Proclamation to the Membership of the Socialist Party:

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The National Convention of the Socialist Party has completed its labors and ended a fratricidal struggle that had torn the party with dissensions for many months. Your delegates have been unsparing in their efforts to ascertain the truth. They have not spared criticism where it was due nor withheld praise where it was merited.

In all such struggles confusion and chaos are inevitable, but certain facts have been ascertained. Upon one matter the delegates representing all shades of opinion were agreed, and this agreement was based upon a searching investigation and testimony of many delegates.

There is no doubt that fraudulent methods were used in the disputed referendums. Whether the National Executive Committee took the wisest course in suspending the offending federations and refusing to tabulate the vote is a matter that no one can decide now. It might have been better to have permitted the matter to drift until the convention met, but it is certain that if that course was taken the facts would be the same regarding the disputed referendums.

A few facts are pertinent at this time. It was apparent to the delegates that some delegates to the convention did not intend to accept their seats. A group of them met with a Left Wing caucus before the convention opened. The leaders were A. Wagenknecht of Ohio, L.E. Katterfeld of Kansas, William Bross Lloyd of Illinois, John Reed

and Ludwig Lore of New York. They used their influence to cause a bolt. They and others insist that our convention excluded many delegates entitled to seats.

Here are the facts: No delegate was excluded because of his views. Many were seated without contest who were known to be opposed to the National Executive Committee.

The Oregon delegates, Left Wingers, were contested. After a hearing, they were seated. They refused to take their seats. Two Nebraska delegates, Left Wingers, were seated. They refused to take their seats. Two Utah delegates, Left Wingers, were given seats, though they were contested by a delegate opposed to them. They refused to take their seats. One delegate from Pennsylvania was seated, despite the fact that he attended the National Left Wing Conference [New York: June 21-24, 1919]. The seats of 7 Minnesota delegates, Left Wing, were contested. Their spokesman [Jack Carney] told the Contest Committee to "go to hell," that they would not accept the seats if given them. Six delegates of California, Left Wing, showed they were entitled to seats, but stated they would not abide by the decisions of the convention. The convention voted to seat them. Their spokesman, [James] Dolsen, came into the convention, named impossible conditions for the convention to concede, and refused to take their seats. The Ohio delegates never came before the Contest Committee, but bolted before their case could be heard.

These are the facts. These delegates did not want seats at all. They wanted to split the party. After doing all the damage they could, they withdrew and joined with others in organizing a Communist Labor Party. They organized this party after the Communist Party convention, controlled by the suspended language federations, refused an alliance with the bolters. They organized a third party because there was nothing else for them to do.

The Socialist Party has survived the attacks of the terrorists within and the reaction without. It has not compromises, it has not retreated a single inch. It is still the American section of the International, the militant party of the working class.

Our Manifesto is a ringing declaration of Socialist principles. We have taken an advanced stand, in keeping with the new era of imperialism born at Versailles. It is an inspiring call to action. It is an answer to all the charges that the party had forgotten or repudiated its working class character.

The field is clear to the Socialist Party. Its program and principles are based on material reality and the needs of the working class. The mass of the membership is with us, and others will join when they learn that political action has been abandoned by the disrupters.

Comrades: The Socialist Party will rise stronger than ever after this cleansing. We will enter the struggle next year a militant party of the workers, enthusiastic, united, and determined.

Long live the Socialist Party! Long live the International!

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