russian revolution, "The dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviet power."

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany, the Socialist Party of France and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain are unaffiliated. They have initiated a movement to unite all truly Socialist parties of the world, including those represented in the Moscow organization, into one International.

At no time was an active and effective organization of a Socialist International more vitally necessary for the success of Socialism than at this crucial period of the world's history. Socialism is in complete control in the great country of Russia. It is represented in the bourgeois governments of several important countries of Europe. The Socialists constitute the leading opposition parties in most of the remaining modern countries. It should be the task of the Socialist International to aid our comrades in Russia to maintain and fortify their political control and to improve and stabilize the economic and social conditions of their country, by forcing the great powers of Europe and America to abandon the dastardly policy of intrigue, war and starvation blockade against Soviet Russia. It should be its task to help the Socialists in countries of divided political control to institute full and true Socialist governments, and to support the struggles of the Socialists in the capitalist-controlled countries, so that they may more speedily secure victory for the workers in their countries.

But above all a true Socialist International would at this time fulfill the all-important function of serving as the frame-work of the coming world parliament.

To accomplish these great tasks the International of Socialism must be truly Socialist and truly International.

It cannot be truly Socialist if it is not based upon the program of complete Socialization of the industries, and upon the principles of class struggle and uncompromising working class politics. It cannot be truly international unless it accords to its affiliated bodies full freedom in matters of policy and forms of struggle on the basis of such program and principles, so that the Socialists of each country may work out their prob-

lems in the light of their own peculiar economic, political and social conditions as well as the historic traditions.

In view of the above considerations the Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates to be elected.

(a) To insist that no formula such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets" or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted as condition of affiliation with the Third International.

(b) To participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one International, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented.

As an evidence that the actions of our party reached Moscow quite promptly, the above resolution and a report of the New York Convention was in the hands of Executive Committee of the Communist International prior to the convention of their Second Congress on July 17th.

It was at this Congress that the Conditions of Affiliation (the famous 21 points, published elsewhere in this number) were adopted. Following the adoption of these conditions the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted a reply to our application for affiliation which is published herewith.

No copy of this reply was ever sent officially to the National Office. It was first published in the Russian Press Review of Oct., 1920, and was republished in *The Communist*, the official organ of the United Communist Party.

In view of the nature of their reply and their open declaration of war against our party it is not surprising that we did not receive the common courtesy of a reply sent direct to our headquarters.

Since the publication of this reply there has been no attempt at communication on the part of the National Office, although Zinoviev, Lenin and Trotsky were placed on the mailing list of the Socialist World and the National Office Press Service as soon as the restrictions on mail to Russia were removed.

CONVENTION STAMPS

Every party member who has not yet purchased a national convention stamp should do so immediately. You are not in good standing after June 25th unless you have a 1921 convention stamp in your membership card.

Y. P. S. L. DIRECTOR

The National Executive Committee has appointed Comrade Albert Weisbard of New York National Director of the Young People's Socialist League. For the time being comrade Weisbard will serve without salary and maintain his office in New York.

The Communist International to the American Socialist Party

(Note—This is the reply to our application for affiliation. It is not directed to the party officials but is in the nature of an appeal direct to the membership. Ex. Sec.)

Dear Comrades:

The official notification from the Socialist Party of the United States of affiliation to the Communist International, accompanied by the resolution adopted by referendum, has been brought before the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

We are in possession also of the report of the National Convention of the Socialist Party held in New York in May, 1920, containing the resolution upon International relations, adopted by the Convention in place of that previously adopted by referendum—also the resolution presented by Victor Berger.

Since these resolutions will be submitted to referendum once more, it is necessary to examine all three. All that can be said of Berger's resolution, is first, that it is honestly reactionary; and second, that we are surprised that it could be offered in a convention of a party which calls itself Socialist.

Concerning the minority resolution—which, except for the addition of George Lansbury's opinion of what Lenin thought about conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, is the same as the resolution adopted by referendum—there is more to say.

It begins with a long preamble condemning the Second International—a formula which has become so common, even to the parties of the Right, that it has ceased to have any meaning. The section dealing with the Communist International reads as follows:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the "Moscow" programs and methods, but because:

a) "Moscow" is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism,

b) "Moscow" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now, because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist Republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for years to come."

The reason stated for affiliation to the Communist International have nothing to do with Communism, and indeed imply very serious reservations concerning what the author calls "Moscow" programs and methods, by which we take it Communism is meant.

It is, of course, very gratifying to have the sympathy of the American Socialist Party because the Communist International is "threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world." This is, however, hardly a valid reason for a party's wishing to join the Communist International, or for the Communist International to ac-

cept such a party, but there is no other reason given except that the Communist International is "doing something" which is "challenging to world Imperialism"—just what, the author evidently prefers to conceal from the American proletariat.

