

The New York COMMUNIST

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The Left Wing and the Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

THIS distinguishing feature of the controversy in the Socialist Party between the Right Wing and the Left Wing, between the moderates and the revolutionists, is that the Right Wing refuses to develop and defend its real program. This is partly fear, partly consciousness, and partly sheer stupidity.

The moderates have a program, and a consistent program. It consists of parliamentarianism, of reforming Capitalism out of existence, of municipalization and nationalization of industry on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, of the theory that the coming of Socialism is the concern of all the classes, — in short, the policy of the moderates (which is in itself consistent, while inconsistent with fundamental Socialism) is a policy of petty bourgeois, "liberal" State Capitalism. But this policy broke down miserably under the test of the great crisis of Imperialism; it broke down under the test of the proletarian revolution, and revealed itself as fundamentally counter-revolutionary.

But the moderates, essentially, still cling to this reactionary policy, although they are compelled by circumstances to disguise it, to camouflage it with cheap talk about "being left wing" and "a shift to the left" in the international movement, compelled to wait until "normal" times in order openly to defend their reactionary policy. So the moderates refuse to discuss the fundamentals of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program; they refuse to oppose their real policy to ours; they dare not.

Accordingly, the Right Wing indulges either in vituperation of our revolutionary comrades, in threats of expulsion (guardians of the unity of the Party!), or in sophistry.

Characteristic of this sophistry was Algernon Lee's letter in the *Gall* of April 2nd. Lee implies that the acceptance of the Left Wing policy depends upon an actual revolutionary crisis, and says:

There we reason to expect a revolutionary crisis in this country in the proximate future, aside from the possibility of such a crisis being voluntarily precipitated by one element or another? In such a case, if it should be precipitated (no matter by whom), would the majority of the people probably be neutral with us or against us? Or would the majority remain neutral and inert, ready to accept the outcome of the combat between a revolutionary minority and a reactionary majority? In this latter case, taking into account only the supposed active minorities, which of them would probably win in a decisive struggle at this time? On the basis of our answers to these questions, have we reason to seek or welcome a hastening of the crisis?

These are fundamental questions. Upon the answers we give to them must rest our decision as to certain problems of methods and tactics. They are unavoidable questions.

It is important to understand the immediatists "now" in the great social struggle as a basis for action, but Lee uses it to raise arguments against action.

The policy of the Left Wing, in general, which is the policy of revolutionary Socialism, is not a policy only for an actual revolutionary crisis. The

tactics of the class struggle, of the unceasing antagonism on all issues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, function in "normal" as well as in "revolutionary" times.

It didn't require an actual revolutionary crisis to oppose the imperialistic war.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's acceptance of the war "in order to save the Russian Revolution" a betrayal of Socialism.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for Liberty Bonds, a betrayal of Socialist practice.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for a "Liberty Arch," on which is inscribed "Murmansk" as a glory of the American troops, a betrayal of the international proletarian revolution in general, and the Soviet Republic in particular.

It doesn't require a revolutionary crisis to condemn the policy of petty-bourgeois reformism and compromise pursued by Algernon Lee and his confederates in the Board of Alderman.

And it doesn't require an actual or immediate revolutionary crisis to accept the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing, but this acceptance is necessary for the immediate struggle of the moment, and as a preparation of our forces for the revolutionary struggle that is coming. . . .

Let us discuss this problem more fully. It is necessary to completely expose the miserable arguments of the Right.

The central concepts of Left Wing theory and practice are mass action and proletarian dictatorship. From these concepts flow three sets of tactics: before, during and after the Revolution. The immediate "moment" in the social struggle may compel a different emphasis; but the tactics are a unity, adaptable to the particular requirements of the social struggle.

Mass action implies the end of the exclusive concentration on parliamentary tactics. It implies awakening the industrial proletariat to action, the bringing of mass proletarian pressure upon the capitalist state to accomplish our purposes. It means shifting the centre of our activity from the parliaments to the shops and the streets, making our parliamentary activity simply a phase of mass action, until the actual revolution compels us completely to abandon parliamentarianism. Mass action has its place. It isn't necessary to have an actual revolution in order to use mass action, — before the final form of mass action we may use its preliminary forms, in which, however, the final form is potential. Take, for example, our class war prisoners. It is necessary to compel their liberation. The Right Wing depends upon appeals to the Government which has imprisoned our comrades, upon liberal public opinion, upon co-operation with bourgeois and essentially reactionary organizations in "Amnesty" conventions, — upon every thing except the aggressive mass effort of the proletariat.

The Left Wing proposes a mass political strike to compel the liberation of our imprisoned comrades,

to bring proletarian pressure upon the Government. Get the workers to down tools in the shops, march to other shops to pull out the workers there, get out in the streets in mass demonstrations, — that is mass action we can use now, whether or not we are in an actual revolutionary crisis.

In proletarian dictatorship is implied the necessity of overthrowing the political parliamentary state, and after the conquest of power organizing a new proletarian state of the organized producers, of the federated Soviets. These concepts were implied (if not fully expressed) in revolutionary industrial unionism, which equally contained in itself the implication of mass action. Revolutionary industrial unionism placed parliamentarianism in its proper perspective. The acceptance of and the propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism did not require an actual revolutionary crisis; yet the moderates refused to accept this vital American contribution to revolutionary theory and practice (even refused to accept industrial organization as necessary in the immediate economic struggle).

No! It is miserable sophistry to assert that Left Wing policy accords only with advanced revolution. That is precisely what the leaders around Europe said. When the war broke, the moderates (led by Scheidemann, Cunow, Plekhanov and Kautsky), declared that the Basel Manifesto had proven wrong in expecting an immediate revolution, that the masses had abandoned Socialism, therefore—they had to support an imperialistic war! But the Basel Manifesto did not assure an immediate revolution; it asserted that war would bring an economic and social crisis, and that Socialism should use this crisis to hasten the coming of revolutionary action.

The moderates in Germany said it was absurd to expect a revolution; and then they used all their power to prevent a revolution. And when the proletarian revolution loosed itself in action, the moderates acted consistently and ferociously against the revolutionary proletariat.

In Russia, the moderates said a proletarian revolution was impossible; but when it came, they acted against the revolution.

That is the attitude of the moderate Socialists everywhere, who are riveted with chains of iron to the bourgeois parliamentary state, who are absorbed in futile petty bourgeois reformism and the "gradual penetration of Socialism into Capitalism." Their arguments may appear plausible, until the test of the proletarian revolution reveals them as sophistry. Lee's arguments and policy are characteristic of the Scheidemanns, the Hendersons and the Vanderveldes. . . .

Imperialism, roughly, appeared in 1900; and with its appearance developed the revolt against parliamentary Socialism, Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, Mass Action, Bolshevism, the Left Wing. Imperialism, as the final stage of Capitalism, objectively introduced the Social-Revolutionary epoch, but the dominant moderate Socialism did not adapt

(Continued on page 8)

The New York COMMUNIST

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May Day

MAY DAY is the revolutionary holiday—the day of the class conscious proletariat.

