

The New York COMMUNIST

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The Aftermath of May Day

MAY DAY, the day on which Labor greets the rebirth of nature after the decay of winter, has come and gone—and Labor counts its sores.

Never was such a May Day; after five years of hideous winter, life again began to bud, and Labor marched in mingled hope and shame. In the ears of the marchers, marching to demonstrate their solidarity with their brothers and sisters of all lands, rang the echo of the cry from the millions of rotting corpses on the war torn fields of Europe: "Your lack of solidarity scattered us here!" And because Labor recognized the justice of the cry it marched with uneven tread, but because it determined that past shame should not blot out future hope Labor marched, though its tread was uneven.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land Socialists and radical labor unions set out in peaceful protest against the thousand wrongs inherent in capitalist society, and in penance for their own weaknesses. In protest against the wholesale slaughter of their comrades through the long years of war, against the continued slaughter of their comrades in Russia, against the imprisonment of their comrades and spokesmen in this country; and in penance that they allow these things to be. . . . And everywhere the peaceful parades were met with guns and bludgeons. Organized bands of soldiers and sailors set upon the unarmed marchers, tore the flags and emblems from their hands, beat men and women alike into insensibility, raided the halls where meetings were in progress and wrecked the buildings, built after long years of patient effort and self-sacrificing devotion.

Where the police did not actively engage in the attacks upon Socialists and unionists, they stood idly by encouraging the "black hundreds" by their inaction and, in some places, open approval. In Cleveland the "riot" started when two army officers assaulted some soldiers who were marching with the Socialists. Resenting the attack the paraders hit back and immediately called down upon the heads of their women and children the blows of the police, who were apparently ambushed for just such an opportunity. The determination of the marchers to protect themselves as best they could with their naked hands brought into action tanks and revolvers with the result that two persons were killed and scores injured. Wholesale arrests of the Socialists, followed by heavy sentences, stamped the approval of organized "justice" upon the acts of the attackers.

In Boston the police took the initiative and set upon the marchers with club and gun because they had the temerity to insist upon parading through the streets they, themselves, had built with their slave labor. When the attack was resisted the mob joined with the police and unmercifully beat the paraders, following which 116 persons were arrested and are at present held in heavy bail.

In New York, where the Socialist and labor groups merely attempted to hold meetings, gangs of soldiers and sailors invaded various Socialist buildings and attacked those present while the police stood supinely looking on. Men were beaten into unconsciousness, women brutally assaulted,

little children torn from their parents and frightened into hysterics. The Rand school was invaded early in the afternoon by a gang of rowdies, badges were torn from the women's clothes and men were made to kiss the American flag, for which the gangsters professed a great reverence. The mob then marched to the new building of *The New York Call*, where a group of people were looking over the plant. The premises were invaded and after beating the men, women and children present, the mob proceeded to wreck the building. Over thirty persons were sent to hospitals as a result of the raid. Minor incidents of the same character were general throughout the city until late at night. . . .

The whole affair, in its broader aspects, can be credited to the governmental forces. The mobs were deliberately inflamed against the Socialists and labor groups. On the eve of May Day the newspapers carried flaring headlines of the discovery of a "nation-wide bomb plot" which they openly charged to the Socialist and Labor movements, although up to the present time not the slightest evidence has been produced to support the charge. At no other time would the discovery of such a plot—a plot in which as far as can be ascertained on acceptable evidence nobody was seriously hurt—be accompanied with the same amount of publicity. The whole newspaper campaign was a direct incitement to mob violence.

Congressmen and senators have since seized on the occurrences to announce that new laws directed against the Socialist and labor movements must be framed, and the Mayor of one of the largest American cities, Mayor Hanson of Seattle, has taken the opportunity to advocate the hanging of members of the I. W. W. Nowhere has the government intervened to discourage the repetition of this mob violence. None of the rioters have been arrested, while hundreds of the paraders have been seized and thrown into jail. All the agencies of publicity have grasped the opportunity to call for further repressive measures against Socialism and the great body of the people have by their silence seconded these appeals and vindicated the actions of the mobs.

Occurrences of this nature are not unknown to the labor and Socialist movements. The history of the past decade in Europe is red with such stories and today the history of Europe is flaming with the record of the reactions of the people's masses to such incidents. European labor has answered such treatment with organized effort everywhere and in many places with open revolt. Russia, Hungary and Bavaria have swept the system responsible for such outrages out of existence. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the workers' answer to repression.

What are the American Socialist and labor movements to learn from the story of last May Day? Are they to learn that labor must bend its back in dumb submission to no matter what tyranny? Are they to learn to bare their heads to the clubs of organized violence and to submit their bodies to the will of prejudiced courts to the end that their sores may heal behind prison bars? Or are they to learn the lesson that their European brothers

have already half mastered—that in organized power there is safety?

The workers of England paraded through the streets of English cities and nowhere is there a record of violence against them. Through the fashionable quarters of London the Socialist and Labor movements paraded with banners voicing their oneness with their brothers in industry everywhere, and crying their protest against capitalist tyranny to the world, but no one moved a hand against them. In Ireland, under the bayonets of an alien power, the workers declared a general strike without molestation. In France the action of the police resulted in protracted fighting and the injuries resulting were not all on one side. Since the riot the press has condemned the authorities and governmental action is pending against the police. Even the American press, which acts against the Labor and Socialists movements here, takes the side of the European marchers. And the reason is that the European movements have power. They are organized for their own protection and any attack is followed with swift retribution.

A duplication in England of the outrages throughout America last May Day would have resulted in swift and sharp resistance, if not open revolution, therefore the English government was careful that no "bomb plots" were discovered on the eve of May Day and that no gangs of soldiers and sailors were organized for the purpose of disturbing the parades.

The occurrences in this country are directly traceable to the spirit of pogrom fostered by the prostitute press in suggesting that the radical movement is about to resort to terrorism; bomb throwing, assassination, and mob violence; the fact that the authorities allow, and in many places even encourage the organization of irresponsible groups for the express purpose of intimidating and terrorizing the workers; and the psychology of submission created in the Socialist and Labor movements through their organs of publicity and the advice of their "leaders." The three or four hundred alleged soldiers and sailors, who take refuge in their uniforms, could not successfully interfere with any duly organized meeting or parade except with the connivance and approval of the police and judicial authorities, who are obviously dominated by the powerful moneyed interests of the country, and the fact that the doctrine of submission which has been preached by the misleaders of the radical movement has devitalized the spirit of the rank and file.

