

mation of Capitalism into Communism.

Between these groups stood the wavering centre, revolutionary in phrases, it was never revolutionary in action. Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existence a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures under the capitalist system, this faction nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Capitalism would be abolished.

It required the test of action under revolutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcilable differences between these factions. Under the test of action it was found that Moderate Socialism betrayed the class struggle in favor of "reconciliation of the classes." Moderate Socialism is today directly and openly counter-revolutionary. The Centre, because of its vacillation, is even more dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the revolutionary class struggle.

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advanced stage, the influence of the social revolution in Russia and the struggle in Germany have deepened the difference of viewpoint which have heretofore existed in the one party.

Out of the Socialist Party Convention, easily controlled by the Right Wing by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delegates who for a large variety of reasons are opposed to association with the Right Wingers. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of those in control of the old organization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party upon legalistic grounds. They have emphasized the question of party regularity; they have asked for support upon this basis, not upon understanding and acceptance of Communist principles and tactics.

There are delegates in your group who have made use of revolutionary phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which separate the Right Wing from the Left. There are delegates who are with you because of personal grievances against the old party officialdom or against the Left Wing officialdom.

One of your delegates, for instance, in his statement before the Socialist Party contest committee, specifically repudiated ever having endorsed the Left Wing or being in sympathy with it. There are delegates with you on the basis of objection to "foreign" control, thus showing inability to grasp the first principles of Communism. Think of such an objection against an organization which is to be the American Branch of the Communist International!

In the Communist Convention are to be found the representatives of the conscious Communist elements in this country. In contrast to your heterogeneous bolting delegates, most of them without a mandate from any membership for the organization of a new party, the delegates in our convention came clearly instructed to form a Communist Party based upon the principles and tactics of the Communist International.

It must be remembered that a Communist Party gains nothing by additional membership unless that membership is consciously Communist. Ours must be a party closely united on fundamentals.

In considering our proposal for a unity of all the delegates now in Chicago who represent Communist groups, it must be kept clearly in mind that our convention is absolutely bound by the Joint Call which accounts for the presence of 128 delegates and 9 fraternal delegates in this city. These delegates represent 58,000 members. Their mandate from this membership is stated in

the Joint Call. Obviously our Convention is bound by the call which brought it into existence.

By this we do not mean to lay down any rule of formalism. To say that we are bound by the Joint Call is only another way of saying that the fact of our convention means a fundamental basis of agreement arrived at by discussion among these members. Every delegate in our convention owes his seat to the fact that our Committee on Credentials has had placed before it the documentary evidence of a membership mandate to organize a Communist Party.

Our convention would lose its real meaning if every additional delegate did not meet the same test. There is nothing in the nature of an adventure in our work. It has been deliberately planned; it is the calculated response to the development of the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party; it is not an accidental gathering of Socialist Party members who happen to agree at the moment that a new party might be the right way to give expression and force to the revolutionary Socialist movement in this country, speculating as to what response such an experiment might meet.

This is our instruction from our Convention: that every additional delegate must present his credentials to our Credential Committee in the same manner as delegates already seated. This instruction carries with it the clear implication that every additional delegate who votes in our convention must meet the test which puts him on the same membership basis as the rest of us. His vote, in addition to the votes already assigned within our Convention, must be in correspondence with the membership of the state organization he represents.

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialist and Communist conventions, who have already been received for full participation in our Convention. Others who have such credentials will be similarly received through the Credential Committee. There may be other cases which would meet the same general test in a different way, according to the principle already stated.

Delegates from the Left Wing States or other organizations, that is organizations which have adopted the Left Wing program but have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Convention, and who were not elected in opposition to the Communist Convention, therefore fail to participate as voting members of our body, will be seated as fraternal delegates. This Committee will favor the exclusion, however, of delegates who opposed the Joint Call for the Communist Convention in favor of the Emergency Convention or who were elected on such opposition.

The total delegates for any state or other organization will be reduced by the number of delegates for such organization already seated in our convention.

Committee of the Communist Convention,  
Sept. 3, 1919.

#### ANSWER TO THE STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION BY THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION.

We waive the answer to the introduction in your statement because it contains no point of controversy. Neither do we care to propagandize the Communist Convention, for we are sure that the introduction to your statement is common knowledge among revolutionary Socialists.

The Left Wing movement is not a child of a day. Left Wing movements have existed in the Socialist Parties of the world ever since their inception. The only difference between the Left Wing factions of to-day and those of before the war is that these Left Wing factions have added to their fund

of knowledge the experiences of the war and revolutions.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution, Left Wing manifestations in the Socialist Party in this country became more pronounced and gradually crystallized until a very large element in the Socialist Party accepted the Left Wing position. This eventually resulted in the expulsion and suspension from the party of a portion of the Left Wing element by a reactionary officialdom. When this definite break occurred a conference was held in Chicago at which Fraina, Keracher, Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Stoklitzky and Stilson were present. It was there agreed to carry on the fight for the Left Wing and its principles within the Socialist Party in order to rally all Left Wing forces for a final battle against the Right Wing for control.

At this conference it was unanimously decided to divide the necessary work to be done. The duty of making what is now called the "legalistic" fight was given to the Ohio state office of the Socialist Party and it was agreed that the Revolutionary Age should continue its propaganda for the Left Wing dominance of principle. Under these circumstances any criticism of our group on these grounds is unworthy of those who make it.

The decision to carry on the fight within the Socialist Party was endorsed by the Left Wing National Conference and again at the meeting of the new national executive committee at Chicago in July. Members of your group, Fraina, Ruthenberg and others agreed to this course.

Despite these repeated decisions to carry on the fight within the party, certain elements of your group, decided to organize a new Party. We refer to the Russian Federation—Michigan Combination, who were united, not on principle, but for political advantage.

The National Left Wing Council was stampeded by these elements into its violation of the National Left Wing Conference decision and reluctantly joined in the call for a Communist Convention.

The group we represent remained true to all edicts officially issued by these several Left Wing conferences, carried the battle to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party, and there made a decisive fight. We shall probably never find ourselves in agreement with the tactics of flopping from one position to another at the rate of nearly twice a week, in direct violation of the mandates of higher governing bodies and arguments.

We agree that the sentiment of the membership of a large organization can never be definitely gauged. However, the Socialist Party membership, by a vote of nearly 10 to 1, decided to affiliate with the Moscow International. This would at least mean that by far the greater majority of the membership of the Socialist Party subscribes to the Left Wing program. The Left Wing delegates who compose this Communist Labor Party, are unanimously in favor of carrying out this decision. The 92 delegates which compose this Communist Labor Party convention represent an overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party's membership. The delegates who compose your convention are separated from us merely because of the one fact that a few reactionary officials kicked them out of the party.

We have kept our joint agreements. You have violated yours. You deserted us, you deserted the party membership when it needed you most. It is therefore assuming much on your part to attempt to lay down terms for unity to us. Despite your inconsistencies, we now offer to meet you to unite the two conventions upon a basis of equality.

We see many inconsistent elements in