This resolution evidently is based on a misconception of the role of the Communist International. The Communist International is in no sense a defensive organization. It is an organ of aggression, the General Staff of the World Revolution, for the forcible overthrow of the capitalist State everywhere, and the setting up of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Concerning questions of principle and fundamental aims, it is impossible to consider what the American Socialist Party "may have to say to Moscow afterwards."

On the contrary, the Communist International has something to say to parties desiring to affiliate before they are accepted.

The Communist International is not "Moscow", but a centralized and disciplined organization now comprising the great majority of the revolutionary working-class parties of the world. The Second Congress, just ended, contained representatives of the revolutionary vanguard of the workers of all countries. There were also present delegates of the French Socialist Party and the German Independent Social Democratic Party, which only a few months ago were engaged in trying to form the "Two-and-a-half" International, by means of a conference at which the centrist parties would establish a basis for resistance to Communism, a center of sabotage of the World Revolution. It is this idea which animates the Hillquit, or majority-resolution adopted by the Socialist Party Convention, with the exception that neither the Germans nor the French Party have ever dared to declare themselves against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as has been done by the Socialist Party of the United States.

This scheme has failed, because the working class of the world is in favor of placing itself under the leadership of the Communist International and the leaders of the centrist parties, pushed onward by pressure of the masses, now come to us desiring admission to the Communist International. This is even more true of the Hillquits and Lees of the American Party, who even while they declared themselves opposed to the principles of the Communist International, yet do not dare to withdraw from it.

And to all parties the Communist International replies:

The Communist International is not a hotel, where travellers may come with their own baggage and carry on their private affairs. The Communist International is an army in wartime; volunteers who join the Army of Revolution must adopt its principles and obey its orders, submit to its discipline. None but revolutionary Communist Parties are accepted in the Communist

International. They must adopt as their program the program of the Communist International—open revolutionary mass-struggle for Communism, through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by means of Workers' Soviets—accepting as binding all resolutions of the Congress and Executive Committee of the Communist International. They must create a strongly centralized form of organization, a military discipline; all Party members in public office, in the Labor Unions, in all forms of public activity, must be absolutely subject to the full-powered Central Committee of the Party, which is the supreme organ directing all the phases of Party work.

They must consistently denounce bourgeois democracy and social patriotism, and also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social pacifism; they must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist State no talk of disarmament, no international arbitration, no League of Nations can save mankind from new Imperial wars.

They must immediately break with reformism and the policy of centrists; they must expel from their ranks all non-revolutionary elements, all opportunist leaders; they must sever all connections with the petty bourgeoisie, and prepare for revolutionary action, for merciless civil war.

The report of the May Convention of the Socialist Party proves very clearly that this party is very far indeed from the specifications above outlined.

The declaration of principles is an affront to the working class. It alone, if endorsed by the membership, is sufficient to separate the Socialist Party of the United States from the revolutionary movement.

The rejection of the resolution endorsing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is of course inadmissible in any party seeking to join the Communist International. And we do not know a single Socialist Party in the world which has equalled the action of the American Party in abolishing from its constitution two years after the World War, the provisions forbidding legislative representatives to vote for military appropriations.

Up to the present, the American Socialist Party has been considered a centrist party, but it definitely abandons all Socialist pretensions, it definitely enters the ranks of the bourgeois reform parties, with the adoption of the following declaration:

"Its (the Socialist Party's) ultimate aim in politics is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling political party of the country, in order to accomplish Socialism."

If this childish and antiquated conception of the task of a Socialist Party, which even the yellow Second International—from which the American Socialist Party has indignantly withdrawn—did not dare openly to proclaim, is the actual honest attitude of the membership of the Socialist Party of the United States, after all that has happened, after the World War, the Russian Revolution, and

in particular after the year of black reaction in the United States, the persecution of revolutionists, the expulsion of the Socialists at Albany—then we do not understand why the American Socialist Party wishes to enter the Communist International, why it does not endorse the League of Nations, as Meyer London advocates.

The centrist parties, the German Independents and the French Socialists, are not yet acceptable for entrance into the Communist International. Yet they accept the program of Mass action and Dictatorship of the Proletariat, based on the Soviets. Any party which still advocates political democracy is a thousand times worse than these Parties,—it is a counter-revolutionary, a Scheide-mann Party.

The Convention was dominated by centrist and reactionary elements—by the yellow "reformist-politicians," Hilquit, Lee, Stedman, Oneal, Block, Pankin; by the "one-hundred-per-cent Americans," Meyer London, Solomon; by the "State Socialist" and inverted social patriot, Victor Berger; by Cannon and Soltis, Karlin and Berlin—all of whom have no place in a party affiliated to the Communist International. There was a "Left Wing"—Engdahl, Kruse, Tucker, Holland, etc.—which demanded affiliation to the Communist International and a revolutionary re-statement of the Party principles; but this group was a pitiful minority, its ideas were confused permeated by cowardly compromise and petty bourgeois prejudices. In all the convention not one Communist voice was heard.

