[held February 9, 1919].

by I.J. Kravcevic

Comrades:

As a conference of the Revolutionary Socialist Federations of the Socialist Party of America was to be held, Lithuanian Socialist Federation Translator-Secretary Comrade Stilson, with the sanction of Comrade K. Petrikiene, Secretary of the Executive Committee, appointed me to be a delegate to said conference, which was held in New York, February 9th, 1919.

Although it was decided by the old Executive Committee of the LSF to send a delegate to said conference for the purpose of obtaining information — that is, without voting power — the assembled delegates of the Russian, Lettish [Latvian], Estonian, and Ukrainian Socialist Federations, after due deliberation, decided to give me ("the delegate of the LSF") full voting power. If the delegates of all the other federations who took part in the conference had only an advisory vote, who then would have had the power to make decisions?

There were people from as far away as Chicago and they came here not merely for information, not for empty talk, but for action and for real work. In this spirit I joined the conference and took part in its decisions, at the same time acting as a member of the Executive Committee pro tempore, which was elected by the conference and whose duty it was to carry out all of the decisions of the conference and especially to find a means for communicating with the Russian Soviet government and establishing a temporary information bureau, whose purpose would be to enlighten the proletariat of America as to the real situation in Russia.

Another most important question in our movement requiring speedy solution is the question of the tactics of the Socialist Party. Our Federation, especially our revolutionary comrades, is very concerned with the question. Our future relations with the Socialist Party depends upon the solution of this matter one way or the other; this will be shown by the referendum of our Federation voting on the protocol of the Conference of the Revolutionary Federations with regard to foundation of the Left Wing of the SP.

In the Socialist Party there is a fight going on between Right opportunists and Left revolutionary socialists. As the LSF, which is for the most part composed of common laborers, wage earners, proletarians, is a revolutionary labor organization and also a part of the Socialist Party, it must and can give its moral and material support to, and be a part of, that part of the Socialist Party which makes no compromises with the bourgeoisie, but adheres to the principles of the revolutionary class struggle and stands for the proletarian dictatorship. That part of the party is known as the Left Wing of the SP That Left Wing has now actually been organized in some cities, and its program has been announced. Organization of the Left Wing was started by some branches and groups of the “Left” comrades,
especially by Russian immigrants and partly by Americans. Now that the fight between the Lefts and Rights is growing more bitter every day and it seems that the hour is not far away when the Socialist Party will have to split, a scheme was propounded by such groups and branches to the effect that all these Federations be combined into one revolutionary body to carry the work effectually.

At the conference there appeared from the reports of the delegates that some of the federations want to break off from the Socialist Party because of the latter’s opportunistic reformatory attitude in labor movement politics. Even among Lithuanians (those that attend the American meetings and see their doings) there is much discontentment and disgust. They say, “Why should we support those who are opposed to our interests and who are making various secret compacts with the imperialistic bourgeoisie in order to suppress the revolutionary movement of the working class for its liberation from the capitalist yoke? Indeed, if we cannot act in the direction which leads the workers to their goal, then it is absolutely unnecessary to belong to such an organization and waste our energies in supporting it morally as well as materially.”

On the other hand, it would be a crime on our part if we let those more revolutionary federations leave the party, because it would mean weakening of left revolutionary power within the Socialist Party. Therefore, we have to combine all of these federations and separate groups within the party into a Left Wing of the SP, to start and organize a bitter fight with the opportunists within the party in order to establish a program of the principles that would fit the present revolutionary movement of the working class. In order to discourage the opportunists from distorting these principles, there should be a party discipline and those not complying with it should be ejected from the party without further ado.

Because of the Left’s scatteredness, lack of coordination, and undisciplined action, antagonism and opposition to the real interests of the proletariat prevail in the Socialist Party. The leaders of the party are for the most part social opportunists and ideologues of the middle bourgeoisie. From past years they still have influence upon the large masses within the Socialist Party, and now, against many protests of branches and even locals, they are still conducting their bankrupt policies to the pernicious detriment of the whole American labor movement by organizing various “people’s councils” and “labor parties,” by sending delegates to counterrevolutionary conferences of the social traitors, and by calling conventions jointly with all kinds of bourgeois organizations.

We came to the conclusion that paper protests against them are of no use. We came to understand that there is need for organized and disciplined revolutionary action within the party now — a need for deepening the class consciousness of the workers in order to make the Socialist Party shake off the reformist tactics of the opportunists and accept revolutionary methods of action.

To attain this end, such an organization must have a firm foundation, and that foundation can be laid down only by the foreign language revolutionary socialist federations.

Workers of all Countries Unite.—

I.J. Kravcevic.