The American Labor and Socialist movements have had ample warning of what they may expect in the future—and to the intelligent "forewarned is forearmed." The only method by which the workers can safeguard themselves is their own organization. We expect nothing from the authorities except the kind of treatment we received on May Day. We ask nothing from the capitalist state. Its very violation of its own hypocritical principles is wonderful propaganda for revolutionary Socialism.

The workers are getting tired of dumb submission to inexcusable brutality.

The New York COMMUNIST

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The Golden Ruin of Capitalism

CAPITALISM in America is smothering beneath its piles of gold. Gold from all the world has poured into the country in unceasing streams since 1914. Europe has given gold for food, for munitions of war, for clothing, for credit. And Europe is destitute alike of gold and credit today. So desperate is the condition of the Allied Powers that Italy is admittedly bankrupt, France cannot secure a loan unless it is underwritten by America and England, and England, until the war the usurer of the world, has been reduced to making concessions to Spanish trade in consideration of Spain lending her a paltry \$75,000,000.

America is rich with the blood-money of a devastated world. So rich that she is smothering. No country can buy her products. Mills, factories, workshops are closing down all over the country. The most desperate efforts are being made by unprecedented advertising campaigns to sell ever-accumulating stocks of commodities. But goods of all sorts pile up upon a suffocating country.

America has lost the markets of Eastern Europe because of revolutions. Every other market in the world is too poor to buy, and in self-defense the greatest of them have proclaimed embargoes. The credit system, the life of trade, has collapsed in the absence of a basis for credit. And according to the gloomy forecast by Fred I. Kent, Vice President of the Bankers Trust Company of New York, America must go on accumulating surplus gold from its foreign credits at the rate of \$1,000,000,000 a year!

Capitalism is ruined in America by its piles of gold.

Our Position Regarding May Day

THE brutal attacks of uniformed mobs upon Socialists on May Day were not wholly unexpected. These demonstrations were deliberately organized by the sinister reactionaries representing lawless plutocracy, and represented the beginning of an offensive against "Bolshevism." With the innocent sufferers from these outrages we have the profoundest sympathy, and we share with them their rage and horror.

However, is it not one of the ironies of fate that by far the greater number of those attacked were not Bolsheviki at all, but those who believe that Socialism can be achieved by peaceable and orderly "legal" methods? When we consider this fact, it is perfectly understandable that the *Call* should threaten to sue the city for damages, and demand "police protection" for Socialist meetings and demonstrations.

Nevertheless, that is not our Left Wing position. We recognize that this is the period of the Social Revolution, and that our various Federal and Municipal Governments, which are getting ready to outlaw even "legal" Socialism, have in fact already outlawed it, and do not intend to protect Socialists of any stripe from the fury of the Black Hundreds and their White Terror.

We know that the dark clouds are lowering above our cause, and we welcome the coming of that time when it shall be clearly seen by the working-class that its salvation is in its own hands.

We must be so strong by next May Day that these Dark Forces shall not dare to attack us—or if they do, that they know we shall be prepared to defend ourselves with something better than lawsuits.

All honor to the Comrades who dared to resist!

The Emergency Convention

IN its first issue *The Socialist*, the organ of the reactionary machine in Local New York, urges the Party membership to support the call for a National Emergency Convention which is at present before the Party for referendum vote. This call was initiated by the Left Wing immediately the armistice was signed, though some time elapsed before the proper machinery was set in motion, and has been strenuously fought by the Rights up to the present time.

The change of heart which *The Socialist* note would seem to indicate would therefore be welcome if it was inspired by honest conviction, but bearing in mind what happened at St. Louis, when the "leaders" apparently fell in line with the wishes of the membership and subsequently violated all the principles of the St. Louis resolution, it is well to seek for the joker in the present Right Wing attitude. In the first place this new attitude is a confirmation, if confirmation was needed, of the Left Wing contention that the rank and file of the Party stand for revolutionary Socialism and want such a convention for the purpose of clarifying the Party's position. In the second place it indicates that the "leaders" are up to their old game—apparently accepting the will of the membership while relying upon their control of the Party machinery to carry out their own purposes.

The big issue before the Party at the present moment is: Which International? The Party officialdom has already declared itself by accepting Huysmans' invitation to participate in the reactionary Second International and illegally appointing delegates to that body. Finding, however, that the sentiment of the membership is overwhelmingly opposed to any cooperation with the Scheidemann-Huysmans-Branting clique, and being saved from the disgrace of actual participation in the Berne Congress by the delay in obtaining passports, the Party bureaucracy now pretends that it is anxious to have a convention where the matter may be fully discussed, and so hopes to regain the confidence of the rank and file to the end that it may dominate such convention.

The attempts in New York to disfranchise the Left Wing through "reorganization" schemes, and the New York State Committee resolution calling for the expulsion of Left Wing Branches and Locals, through which it is hoped to suspend the revolutionary section of the membership while the voting for delegates to the convention is taking place are a part of the general plan to control the coming convention.

It is vitally necessary that the revolutionary section of the Party be on its guard against these attempts and sees to it that the delegates to the Emergency National Convention shall be men and women who will once and for all sever our Party's relations with the gang of bourgeois thugs who are at present disgracing the name of Socialism in Europe.

The Telescope

IT is really surprising how much some people believe in a phrase—after all this time the Chinese are appealing to the "14 points."

* * *

We are pleased to be able to announce that *The Socialist*, the official organ of the Pink Terror, has at last made its appearance.

* * *

It is anxious to know where the Left Wing gets its money. We can well imagine that the presence of any money over which the Right Wing has no control is a source of considerable annoyance to many Comrades.

* * *

The editors of *The Socialist* are not a very well informed bunch, to judge by their paper. They are continually asking questions. We being generous of our store of knowledge would like to put them on the right track. Thus we would reply to the question: "How many of the rank and file will be fooled?" by saying that we don't know the exact number but that the steady growth of the Left Wing seems to indicate that the number is daily diminishing.

* * *

"Where then is the Right Wing of which the self-styled Left talks so much?" is somewhat of a poser to us as we have not yet perfected our spy system. But we would hazard a guess: In the soup.