But perhaps the most significant action of the reactionary machine was to stifle debate and refuse to answer questions concerning the defense of the Socialist assemblymen expelled at Albany.

For example, the testimony of Assemblyman Louis Waldman—still a member of the Socialist Party—shows that he declared himself opposed to the establishment of a Soviet Government in the United States, that he preferred the Government of the State of New York—which is a "people's government" and "not a capitalist government"—to the Soviet Government; that he urged all workers to take part in the war of defense; that he would vote for military appropriations, etc.

This, however, is only the statement of an individual member. Take the official defense of the Party, the "Brief for the Socialist Assemblymen." It apologizes for the presence of foreigners in the Party by calling them "potential voters," and hastens to explain that a new rule requires all Party members immediately to become citizens. It rejects the general strike as a political weapon, on the ground that if there are enough workers to strike for a political reform, there are enough to win it by voting. "The Soviet form of government," it says, "seems to be good for Russia. The parliamentary form of government seems to be good for the United States. . . ." But the basest betrayal of Socialism occurs in the passage explaining why the Socialist Party Supports the Soviet Government:

"We sympathize with the Russian workers, the

Russian peasants, the Russian Socialists, the Russian Communists, in maintaining their Soviet Government—not because it is a Soviet government, but because it is a government of their own choosing. Suppose they had adopted a different form of government, say, one that had sprung from the Constituent Assembly, we should not support it any the less.”

Is this, perhaps, what the American Socialists “will have to say to Moscow afterwards?” Noske and Mannerheim, Lloyd George and Wilson, could endorse this treacherous logic with a clear conscience.

The “Socialist” alderman of New York, who voted for the Liberty Loan, who voted for money to erect the Victory Arch; the “Socialist” congressman Meyer London, who congratulated the King of Italy upon his birthday, who voted for the war credits; the “Socialist” district attorney at Milwaukee, who imprisoned workingmen for breaking up a religious meeting; the “Socialist” officials who called in the Chicago police to expel the Communists from the 1919 Convention—all these “comrades” are still members of the Socialist Party of the United States; in fact; they controlled the May Convention.

It will be pointed out that the selection of Eugene Debs as presidential candidate proves that the American Socialist Party is a revolutionary party.

It is a characteristic tactic of centrist parties to make use of revolutionary phrases, of revolutionary personalities, to deceive the working masses, to persuade them to follow opportunist leaders.

Comrade Debs has a fine revolutionary record. All the more shame to “Socialist” leaders of the American Party, who have exploited the imprisonment of Debs for their own selfish non-revolutionary purposes, and who, in nominating him for president, once more attempt to cover up and justify their compromising and cowardly attitude—at the same time refusing to consider Comrade Debs’ proposal for unity with the Communists.

Nowhere in the world is the persecution of Communists, of true Socialists, more bitter on the part of the capitalist class. Thousands of our comrades have been deported, imprisoned for

long terms, tortured and beaten, in the United States. In America alone, out of all the non-revolutionary countries, the Communist movement is illegal, must function underground—those who are Communist remain so at the risk of their liberty, their lives.

The Socialist Party of the United States submits to this terrorism; it endeavors to prove itself harmless to the capitalist dictatorship, nonrevolutionary—and succeeds rather well. Swallowing the ejection of its representatives from Congress, from the State Legislatures it praises the government, endorses ever more warmly the bourgeois state system, helping in this way to escape the consequences of defending the working class against the capitalist system. And the Convention rejects a resolution of sympathy for Larkin and Gitlow, Communist fighters taken prisoners in the class war.

If the majority of the American Socialist Party endorses the decisions of this convention, then we have but one thing to say to those honest workers who still remain within the Party:

You are being deceived. The Socialist Party of the United States is not a working-class Party, but an auxiliary organization of the American bourgeoisie, of world Imperialism. It is not leading you toward Socialism—it is betraying you to the counter-revolution.

Workers! Leave the American Socialist Party. It is your enemy and ours. Already in America there is a revolutionary Party, the United Communist Party, the American section of the Communist International. These are our true comrades. Thousands of them have suffered for the Revolution. This is the Party of the revolutionary working class.

JOIN THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY!

And to the leaders, the officials of the Socialist Party of the United States—the Bergers, Hillquits, Londons, Lees—we have only this to say:

You have disgraced the name of “Socialist.” You apply for admission to the Communist International; we answer by declaring war upon you, traitors to the Working Class, who, on the eve of the World Revolution, sold out to the enemy to save your skins.

Relations with the Berne and Vienna Conferences and the International Working Union of Socialist Parties.

Late in February, 1920, the National Office received a communication from the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, enclosing copy of a letter which they had sent to the Swiss Socialist Party asking them to call a conference of Socialist Parties in an effort to secure the inclusion of all real Socialists in one all embracing International, and inviting us to participate with the Swiss Party in initiating such a conference.

