

reckoning of the viewpoint of many thousands of revolutionary Socialists who are still members of the Socialist Party in good standing; it would have been the coup d'etat of a partially representative body, ignoring many states and tens of thousands of party members; it would have meant a surrender of the splendid propaganda opportunities within the Socialist Party until August 30th. But as for the principle of a Communist Party, and guarantees of its beginning by September first, there can be no dispute about the actions of the Conference.

So far as the minority group in the Conference are now attempting to claim a difference with the majority of the Conference, that claim falls to pieces when the actual facts of the Conference are considered. At the Sunday evening session of the Conference (third session, June 22) there was a roll call vote of 55 to 38 against the proposition of immediate organization of a new party. On Monday morning all delegates continued their participation in the Conference, though part of the minority group refused to vote on the proposition to join the Michigan call for a September first Convention to start a new Socialist Party. On Monday afternoon, all delegates voting, there was an election of a committee to take over the work of the Conference provided that a raid and arrests should make it impossible to bring a quorum together again. Four of the delegates elected to this committee later identified themselves with the minority which discontinued activity within the Conference, though not leaving. This step of conditional secession from the Conference occurred only after defeat of the proposition that each Federation should have a member on the National Left Wing Council, to be designated by the Executive Committee of the Federation, in addition to the 9 members to be elected by the Conference (in which election the Federation representatives would also participate). In a word, this meant that the National Council of the Left Wing should become subsidiary to the Central Executive Committees of the Federations. This proposition was defeated 23 to 41.

On Monday evening (sixth session) the following announcement was made: "Some 31 comrades from the various foreign federations, and some English comrades met about half an hour ago and decided to organize a new Communist Party on the basis of the principles laid down by the National Left Wing Conference on June 22nd, for which purpose they joined the convention call of the Michigan State Convention of September 1st. At the same time it was decided to withhold all activities of those 31 members from active participation in this Conference, and reserve their right to resume those activities at the time that they find fit."

Of this minority, the Federation delegates did not support the Michigan call when offered in the Conference, because they disagreed with the call in principle. On the other hand, the Federation delegates accepted the basis in principle for a new party as laid down by the majority of the Conference. Not one delegate left the Conference on the issue of immediate formation of the Communist Party. The Michigan call itself, and so the Michigan delegates explained, conceded the advisability of the campaign in connection with the Emergency Convention of August 30th. In other words, the Michigan call added absolutely nothing to the actions of the Conference, and was simply a bid to let the Conference make of the National Left Wing a tail to the kite of Michigan.

Three sets of delegates made up this curious

minority: 1) the Michigan group which wanted the Conference to accept in toto its pre-arranged plan and program, substituting the will and judgment of the Michigan State Convention for that of a group of delegates from all over the country, a group which has not even yet joined itself in any way with the National Left Wing, but was given the courtesy of representation at the Conference as an expelled State; 2) a small group of delegates who persisted in their demand for immediate formation of a new party, who obviously compromised their position by joining in a call for a new party on September 1st; 3) the largest element of the minority, the Federation delegates—who acted only after defeat of the proposition to give absolute control of the Left Wing to the Federation Executive Committees. This group was openly

From a Soldier in France

IN the midst of the deluge of abuse that is being directed against Soviet Russia by the press it is gratifying to find a few courageous publications like yours, attempting to stem the tide, presenting the case of the Russian workers and explaining and justifying the new society they are trying to build upon the ruins of the monarchy. The A. E. F. have even less access than you to any authentic and reliable information on Russian affairs and while I possess little accurate knowledge of the stirring and momentous events in that land of mystery and promise, I do know something of the principles and practices of the American press. This knowledge suggests to me but one interpretation of the campaign of hate that is being waged with such vigor against the Soviets namely: that the privileges for which that press stands and the interests whose message it preaches are in danger, perhaps even threatened with early and complete annihilation in Russia as the hands of a victorious proletariat, an event that could not but hasten the doom of special privilege in other lands outside of Russia. In no other way can I account for the hysterical and vicious denunciations of Bolshevism and its leaders that stare at me from every page of the daily papers. The strategy and also the tactics here employed so closely resemble the plan of campaign pursued by the press in the ceaseless industrial war in the States that it is possible to make a fairly accurate estimate of the character, the strength and the purposes of the Bolsheviki. And having observed the habits of the press in that war and noted its utter lack of the sportsman-like spirit and its shameful disregard of the most elemental requirements of literary honor, and knowing something of the sinister influences that control it, I cannot effect any surprise at its present behavior.

I cannot resist the conclusion that the masters of America, disturbed by visions of a Socialist government in Russia, are in their rage and desperation sounding through their mouthpiece the call for the sympathetic strike, the boycott, the lockout, the blacklist and even for the war of extermination in defense and on behalf of their vanishing brethren in Russia. In this they are obeying, though in a blind and stupid way, the instinct of self preservation. They are fools of more kinds than one but yet shrewd enough to understand that if the Russian proletariat wins, the American proletariat cannot lose.

opposed in principle to the Michigan group, yet joined with the Michigan group when they found that these delegates were ready to abandon their principles for the sake of "putting over" their *coup d'etat*.

Let anyone answer: which one of these groups acted on *principle* in separating themselves from the National Left Wing?

The call for the September 1st Convention made by this strangely assembled minority is based directly upon the Platform formulated by the Conference. Evidently the Conference did not falter in the principles of revolutionary Socialism. Neither in principle or tactics did the Conference waver or compromise on a single point, and the experience since the Conference proves beyond a doubt that the majority chose the best way in which to bring together all the elements in the Socialist Party ready for a Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism.

Comrades of the Left Wing: there is much important work to be done during the next month for the future of revolutionary Socialism in America—for a Communist Party that will be much more than a flourish of a glorious name, for a party that will actually bring into common action all the revolutionary proletarian elements in the United States. The Council has already appealed to you for funds wherewith to carry on its work. The Council has already urged upon you the support of Left Wing candidates to the Emergency Convention, or the formation of separate Left Wing provisional organizations as the basis for representation at Chicago. The Council appeals to you also for information about your local or branch so that we may know how to bring our plans into conformity with the varied party situation in the different States.

We address ourselves in this statement primarily to those already in accord with the fundamental principles of Communism, to those who have already grasped the vital significance of the Left Wing movement in the class struggle in America. We are just as eager to deal with the questions of those who have not heretofore been presented with the opportunity to study developments in world history and in Socialism itself out of which the Left Wing movement took form. But in the exigencies of the immediate party campaign we are forced to deal first with the pressing problems of party reorganization. However, we shall welcome the opportunity to answer all questions, through our Secretary, and to bring our literature into the hands of those not as yet aligned with the Left Wing.

We repeat our appeals for funds and for active co-operation. The response already has been most encouraging, but there are many parts of the country yet to be heard from. Act at once. Do your part to give the Socialist movement in this country an impetus on Aug. 30th which will carry us a long way toward the goal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in America!

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