This year it will dawn upon at least two Soviet Republics—Russia and Hungary—and perhaps more. For in these days a week is a long time in which to overthrow a world. Bavaria appears to be consolidating her proletarian government. As we go to press, the Italian frontier is closed on account of "revolutionary风云." Everywhere in Europe the proletariat is stirring or rising to take the power.

May Day of this year will be greeted by the European workers with many demonstrations of joy and hope. In many cities of this country, too, there are elaborate plans for uniting the working class in one demonstration for every working class cause. For instance, one group will hail the proletarian revolutions of Europe; another, protest the usurpation of Mackay; another, unemployment; another will demand the withdrawal of American troops from Russia; and so on.

Only in New York we have made no extensive preparations for the great Day. The Socialist Party will hold a series of protest meetings; in different parts of the city, for Debs; the Macy Committee will have a Macy mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden, in full control of the "yellow" labor leaders—the seats on the floor carefully distributed among the "good" unions, and the "reds" excluded to the gallery; and several foreign language Socialist branches will celebrate the revolutions in Europe.

This gives the affair an aspect of scattered and half-hearted cadavers, whose effect at a demonstration will be entirely lost.

What ought to be done is to arrange a gigantic open air demonstration, or assemblage of demonstrators, uniting all proletarian elements in a mighty procession and meeting, whose size and spirit would carry the protest to the ears of those who only listen to great and determined economic power.

The workers should throw down their tools and declare a nation-wide May Day strike, combining with their holiday a blow at the foundations of the capitalist class, and a threat of more to come.

It is evident that nothing would be gained by a demonstration on a small scale—or by an ellipse hence "revolution." The workers should come out on the street in vast numbers, paralyzing the city, industry, and parade peacefully to some central spot, where speeches can be made to fit the event.

If it is not possible to get fifty or a hundred

thousand workers out, then it would be better, under present conditions, not to attempt what would only result in provocation and violence on the part of the soldiers and the police.

cold-mines will paralyze the French coal-mines! But Wilson seems to be holding out against the claims of Italy and Japan.

If anything were needed to convince the workers of Europe—and of America—of the complete and cynical betrayal of all the ideals for which they were persuaded to support the war, the creation of the peaceful Peace Conference in Paris ought to finish the job.

For a Party of Action

THE revolutionary Socialists of the world are in action. The American Socialist Party elects delegates to the Bern Conference, and collects money for a new headquarters. American Labor is stirring, awakening; Seattle, Butte, inaugurate the period of mass-strike with a revolutionary meaning. The American Socialist Party is interested in a National Amenity Conference which will include bourgeois liberal organizations.

The International working-class is on the march. The American Socialist Party marks time. It hesitates whether or not to approve the Bolsheviks; it is undecided whether or not to endorse the Spartacists; it can't make up its mind about revolutionary industrial unionism. It doesn't know quite whether social reform planks should be left out of Party platforms; it leans toward Labor Parties, Non-Partisan Leagues, and other reform bodies; it sits down calmly under Red Flag ordinances, deprivation of halls to speak in.

The Right Wing says that the Party is powerless because the Left Wing is splitting it—because of the internal strife provoked by the Left Wing. This is untrue. *The Left Wing was formed precisely because the Socialist Party is incapable of revolutionary action*—because in its present form, it is not a Party of the working-class, but a Party of compromise, dominated by petit-bourgeois psychology. It can raise money—but it cannot call strike, it can defy the Government and go to jail—but it cannot back up its own spokesmen. It can protest in the Board of Aldermen against the closing of the halls—but it cannot hold meetings.

We do not wish to break up the Party. We do not wish to paralyze the Party's power. We wish to make it effective. We want to make Socialism mean something in the United States. We want the Socialist Party to be a working-class Party.

The hostility of the Party officialdom to the Left Wing, and the methods they employ to combat us prove clearly that they have not the cause of Socialism at heart, but instead, only the Socialist Party.

Primarily we are Socialists—afterward, Party members. A Socialist Party without Socialism, as impregnated with the "Socialism" of the Second International, is like an apple full of worms—it looks good on the outside, but it won't make any cider.

We Agree With You, Comrade

Editor of The Communist

I have read the first issue of your paper and must say that if you "Left-Wingers" have nothing better to show than a paper of this character, you must surely amount to nothing. The paper is full of hot air, bold rhetoric, and while reading it I could not help feeling like in the atmosphere of "smell" air.

It would be a Good idea if the labor movement would rid itself of you so-called "intellectuals" who are never happy unless you can make your wonderful "middle" class by stirring up more or less artificial aversion. To hell with most of you Deacons, Doctors, Professors, Poets, Lawyers, etc., etc., and to all "common workers" of our own thinking and emancipating without such Right-wingers, who as doubt write *The Communist*, and waste the poor workers' money and energies into mere bickering, and make a laughing stock of the Socialist movement.

JOHN GRAY.

DON'T GET SORRY, BOYS, THEY DID IT FOR THE BEST!

"Debs is in prison. It is hard to keep down anger. It is hard to create the deep resolve that every day we shall get even for all this. But we know we would not wish to be angry, we know we should not wish to cherish hatred or seek revenge. And even if we did not know that, our hearts tell us there is nothing in revenge or hatred. No satisfaction, only more misery. So all that we can do now is to hope they won't be cruel to him there. Men are often kinder than their governments"—New York Call.

Let's all kiss the Supreme Court!

Welcome Home!

SOLDIER WORKERS!

For a year and a half you have been under arms—either on the battlefield in France, or in camps over here.

Some of you volunteered. The great majority of you were conscripted without being asked whether or not you wanted to go. But as free men and citizens, you would have refused to go if you had not believed that this was a War for Democracy, a War against Tyranny and Oppression, a War to Make the World a Better Place to Live In.

The War is over. You come home flushed with victory, eager for that increased measure of freedom that was promised you. As you raised up the banner, wild with the joy of homecoming—as you paraded the city streets, hung with banners and thunderous with cheering crowds—eagerly you looked around to see the signs of that new world which you believed you had hammered into shape with your cannon, and crimsoned with the blood of your fallen comrades.

Well, now that you have had time to look around, how does it strike you? Is there more democracy than before you went away? Although the War is over, workingmen are still being sent to prison for speaking what they believe, while not one single professor has been punished with a day in jail. Goss Duke and Kate O'Hare go to the penitentiary for defending the rights of the workers, while the charges against the Phelps Dodge thugs who deported workers from Bisbee, Arizona, into the desert, have been dropped by the Government. Working-class papers are denied the mails, and suppressed, while the capitalist papers openly incite to violence and lynch law against working-class organizations, and get off scot-free.

The National Security League and other capitalist spy societies and White Guard organizations carry on, under the pretext of "fighting Bolshevism," an almost open fight against the working class, but if a foreign-born worker dares to join the I. W. W., he is deported without trial—if they can get away with it. Root, Lodge and other defenders of the tyranny of the great trusts attack our Govt. without scruple, but there are fifteen hundred champions of the working-class in prison right now for daring to think differently about the Government than the ruling class permits.