The communication was considered by the N. E. C. at Milwaukee on March 6th and the following communication sent:

National Secretary,
Swiss Socialist Party,
Seebahnstrasse, 31,
Zurich, 3, Switzerland.
Dear Comrade:—

I have received from Comrade Francis Johnson of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, a copy of the communication addressed to you and suggesting that the Swiss comrades take the initiative in calling an international conference. The communication was presented to our National Executive Committee in session in Milwaukee on March 6th for their consideration.

We agree with the National Council of the Independent Labor Party that your organization is perhaps the most appropriate one for taking the initiative in this matter. I am instructed to reply, however, that it is impossible for our Executive Committee to participate in the calling of such a conference inasmuch as our membership has decided, by referendum vote, to affiliate with the Communist International (Third Moscow).

Our National Executive Committee does not, however, construe the adoption of this resolution on affiliation as prohibiting us from participating in such a conference as is proposed, especially in view of the fact that our participation would not bind us or prevent our adherence to the Communist International in case the conference failed in uniting the various organizations represented in one coherent, powerful international.

We therefore, suggest that if such a conference should be called not earlier than June 15th, the National Convention of the Socialist Party, which convenes on May 8th, will consider the advisability of sending delegates. The possibility of our convention acting favorably upon the proposal of electing delegates will depend first upon our receipt of an invitation prior to the meeting of the convention and second, upon the conditions of the call or invitation.

To meet with the approval of our organization, the call should provide for the representation of only such parties as accept the principle of the class struggle and are opposed to participation in coalition bourgeois governments.

We would also suggest that a special effort be made to secure the attendance of all the parties now affiliated with the Communist International and especially the Communist Party of Russia and the Spartacans of Germany. We sincerely hope that the Swiss comrades will see their way clear to take the initiative in this matter and that a call will be issued in sufficient time for consideration by our National Convention.

With fraternal greetings and best wishes, I am
Fraternally yours,

OTTO BRANSTETTER,
Executive Secretary.

There was some delay in the calling of the proposed conference and no call had been issued at the time our National Convention met in New York in May, 1920. This convention adopted a resolution on International Affiliation, later approved by referendum, which after reviewing the international situation closed as follows:

"In view of the above considerations the Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates to be elected:—

(a) To insist that no formula such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets" or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted as a condition of affiliation with the Third International.

(b) To participate in movements looking

to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one International, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented.

In view of the above instructions, especially after the publication of the 21 points and the reply to our application for affiliation, the National Executive Committee would have been justified in proceeding to initiate an international conference for the purpose of forming an International with which we could affiliate and maintain our Socialist principles as well as our self respect and our independence in strictly domestic matters.

The committee, however, felt that in view of the unsettled conditions of the world movement, as well as the difference of opinion among our own membership, it was inadvisable for our party to initiate such a conference.

However, in November we received the following invitation from the Socialist Party of Switzerland and also requests to join in the proposed conference from the German Independents and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.

THE BERNE CONFERENCE

Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary,
Socialist Party, Chicago, U. S. A.

Dear Comrade:

Our central committee has adopted the following decision:

"The twenty-one conditions for admittance into the Communist International will be repudiated as unrealizable. The Executive Committee and the Central Committee are instructed to get in touch with those foreign parties which wish to belong to the Communist International, but have declared that they cannot accept the twenty-one conditions. Together with these parties the Central Committee will try to get such revision of the conditions of admittance as will make possible the reunion of all revolutionary parties. This decision to be sent to referendum of the membership."

In accordance with this resolution and the demands received from Germany and England, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Switzerland invites all who desire to establish an International, to send one or two delegates to a conference to be held in Berne on November 27th and 28th, 1920.

The meeting will give the participants an outlook and full information regarding the International situation. Finally, it will study the best means to be used for accomplishing our task and specifically on what basis another convention can be called early in 1921 and who should be invited.

We deem it necessary to declare that we have no intention of creating an organization in opposition to the Communist International. On the contrary, we would like to be able to put a barrier to divisions threatening the whole European Socialist movement, and to bring international unity to all true Socialist parties.

To show that there is nothing veiled in our

taking the initiative in this matter and to prevent hesitation on the part of the invited parties, we deem it necessary to call and organize this meeting on November 27th and 28th with the understanding that participating parties are under no obligations to be bound by its actions or decisions. The conference will freely discuss and consciously decide the way to be followed and the means to be used.

We hope that your anxiety to see the unity and solidarity of the Socialist Parties, which have broken off relations with the Second International, will induce you to be represented at the meeting at Berne. We are asking you to answer us as soon as possible.

Fraternally yours,
For the Executive Committee of the
Socialist Party of Switzerland.
W. PAUL GRABER, Secretary.

This call sets the date of the conference as November 27th and 28th. At the request of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the date was changed to Dec. 5th.