* * *

We must congratulate *The Socialist* on one discovery at least. We are informed that "Rule or ruin" is our policy and we are glad to know from this authoritative source that the rule of the Right Wing is ruin. We admit it is. And as we believe in unity we would suggest that the official policy of the Right be known as Rule and Ruin.

* * *

For the more lurid tactics of the Right Wing see our special yellow supplement, *The Socialist*.

* * *

"Who is the rank and file?" asks *The Socialist*. We are stumped, we don't know who they is.

* * *

We have been informed that charges have not been preferred against Gitlow as reported in our last issue. We are investigating the matter and hope to have Gitlow arraigned before the Left Wing to explain why the Rights have not preferred charges against him.

* * *

The "bomb plot" having now served its purpose is backed off the front page and although there are now no bombs in the Post Office, it is hinted that the usual number of boobs still fill executive chairs.

* * *

It seems strange to us that the Peace Conference should be held on the banks of the Seine.

* * *

Standing Headline: Peace Ready For Signatures Early Next Week.

* * *

The Rebel Worker reprints the following under the head, "Socialist Education":

"Organizer Valentine Bausch reported that a night workers' branch had been organized, but that the Socialist Educational Club will not allow the branch to meet in the club because its members do not belong to the American Federation of Labor, but to an independent organization."—Minutes of Hudson County (N.J.) Committee, Socialist Party, *N. Y. Call*, April 18, 1919."

We would like to amend *The Rebel Worker* headline—Moderate Socialist Education.

Eugene V. Debs' Position

EVER since Eugene V. Debs entered prison the Right Wing has endeavored to make it appear that he is opposed to the actions of the Left Wing. In spite of his statement in a recent issue of *The Class Struggle*, where he unqualifiedly endorses the revolutionary Socialists in Europe and declares himself to be at one with them in purpose and in spirit, in spite of his declaration on his way to jail—"I ENTER THE PRISON DOOR A FLAMING REVOLUTIONIST, MY HEAD UNBENT, MY SPIRIT UNTAMED AND MY SOUL UNCONQUERABLE"—the Right Wing has persistently used his name to support all their actions.

The great love for humanity which is the keynote of Debs' nature, and which must inevitably be the counterpart of a passionate hatred against the system which oppresses the workers, has been used to represent him as an apologist for the compromising attitude assumed by the placating, vote-getting, Jeffersonian liberals who have too long controlled our movement.

Herewith we publish his letter to Rose Pastor Stokes, which she received within the last few days. Unlike the alleged letters quoted against us by our Scheidemanns, but never produced, this letter is an authoritative

the class-conscious revolutionary Socialists of the world. The Bolsheviki were not mistaken when

'Gene Debs is at one with those who stand true to the principles enunciated in the Communist

Manifesto and we would only be too glad if all those who are loud in their protestations that Debs is with them, were in truth with him. Much as we appreciate Debs' endorsement of the principles we espouse and the attitude we assume at this time, it must not be taken that by him, our greatest comrade, we are proven right. This is a question of principle, not men, and Debs is as usual concerned only with the advancement of the cause of which he is such a brilliant and fearless advocate. Debs stands for the principles of revolutionary Socialism and we are proud to be associated with him and to make his alleged crimes our own.

If he is guilty, we too are guilty; our determination being one with his; to sweep away for ever the last foul vestige of Capitalism to the end that his dream and that of other great rebels, may be realized in our time, and in his.

Debs has always stood in the forefront of the American Socialist movement, and the fact that he writes this letter is convincing proof that he does not consider the formation of the Left Wing as a move to destroy, but rather as an effort to unite the

Give full address of your letter here

Place name and serial number here

Name *Rose Pastor Stokes* Name *Eugene V. Debs*

No. *88 Green St* Serial No. *2253*

From *New York* Calls to _____

818 JEFFERSON AVE.
MOUNDSVILLE, W. VA. *April 28th 1919*

My dear Comrade Rose:

Days before

I mean here I intended to write in answer to your letter touching certain vital party matters but I was kept so busy until the last moment that I was prevented from doing so. Under any other circumstances my silence would have been inexcusable, but pressed as I was by so many demands and not so well physically, I felt certain that you would understand and make generous allowance for my seeming remissness. In my present situation I am unable to write as I would wish, nor do I think it now necessary since I am sure you know that in all the progressive changes, all the developments now taking place your position is my position and I am with you in all things.

and unsolicited document, and proves that now as they severed Debs from the officialdom of our Party on the basis of revolutionary Socialism. Debs is true to the principles and teachings of Party in their invitation to the Third International.

Why Political Democracy Must Go

By John Reed

I.

MODERATE "Socialism"—Menshevism—Right Wingism—is based largely on the theory that the class struggle will be won by capturing the political power through the ballot-box—that through a process of gradual, orderly progress, the election of candidates to office and the passage of social reform legislation, capitalism will grow weaker and weaker, and the Constitution will be amended into a charter of the Cooperative Commonwealth, or be peaceably abolished.

The modern capitalist state, in the words of Marx, is "nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and that not less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

This proposition was the rock upon which the second International split at the beginning of the European war. The dominant Moderate "Socialists" of all countries sooner or later embraced the formula that "political democracy is better than autocracy." In Germany the Majority Social Democratic leaders told their followers, "Russia threatens 'free' Germany. We must mobilize against Tsarism." In France England and Italy, they said "Defend 'Democracy' against autocracy. German militarism threatens us. This is the war that will end war."

The class-conscious proletariat of all lands was ripe for mass opposition to the War. The workers knew instinctively that this War had nothing whatever to do with "democracy" or "autocracy"—but was merely an intense form of competition between two groups of world-grasping imperialistic Powers, struggling for control of markets which had been made necessary through the gigantic development of Finance-Imperialism.

Especially in America was this fact clear. Not by the remotest stretch of the Rooseveltian imagination could the people be convinced that we were threatened by any "autocracy"—except industrial autocracy, which had already captured the country. The United States declared war after three years of European conflict had brought home to the understanding of the class-conscious workers of neutral countries, with sickening clearness, the falsity of the Wilsonian formula, "To make the world safe for democracy."

In entering the War, the ruling class of the United States played the part of a banker who has heavily financed one of the two huge competing trusts, and who, to defend his investment, must throw in all his resources to get rid of the competitor.