The City of New York appropriates \$250,000 for decorations to welcome you home, and there are innumerable Victory Dishes at six dollars a plate, but you can't get jobs, not even the jobs you held before you went away—unless you'll reduce your former salaries.

WON A WAR—LOST A JOB!

You return to find industry closing down, bread-lines everywhere, prices of everything out of sight, and a lot of new millionaires who got rich manufacturing war material. You find no place of re-education, either on the part of the Government, or private employers. Somebody showed you when you went away, everybody shows you coming back, but a place can't be found.

Your comrades in Siberia and North Russia are still at war, without a declaration of war, against the only Workers' Government in the world. In North Russia they are under English command, and in Siberia they are commanded by the Japanese. The Government will not tell them why they are fighting—the Government does not dare to tell them why they are fighting. They are sick at heart, thinking could have stopped.

Look abroad to Asia, where our allied Allies subdue over annexations and indemnities, and plot to prevent the workers from taking over their own Governments.

The capitalist press, and the White Guards of the National Security League, incite you against the workers and their organizations. They tell you that "Bolshevism" is attempting to destroy our

country; their condition is worse than it was before the war; their Unions are being broken up, and industry is closing down in order to reduce their wages to a point below the living wage before the war.

Every effort of the workers to improve their condition was an effort for you; every demand of the workers for industrial democracy is your demand. The revolutionary labor movement is your movement. You belong to the working-class. You are workers—not soldiers. You are crushing yourselves when you help to crush the working-class revolution.

Re men, join hands with the workers of Russia, of Hungary, of Italy, of England. Fall in! The iron battalions of the proletariat are forming.

The Left Wing and the Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

in practice to the new requirements; and it breaks down miserably under the test of the war and of the proletarian revolution.

The war was the expression of the economic contradictions of Capitalism, of the insoluble problems of Imperialism. It is clear that Capitalism is breaking down; that the proletarian revolution is on the way. Capitalism cannot adjust itself to the new conditions; cannot solve its enormous economic problems. The world of Capitalism is in a revolutionary crisis—more acute in Europe, less acute in the United States, but still a crisis. This crisis, which is a consequence of the economic collapse of Capitalism, provides the opportunity for Socialism to marshall the iron battalions of the proletariat for action and the outcome of power.

The final struggle against Capitalism is on; it may last months, or years, or tens of years, but this is a revolutionary epoch inspiring revolution, fury, fanaticism. And revolutionary agitation is itself an act of revolution.

It is not our job to "hasten" a revolutionary crisis. Capitalism itself takes care of that. Our job is to prepare. Our job is to set on the insoluble problems—unemployment, the soldiers, strikers, class war prisoners—in the spirit of revolutionary Socialism, in this way preparing the final action.

The Left Wing Program is a program of action, not a program of wishing for the moon. Sophistry can't annihilate it. Life itself is with us.

LECTURE AND CONCERT

Given by the Soh A. D. Branch

AT
BURLAND CASINO
Westchester & Prospect Ave.

TUESDAY, APRIL 20, 1919, at 8 P. M.
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE
LAWRENCE STRIKERS

Speakers:

JIM LANEIN

ELIZ. GURLEY FLYNN

GEN. GITLOW

VLADIMIR HORINSKY, Cellist
Russian Symphony Orchestra

Assassins 15 Cents

"free institutions." They finance soldier-peasants like *Franz Fanfrough*, which is backed by James Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation and other capitalists who hate the workers, to send you to other Socialist meetings. They whisper that while you were suffering and risking your lives in striking mines for thirty dollars a month, the workers at home have on strike for minimum wages.

This is a lie. The fabulous wages reported in the newspapers only applied to a small fraction of the skilled workers. The high cost of living has wiped out that increase for the great body of work-

The Plan that Went Awry

ON Tuesday, April 22, Executive Secretary Gerber called the Central Committee of Local New York to order about ten minutes before the scheduled time because it was obvious that a majority of the early comers were Right Wing delegates.

The session was one of the most important held in recent months, it being understood that the master of the "reorganization" of the 17th Assembly District Branch (which is dealt with in full on another page) would be the *piece de resistance* of the evening. U. Solomon and Maximilian Cohen were nominated for the chair, Solomon obtaining a majority of the votes. A point of order was raised on the fact that the recalled delegates of the 17th A. D. participated in the voting. This was overruled and an appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, in which the chair was sustained—the recalled delegates voting solidly against the appellant.

On the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting a correction was made to the effect that Cohen and Joseph Brodsky had resigned from the platform committee. The Executive Secretary proceeded to read the credentials for the reading of new delegates, an objection being recorded to reading Alphonso Lee, who was recently recalled as delegate from the 18th A. D. and who now appeared as a delegate from the 16th A. D., to which branch he had transferred, although not living within its territory. After the reading of the credentials of a few regularly elected delegates of both factions to whom no objection was made, Gerber read what purported to be the credentials for 13 delegates from the "reorganized" 17th A. D. A storm of disapproval forced the reading of the credentials of the 13 delegates who were elected at a regular meeting of the 17th A. D., and whose credentials were signed by the regular secretary of the branch.

On a motion Beckerman moved that the action of the City Executive Committee in handpicking 13 delegates be concurred in, and that the little band of machine-finished Comrades be seated. A point of order was immediately made that the recalled delegates should not be allowed to vote on this question. The chair ruled the point "not well taken" and his decision was challenged by Brady amid great confusion and continual interruptions from both sides. For a time the noise was deafening, the members of the 17th A. D. who were to be "reorganized" out of existence, and who crammed the back of the hall, adding considerably to the general excitement.

Order was finally obtained by the booming voice of Sipes, who succeeded in having all delegates from the 17th A. D. disenfranchised temporarily, the Right apparently feeling that the chairman's previous ruling revealed a too obvious bias. Beckerman then took the floor in support of his motion, and after addressing himself to the subject for the space of a minute, launched into a bitter denunciation of the Left Wingers. Intoxicated by the power of his own vituperation he leaped from insult to insult, and finally succeeded in drawing cries of objection from the Left; Brady, finally getting the floor on a point of order, asked the chair to discipline the speaker. This the chair refused to do on the ground that unparliamentary language had been used by both sides, and at the same time expressed his pleasure at the way in which Beckerman had given tongue to what the entire Right was thinking. Renewed protests greeted this decision, and Beckerman finally announced his intention of yielding the floor, upon which the Right set up a violent protest. Grossman seizing him by the shoulders and refusing to let him take his seat.

After Beckerman had finished, Cohen rose to an

announcement that a committee of seven, three from the Right, three from the Left and an impartial chairman be appointed to investigate the entire matter of the 17th A. D. Vehement protests from the Right greeted the announcement, which would have halted the now obvious plan to jam through the "reorganization" scheme as a preliminary to the disfranchising of the entire Left Wing. Gerber then took the floor in support of the original motion, declaring that he "had no wish to hide behind the bush," and announcing that they were determined to cast the Left Wing completely. Renewed protests greeted these remarks, applause from the Right and protests from the Left.