The National Executive Committee decided to send a delegate to the conference. However, none of the International delegates elected at the last National Convention, James Oneal, Algernon Lee, Joseph E. Cohen, delegates, or Morris Hillquist, International Secretary, were able to go abroad at that time and there was not sufficient time to elect other delegates and secure passports.

A communication to this effect was sent to the Swiss party.

November 19, 1920.

E. Paul Graber, Secretary,
Parti Socialiste Suisse,
Postscheckkonto III, 1930,
Berne, Switzerland.

Dear Comrade:—

We are in receipt of your invitation to send one or more delegates to the International Conference called by your party to meet at Berne, December 5th.

The invitation was immediately submitted to our National Executive Committee which voted to send a delegate. For various reasons, none of the regularly elected delegates were able to go abroad at the present time and the delay necessitated by the election of another delegate made it impossible to secure passports in sufficient time. I therefore cabled you as follows:

"In sympathy Conference purposes. Notice too short to attend."

We regret exceedingly our inability to be represented at the Conference. We are in sympathy with the purposes of the Conference as set forth in your invitation and trust that a united International of revolutionary parties will result therefrom.

I have previously forwarded you copy of resolution adopted at the last national convention of the party in May, 1920, which was later confirmed by referendum. I am enclosing another

copy herewith and also a recent statement issued by our National Executive Committee which tends to show our attitude at the present time.

I note from your invitation that it is the intention to call another meeting early in 1921, and suggest that this meeting be called not earlier than March first. In case the present Conference proceeds in the spirit indicated in the invitation, I think there is no doubt that our party will wish to be represented in the next Conference. It is, however, impossible for us to send delegates on less than two months notice.

With fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of the Conference, I am

Fraternally Yours,
OTTO BRANSTETTER,
Executive Secretary.

Comrade Joseph Gollomb of New York, a newspaper man located in Paris, offered to report the conference for us at slight expense as he would be attending as a reporter for other publications. The National Office therefore cabled him:

"Report Berne Conference unofficial representative our party."

and at the same time mailed him credentials as a reporter for The New Day and the Socialist World.

He attended the conference as directed and made a prompt and very complete report of the proceedings. Accompanying his report was a statement showing his relation to the conference and the capacity in which he acted.

Paris, December 11, 1920.

Mr. Otto Branstetter,
Executive Secretary, Socialist Party of America,
Chicago, Ill.,

Dear Comrade Branstetter:

Carrying out the desires of your letter I presented myself to the preliminary conference at Berne, convened at the People's House in that city on Sunday morning, December 5. I presented to the conference without comment your letter, the cable you refer to and the credentials you sent me as correspondent for the Socialist World and The New Day.

Ledebour of the German Independents took the stand that your instructions gave me no more standing than that of a reporter. As the sessions were to be executive, that would mean that I could not be present. I pointed out that your cable designated me as "unofficial representative our party." This I maintained entitled me to participate in a consultative and informative capacity. I made it clear that I would speak only as an individual, except in such cases as where I had official declarations of the party to communicate. I pointed out the difficulties under which the comrades in America labored in regard to quick and ample contact with the comrades in Europe. I added that it would be only fair, in the event of my exclusion, that Ledebour and those who supported his point should take upon themselves the task of furnishing the comrades in

America a full and accurate report of the conference, besides whatever official documents the conference would issue. Ledebour withdrew his objections and the conference unanimously voted that I be given full rights without any restrictions whatsoever in the proceedings on the same basis as the other delegates. I then stated that none of my votes or statements were to be taken as necessarily expressing the views of the Socialist Party of America or be binding upon it in any way, except as I referred to official expressions

of the party.

The call for the next conference at Vienna was signed by individuals and not by parties. I did not feel that my signature, under the circumstances, would mean enough to warrant my signing. The same applied to the signing of the manifesto. Hence I abstained from signing either.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH GOLLOMB,
Hotel Regina, Paris.

MANIFESTO

Adopted by the Conference of Socialists called together internationally and held at
Berne, December 5—8, 1920.

The world war has opened a decisive struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the conquest of power. The immediate result of the war is the domination of the world by British and American capitalism, leaving on the continent the predominance of French militarism and in the Far East of Japanese imperialism. In the first stage victory has strengthened the power of capitalism and sharpened the oppression of the working class in the victorious countries. At the same time there has issued from it a system of world domination directed primarily against the proletarian revolution in eastern and central Europe, and against the aspiration for liberty of oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples. The victors tried to break down by blockade and by intervention the Russian Soviet Republic, the advance guard of the social revolution.

They are profiting by the economic dependence of the vanquished countries of central Europe to hinder the development of the proletarian revolution in these countries. They are using the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary, Poland and Roumania as mercenaries not only against Russia but also against the proletariat of central Europe. They are also helping the counter-revolutionary movements in Germany, Austria and in Czecho-Slovakia. They menace the revolutionary movement in Italy by threat of blockade and make the small states instruments of their will by the weapons of economic reprisal and financial pressure. They drown in a sea of blood the aspirations for liberty of the peoples of the near and middle East.