Hence the St. Louis Resolution of the American Socialist Party—the mandate of the rank and file of the Party to the Party leaders, which was disregarded by them again and again as they surrendered, little by little, their opposition to the War.

The formation of the Left Wing, and its sharp call to the Socialist movement to abolish the social-reform planks in Party platforms, has posed with cutting distinctness the question of whether or not we shall try to win Socialism by means of political democracy, making use of the capitalist State machinery.

II.

Let us for the moment examine the character of American political democracy.

In this country, as in all modern "democratic" countries, there are two sides to government—political and economic. The policies of modern "democratic" countries are dictated by the capitalist "interests." As Woodrow Wilson has pointed out in his *New Freedom*, the government of this

country is in the hands of the great aggregations of capital.

This process of concentration of wealth into the hands of the few began during the Civil War, when the manufacturers of munitions of war, the purveyors of provisions, and the speculators piled up colossal fortunes. This was the period when J. P. Morgan laid the foundations of his riches by selling defective rifles to the Government, and John Wanamaker by providing shoddy uniforms for the Union troops. The floating of Government War Loans, also, brought into the hands of a few bankers an immense financial power. Immediately after the War, the looting of the South, the expansion of industry, the girdling of the continent with railroads, the spoliation of natural resources, and the speculation in land, assumed vast proportions, and became glaringly apparent to the petit bourgeoisie—the small property holders.

This class then consisted largely of farmers. The rest of the population, when hard-pressed, could always leave the cities and go out on the measureless free lands of the West. So the first revolt of the small property holders was against land-looting, and culminated with partial success in the Homestead Law.

But the farmer was at the mercy of all the great interests. They controlled the railroads, the markets, the banks, the price of tools. In spite of the high prices paid for produce during the War, the farmer was badly in debt. He had not been able to purchase Government securities, but he had been forced to pay ruinous taxes, whose imposition was supported by the manufacturers in the towns, because they *actually stimulated business*.

The new money-kings were manipulating the currency so that the Government would redeem the depreciated securities held by them, and throw the burden on the backs of the workers and the small property holders. This led to the beginnings of revolt against the great interests, in which the foundation was Cheap Money—Greenbackism, Populism, and later, Bryan's Free Silver campaigns of twenty-five years ago.

This is the *real* American ancestry of American Socialism, upon which were grafted the theories of Marxian and—predominantly—Lasalleian Socialism brought from Europe by the Germans who emigrated after 1848; and the Fourierism introduced by Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley.

The next revolt of the petit bourgeoisie in America was the Progressive Movement. This also occurred after a war—in this case, a frankly Imperialistic war which marked the formal entrance of American capitalism into the period of Capitalist Imperialism. The whole period was summed up in the emergence of the great trusts during the administration of McKinley and Mark Hanna, the open advocacy of high tariffs, no longer to "protect infant industries," or to increase wages, but as a basis for the great monopolies of the means of production and distribution in the United States, and a weapon in the international war of Capitalist Imperialism—"Dollar Diplomacy."

The Progressive Movement properly so-called, was a reform movement to reshape the Republican Party so that it would not be smashed by the growing hostility of the small property-holders, made desperate by the ruthlessness of Big Business. It advocated all sorts of checks upon the power of Big Business—reform of the electoral laws, so as to give the small property-holders a voice in the government (initiative and referendum, recall, direct election of Senators, Woman Suffrage); low tariff (a sort of modified Free

Trade); and many other measures of relief, which were expressed with all their significance and all their short-sightedness in the various Anti-Trust Acts, Interstate Commerce Commissions, etc.

La Follette was the strongest and most uncompromising leader of the Progressive Movement; he awakened, first, the small property-holders of his State, and then of the entire country. The great capitalists who at first fought Progressivism, finally realized the futility of open battle, and resorted to their time-honored tactics of capturing the movement. Men like George Perkins, of the United States Steel Corporation—one of the most powerful of the trusts—financed the Progressive Party and became one of its leaders. To speak plainly, he bought it. Roosevelt, when in the White House, at first fought the Progressives. Being a shrewd politician, however, he soon saw that Progressivism was going to win, and took over most of the weapons in the Progressive armory, flourishing them aloft in the sight of all men, and emitting loud cries. The fight of Progressivism against the trusts assumed such proportions that it blocked the Morgan interests in their plans for consolidating the steel industry of the country in one huge, profitable and invincible trust. Whereupon, the Morgan interests unleashed the panic of 1907, and the Government gave in.

This was not the end, however. The Movement under La Follette assumed great proportions. More and more openly, with an ever greater and greater following, La Follette attacked Big Business. The plutocracy was frightened. Its agents, Perkins and others, attempted in vain to check the growth of petit bourgeois revolt. Roosevelt, returning from Africa, was making a triumphal tour of Europe, among other things reviewing the Prussian Guard at the side of the Kaiser. Emisaries of Perkins went to meet him, and secret plans were laid by which La Follette was to be displaced.

The opportunity arrived. La Follette, Progressivism's Presidential candidate, was invited to the Publishers' Dinner in Philadelphia. There, with characteristic frankness, he told the editors and publishers of America that *the press was controlled by Big Business which used it to exterminate the petit bourgeoisie*.*

This was the signal for Big Business to attack. The artillery of the great press, which had been conciliating its subscribers—the majority of whom were small property holders—by commenting favorably upon Progressivism, now turned upon La Follette and blasted him with contempt and ridicule. And at the same time Perkins and the other leaders came out for Roosevelt as Progressive candidate.

The Republican Party, willing to lose rather than to adopt the La Follettism with which the rank and file of the petit bourgeoisie was infected, insolently suppressed the small property-holders in the Chicago Convention in 1912. The Progressives made a fight, but it was a losing fight, and they knew it, and so did the small property-holders all over the country, who, despairing of the Republican Party, threw most of their support to the Democrats.

Big Business knew that the small property-holders would probably elect the President and Congress, but they also realized that the great trusts

(Continued on page 7)

*Although the press, especially the monthly magazines, had for years carried on the battle of Progressivism—the period of "mucking-raking"—by this time (1912), it had been pretty generally taken over by the great financial interests, and had ceased its attacks on vested interests. I shall treat this question in a later installment.

