

members of the Communist Party from contributing political or economic articles to publications other than those of the Party, except as to scientific journals. An attack on the party in the bourgeois press may be answered by leave of the Central Executive Committee.

The principle of centralization pervades the constitution. The new party is built on simple lines of central control, with ample counter provisions for referendum and recall. A distinct innovation is the District unit of organization, which is intended to combine or divide the States according to industrial centers. The Federations are retained as administrative units of the party, and all language branches must belong to a single Federation of the one language. A sharp controversy arose on the question of the method of expelling Federation branches, and this was an instance where the Federation caucus went down to defeat. The question was on the power of the City Central Committee to expel language branches; also on the question of the right of the City Central to review Federation expulsions prior to appeal to the Central Executive Committee. The function of the City Central was saved in both instances; and in every case of expulsion or of refusal of admission of a branch to membership, there is a final appeal against the decision of the Federation executives to the Central Executive Committee.

Undoubtedly the whole subject of Federations was more carefully and thoroughly discussed in these proceedings than in any other Socialist gathering in recent years.

The Central Executive Committee is made up of 15 members, elected from the National Convention. Also the Secretary and Editor are chosen by the Convention. There is an Executive Council of 7 made up of the Secretary, Editor and 5 members of the Central Executive Committee, these members to live in the city of the national headquarters or in adjacent cities.

Another innovation is the requirement that State Conventions shall be held annually in April or May. This corresponds to the fixing of the National Convention in June, with the provision for election of delegates to the National Convention by the State Conventions.

Membership qualifications for all offices or nominations to public offices is set at two years. Eligibility on June 1st, 1920, depends on joining the party before January 1st, 1920.

All referendums are by petition of 25 or more branches representing 5% of the party membership; or by initiative of the Convention or of the Central Executive Committee. There are no automatic referendums, as in the case of the Socialist Party election and constitution referendums. The recall petition has the same requirements. It is specially provided that the party press shall be open for discussion of all referendum proposals while under consideration.

The fight on the Manifesto and Program would have been a battle royal but for the fact that the odds were so overwhelmingly against the Michigan minority. The Committee was presented with two drafts, one by Comrade Batt, the other by Comrade Fraina, the latter being an adaptation of the work of the Left Wing Conference of June. After considerable condensation, the Fraina draft was adopted by the majority of the Committee, Batt and Wicks being the minority.

On Saturday evening, the following statement from 20 delegates, 1 alternate and 1 fraternal delegate was read: "We, the undersigned delegates, hereby publicly state our disapproval of the Manifesto and Program adopted by the Convention and of the methods used in forcing its adoption. Therefore we ask to be recorded in the minutes as not voting, either affirmatively or nega-

tively, on the adoption of said Manifesto and Program and as not accepting nominations for, or voting on, any party official elected by this Convention."

As a matter of fact the Michigan Manifesto and Program never had the least chance of adoption, but that was the sum total of the evidence upon which it was charged that there was something questionable about the majority action in adopting the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. Somehow the Michigan delegates seemed to sense the incongruity of their condemnation of the majority action, because they did not withdraw from the Convention or give any indication of an intention not to work with the new party.

Comrade Batt made an elaborate defense of his minority Manifesto and Program, and was answered in a masterly fashion by Comrade Bittleman of New York, editor of the Jewish Left Wing paper *Der Kampf*.

The "Michigan" peculiarity within the general Left Wing movement which culminated in the Communist Party is not an affair of the Michigan membership so much as it is of a small group from Detroit. Only in the borrowing of a few new phrases and the careful gleaning of a sentence or two from Lenine does the minority Manifesto and Program show any relation to what is now going on in the revolutionary proletarian movement. Aside from these phrases the document might have been written twenty years ago, before the adaptation of Marxism to the period of Imperialism.

In spite of all confusing intimations to the contrary, the long minority Manifesto and Program simply calls for the old Socialist Party tactics with elimination of demands for reforms. It is a program of pure parliamentarism with a prophecy that when the work of education shall have advanced far enough other tactics may be used. It makes reference to proletarian dictatorship, but with no acceptance of the process by which this dictatorship must be acquired.