Cohen, a member of the Executive Committee, got the floor and started to make a speech, when the machine gave him the cue to call the previous question. This he immediately did, the chair attempting to place the matter before the house. A point of order that it is not permissible to call the question while starting to make a speech was overruled. Appeal followed point of order and point of order succeeded appeal until it was ascertained that the chair was willing to take a roll-call vote on the matter of the previous question.

Cohen protested the session on the ground that a committee representing 26 members of the 17th

A. D. was present, and that they should be heard before the vote was taken. This caused further uproar, the Right wanting to leave the meeting without any hearing. Eisenstadt, a member of the 17th A. D. committee took the floor, and insisted on his right to be heard. Violent opposition from the Right caused renewed uproar, during which several fist fights took place, following an assault from the Right on Horwitz. When the conclusion was at its height a Police Captain was brought in by some of the Right Wingers and the meeting was adjourned.

A hurried caucus by the machine resulted in the announcement by Karlin, who had usurped the functions of chairman, that the Central Committee would not meet again until called by the Executive Committee. The plan to force through the "reorganization" scheme fell to pieces, and as a fit of pique the Right sued the Lefts move of illegally taking it upon themselves to suspend the Central Committee during the pleasure of the Executive Committee. This is illegal, as the Central Committee is a superior body to the Executive, but "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" and the machine is going from illegality to illegality, until finally it must collapse of its own innate fatuity.

Saved by the Bourgeoisie

By A. Nyemanoff

If the Socialist Party of America was not represented at the Berlin Social Patriotic Conference, its honor and dignity in this instance were saved, not by the revolutionary act of its leaders, but through the action of the American Government, which demonstrably delayed the issuance of passports to the three communists who were ready to start for Berlin. In other words, the Party's honor was saved by an allied country.

And yet, how the Party's leaders profited by the Berlin lesson? Have they realized that their actions in that direction have been detrimental to the interests of the Party?

Now, Sir. One of the delegates to the Berlin Conference, the associate editor of the *New York Call*, James O'Farrell, went to Europe at the first opportunity. The aim of his trip is to find out the state of affairs in the European Socialist movement. He intends to visit Russia, the Secretary of the "International Bureau" of the non-existent International, and have a talk with the Committee which was formed by the Berlin Conference, which includes such personages as Trotzki, Bruson and Blodner.

It really means that after all, diplomatic secret negotiations and the "feeling of the ground" will be given over for the purpose of effecting an understanding with the traitors of the working class will begin all over again. And all this will be done in spite of the will of the large mass of our Party, who have no better organization represented than the two men whom they met with the Communists and Socialists.

But in our Party's opinion there is being created another club which our National Executive Committee intends to refer to our Party members.

What took place in Berlin on a large scale, the American Social Patriotic band to duplicate in Buenos Ayres on a miniature scale.

At the invitation of Argentina's Social-Patriotic party in Buenos Ayres, towards the end of this

month a congress of representatives of all Socialist parties of the American continent will take place.

In the first place we must remember that the Argentine "Socialist" party, which calls this congress, was officially represented at the Berlin Conference. The representatives of that party, during their sojourn in Europe, made a number of statements which clearly demonstrate the fact that they heartily support the bankrupt second International. If this is so, then our ways part. Our comrades in Argentina are not these, but the Left Socialists, who in 1918 severed their relations with the social-patriots.

The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party has decided already to participate and has delegated Dan Hogan, a member of the National Committee, to the Buenos Ayres congress.

The appointment of Dan Hogan was an act of fawning servility towards the American government. In Party circles Dan Hogan is well known as one of the most rabid social-patriots. As reported by the *New York Call*, during the war he was actively engaged in a number of affairs which had for their object the rousing of the "patriotic" spirit of the population. In short, he is one of the typical War Socialists, of whom there are more than plenty in Europe.

By appointing this lackey of the capitalist state as a representative of our Party at the Pan-American "Socialist" congress, no doubt the National Committee hoped that the State Department would put no obstacles to his departure for Buenos Ayres. But their calculations in this regard were wrong. The State Department has refused a passport to Dan Hogan, not because he was considered an "unreliable" person, but because the congress will be held in such an "unreliable" centre as Buenos Ayres.

Thus, once again the honor of our Party has been saved by our dear enemies.

Left Wing Notes

The Left Wing organizations have decided to support the following resolutions and will all co-operate in their adoption at the conference.

For the Removal of Comintern Influence. by Dr. Ignatz K. Hruschka, National Chairman, American Branch, N. Y., Local Delegation, Soviet War.

For International Solidarity. by L. Vargimov, the Right. (John Reed, A. V. Metz, C. G. Muller, Harry S. C. E. Hirschberg, Cleveland, O.)

The following are the various delegations that have adopted the Left Wing platform:

Local Delegation, Paris, France.

Local Angora, 8th U. D. Branch 2, 7th U. D. Branch 1,

8th U. D. Branch 1,

14th U. D. Branch 1,

14th U. D. Branch 2,

2nd U. D. Branch 1,

All Russian Delegates,

All Ukrainian Delegates,

Minority Groups in all other branches.

Local New York, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th U. D. Branches.

8th U. D. Jewish Branch,

All Russian Delegates,

All Latvian Delegates,

All Ukrainian Delegates,

German, Hungarian Branch,

Chinese, Indian, Japanese Branch,

Minority Groups in all other branches.

Local Delegation, Latin America.

The following are the Left Wing papers in New York:

Der Kampf (The Struggle), Jewish *Nowy Mir* (The New World), Russian, *Slovo*, (Forward), Hungarian, *Roburuk*, (The Worker), Ukrainian; *Uchelnik* (The New World) Ukrainian.

The 2nd U. D., Manhattan, will hold an open meeting at Rutgers Square, on Saturday afternoon, April 29th, at 2 P. M., to protest against the reappointment of John Prokhoroff, Left Wing delegate will address the audience.

Turning to the Left!

The following local throughout the country have adopted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing:

Local Boston, Mass.

Local Rochester, N. Y.

Local Buffalo, N. Y.

Local Denver, Colo.

Local Cleveland, O.

Local Essex County, N. J.

Local Toledo, O.

Local Duluth Minn.

The following states have been captured by the Left Wing:

Michigan

Massachusetts

Minnesota

Ohio

All Left Wing communists for this column should be addressed to Maximilian Cohen, 45 West 29th Street, and should reach him not later than Tuesday morning for insertion the next week.

A meeting of Jewish Left Wing members will be held in the Forward Building, 155 East Broadway, on Sunday, April 27, at 2 P. M., to consider the report of the newly elected Organization Committee with regard to the Jewish Federation. All Jewish Left Wing members are urged.

In view of the referendum on the State Executive Committee's resolution to expel all branches and locals that have joined the Left Wing Section all the Communists and Soviets throughout the State should make arrangements to have Left Wing speakers over our road.

Left Wing speakers can be secured by name-

ing along with Maximilian Cohen, Secretary of the Left Wing Section, 45 West 29th Street, New York City.

