

cialist Party of America would ruin the organization rather than turn the control of it over to you. The reason for the expulsion of the Socialist Party of Michigan is plainly apparent when you consult the votes taken on the National Executive referendum at the last election. The vote went overwhelmingly for what is commonly called "the red slate" or the "Left Wing slate"—Wm. Bross Lloyd of Chicago, John Keracher of Detroit, and myself. The expulsion of the state of Michigan excludes those three candidates who were duly elected. Keracher and myself are excluded, of course, by our expulsion from the party, and Wm. Bross Lloyd of Chicago loses all chance of being a member of the Executive Committee because the loss of the Michigan vote puts him behind Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee. So, you see, they very conveniently defeated the slate of the Left Wing in that district to which we belong. Their cry of constitutionality, their cry of living up to party rules, etc., is here plainly shown as just so much camouflage. They don't propose to perform all kinds of extra-constitutional acts in order to maintain their committee membership.

You are invited to attend a convention in August in the city of Chicago. You are invited to go—like hell you are. (Laughter.) You are not going to be represented there. The state of Michigan has been expelled. In all probability, other states will follow. The language federations which have formed a very strong part of the Left Wing movement has been suspended, and none of its membership will be represented at the national convention in Chicago in August. You are going to be tried, convicted and sentenced by whom? By the Right Wing of the Socialist Party of America. And if I know anything about the activities of that Right Wing in the past, the fact that the suspension of the language federations will be changed to expulsion is a foregone conclusion. And as for any repudiation of the acts of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America, as for their repudiation of those acts, there is absolutely no hope on your part. We considered these things in the convention in the State of Michigan last Sunday afternoon, and we arrived at a conclusion—a conclusion which I am going to offer to you in the course of the convention to consider—a conclusion which I think you ought to agree upon if you view the conditions rightly. We drew up a manifesto of the Socialist Party, and we intend to send it broadcast, with or without the endorsement of this Left Wing conference. We drew up a manifesto laying down what we have believed for the last five years to be the basis upon which the Socialist Party should be organized. We have laid down that basis clearly and concisely as a tentative program upon which the Socialists within the Socialist movement may unite in a convention and draw up a program and platform for a new Socialist Party in America. (Hearty and prolonged applause.)

We have set the date for that convention as September first 1919 in the city of Chicago. And I, as the Secretary of the Ways and Means Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan, have charge of the arrangements of that convention. Before this conference is over, you are going to have an opportunity to endorse that call. You are going to have an opportunity of urging the Lefts in this country to line up on their tentative program for the organization of a real Socialist Party. I know some of you don't want to do that. I know some of you would prefer to follow the middle course of fighting it out within the Socialist Party. I know some of you would want to sit in and fight—fight in a convention in which

you will have no representation—fight in a convention in which it is not as yet known that you will even have a voice—fight against such contemptible creatures as Victor L. Berger, Adolf Germer, Morris Hillquit, Seymour Stedman and a few others. They have demonstrated, in my estimation, beyond the peradventure of any doubt that they are not going to allow the control of the Socialist Party of America slip from their fingers. They have, since the expulsion of Michigan and the suspension of the language federations—they have turned the property of the Socialist Party of America over to trustees elected for long terms of years so that there will be no chance of any Left Wing element getting control of it. And some—some would ask us to continue a vascillating policy of fighting within such a corrupt organization of that sort. Some would even hesitate to strike now once and for all for a real Socialist movement in America. Some of you would prefer to fight this thing out within the party, but I, for one, have given up all hope of fighting it out in the Party. I considered, and we have considered—I speak in the name of the Socialist Party of Michigan—we considered that by this act of expelling some forty thousand members from the Socialist Party of America, the National Executive Committee has thrown down the gauntlet to the Socialist within the Socialist Party, and I for one will not hesitate to pick it up and hurl it into their teeth. (Prolonged and hearty applause.)