But this system of capitalist domination is more and more in opposition to the economic necessities of life of the proletarian class even in the victorious countries. The blockade against Russia and the economic destruction of central Europe caused by the iniquitous peace treaties are excluding the greater part of Europe from the world market. Thus not only the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe are thrown into intolerable want, thereby affording the bourgeoisie opportunity for the hatching of counter-revolutionary and nationalist propaganda, but also west European and American industry is deprived of its greatest markets and in consequence great unemployment

crises are appearing among masses of the people. In addition the workers of the western countries are threatened with a reduction of wages, when the workers in the vanquished countries are forced to work at lower wages; and thereby the standard of living of the western workers will be lowered for many years.

In view of all these facts it is necessary to concentrate all the forces of the proletariat and to put to the front the ultimate socialist demands. To the world policy of the capitalists the workers must oppose their own world policy. It is the part of such a policy to defend with all its might Soviet Russia against the attacks of the capitalist western powers, to oppose strenuously the plans and counter-revolutionary intrigues of the French imperialists; to break the chains which European imperialism has fastened on the revolutionary movement in Eastern and Central Europe; to help the oppressed peoples of subject nations and in the colonies to recover their liberties and thus to unite all the revolutionary forces in the world in their fight against imperialism.

This task can only be accomplished by the world proletariat on the principles of Socialism enforced by the inflexible determination to use all its forces to that end in a powerful international organization. The world war has destroyed the Second International, not because it was unable to prevent the war—the product of capitalist development—but because the parties within it capitulated before capitalist imperialism; and instead of uniting all the strength of the proletariat they took the side of one or the other capitalist groups and made it impossible for themselves to work for the ending of the war.

The Socialist conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal demonstrated even early in the war that it was possible to formulate a policy guided by Socialist principles; and also showed that the Second International, which was incapable of such a policy, failed to fulfill its historic mission. The result of the failure of the parties within the Second International has been that the workers within the different countries were kept apart by hatred and suspicion. It was thus that the Second International was destroyed. It exists no more. The organization which is now called the "Se-

cond International" is but a union of parties which form the purely reformist wing of the working class movement; and they misunderstand the historical and theoretical necessities of the revolutionary class struggle when they restrict the working class to democratic methods without regard to the special phases of development in the various countries. In practice they abandon the revolutionary class struggle for the capture of power by the proletariat when they enter into coalition with bourgeois parties on merely reformist lines. The same parties have during the war destroyed the mutual confidence of the workers of the various nationalities in one another. Therefore the "Second International" is not able to organize the living forces of the class-conscious proletariat and is only an obstacle to the unity of the working class.

The Communist International describes itself as the Third International, thus arrogating to itself the privileges of continuing the historical work of the First and the Second Internationals. But in practice the international of Moscow has been simply a union of communist parties; and it cannot become anything else so long as it maintains the resolutions of its second congress. The Communist International wants to apply the methods of the peasant and proletarian revolution in Russia to the revolutions in all other countries without any modification and prescribes these methods for all other working class parties. It tries to abolish the autonomy of the different socialist parties, which alone are capable of judging the actual conditions in their particular countries and of determining the means to be used for the purposes of the working class in these countries. It insists on imposing on these parties the will of an international committee armed with unlimited power; and to force upon them a form of organization determined by the special conditions in Russia, regardless of the diverse conditions and the special circumstances in which the class struggle has to be waged in the different countries. The Third International works deliberately to shatter all socialist parties which do not unresistingly submit to its dictation. It seeks to make the trade unions in each country subservient to the communist parties of those countries; and it creates division in the ranks of the Trade Union International, which today is the only united class organization of the workers. It tries to replace in each country the working class movement organized there in accord with the special circumstances prevailing in that country, with a sectarian movement based upon preconceived ideas elaborated by a central organization and indetical for all countries.

The socialist world policy of the proletariat and the realization of socialism presupposes the existence of an international fighting organization capable of action. Such an organization can only be created by the ceaseless struggle of the proletariat of each country in opposition to capitalist class rule. In this struggle, methods and tactics are determined by the degree of ripeness of the revolutionary situation. The working class, during the time when it is still fighting as a po-

litical minority within the bourgeois states, cannot limit its methods of action to those of purely traditional trade union and parliamentary struggle; or transfer in a mechanical manner to other countries the methods used by workers and peasants in more acute revolutionary struggles. After the proletariat has conquered power, if the bourgeoisie sabotages or resists the proletarian state power, the latter will adopt the method of dictatorship.