Left Wing Notes

THE Left Wing organization has decided to support the following nominees and ask all revolutionary Socialists to do likewise:

For the National Executive Committee, 1st District: N. J. Hourwich, N. Y., Edward Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y., Louis C. Frania, Boston, Mass.

For International Delegates: I. E. Ferguson, Chicago, Ill., John Reed, N. Y., Louis C. Frania, Boston, Mass., C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, O.

In view of the referendum on the State Executive Committee resolution to expel all branches and locals that have joined the Left Wing Section all the branches and locals throughout the State should make arrangements to have Left Wing speakers state our case.

Left Wing speakers can be secured by communicating with Maximilian Cohen, Secretary of the Left Wing Section, 43 West 29th Street, New York City.

All Left Wing communications for this column should be addressed to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, and should reach him not later than Tuesday morning for insertion the same week.

The City Committee of Greater New York passed the following motions at its last meeting, May 5, 1919:

(1) That a general convention be held for the purpose of amalgamating the six Locals of Greater New York.

(2) That the representation to this convention shall be direct from the branches of each local, each branch shall have one delegate and an additional delegate for every 50 members in good standing, and that each local and each branch of the six locals shall be notified to this effect.

(3) That the convention be held not earlier than six or later than eight weeks from May 6, 1919.

The following letter was received from the 2nd A. D. Branch, New York: "Comrades—At a well-attended special meeting of the 2nd A. D., Socialist Party, called for the purpose of discussing the Left Wing Manifesto and Program and the advisability of affiliating ourselves as a branch officially with the Left Wing, it was decided by a roll call vote after a long and deliberate discussion by the members, that we officially so affiliate ourselves and elect two delegates to the City Committee of the Left Wing.

"Elections for two delegates will be held this coming Friday evening, May 9, at our regular meeting.

"Congratulating you upon our victory, I am
"Fraternally yours,
"ELIAS MARKS, Organizer."

Local Washington, D. C., has adopted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing.

Rose Pastor Stokes will speak at the weekly meeting of the 17th A. D. (unreorganized) to be held in the headquarters, 1538 Madison Avenue, near 104th Street, on Friday, May 9.

On Monday, May 12, the Branch will hold a mass meeting at the Royal Lyceum, 10 West 114th Street.

We have received the following letter from Emanuel Blumstein, our informants insist that he was correctly quoted. We suggest that he take the matter up with the 17th A. D. which, in spite of his valiant efforts to the contrary, still remains very much alive. We will be glad to publish the result.

"Editor of *The Communist*: In your article entitled 'Pink Terror' in connection with the re-organization of the 17th A. D., you have blackmailed me, saying that I have told the policeman in the front of Juliette Hall about the disrupters of the old 17th, that they are anarchists and do not believe in the constitution and they should be deported. I therefore demand conclusive proofs for this statement or an apology on your part for misstatement of fact. I only recollect of one instance when I was forced to leave the hall to help to prevent one of the members breaking the glass in the front door. The name of the member who tried to break the glass is Novick.

"Hoping that you will give space in your next issue to this correction.

"EMANUEL BLUMSTEIN."

RESOLUTION adopted by the Young People's Socialist League of Manhattan to be proposed by their delegate to the National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League of the United States.

Whereas: The Young People's Socialist League of the United States is avowedly an organization for the purpose of preparing the youth of the working class for the struggle of the workers with their oppressors and for the final conquest of power by the working class; and to aid all other organizations whose purpose is the emancipation of the workers; and

Whereas: The Young People's Socialist League of the various European countries now in revolution have been the militant expression of the revolutionary proletariat there, and

Whereas: Revolutionary Socialism in practice has not only demonstrated the futility of social reform to strengthen the power of the workers, but has shown also that it is counter-revolutionary, and tends to bolster up the power of the master class, and

Whereas: The Socialist Party of the United States, whose declared intention is the emancipation of the working class, has in the past, and is still pursuing a program of social reform, and

Whereas: The Socialist Party of the United States has never given full recognition to the economic power of the workers as a means to their conquest of the political state, and

Whereas: Revolutionary Socialism in practice has demonstrated that it is through the spontaneous

mass action of the workers on both the economic and political fields, that the final struggle for political control is won, and

Whereas: Revolutionary Socialism in practice has demonstrated that the workers can not use the machinery of the capitalist state to establish the cooperative commonwealth, and

Whereas: Groups within the Socialist Party have organized for the purpose of forcing the Socialist Party to take a stand in conformity with the teachings of Revolutionary Socialism in practice,

Therefore: Be it resolved that we the Young People's Socialist League of the United States in convention assembled do urge upon the Socialist Party of the United States the acceptance of the following principles:

(1) Elimination of social reform planks from their platform.

(2) a. A recognition of revolutionary industrial unionism, not merely as a mean of benefitting the immediate, economic conditions of the workers, but as a weapon in their conquest of political power.

b. A general propaganda among the workers for the above purpose.

(3) a. A recognition of the general mass action of the workers on all fronts as their final method of seizing the political state.

b. An educational propaganda for the purpose of guiding spontaneous mass action into revolutionary channels.

(4) A recognition of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as the only form of state through which the workers can function as a dominating class and establish the cooperative commonwealth upon the ruins of capitalism, and

Be it further resolved that we shall aid with every means in our power the "Left Wing" groups within the Socialist Party in their work of capturing the party for Revolutionary Socialism, and

Be it further resolved, that we shall aid of education among the working class youth shall be based upon the recognized works of scientific Socialism in theory, coupled with an interpretation of Revolutionary Socialism in practice as expressed by the principles and tactics of the Communist Party (Bolsheviki) of Russia, and the Spartacus Groups in Germany, and all other parties with identical principles which the Revolution from time to time develops.

DEAR JOHN REED: The Scandinavian Local, Duluth (400 members) and the Duluth English Branch (45 members) have endorsed the manifesto of the Left Wing and will give them much support.

We welcome the COMMUNIST and trust that every local will order copies of same. We need the COMMUNIST and it must be backed up. The workers are tired of opportunism and want action. Must we stand idly by and allow them to be kept disorganized or must we get busy and do something?

Sure see you and so say all of us.

More power to the Left Wing.

The justification of the Left Wing being formed is seen in the tactics of its opponents. They belong to the Right Wing, you say? About the only time they were Right.

Fraternally yours,

JACK CARNEY.