*Mr. Paul:* Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The question he (delegate Zucker of New York) brought up was a resolution that was submitted by the Resolution Committee last Sunday, that the City Convention of the Greater City instruct its delegates to the National Left Wing conference to organize a Communist Party—The question was debated thoroughly on all sides, and the resolution was finally adopted by a vote of 62 to 51. The matter was then left for a referendum to the members of the branches and locals represented in that convention last Saturday. Outside of that, the Secretary of the City Committee has not received any reports from the various branches or locals.

*Mr. Ferguson:* Comrades, at the time of the meeting of the National Executive Committee, Comrade Ruthenberg, Comrade Fraina, Comrade Keracher came in, and an informal meeting was held—I remember these delegates, and all of the Translator-Secretaries, and perhaps I have forgotten two or three, some of the comrades from Chicago—a group of about twenty comrades met and informally organized a provisional committee, to carry on what campaign could be carried on until the time of the meeting of this conference. In view of what has been said, I might state the point of view—the policy of the members there gathered, and that was decidedly that it was up to the Left Wing to make the fight for control within the party, in spite of all the suspensions that had been made. So there you have another angle. The committee was unanimous in that respect. There was no proposition about organizing a new party. The proposition was that we had enough strength within the party—that the rank and file is so thoroughly disgusted—so thoroughly permeated with the ideals of revolutionary Socialism, that there is no question that if we do some measure of propaganda work, some measure of organization, we have the overwhelming majority of the newly elected Executive Committee on the vote which the old N. E. C. refused to recognize. We decided that at the appropriate time one of the newly-elected members of the National Executive

Committee would make a motion to Adolf Germer to call the N. E. C. in session, and if he would refuse the newly-elected N. E. C. would meet in spite of Comrade Germer. This newly-elected Executive Committee, the majority of which are Left Wing delegates, would proceed to function as the regular National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, issue a declaration to the membership, and try, to a large extent within its power, to take over the actual official work of the organization. The four Left Wing delegates elected to the International Congress would meet in July, and issue a declaration to the party membership as the delegates to the International Congress of the American Socialist Party. We would furthermore try to take over the arrangements for the convention and bring the final fight to the Emergency Convention of August 30. We furthermore suggested to the comrades of the State of Michigan that they refuse to recognize their expulsion by the National Executive Committee. We recommended to them that they stay within the party, and send contesting delegates to the emergency convention at Chicago. And we furthermore recommend the same procedure to the expelled locals and branches of New York—that they organize independently of the Right Wing Party as the official Socialist Party in New York State, send their delegates to the convention, and then at the convention, we would decide whether we have got the Socialist Party, or whether we have to follow some other course of action. (Great applause.)

*Mr. Ballam:* Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As Chairman of the Convention of the State of Massachusetts, which Convention elected its State Secretary, Comrade Sproule, and the Chairman of the Convention, who is also editor of its official organ, to represent the State of Massachusetts in this Left Wing Conference, I want to say speaking for its delegation, that it has gone solidly to the Left—decidedly to the Left—that it does not intend to quibble or treat with this proposition—that it has wiped out the Centre—recognizes no Centrist position; and in making this report I want to make that plain. I appreciate, and I think every delegate here appreciates the outraged feelings of the comrades of Michigan, and of the various Language Federations illegally suspended and illegally expelled by the N. E. C. We have made our propaganda to the rank and file of the Socialist Party, and the rank and file of the Socialist Party has accepted the Left Wing position. We have captured the party of America for the Left Wing. It is now in our hands. So that the position of the delegates from Massachusetts as the position of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, is that we will stay in the Party and fight this thing out, not allowing the N. E. C. to expell us, but that we will expell the N. E. C., and every member connected with them (applause) that we will prefer charges against everyone implicated in illegal acts such as they have performed, and throw them out of the Socialist Party of America, capture it for revolutionary Socialism—first throw them out, and let them take their places in America together with the other social-patriots that left the party during the war of their own accord—the Spargos and the rest of them. Now, that is the position of Massachusetts. We do not want to get out because they want us to get out. They cannot throw us out because they have not the power to throw us out. But if it should be proven after the Convention in August that in spite of the fact that by every demonstrable proof, by a counting of noses and votes, that we have the Party, but through their machinations they hold the

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