Dictatorship—that is, the application of all the means of state power of the proletariat when it has become the ruling class, to counter the resistance which the bourgeoisie may offer to the realization of socialism—is a transitional phase in the evolution from the capitalist class state to the socialist commonwealth. If the proletariat conquers power by the methods of democracy, then in the event of the continued resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie such democratically won state power will be applied in the form of dictatorship to break down such opposition. If however, during the period of the decisive struggle for power democracy is destroyed by the intensity of the class antagonism, then the workers must assume dictatorship through proletarian class organization. Organization of the dictatorship may be, according to the condition of the particular country, along the lines of workers' or peasants' councils, trade unions, factory councils, local administrative bodies or other assemblies peculiar to each nation. Not only the dictatorship but the structure of the proletarian democracy will have to depend in the different countries upon the conditions special to that country.

Just as the bourgeois revolutions in the different countries were carried out in quite different forms, so must the proletarian revolutions in different countries be carried in various forms, because the stage of capitalist development is not the same in all countries.

On the basis of these common views, inspired by the spirit of revolutionary socialism, representatives of the following parties have met at Berne from December 5 to 7, 1920, for a preliminary conference:

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany,
The Socialist Party of Austria,
The Independent Labor Party of Great Britain,
The Socialist Party of France,
German Socialist Party of Czecho-Slovakia,
The Socialist Party of Switzerland,
The Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia.

In view of the world reaction which is continually becoming more acute, of the rapid reconstruction of the world war of the international fighting front of the bourgeoisie and of the need of an international action for defense by the proletariat; as well as to defend revolutionary achievements already gained and for the systematic furthering of revolutionary development; and because of serious divisions of working class forces in all countries, which render an effective struggle impossible, those who have taken part in this preliminary conference recommend the calling of an

International Socialist Conference

on February 22, 1921, at Vienna, Austria, to discuss the following provisional agenda:

- (1) Constitution;
- (2) Imperialism and social revolution;
- (3) Methods and organization of the class struggle;
- (4) The international struggle against counter-revolution.

The parties represented at this present conference will be entrusted with the task of remaining in close touch with one another as a solid organization, of uniting further all the forces of the international proletariat against international capitalism and imperialism and finally of forming a true international of the class-conscious proletariat.

All socialist parties which have left the "Second International" and stand on the ground of the principles in this appeal will be admitted to the conference.

Those intending to take part must announce their intention before February 1, 1921, to Friedrich Adler, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna, Austria.

To prepare the way for the conference a committee consisting of one comrade to be named by the parties of each of the following parties will be named: Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria and Switzerland. This committee will submit proposals to the conference covering the subjects mentioned in the provisional agenda.

Signed:

Friedrich Adler, Vienna; Otto Bauer, Vienna; Kurt Cermack, Teplitz; Arthur Crispein, Berlin; George Ledebour, Berlin; Rudolf Hilferding, Berlin; Kurtz Rosenfeld, Berlin; Jean Longuet,

Paris; Paul Faure, Paris; L. Martov, Moscow; Paul Graber, Berne; Robert Grim; Ernest Reinhard, Berne; Francis Johnson, London; E. Shinwell, Glasgow; R. C. Wallhead, Manchester.

Following the report of the Berne Conference and the receipt of the above call for the Conference at Vienna, the National Executive Committee at first decided to combine the delegation to Vienna, with the proposed Commission to Russia and have the same comrades serve upon both delegations. The idea of sending a commission to Russia was abandoned because of financial difficulties and also because of the uncertainty as to whether a committee from our party would be admitted and the treatment they would receive in case they were admitted.

After the decision to abandon the Russian Mission the committee adopted the following:

N. E. C. Motion No. 17

By Oneal

"That the N. E. C. does not consider it expedient or timely to attempt to send a delegate to the Vienna Conference because (1) the time is short, (2) because of the financial condition of the party, (3) because of the fluctuating opinion within party.

"That the Executive Secretary try to get information of the exact status of the party to the Vienna Congress regarding affiliation and the unusual difficulties we face in sending delegates to Vienna or a Commission to Russia."

Submitted Jan. 10—Vote closed Jan. 22.

Voting "Yes," Brand, Hagel, Henry, Melms, Oneal, Roewer.

Voting "No," Mailly.

The International Working Union of Socialist Parties

In accordance with the plans formulated at the Conference at Berne in December, 1920, which had been called by the Socialist Party of Switzerland, a conference was held at Vienna in February, 1921, at which was organized The International Working Union of Socialist Parties.

These represented at the opening of the Conference by ninety-one delegates were the Socialist Party of Switzerland, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, the Longuet faction of the French Party and Socialist Parties of Austria, Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Lettland, Russia (Menshevik) and Paole-Zion.

The Committee on credentials consisting of a representative of each country heard the applications for admission and seated the delegates from Roumania, Lithuania and Hungary. The application of the Russian Social Revolutionaries of the Right was refused, and also that of a Bulgarian group. The Polish Socialist Party also applied but was refused.

Letters were read from the Greek, the Argentine and the Finnish Socialist Parties announcing their adherence to the Union, and the letter from our National Office printed elsewhere in this issue.

It is impossible to publish the proceedings of the conference in full but some of the more important resolutions are given herewith.