REGULAR membership meeting of the Left Wing Section Socialists, Paris, held April 29, 1929, at 6th Avenue Hotel, Paris, France.

Call opened and roll taken, no absence reported. Report of the chairman was read and approved.

The treasurer reported the balance of the Left Wing Section bank book to be \$2,770.00.

The auditor was called to take the accounting of the socialist International Bank account.

The auditor reported the balance of the socialist International Bank account to be \$1,200.00.

The treasurer's report revealed the balance of the Left Wing Section bank book to be \$2,770.00.

The auditor reported the balance of the socialist International Bank account to be \$1,200.00.

The auditor reported the total receipts were \$5,700.00, the expenditures amounted to about \$1,000.00 and that there is a balance of about \$4,600. Report was approved.

All funds were then used in the campaign for a collection and collection was taken up which totals \$1000.

Alvarez, Diaz, Prokhoroff, etc., were asked to attend in person, during his audience and report the Left Wing movement was deferred by Alvarez.

The funds of the city committee were read and accounted for one convention. A motion was carried to make a donation on all questions to these summits. The sum of the last executive meeting were read and approved. The executive committee then adjourned as follows:

Chairman in resolution asking for a dissolution and made on that day. The resolution was adopted by 100%.

Lawrence strike resolution, placing moral and financial support to the Lawrence strike, was read and approved and a motion made that a collection be taken up. The motion was carried and a collection was made which totalled \$1000.

Red-baited prisoners resolution—Demanding our solidarity and unity with imprisoned comrades and calling on the members of our class to organize for the release of all class prisoners to appear participation in bourgeois legal amnesty conventions and to define our attitude on that question at the National Emergency Convention mentioned.

Call from New York resolution—that Left Wing members of Local New York support the nomination of Max Cohen as the secretary of Local New York and the nomination of Ernest Lissner and Lederer as the delegates to the International Executive Committee, Max Cohen, Ernest Lissner and Lederer as the delegates to the International Congress. Resolution accepted.

New York Call resolution—to support the New York Call, provided that membership and control of the New York Call is vested in the membership and that referendum on the question is taken immediately. Resolution adopted.

An announcement was made at this time that the Ukrainian Federation of the United States had joined the Left Wing. A motion was made to protest against the Right calling itself a Socialist paper until it becomes Party owned and controlled, and to demand the removal of its name from its Party membership card. An amendment was made referring the matter to the City Committee, which was carried. The motion that provision be put in the resolution to the resolution.

Our Southern party—Demanding a referendum on the question of expulsion of party members and reconditioning reactionary measure of the State committee, and to strike below every member listed or organization expelled, and to express condemnation and censure against those attempting to expel revolutionary elements. Resolution accepted.

New York Executive Committee resolution to increase the membership of Greater New York to present and assist in the defense of the Conference of the Left Wing. Resolution accepted.

Instructions to Left Wing delegations concerning the rôle to assume to govern the affairs of Left Wing delegates to the Conference. Resolution accepted.

With Mexican delegation our close solidarity to the Mexican Revolution asserted and referred to the City Committee for vote.

A motion was then carried to barren the City Committee to draw up a resolution on the Mexican situation and to submit same to the Central Committee for adoption. The resolution was then read and the reading recessed and a meeting of about 7:30 P. M. The last resolution was taken up.

The resolution was then adopted and read before the Auditor and the Secretary.

A motion was made for the adoption of the resolution by Party members. Resolution was passed.

A motion was made to adopt a resolution of support of the Comintern.

The resolution to back the Comintern was adopted.

A motion was carried to adopt a resolution of support of the Chinese Communists.

A motion was carried to refer the motion to Colman to the Left Wing delegation at the Left Wing conference. The motion was adopted.

A motion was carried that the C. I. Conference will operate for the sake of making before the C. I. Conference a bill and article in the name of the Conference and the Comintern give them to be adopted by the Conference.

The C. I. Conference reported that the Conference of the C. I. was received in the most friendly spirit and welcomed. The Comintern and the C. I. Conference both adopted the above resolution.

The Conference of the C. I. Conference resolved that the Comintern should be dissolved and the Comintern and the C. I. Conference should be merged. That the Conference of the C. I. Conference recommended that the Comintern and the C. I. Conference should be merged.

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New York, April 9, 1929.

Mr. Maximilian Cohen, 45 West 29th St., N.Y.C.

My Dear Comrade Colon:

I believe that I made it clear in the conference with your committee that there has never been a difference of principle between your organization and myself. I have stood for revolutionism, Socialism, not only recently, but ever since I became an active member of the Socialist movement. And while it is true that my views, as those of the entire revolutionary movement everywhere, have become crystallized during the last four years into a more definite program, I can say for myself that I have been the same all the time.

Our differences have been in regard to tactics only.

I am of the opinion that an organization as it exists here in New York, and I understand from your committee that Northern and Southern organizations have formed—would be a useless mass to the Party at this time and would be a waste of time. I am fully aware that there are times when to pursue party unity above all else is better than a sacrifice of principles. Thus, if the coming National Convention should elect itself against revolutionism, Socialism, a left in the Party would be not only necessary but inevitable.

But since I am not in the Party now, I have no right to speak on the question of party membership, or to speak for any organization, except my own, and I think that we must do our best to win the masses to the cause of revolution.

For me, I am革命家——a communist and a theory. My main desire is to do the work and in the spirit to be described at this time. It may be done easily by no compromise, it is that the conservative and opportunist forces in the party will not dare to force capitulation of such principles.

In this connection I must protest that certain conservatives of the Right have now come out and refused to let the organization of the Left be carrying on its revolutionary principles. And the circumstances that my position in the right has been misconceived and accused is not the least among the reasons that caused me to come back and file at the time.

Our tactical differences need disappear before the great task of transforming the Socialist Party of the U. S. into a powerful weapon for the emancipation of the revolutionary proletariat.

With fraternal greetings,

Maximilian Cohen.

Latvia, Latvian.

International Notes

Italy

THE Italian frontier is closed on account of internal disturbances. The following report of the action of the new Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party throws some light on the matter:

At the first meeting of the new Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, held at Milan in the office of the Avanti, the following declaration, presented by Lazzari, was adopted:

"Today, the forty-eighth anniversary of the proclamation of the Paris Commune, the Executive Committee, at the beginning of its work, declares:

(a) That it remembers how the third defeat of the French proletariat, in the short stirring space of half a century, has been gloriously vindicated by the Russian Soviet Revolution, marching firmly toward its own internal consolidation and the militant union of all the proletariat of Europe;

(b) Expresses the most fervent hopes of the Italian Socialist Party for the German and Austro-Hungarian revolutions, because it has entered with an ardor on the search for a true and real Socialist revolution;

(c) Denounces once again the illusions craftily disseminated in the Conference of Paris which, under the ingenuous mask of Wilsonian bourgeois ideology, is re-creating the Triple Alliance among the conquerors, to oppress not only politically but also economically the conquered populations, dumb victims of the mistakes and the rapacity of the bourgeoisie, captained by imperialistic militarism, and against the international proletariat;

(d) Sends its warm greetings to the Comrades recently liberated from prison and from internment, and restored to the civilian battalions of the Party with spirit more eager and determined;

(e) To our own member Arturo Vella and to all Comrades still in prison, sends the greetings of fraternal solidarity, in the certainty that the renewed action of the proletariat will achieve the speedy liberation of every victim of militarist-bourgeois perfidy.

