

Russia by the workers and peasants who are facing the bayonets of the entire capitalist world. We know that it has been adopted in Hungary. But this is not the time for us to act on emotions. This is the time for us to act with regard to the future of the American movement. If our movement is worth anything, we can march forward to its success—we can march forward on our own revolutionary integrity. Comrade Zucker advances this argument: They, the Right Wing, will control the organization. If the Right Wing controls the organization, then the answer is contained in the majority report. Our answer will be the Communist Party. Frightened men—a weak man strikes wildly and at random. But a man who knows a why and a wherefore of his actions is poised from the moment, and when he strikes he strikes with deadly effect. And that is what we propose to do. When we strike there will be nothing left of the Right Wing or of the center. (Great applause.) Comrade Zucker appeals in the name of the revolution for what that great revolutionist Morris Hillquit in his hour of distress appeals for—a split. Morris Hillquit who was wont to fight on the barricades like a tiger, now calls, like a whipped cur, and calls, "Comrades, split—save us!" But we will split when we choose—not when they choose. (Applause.) We will split at the psychological moment, and no sooner or later. And the psychological moment is when the entire membership of the American Socialist Party have their eyes turned upon Chicago. At that moment, unless we have dominated, we will meet in a different hall in the same city, and we will compare our program with the milk-and-water program of the Rights. Then we will have a comparison, and on that comparison we can appeal to the revolutionary sentiment of the rank and file of the American working class, or the working class, as I prefer to put it, in America. Comrade Zucker also says that in Chicago we were kicked down the stairs. I am one of those who was so kicked. But are we men or are we children? If we have been kicked down the stairs, we can walk upstairs again. Our part is not to play the part of some little miss who is in a huff because of a rebuff. Our part is the part of revolutionists who will march on unheeding these rebuffs. Hillquit calls for a split, and Comrade Zucker tries to tell you that at Chicago they will be attempting to avert a split. If they will change the opinion sounded by the spokesman of Scheidemann Socialism in America, it will be because they know that with us lies the spirit of the future of American Socialism. (Great applause.)

Hiltzik: I want to take the statement of Comrade Ruthenberg. He says the reason why we should not split now and wait until the call, is, because there is a feeling of loyalty towards the Socialist Party on the part of the delegates. Now, Comrades, I would like to ask how many there are here in this room who feel a loyalty to the Socialist Party. I know that I, for one, who have been giving away the greatest part of my time and energy in the Socialist movement, have lost loyalty to the Party, and so did many comrades who are working with me in the Left Wing. Comrade Ruthenberg makes an appeal that we should wait until we capture the machinery, because we have captured the party already. I say that we have captured the party already, and therefore we should ignore the machine and proceed with the organization of a Communist Party (Applause.) What do we want to capture? That is the question before you. The

comrades have been talking of capturing three or five months ago. They are also talking of capturing today. All it means now is to capture the furniture in the office. And now, comrades, do you expect that those well-trained politicians will give up their property? They consider it their property and not yours. They said it time and again, and no matter what you say, no matter how big a majority you have, they are going to hold fast, they are going to hold the property and declare themselves the Socialist Party. What are you waiting for? You were not kicked hard enough? (Laughter.) Comrade Ruthenberg wants to wait until we come to Chicago, and they will tell us that we are officially kicked out. Until now we have been kicked out unofficially. He says that he will sit at the convention—he! The Left Wing! Will the comrades of Michigan help elect a chairman? Will the federations, thirty thousand, help elect a chairman? Will the comrades of New York help elect a chairman? No! Because they are already expelled, and they will not be permitted to go there. Comrades, I have also learned from the experience at Boston, at the convention of the Jewish Federation—we also—many of us came there. You say that we will go to Chicago and capture the convention, because we are in the majority. What have they done in Boston? The very same thing that the machine in the party has done. They have expelled the Left Wing branches before they had a chance to have their delegates express their opinions. They voted for their officials, for their Credentials Committee, before they admitted the Left Wing delegates, and then they decided that they did not belong there,—that these branches did not exist—that those members were not members of the Socialist Party, and therefore had no business at the convention. That is the very same thing that is going to be done by the Right Wing. What are you waiting for now?