The Communist program is based upon the mass struggles of today. It does not studiously calculate the magic hour when the correct understanding of Marxism will have its chance, but insists that the revolutionary struggle is a continuous process from the strikes of today to the general mass action which sweeps the bourgeois institutions out of existence. It does not scorn the strike because its declared objects are entirely of immediate concern. Nor does it ask that the strike shall proceed on demands made upon the government itself before it can be of interest to the Communist Party, as does the minority declaration. The life of the Communist movement is the changing character of these mass struggles under imperialistic pressure, and the work of the Communist Party is to enter into these struggles at every stage to develop out of them the consciousness of the class struggle in its ultimate aspects; to develop out of them also the technique of working class social control, as in the assumption of civic functions by the strike committees of Seattle, Winnipeg, Belfast. . . .

Aside from the delegation from Michigan, the Convention elections are no doubt the best indication of the dominant personalities in the new party. One delegate from Detroit would unquestionably have won a place on the Executive Committee for his services in the campaign for the organization of the new party, Dennis E. Batt. For the rest it is not likely that participation in the elections would have changed the outcome.

Louis C. Fraina was chosen International Secretary, with I. E. Ferguson as alternate. Fraina's contribution to the Left Wing movement by his writings in *The Class Struggle* and *The Revolutionary Age* gives him a unique position in the development of revolutionary Socialist theory in con-

formity with American conditions and party circumstances. Comrade Fraina was also elected to the Central Executive Committee, and was named without opposition as Editor of the party publications.

C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland was chosen for the important post of National Secretary. Comrade Ruthenberg has a record of service in the Socialist Party which has made him a national figure in the Socialist movement for many years. Already elected by a very large vote as International Delegate and Executive Committeeman of the old party, Ruthenberg now takes these offices in the Communist Party.

The other International Delegates are Nicholas I. Hourwich, editor of *Novy Mir*, Alexander Stoklitsky, Translator-Secretary of the Russian Federation, and I. E. Ferguson, Secretary of the National Left Wing Council and now Associate Editor of the Communist Party publications. Comrade Hourwich has long been recognized as one of the ablest exponents of Communism in America, and has behind him a long record of intimate association with the work of the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democracy. Comrade Stoklitsky has an easy claim to the most important organization contribution to the Left Wing movement. It was Comrade Stoklitsky who welded the Russian-speaking Federations into a working unit for the transformation of the Socialist movement in this country, and who did much to bring this solid unit of membership into teamwork with the English-speaking Left Wingers. Comrades Hourwich and Ferguson were elected also to the Central Executive Committee.

The alternates as International Delegates are Comrades Elbaum, Bittleman, Ballam and Lovestone. Elbaum is editor of the Polish Federation daily newspaper in Detroit, and Bittleman, as already mentioned, of the Jewish Federation paper in New York. Ballam, member of the National Left Wing Council, is editor of the *New England Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party of Massachusetts. Jay Lovestone, of New York, one of the youngest of this Convention of young men, proved himself one of the most aggressive and ablest. All of these four were elected also to the Central Executive Committee.

The other delegates elected to the Executive Committee are Comrades Schwartz, Cohen, Tywerowsky, Petras, Karosses, Dirba, Wicks. Schwartz, of Boston, is of the Lettish Federation; Tywerowsky, of New York, is Executive Secretary of the Russian Federation; Petras, of Chicago, is of the Hungarian Federation; Karosses, of Philadelphia, is of the Lithuanian Federation. Maximilian Cohen, of New York, has served as member of the National Left Wing Council and played a very important part in the Left Wing movement as Secretary of the Left Wing Section of New York. Dirba is State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, and Wicks one of the newly elected members of the Socialist Party N. E. C., stood highest on the ballot as Socialist Party delegate from Oregon.

The Executive Council consists of Comrades Ruthenberg, Fraina, Ferguson, Schwartz, Karosses, Dirba and Wicks.

In view of the argument that has been made about Federation "control" it is noteworthy that the Executive Council has two Federation members against five non-Federationists, while the entire Executive Committee has a majority of non-Federationists.

Five alternates were chosen for the Executive Committee, Comrades Stokes, Loonin, Georgian, Bixby and Kravsevitch.

On account of ineligibility to the Executive Committee the names of some of the Translator-Secretaries do not appear in this list, though they were among the outstanding figures of the Convention, notably Jo-