The order of the day also presented by Lazzari was approved as follows:

The Executive Committee, noting with the greatest satisfaction the development and the progress of the organization of the Party, recommends to the sections to exercise the most rigid care in admitting former or new Comrades, holding incompatible the presence in the Party of anyone who has explicitly supported the war. (This refers to the Party's former resolution excluding all social-patriots).

The French and the Saar Miners

The following item is taken from Socialiste Français:

"In the Saar mining district negotiations between the miners' organizations and the French military commander in regard to the introduction of an eight-hour day have been going on. The French commander has given flat refusal to the demands of the miners. He justifies his refusal by a statement as to the coal famine that prevails in France just as in Germany; and also by an assertion that the French miners have to work ten hours. In reply to the plan that the eight-hour system is in force in the Ruhr district, he replied that it would be abolished as soon as the French troops entered the district."

The Soviet Strike in Ireland

The general strike in Limerick is spreading over the whole south and west of Ireland. A Soviet of strikers is already in complete operation and is even issuing its own currency. It is recognized by all sections of the population in Limerick as the source of authority, except of course by the British military. The city is in a state of siege and is encompassed by foot and mounted troops, while machine guns and artillery have been mounted. No one is allowed to enter the city without a permit. The bourgeois press credits the strike to Sinn Fein, but it is the labor movement which is in con-

ting after the fake decree had been published in that city by a bourgeois newspaper:

Execution!
You are defeated. You have reached such a low level that your cause is now desperate. You wish to continue living in this misery and have no work for you, and you find the revolution a menace to you. Therefore, you submit and submit yourself when you say that we communists want to liberate entire women.

You forget our name to this fake decree that your who hands have broken. For centuries and all over the world, anarchists were fighting against all decrees, all forms and all oppression. We ourselves have used force and violence only against our oppressors. We want to live and let live, in perfect freedom. It is conceivable that we would never such a monstrous and proslavery decree?

Think for yourselves! Is it likely that scoundrels would advocate even such degradation of women?

You think only to provoke trouble. You are only trying to deceive the ignorant people. Don't you suppose we have wives, brothers, sisters and daughters of our own?

You provocateurs apparently don't know our strength, but you shall know. Death for provocateurs. Death, no matter who they are. We will make you pay for your vile crime. Anybody found circulating such dirty propaganda will be put in the same class. Everybody, whether with us or not, who opposes such contemptible propagandist methods deserves condemnation.

With all our soul we fight for all that is best for Russia!"

Resolution Passed by the Conference of the Labor Unions of the City of Vladivostok and Vlomy with Reference to the Recent City Election

The conference of the Labor Unions of the City of Vladivostok and Vlomy, upon considering the subject of the (City) elections, and realizing that at the present moment, when the reactionary forces have reached their full display, and when Siberia and the Far East had been divided up between beginning little kings and invaders, and participation in the institutions created by those "Bolsheviks" would be a complete repudiation of working-class policy, that the complete annihilation of the liberal, conceived by the Great Revolution of February and October, deprives the working class of every opportunity to conduct a systematic campaign;

That the candidates nominated by the Working Class in the Duma, (City Council), if elected would unquestionably be refused admittance to their offices;

That the entire policy of the various governments is directed to the humiliations and enslavement of the working class, as is apparent from the new election law;

The very work in the Institutions which at present are carrying out the political and economic function of the Dictatorship, would be set only in disregard of the Class ideals of the Working Class, but would be a complete acknowledgment and recognition of the Dictatorship;

That the Duma (City Council), in view of the present conditions, would find itself powerless to levy any taxes on the propertied classes, and would be itself forced to increase the burdens upon the poorest part of the population;

That after the publication of the law (of candidates of the Labor Unions), the various officials in power stubbornly refuse permission, not only to print a daily paper, but even a proletarian bulletin for the purpose of conducting campaigns propaganda;

That under the pressure of various machined errors and formalities, more than one-half of the candidates nominated by the Central Bureau of the Labor Unions were eliminated from the ticket through formalities and technicalities created by these same officials;

The failure of the militia intended a meeting of the conference of the Central Bureau of the Unions, interfering with the work, and because of that number of Comrades have to postpone, decided to be suspended;

And that because of all unremedied reasons the attitude of the workers at this time, because of the oppressive political conditions, should be always one of boycott;

The conference, therefore, decided to withdraw ticket Number Eight (Labor Union Ticket), as a protest against the police persecution and raids, and as a demand for the restoration of all democratic liberties; Calling upon the workers to become the backbone of an organized class, it demands that the elections will be postponed in July for an undetermined part of the population, and that the Duma should in some manner will be directly a working class, and representative of the mass of the population;

The conference further demands that new elections be ordered under conditions whereby the working class will have no superiority clearly and definitely to state its demands, and to receive a representation in proportion to its numbers;

It is further resolved that this resolution be presented and be brought to the attention of the Command of the Foreign Forces,

(Signed) ALEXANDER MOSKOVICH, Chairman
Secretary of Central Bureau
of Trade Unions.

(Continued on page 14)

A Window on the World

Daughters of Revolutionary America

Mrs. George Fischer Cooper, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in a speech at a meeting of women who make a point of visiting Boston to see what the American Revolution was about, spoke to have a prejudice against the South removed.

"It has been demonstrated," Mrs. Coopersay declared, "that one of the great lies to persist in our foreign language is the act of a foreign invader in our public schools has been always an open secret. We might as well have been taught in Germany, and far better, for General Mill would not have kept American youth from fighting American roads."

She also has her fears about the subtle influence of people employed by enemy aliens here with anti-American success during the war.

"What kind of an American consciousness do you have?" she added. "In an atmosphere of nationalistic and patriotic cheer, in the school, you expect of the Americans of the man whose loyalty to your cause of freedom?"

All that is true, but a lot of other demands for reforms have doubtless right in place, though too often, perhaps, obscured with sourpuss and garrulousness. Zimmerman's brain, however, would probably be still running from the British and could show that in Von Siemens, Pilsudski, Mussolini, etc., etc.

Anyway, what we need is not Daughters of the American Revolution—but Mothers of the American Revolution.

Look Out Russia! Russia Today Island on Your Watch!

THE Allies and the American Government are beginning to talk soft about Soviet Russia. As so often times before, the diplomats are addressing themselves, world to the Bolsheviks, and carefully evading, even to the Soviet Government, the need to be reorganized.

Every time this has happened so far, it has been followed by brutal and treacherous attacks. What are the imperialists cooking up now? I depend upon it they do not intend to allow Soviet Russia to exist if they can help it. They intend to smash the Proletarian Republic, and with them the mass industrial working-class organization which is now legitimate to take steps.