P. S.—Send to Jack Carney—Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn., 100 copies weekly.

A CORRECTION.

We regret that in our last issue the poem "In Time of War" was erroneously credited to Louise Bryant, instead of to Marguerite Vorech. We tender our apologies herewith.

LEFT WINGERS!

HELP THE 17th A. D. REFURNISH ITS HEADQUARTERS

WHEN the furniture was stolen from the headquarters of the 17 A. D. the members found themselves confronted with the task of rebuilding, reorganizing and at the same time continuing their propaganda. They refused an offer to return the furniture and set themselves to their task. They have worked untiringly and spent their money unsparingly, but without outside help, they may fail.

Will five hundred Comrades donate One Dollar each to help maintain this vitally necessary organization?

Address All Communications to

JULIUS CODKIND,
133 East 97th Street,

or to

MAX COHEN, (for the 17th A. D.),
43 West 29th Street

The Productivity of Russian Labor

From the Russian Soviet Government's First Annual Report

By A. Lomov

(Continued from last week.)

It seems, that in spite of the whole sum of extremely unfavorable objective economic conditions, the productivity of labor began to increase at the beginning of 1918 in a number of industries. And what is more, the increase of productivity is not a slightly noticeable process, but a very rapid, strikingly marked one. In the cast-steel industry the productivity went up in April, in comparison with January, 170%; in the cast-iron, 131%; in the hydraulic press industry 40%, and only in the car forging has it fallen 24%, and there on account of a number of causes of an external character, so to speak. January is the worst month. After it, there begins a rapid advance. These results have been the fruits of proletarian class self-reliance exclusively. Price-wages were firmly introduced by a special wage-fixing commission consisting of representatives of the professional unions and the technical personnel; "this commission very energetically," as the spokesman said, "undertook its task." The results can already be seen; though, as justly pointed out by the Kolomensky workers, its work only began.

Of the constant increase in the productivity of labor after the introduction of the scale, the representatives of the Kolubaksky factory also spoke, stating as characteristic of the mood of the workers in the factory, the following: "We recently had to make repairs which we thought would take two weeks, but the workers made them in six days, and that under the worst conditions."

Analogous are the data of other districts. In the Petrograd Westinghouse factory, after the transition to piece-wages and the establishment of a form of output according to scale, the results showed themselves remarkably soon. In the smelting industry the report shows the following figures for 1918:

In January there were produced.....3000 poods
In February.....3400 poods
In March.....3886 poods
In April.....4000 poods

i. e., an increase in April as compared with January of 33%.

Even at the Baltic factory, where the wages are lower than in the factories of Moscow, Petrograd and a number of provincial cities, "in the month of April it was proven that the workers in the matter of productivity," as the spokesman, Comrade Khromoff, indicated at the conference, "have produced almost twice as much as in March, and we suppose that in the future, with a raise in wages up to the normal (the scale was not yet introduced in that factory, the productivity will rise even higher." Analogous information is given by the comrades from the evacuated factory "Phoenix" in Ribinek, which in December, 1917, had an output of 62 cars, in January of 40, in February of 18, and in March and April of 38 each respectively. The comrades note the great work done in this sphere by the factory committees. Similar information we have from the Hartmann factory in Lugansk, where the workers' committee has succeeded in turning out—instead of three locomotives as in the Fall—13 locomotives. The comrades, members of the committees of the much suffering Petrovsky Soviet factories and Makeefka (Mining and Metallurgical "Union"), draw the same pictures of their establishments. At the Petrovsky factory, after its nationalization and the

granting of the first sums for the payment of wages, the productivity of labor began to grow, and towards the end of April went up to 30-40%. In Makeefka, which was twice occupied by the Cossacks and Ukrainians, the daily output of coal from the mines went up, from March to the middle of April alone, from 60,000 poods to 92,000, or over 50%; and what is more, as the chairman of the workers' committee of the "Union," Engineer Bajanov wrote, "There is to be observed a tendency towards a further increase in the output of coal."

The same conclusions are also characteristic of the Ural district.

We have more detailed information regarding the Zlatoustovsky district. Here is the corresponding table of figures in poods:

	January	February	March
Pig-iron production:			
Remade pig-iron	343,962.32	173,885.	351,040.01
Casting pig-iron	37,854.	21,277.	41,354.
Crude iron	18,724.08	8,285.30	17,125.39
Martensovsky production:			
Martens bars		22,460.	147,134.
Puddling furnace production:			
Moulds	37,401.	19,180.	29,095.
Casting production:			
Pig-iron castings:			
High furnace production	541.	332.29	1,367.10
Cupola furnace production	25,099.05	11,740.16	26,147.13
Steel fondering paste		332.33	1,726.29
Copper fondering paste	803.01	85.25	331.38
Various alloyage paste	2,085.	960.	1,207.
Rolling production:			
Large sized production, Martens iron, pressed iron, Martens steel, Crucible steel	61,947.	35,916.82	48,192.79
Middle-sort production:			
Martens square iron, Martens steel, Crucible steel			
Tilted East steel production:			
Moulded, stamped	49,800.16	25,581.88	38,331.08
Projectile production:			
Production of various instruments in pieces:			
Also intrenching	147,028.	102,359.	149,264.
The production of ammunition:			
Swords, daggers, etc.	4,107.	2,889.	7,460.
Hand-made products:			
Machine construction industry	299.		218.11

In surveying the present table compiled on the basis of the Soviet's reports, at the outset the extreme decrease in output during February strikes one's eye. However, this is explained by the transition from the old Russian calendar to the new calendar, thanks to which the number of days in February shrank to fifteen.*

Taking this into consideration we note that in the Zlatoustovsky district the decrease in production ceased, and now there is to be observed a reverse process of its growth in a number of industries, in the production of machines, instruments, pig-iron; there is also an increase in the casting-house production, etc.

The figures of the production of labor at the Ural Katav—Ivanovsky factory speak of the same:

	The casting of pig-iron	Average daily output
January	125,872	4,723
February (15 days)	71,919	4,794
March	144,833	4,761
April	145,454	5,008

The total amount of casted pig-iron, and its average daily output has considerably increased. It is interesting to note the correct growth of figures each month. It is also interesting to compare the figures of the productivity of labor of a factory in the three preceding years with the figures of the three and a half months of 1918.