There is a statement by Comrade MacAlpine, and that is, "We will capture the Party and we will have the whole rank and file with us." Now, Comrades, this is the very same thing that the bourgeois democracy wants us to do—wait until we capture the entire working class, and then we will establish Socialism. And we say no. Though we are in the minority, if we are the revolutionary Socialists, if we know what the working class wants, we are going to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in spite of the ignorance of the majority. We shall do it now,—not wait until we get the majority—the ignorant majority, perhaps, or the official majority, or some that are following the machine. We have the rank and file with us officially or not. We are going to establish a Communist Party and the rank and file will flock to us. Now, comrades, you either decide to establish the Communist Party or you decide to annihilate the Left Wing. If this conference is disbanded without any decision about establishing a Communist Party, it will mean that we are going to lose the confidence of the rank and file, and they will not have confidence in the present leaders of the Left Wing. Comrades, the rank and file have followed you until now because they hoped that this conference would build a Communist Party for them. But if they are disappointed in you, they will establish a Communist Party over your heads. Then, Comrades, you will have to come to them, and you will come secondary in importance and not the leaders, as you would be if you said the word now. You will be in the same position as are those traitors of the party that are now

waiting to see how the official majority will go. Whether it will be with them or against them. Comrades, don't make that mistake. Don't go away from this place tonight, without deciding to have a Communist Party. (Great applause.)

Ballam: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The proposition that we have to consider is a serious one, and one which every one here need hesitate to make up his mind definitely. Those comrades from New York who are in close touch with each other, and who have fought this matter out among themselves, are in a very different position in this conference than the comrades who have come here as delegates from states and from locals recently adopting the Left Wing program. I am one of these delegates. Now, the Left Wing program to me as an individual, is not a new one except in some of its phases. I have been on the Left, I have been in the minority of a minority ever since I have been a member of the Socialist Movement, and that means since 1898. Now, Comrade Zucker mentions 1912 and 1917. But, 1912 and 1917 is not 1919. The conditions that existed then—the minds of the comrades and the conditions and environment existing at that time were not the same as they are now. What the officials of the Socialist Party could do then and get away with I maintain they cannot do to-day in the present state of mind of not only the class-conscious-workers organized in the Socialist Party, but of the working class in the United States, that the Socialist organizations throughout the world are watching the Left Wing conference. They are watching it from the Rand School, from the *New York Call* and from Chicago, and they are anxious—tickled to death to have a movement of separation at this time. Now, don't mistake me. Don't misunderstand me—you who have gone to the Left of the Left. I sympathize and I understand your position. I understand it only too well. I could not blame you at all—you who have been outlawed and expelled for wanting to take advantage of what you considered the psychological moment. But to you Russian comrades I would say—remember what Marx says, "The proletariat of each country will have to deal with its bourgeoisie in its own country first." (Applause.) The Russian comrades in Russia, the Hungarian comrades in Hungary, and the Spartacans in Germany, and in other countries, are dealing with their bourgeoisie and dealing with them well. Now, it is up to us, and remember that we have a movement peculiar to and conditioned by the historical traditions and backgrounds existing on this continent. In view of this fact, we have to deal with a large percentage of unemotional Anglo-Saxons, whose psychology is moulded by Anglo-Saxon traditions, history and psychology. We have to deal with that, and we have to take into consideration, that these members of the Party are not emotional, and that they are not stirred with us yet. We have the majority with us on the proposition of organizing the Left Wing Conference, but we may not have them with us to organize a Communist Party here and now. They may repudiate that action, while they may be willing to back up in the convention in Chicago on August 30th, and then if we go there with our full strength and force the confidence of our position and the knowledge that we can win, and the determination to win, will see us through all the rest of it. Comrades, I hold it a blunder for which we will pay and pay dear, to be not an error in principle, but in tactics, if we adopt this resolution to-night.