In these four months since the Government of the United States and Great Britain solemnly announced that they had decided to withdraw their troops from Siberia and Armenia, they have since been attacking them. In fact we see to-day a paper that the Allies in the North are attacking and driving the Russian southwest, as they are also pushing on in the East. But they are getting nothing; the newspapers now talk of the "Red Siberians" so advanced, and their Red Army troops inactive in the background. But we happen to know that over 200,000 of these communists, and the majority with unemployment of the 10,000,000 who refuse to fight, the Allies have only just come to give the benefit of Moscow to join the Red Siberians.

Something is up. Some dark business is being hatched. We have no fear of results, so far, the results of the Allied invasion of Russia have been as well as the Russians, so far, the Soviet Government and Communists, close cooperation among the workers all over the world.

What are the real, Russia, but not for that gold bonds?

What's a Program?

"We shouldn't spend our time quarreling among ourselves about right and left wing programs, but from the economic point of view," Thus writes a Comrade. And immediately we ask, "What's a program?" and our answer is, that a program is a weapon. A new point in the class war against capitalism.

Reasonably the comrades will perpendicular about the weapon he uses as long as he is in action. He won't care to "waste time" debating upon a theory of weapons, but would seize his first to hand, whether it was effective or not—whether it suited his hand or could be used, going into the material of the enemy.

Then the thought comes that through the use of the weapon and their effects we will win. Time spent in carefully even continually selecting our weapons at each stage of the development of the class war will be well spent. Weapons must be chosen to be more than well. And remember, the structures of industry do not run because of the ballot box—whether do they rob the worker there?—*The Old Socialist.*

International Notes

(Continued from page 6)

A Letter from the Workers' and Trade of the Labor Union of Finland

December 21, 1918.

To all Workmen and Burghers of the United States Congress:

After the terrible carnage of our country and the overthrow of the Soviet Government by the Allies, now the last remnants of the Czarist State, and its Finance Ministers, in the city of Ufa, Ufa, and all over Russia began a period of terrible repression for the Russian working class.

Thousands upon thousands of working people, peasants, and students were shot. In Akhmetov, a city of about seven thousand inhabitants, twelve hundred people were tortured by the Cossacks and Cossacks. In the city of Krasnoyarsk, thousands were slain by the Russian White Guards. In the town of Novokuznetsk, another thousand were participated in the suppression and massacre of tens of thousands of revelling peasants. Even after the revolution had to be laid out. At the present time thousands of other exiles are rotting in jail without any charge against them. Their wives and children are suffering from hunger and cold, because they have no means of subsistence through the Workers' Organization which does nothing. The Red Army corps and the Russian organizations can be of little help with their meager resources.

However, many factories are closed and the workers remain jobless.

Industries in these terrible circumstances, we, the Workers' and Trade of Russia, strengthened for assistance to the American Red Cross, but this organization which is supposed to render aid to all without exception, without regard to their political beliefs, has not even reacted to us.

At this critical hour, when part of the Russian workers and peasants are compelled between the strangles of the International Capitalism, with the rest on the other side of the Iron Curtain (European Russia), is bleeding to death in the general struggle with reaction, on every side of the hour, we turn to you with the following demands:

Present against the organized masses of your brothers, against the Whitemen of America and Allied forces from Russia.

Send us the call of ten of thousands, prepared, and armed for assistance of expatriate Russian and Soviet Comrades who have nowhere else.

With comradely regards,
Representatives of the Russian Workers' and Trade Unions.

See our Comintern, Comintern, or Lenin, USSR—Australia.

The Social Democratic Party of New South Wales in its latest program has declared its aim to be the same as those of the Bolsheviks and Soviet Comintern.

The Telescope

"The capitalist solution of unemployment is a useless game."

"The L. W. W. solution is more jobs by means of less hours." —*The Metal Worker.*

The Left Wing solution is the Disarmament of the Proletariat.

Now comes the question: Will the Turkey-Soviet alliance succeed or will it merely increase state ownership and control of business?

The Bolsheviks are now in the throes of their annual spring collapse. The summer collapse is scheduled for July 1, the autumn collapse is expected about the middle of October, but the date of the winter collapse is not yet fixed owing to the dead lock in the Liverpool press editorial conference over the relative propaganda value of Christmas Day and the time of the New Year.

The NEW YORK COMMUNIST is staggering under its first blow from Democracy...WE HAVE BEEN BARRED FROM THE RAND SCHOOL.

We suppose now that we are down Barbara will kick us.

It being rumored that a general amnesty will shortly be granted all Left Wing to Federal officials or under indictment, it will now be in order for the Right to prefer charges for malfeasance abroad or Bolshevik tendencies.

How wrong is a Right?

We learn that the Rand School has engaged at tremendous expense the delegates to the Soviet Conference for a series of exclusive lectures on The Anti-Soviet Effects of a Left Wing in Russia.

The Central Committee of Local New York, having become too unwieldy for the machine, is temporarily disbanded until communications can be opened up with Comrade Schmidauer.

It is rumored that one of the leaders of the Finnish Section Party will address the next meeting of the Central Committee in his native tongue. His speech, which will be delivered to Unity, will be interpreted by a prominent Right Wing.

There being some confusion towards the end of the last Central Committee, the Comrade Captain made a motion to adjourn.

The following have adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program:

Local Russia, Hungary, Germany, Turkey, Ukraine and Lithuania.

Meetings to discuss Party issues are scheduled in the following branches: America, France, Italy, Prussia, Poland, Bulgaria, Serbia, Ireland, Japan, Korea and Argentina. It is expected that Spain, France and England will shortly recall their delegates to the Central Committee of Paris. Action is pending on Comrade Schmidauer, who failed to be recalled.

The Pink Terror

The Rape of the 17th A. D.

LAST week we told about the unleashing of the Pink Terror against the Left Wing by the State Committee at Albany. This week we have to record the actual massacre is full swing.

One dark and gloomy night the Cossacks, Bash-Bazooks and Oprichniki of the Right Wing swooped down on the 17th A. D. Branch, slaughtered the rank and file, and carried off the Branch into captivity.

The 17th A. D. Branch is—or was—the largest Branch of Local New York. It contains—or contained—about four hundred members in good standing. It elected Classen to the Assembly twice, and Calman to the Board of Aldermen once.

About two months ago the "poisonous propaganda" of the Left Wing began to work among these innocent and unsuspecting Comrades. The dastardly and criminal idea occurred to them that there was something the matter with the Socialist Party—and especially with the Right Wingers who control the machine of Local New York.

Finally this feeling crystallized in an attempt to recall the delegates of the 17th A. D. Branch to the Central Committee. On this the Right Wingers persuaded the Branch to postpone action until a special meeting. They then combed the town for Right Wing members, rounded them up, and herded them to the meeting. Many of these Comrades had not attended a Branch meeting within the memory of man, and there were some present who had forgotten where the hall was. The Right Wing rejected the recall of delegates by a majority of their own voices.

At the following meeting of the Branch, April 10th, 1919, another resolution was introduced by the Left Wingers—to recall all Branch officials, to have extended discussion on the question of Left and Right Wing principles, and then to elect new officers, the old ones to function until the new election. This resolution was carried 27 to 7.