*Translator's note—The Russian calendar differed from the one prevailing in the west in being thirteen days behind it.

THE PRODUCTION OF A FACTORY

	Pig-iron	Bars	Fire-stone	Moulding of steel	Moulding of pig-iron
	Poods	Poods	Pieces	Poods	Poods
1915	1,938,682	182,000	167,434		21,475
1916	2,011,222	606,403	333,025	2,325	35,217
1917	1,868,041	570,272	352,173	8,347	40,580
4 months of 1918 (Feb. 15 days)	488,078	196,213	108,741	3,504	11,132

This proves that if the quantity of moulded pig-iron has decreased in comparison with the best year, 1916, still for the first three and a half months of 1918, about 1/4 of the pig-iron output for the whole year 1916 was moulded. As regards bars, founded pig-iron and the production of fire-stones, for the 3 1/2 months of 1918, the output was about 1/3 of the entire production of 1916. As regards founded steel, for the first 3 1/2 months of 1918, the total amount of mouldings in poods exceeded by 50% the amount of mouldings for the whole year 1916. Thus in the first quarter of 1918 there was clearly visible a process of gradual increase in the productivity of labor. Furthermore, in spite of the acute insufficiency of the food supply, the productivity of labor evidently continued to increase. For example, we shall submit the following data of the productivity of labor in a number of important Petrograd factories; the following table of figures was issued by the Obuchovsky steel mills:

THE OBUCHOVSKY STEEL CASTING FACTORY

	Mar. from the 15th	Apr.	May	June from the 15th	July from the 15th	Aug.
Cars	70	175	400	270	170	212
Locomotives		1	2	1		1
Pig-iron castings	1,107		627	304	8	48
Steel and iron	1,946	975	6,173	7,182	8,300	17,823

The Westinghouse factory output of brakes:

	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.
Brake devices in poods	1,008	1,014	1,239	2,040	2,796	2,378

The productivity of the Petrograd metal factories is characterized by the following figures: the productivity in a number of branches for July was 70,000 poods, for Aug. 13,000; at the Equal factory the productivity increased 100-150%, at the Spiegel factory it increased 150-200%, at the Leener factory it increased from Aug. to Sept. 65%, at the Nevsky tobacco factory the average monthly output for the first half of 1918 was 2,448 for July 5,180 poods, at the Moscow Luberevsky factory the productivity of labor has reached almost the pre-war standard.

Speaking of the increase in the productivity of labor we none the less, cannot yet dream of a production equal to that of peace times. The lack of raw materials and fuel, the acute hunger, the deterioration of the machinery could not but delay the process of the rehabilitation of industry. And nevertheless, at this writing, several factories are either approaching or have already attained the peace-time norm. To the number of such factories belongs, for instance, the famous nationalized Simons—Schuckert factory. Let us examine in somewhat greater detail the work of this factory as a characteristic example of the rehabilitation of our whole industry.

The February revolution and Kerenskyism found it in a state of slow disintegration. Up to the time of the October revolution, its production fell to about one-third or one-fourth of what it was before, and the intensity of labor "decreased almost one-half" according to the information of the department of Electro-Technique.

{To be continued}

An Outline of the Communist International

Adopted by the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow [March 1-6, 1919]

I.

THE contradictions concealed in the womb of the capitalist system, burst forth with tremendous power in a terrible explosion—the great imperialist world war.

Capitalism endeavored to overcome its own anarchy through the organization of production. Instead of numerous rival employers mighty capitalist corporations were formed (syndicates, kartells, trusts). The financial interests (or bank capital) united with industrial capital; the whole economic life was thus swayed by the financial capital oligarchy, which, thanks to its organization, became the sole ruler of the nation. Instead of free competition monopoly prevailed. The individual capitalist became the corporation capitalist. The insane anarchy of competition was supplanted by organization.

But as the anarchy of the capitalist system of production was substituted by capitalist organization in each individual country, the competitive combats, the anarchy, in world production became ever more acute, and the struggle between the best organized robber states led to the horrible world-war as a natural result. The greed for profit forced the world capitalist groups to fight among themselves for new markets, new sources of duties and raw material, the cheap labor power of the colonial slaves. The imperialist states, which shared among them the whole world, and reduced to beasts of burden many millions of African, Australian, Asiatic and American proletarians and

peasants, sooner or later had to expect to meet each other in a fearful conflict, sooner or later had to show the real anarchistic nature of capital. So originated the great crime—the robber world war.

Capitalism endeavored to overcome its contradictory social structure. Bourgeois society is a class society but capital in the great civilized states attempted to conceal the social contrasts. At the expense of the robbed colonial peoples capital corrupted its wageslaves, created the reciprocity of interests between exploited and exploiters in relation to the subjugated colonies—yellow, black, and red colonial peoples—and fettered the European and American workingclass to the imperialistic Fatherland.

But the same method of permanent corruption, from which the patriotism of the workingclass and its intellectual subjugation originated, brought forth the opposite result, due to the war. The physical annihilation, total enslavement, terrible pressure, misery, degeneration and world hunger of the proletariat is the final tribute to the capitalist system, which is already collapsing. The imperialistic war has developed into civil war.

This marks a new epoch—the epoch of the abolition of Capitalism, its decomposition, and the rise of the Communist revolution of the proletariat. The imperialistic system collapses and produces fermentation in the colonies, and among the formerly dependent small nations; a revolt of the proletariat resulting in victorious proletarian revolution in some countries; the abolition of imperial-

istic armies; and exposes the total incapability of the ruling class to direct any longer the destiny of the people's masses—that is the picture of modern conditions throughout the world. Man, whose culture is now ruined, is menaced by annihilation. There is only one power which can save him; the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" is gone, it cannot prevail any more. The final result of the capitalist system of production is chaos, and only the great productive class, the working class, can bring order out of this chaos. This it will accomplish by building the new system of society, the Communist system. The workers must destroy capitalist rule, must make war impossible, annihilate the boundary lines of states, reduce the whole world to a community working for itself, and realize the brotherhood and liberation of all peoples.

Against this world-capital arms itself. Under the disguise of the "League of Nations" and pacific phrases it makes a last desperate effort to bolster up the falling remnants of the capitalist system and direct its force against the ever-growing proletarian revolution.