Methods and Organization of the Class Struggle

1. The capitalist state, in the first phase of its development, reserved in most countries all political rights to the capitalist class. In struggles lasting through decades the working class broke this dictatorial power of the capitalist class, which was based on oligarchic constitutions. The capitalist class no longer dominates the democratic state by monopolising political rights; it is the economic power of capital which enables it to direct public opinion, to lead the middle sections of society, and thus to keep the proletariat in subjection. The brutal class-rule of the capitalist class in the United States, in France, in Great Britain, in Switzerland, in Germany and so on, proves that the capitalist class, in the form of democracy, manages to exercise a dictatorial rule over the working class.

2. If democracy does not mean deliverance for the working class, it affords them a favorable position in their struggle for emancipation. It is in the soil of democracy that all class contrasts and class struggles expand. The industrial work-

ing class utilizes the rights which are granted to it by democracy to assert its existence as a class, to rescue the vacillating middle sections from the tutelage of the capitalist class, to rally the mental and manual workers, industrial and agricultural, round its colors and, united with them, to become the ruling power.

3. The forms assumed by the class struggle in different countries depend on the economic, mental and moral development of each country, on the military strength of the classes, and on the relations with other countries. These forms in industrial states are different from those in agricultural countries, different in the victorious world-ruling states from those in the conquered and exploited countries, and just as various as the agrarian constitutions which capitalism found in the pre-capitalist stage. The fight of the working class for political power, which will assume one form in countries with large scale agriculture, another in countries where small-holdings prevail, another in countries where the peasantry itself has rebelled against feudal exploitation, another in countries where a numerous class of conservative farmers actuated by interests of private property are the strongest pillars of capitalist rule. This bewildering variety of the material and mental conditions of the class struggle is the chief reason for the divergent opinions and antagonisms among the international working class.

4. Directly the class struggle has reached that stage when democracy from an instrument of capitalist class rule threatens to become one of working class rule the capitalist class will as a general rule endeavor by violent means to interrupt democratic development, to prevent democratic state power from passing into the hands of the working class. Only in those countries where the capitalist class does not command the power required, and in particular is bereft of military power, and, therefore, cannot venture to replace the fight of political democracy by open civil war, only in such countries will the working class be able to gain political power by means of democracy. But even where this happens, the capitalist class will as a general rule use its economic power to neutralize the effects of the democratic state power gained by the working class. In that case, too, the working class after arriving at political power will have to use dictatorial means in order to break the resistance of the capitalist class. Proletarian dictatorship will then take the shape of the dictatorial exercise of the state power achieved by the working class.

5. But where the capitalist class is strong enough to maintain by violent means its rule against the revolting masses of the working people, it will break democracy, keep control of the means of coercion and challenge the working class to an open fight. In this fight it will not be the vote that will decide the battle, but the economic and military strength of the opposing classes. In these circumstances the working class will be able to become the ruling power only by direct action of the masses (mass strikes, armed rebellion, etc.), and it will have to maintain its power by

suppressing the conquered capitalist class. The dictatorship of the working class must in this case be based on working men's, peasants' and soldiers' councils, on trade unions, or other working-class organizations.

6. In all these struggles the working class has to deal not only with the capitalist class of its own country, but with the international capitalist class who, notwithstanding all international differences, are allied against the working class and are led by the financiers of the great capitalist world powers. It is thus that the freedom of action of the working class of each country is the more closely confined the more the country depends economically and politically on the capitalist world powers. The final liberation of the working class can, therefore, not be achieved within the national boundaries, but can only be the outcome of international action. To organize this action is the proper task of the working-class international.

7. In order to fulfill this task the workers' International must consider the variety of objective conditions of the struggle in the various countries. It must not hamper the freedom of any particular Socialist Party in adapting its action to the conditions of its particular country. It must not restrict the proletariat either to using democratic methods only, as is done by the so-called Second International today, nor prescribe the mechanical imitation of the methods of the Russian peasants' and working men's revolution, as the Communist International would like to do. But with all the variety of methods in various countries the International must unite all the resources of the international working class in concerted action against international capitalism.

8. Such an action presupposes a class organization of the world's working class, which alone can lay claim to the title of working class International. For however important the agitation and action of the parties on the basis of their theory, it is no less important that, in the last instance, not party doctrine, but the self-determination of the working class should be the deciding factor. This self-determination can only be exercised within an organization in which all class-conscious workers are united. But such an international organization is an actual reality only if its resolutions are binding on all its parts. Every resolution therefore, of the international organization means a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the parties of all countries.

9. The want of a common instrument of the whole class-conscious working class is universally felt. This instrument in the shape of the international class organization can only be the result of the historical process which will gradually disillusion the opposed doctrinaire groups and will teach them to see the necessity of gathering the whole class-conscious working class into one fold. It is the task of the more circumscribed union which the parties represented at the Vienna Conference propose to constitute to hasten the maturing of this knowledge, but they are under no delusion as to the time which this process will require.