Now began an exhibition of Right Wingism unprecedented in the history of Local New York.

The Right Wing delegates turned up at the Central Committee, and whenever they could assist the political lesson on any question, they voted as regular delegates from the 17th A. D. At the same time, acting as no longer officials of the 17th A. D., a group of these same individuals appeared before the Executive Committee of Local New York, and asked that the Branch be "reorganized." Comrade Coulind, a member of the Executive Committee, attempted to protest. He was beaten up and expelled from the meeting; after which, with cheers and hand shaking, the Executive Committee ordered that the 17th A. D. Branch be "reorganized."

On April 17th the members came to their regular Branch meeting and discovered that a bright new padlock had been placed on the door of the hall. They broke the door open, however, and held the meeting, which declared that the Branch did not recognize the right of the Executive Committee

either to dissolve or to "reorganize" the Branch without the consent of the majority of its members.

The Right Wingers had their retaliation in rage and chagrin. "Folled again!" In a secret chamber of the Rand School, fitted out with grindstones for sharpening cut-throats, the conspirators gathered one by one. The password was "Scheide-mann!"

The next morning April 18th, the members of the 17th A. D. Branch received a letter, which read as follows:

Socialist Party, New York County

April 18, 1919.

Dear Comrade:

The Executive Committee of Local New York at its last meeting decided to re-organize the 17th Assembly District Branch.

The committee was forced to take this step on account of the actions of a group of members in that branch who at every meeting created a fuss, and by their conduct—so squabbling here reduced the branch, one of the largest, to insignificance.

Most of the members disagreed with the actions and activities of these individuals, moved away from the meetings, and the organization left in the hands of a few. At the last meeting on April 10th they recalled all the officers of the branch, leaving the branch without any functionaries to look after the affairs of the branch.

A letter signed by a large number of members of the branch was accepted, wherein three members, comprising most of the actions and conduct, according to the members by a small group.

The Executive Committee was forced by the same three comrades to re-organize the branch, and has appointed a committee to do so. As a member of the 17th A. D. do you request to come to a meeting to be held Friday, April 19th, at 6 P. M. at the Juliette Hall, 103 West 11th Street, bring your party card. The committee will be at this meeting to re-organize the branch and put it on a solid and working basis.

We hope that every good and sincere who has the interest of the party as best will be at this meeting and assist the committee to get a good working branch in the 17th Assembly District.

Yours for the cause,
Comrades EMMANUEL BERNSTEIN, ALEXANDER GOTSTEIN,
CHARLES CALMAN, HENRY COULIND.

The letter signed by a large number of members referred to, was in fact signed by the thirty-two Right Wingists in the Branch—all the Right Wingists who were members. Now the Branch contains 400 members in good standing, and the question is forty-five.

The Juliette Hall, where the "reorganization" was effected, is outside the 17th A. D. On the appointed night about one hundred and fifty members of the Branch gathered, and were marched up one by one before the self-appointed "committee" to "register." First they were asked to turn in their red cards. These questions were put to them, such as the following:

"Do you believe in an organization within an organization?"

"Are you a member of the Left Wing?"

Of the one hundred and fifty present only thirty-one considered pure enough to register in the new Branch, though some Right Wingists who were not present, but who were registered by their friends on the "committee." After the meeting the Left Wingists, in a body—not one having registered—assembled to their own headquarters, took a pledge not to recognize the right of any minority to impose their will on the majority, and declared themselves to be the only legal 17th A. D. Branch.

The next morning all who registered received the following letter:

Socialist Party, New York County

April 18, 1919.

Dear Comrade:

There will be a meeting of the members of the 17th A. D. who accept the party platform as a basis of the organization, and who are not members of any organization within the party organization and are opposed to any such organization, for the purpose of re-organizing the branch, and to put a working Party branch in the district free from themselves and others.

This meeting will be held on Sunday, April 28th, at 2:30 P. M. at the Juliette Hall, 103 W. 11th Street.

All interested men with the Socialist Party and have the interests of the party at heart should attend.

At this meeting officers and delegates will be elected, and a permanent organization in the district constituted. If you have the welfare of the Party at heart, come to this meeting.

Yours for a united and solidified Socialist Party.
REORGANIZATION COMMITTEE OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE, LOCAL NEW YORK.
Administrator by LUCAS ONLY.

On Sunday evening, the 20th, the fortunates few, clutching their admittance letters firmly in their hands, went to the Juliette. Some of the Left Wingers went also. There an astonishing sight met their eyes. At the door were two policemen, and in the back-ground, with several professional thugs, hovered the Committee, pointing out the Left Wingers to the cops, and ordering them arrested.

Cried Bernstein, to the police, "They're a bunch of anarchists! They don't believe in the Constitution! They ought to be deported!"

Even some of the faithful, who held letters of admittance in their hands, were mistaken by the cops and gunmen, and told to "Beat it!" or they'd get clubbed.

On April 21st, sixty-six members of the 17th A. D. addressed a signed letter to the Central Committee of Local New York, which read as follows:

We, the undersigned members of the 17th A. D. Socialist Party, do hereby protest against the attempt of the Executive Committee of Local New York to dissolve our Branch against the will of the majority of the members.

The sequel of the affair is to be found in the story of what happened at the meeting of the Central Committee on Tuesday evening, which was adjourned, with the assistance of a police captain.

All this indicates the desperation of the Right Wingers, lost deep in the rising tide of the rank and file, which will eventually clean our Party of thugs and strong-arm politicians, and establish within the ranks of the movement, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Now comes the horrid finale, when the mailed fist of the Right Wing appears in all its ruthlessness.

On Wednesday, April 23rd, without authorization by the Executive Committee or any body else, Alderman Calman and Assemblyman Classen, in a moving van, swooped down on the 17th A. D. headquarters and began to remove the furniture.

Comrade Max Cohen, who happened to be passing, protested. Whereupon Calman stepped to the telephone and called up police headquarters.

"I'm Alderman Calman," he said, "Send a police man up here to preserve order!"

In a few minutes a cop came up, and under his supervision the inoffensive desks and chairs of the 17th A. D. were loaded on the van and removed.

Where? Alderman Calman said, to a storage warehouse. But observers report that the van was seen heading in the direction of the second-hand furniture quarter in the Alderman's Ward.

Meeting to Commemorate the Left Revolution of 1917

and the members of Governor MacCormick, Michael Malin, Richard O'Donnell, Sam Crowley, Rudolf Mecklen and Edward O'Gorman on behalf of the Left Revolutionary Workers' Comittee, the Representatives of the Russian Social Revolutionaries, J. A. L. Marton, were well present, supported by J. Joseph, Jack Reed, Lester Cole, Alexander Berkman, Leon Trotsky, Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Chkheidze, and Leon Trotsky. Leader of the Bolsheviks and people.

INTANT HALL, 103 Sixth Avenue
MURRAY, APRIL 28th, at 2 P. M.

"We who would be true Communists within the Party"
"We who would be true Communists within the Party"