

immediately sever all connections with the Socialist Party of the United States and proceed at once with the work of organizing a new party."

Practically all the delegates participated in the discussion. The advocates of an immediate organization of a Communist Party argued that this was the psychological moment; that further work in the Socialist Party would simply secure for us "centre" elements; that we should organize immediately on an uncompromising party basis. The opponents argued that a Communist Party must be organized; that no one could oppose this party, and that the only issue was one of judgment and time, whether it should be done now in New York or two months later in Chicago; that it was absolutely necessary to proceed with the struggle in the Socialist Party for two months more, in order to rally the broad revolutionary masses of the party for Communist Socialism. The resolution in favor of immediately organizing a Communist Party was defeated by a roll call vote of 55 against 38.

The issue came up in another form, when, after a caucus, the delegates representing the Central Committees of the Russian Federations brought before the Conference the Call of the Socialist Party of Michigan for a convention in Chicago, September 1, to organize a new Socialist Party, asking that the Conference endorse the Call. Challenged to deny that the Michigan call was not a Menshevik one, all the Russian comrades remained silent. This was also defeated. The Conference, anticipating that the repudiated National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party might call off the Emergency Convention, passed a motion that, in that event, the national Left Wing itself carry on the August 30 convention.

Another intense discussion took place on the report of the Organization Committee,

recommending that the executive body of the Left Wing Section shall be a National Council of nine members, elected by the Conference itself. A minority of two, Hourwich and Lindgren, brought in a minority report that, in addition to these nine, there shall be at least seven other members to be elected one each by the Central Committees of the Russian Federations (this, in time, would mean at least eleven members on the Council elected by Central Committees of the Language Federations). This proposal would have meant control of the National Council by delegates of the Federation Central Committees. The argument made in favor was that the Federations constitute the backbone of the Left Wing, and are solidly Bolshevik; the argument made against was that the Conference could not approve of separate and duplicate representation, the Federations already being adequately represented by delegates at the Conference itself; and that we should have membership control, not Central Committee control. The minority report was defeated. A National Council of nine members was thereupon elected, as follows: C. E. Ruthenberg, of Cleveland; Louis C. Fraina, of Boston; I. E. Ferguson, of Chicago; John Ballam, of Boston; James Larkin, of New York; Eadmonn MacAlpine, of New York; Benjamin Gitlow, of New York; Max Cohen, of New York; and Bert Wolfe, of New York. (At the first meeting of the Council, Fraina was elected Editor of *The Revolutionary Age*, and MacAlpine Managing Editor; these two comrades thereupon resigned as members of the Council.)

On the third day, 31 delegates, consisting mostly of the Federations, decided, after a caucus, that they would withhold further activity in the Conference because of its attitude on the Communist Party, these delegates resigning from all committees and having previously declined nominations for the National

Council. The 31 practically bolted the Conference.

At the following sessions (eight in all were held) the reports of the Committees on Manifesto and Program, Labor Organization and Resolutions, were disposed of. A discussion took place on the question of a resolution endorsing the I. W. W. The report of the Labor Organization Committee was finally adopted, accepting the I. W. W. as a revolutionary mass movement, but condemning the theoretical short-comings of its spokesmen. Resolutions were adopted approving the class war prisoners strike, sending our greetings to all comrades in prison, condemning and opposing intervention in Mexico, expressing our solidarity with the comrades of Russia and Hungary, and calling upon workers to refuse to work on munitions for the counter-revolution, and that the National Council be instructed to study the agrarian problem. The Labor Organization Committee brought in a plan for actual agitation among the workers, a permanent Labor Committee being elected, subject to the National Council, for this work, as follows: Reed (N. Y.), Jim Cannon (Kansas), Marion Sproule (Mass.), Carney (Minn.), Cosgrove (Mass.), Stankowitz (Penna.), Key (Cal.), Gitlow (N. Y.), and Jurgis (Mass.).

The final act of the Conference was the adoption of the following motion, made by Fraina: "That the National Council call a conference in Chicago September 1 of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with a Communist Party that may be organized by Left Wing delegates seceding from the Convention of the Socialist Party to be held August 30."

After an inspiring singing of the "Red Flag" and the "Internationale" the Conference adjourned, determined to conquer for Communist Socialism.

## To the Workers of Germany

By G. CHICHERIN.

Russian Soviet Commissaire of Foreign Affairs (Moscow, May 26).

IN this terrible hour when the German people are suffering under the cruel blows of a victorious Imperialism, the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia send their fraternal greetings and expressions of workers solidarity. Entente imperialism has defeated its enemy and is now celebrating its feast of victory, which will not, however, last very long. Recognizing no restraint, devoid of shame, it exposes its bandit nature, which knows nothing but profit, force and robbery. "Woe to the vanquished!" it cries out. Drunk with victory, and with the animal lust of the primitive savage it has no other object than to wound as cruelly as possible the vanquished peoples, to exploit them as completely as possible, and to make them eternal captives and slaves.

Unparalleled robbery, unparalleled servitude. Such is the meaning of the Peace Treaty which has been shamelessly forced upon the German people by the Entente rulers. This so-called treaty which an exhausted nation is forced to sign is nothing short of a downright crime. Territories with an unquestionable German population, are torn from the German people, their most precious natural resources are taken away. They are compelled to pay such monstrous contributions, that even if the whole German people should labor day and night exclusively to satisfy their conquerors, they would be incapable of disposing of the burden. They are being so thoroughly disarmed, that the victors may at any time penetrate into the interior of the country and inflict upon it the final blows. The Damocles' sword of destruc-

tion will continuously hang over the whole country.

Under the cover of guarantees and control, the victor, the new slave driver, will follow every motion of his captives and slaves. The situation which is thus created for the German working people is well-nigh unbearable, and its misery would have no bounds if it was not a certainty that the dreams of the victors, who have lost all reason, will last but a short time, that the barbarous governments of imperialistic violations are passing through their last days. The revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia have passed through some tribulations; they know what the merciless triumph of a victor means.

The revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia have placed all their hopes in the workers' revolution, which is approaching with giant strides by means of the revolutionary solidarity of the workers of the whole world, whose hour of triumph will strike in the near future. In the days of battle, the revolutionary forces have been steeled. Surrounded on all sides by relentless imperialistic and counter-revolutionary elements they have forged

the mighty weapons of the Red Armies. The hour of the final victory is yet distant. Serious battles against the hosts of imperialism and against the counter-revolutionary bands which have penetrated into our territory are still being waged. But the Russian workers and peasants know that they are progressing step by step towards the final victory.

For the workers and peasants of Germany also, their present sufferings are only a transitory trial which must strengthen your forces ten-fold. Your sufferings are felt by the working masses of Russia who are united with you in workers' solidarity. The shamelessness and brutality of the victor, forgetful of all reason, are in themselves sufficient proof for us that the world of robbers and violators is on the eve of its final destruction. In all the Entente countries, whose mighty rulers are plundering the defeated German people of their all, the working masses will obtain nothing more than a new sharpening of their servitude, and new and heavier chains. But in those countries also, the eyes of the proletarians will open, and with every victory the revolutionary movement will boil and bubble more and more powerfully. And thus, in the ceaselessly growing world revolution of the working masses, in the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all lands, and in the international union of revolutionary Soviet republics, lies the pledge of their approaching liberation from the heavy chains of the dictators, as well as the pledge of the liberation of the workers of all lands from the capitalist system, which makes such acts of robbery possible.