In answer to this huge new conspiracy of decaying Capitalism the proletariat must conquer political power. This power it must direct against its class enemies, and set in motion all the wheels of economic revolution. The final victory of the world proletariat means the beginning of the real history of liberated man.

Why Political Democracy Must Go

(Concluded from page 4)

were so firmly entrenched in power that they could not be dislodged. Also, the "interests" would be in the position of Opposition Party, where they could safely sabotage the Democratic administration and at the same time criticize it for being inefficient.

Woodrow Wilson, author of the "New Freedom," was elected to the Presidency by the small property-holders—the Progressive elements. The achievements of his first administration reflect the constituency which elected him.

First, *defeat of the open Imperialist scheme to annex Mexico.* The small property-holder is not a partner in Imperialism, any more than he is a partner in the great trusts. Capitalist Imperialism does away with the small property-holder. Therefore he is opposed to annexations, and can afford to give his humanitarian sentiments full play.

Second, *the Federal Reserve Act.* The small property-holder has a desperate fear of financial panics, which eliminate him at one blow. He wants to guard against them, and stabilize finance so that the plutocrats cannot destroy him at will.

Third, *Taxation of Great Wealth.* The Income and Inheritance taxes are for the purpose of relieving the overwhelming burden of taxation which lies upon the small property-holder.

Fourth, *The Industrial Relations Commission, Child Labor Law, etc.* Social legislation is the small property-holder's method of reforming capitalism so that he can exist in it. He is at the mercy of both organized Labor and organized Capital, and is more affected by labor troubles than the great capitalist. He must conciliate both Labor and Capital. At the same time, he is not interested in wholesale cheap labor, and he himself is too close to the proletariat, and too liable to be pushed into its ranks, to relish the idea of mass starvation and debauchery of the workers.

In 1912 and 1913 the abuses of savage industrial tyranny provoked a series of gigantic labor troubles—Lawrence, Paterson, Michigan, Colorado, etc. The small property-holder became alarmed, and demanded that these abuses be remedied.

So much for the most important political victories of what were, without contradiction, the great majority of the voters in the United States—the small property-holders and those dominated by their psychology.* If political "democracy" worked, this majority, which elected the President, and swept Congress and the Legislatures, should have been able to enforce its will.

But what has actually happened? The Imperialist scheme to annex Mexico was temporarily defeated—but last month the American State Department warned the Mexican Government not to dare carry out its plan of heavily taxing the oil-wells owned by American capitalists—and passports were given to American oil-kings to go to Paris and present their private-property claims to the Peace Conference. And even as I write, a counter-revolution financed by American and foreign oil-interests, with a bureau of information in New York's financial district, is attempting to overthrow the Car-

*The Eight-hour Law belongs to a category which I shall treat later.

To Bronx Branches

Letish Branch No. 1, at a regular monthly meeting, decided to invite the other branches of Local Bronx which have joined the Left Wing to arrange a bazaar for the benefit of the Left Wing paper, *The Communist*. Please discuss the matter at your membership meetings and communicate immediately with the Secretary of the Letish Branch.

J. ANDERSON.

355 Crimmins Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

ranza Government, and promising in case of success to leave the property of foreigners alone.

During the War, the United States Government, with armed force, has overthrown the Governments of two Caribbean countries, Haiti and Santo Domingo, and set up a military dictatorship there.

The Federal Reserve Act, designed to avoid panics, was framed by the Big Interests. It does not provide against panics—but on the contrary, it places the Treasury of the United States at the mercy of the great financial interests.

Great wealth has been taxed to run the Government, and the War—but the Government has become more and more an instrument designed to protect and foster private property; that is to say, to create ever more and more great wealth.

The Industrial Relations Commission discovered such hideous industrial conditions in America, conditions which pointed so definitely to the fact that only the Social Revolution could cure them, that the small property-holders became frightened. The Commission was discredited by both plutocratic and Progressive press (such papers as *The New Republic* being particularly exasperated by the "intemperateness" of its report). Nothing ever came of it, except such schemes as John D. Rockefeller's, which pretended to cure conditions by making Labor even more helpless.

The Child Labor Law was declared "unconstitutional" by the Supreme Court, in spite of the widely-heralded appointment of Louis D. Brandeis, a Liberal, as Supreme Court Justice.

Thus we can see the failure of political democracy even among the ruling class—the property-holders, where Marx says one of its most important functions is to act as arbitrator.

The grand bourgeoisie makes use of the State to conserve and extend great capitalist interests at the expense of all other classes.

[To be continued]

The Pink Terror

III. Frightfulness in the 2nd and 6th A. D. Branches

THERE was terror in the ranks of the Right Wing Buccaneers. At the regular meeting of the 2nd A. D., on the evening of Friday, April 25th, in spite of the presence of that Grand Old Man of Socialism, Meyer London, a *Left Wing majority developed*.

Mitchell Loeb, Nagin, Alexander Kahan, Judge Panken, S. P. Kraemer, and the *Forward* bunch, were in almost constant communication with Mr. Gerber over a private wire, and several times during the evening it was seriously debated as to whether or not the police ought to be called in.

Comrade Kessler, delegate to the Central Committee, rose to report concerning the last meeting of that body, when the unsuccessful attempt was made to "reorganize" the 17th A. D. The Semi-Comrades above-mentioned did not want to hear the ghastly details. Comrade Loeb insisted that it was customary first to read the typewritten report of the meeting sent out by Gerber, before the delegates reported—and Comrade Kahan backed him up. However, fortunately the Chairman was a Left Winger, Comrade Marks, so the report proceeded. When it came to the part about the looting of the 17th A. D., the Right Wingers tried their best to stop Comrade Kessler by raising points of order. Unable to accomplish this, Loeb screamed that Kessler was reporting lies—but he had to withdraw the charge. Not satisfied with that, he stated on the floor that Comrades Max Cohen and Brahdly had summoned the police to the Central Committee—a statement which once again Loeb was forced to withdraw.

After considerable ruction, during which our ex-Congressman is said to have scratched and bit the Chairman because his honor was not invited to speak on Rutgers Square, the discussion of the report of the Central Committee was postponed until the next meeting.

As I said at the beginning, there was terror in the ranks of the Right Wing Buccaneers. Here was another Branch gone Left Wing—another Branch which must be reorganized and the high cost of furniture moving still on the increase.

While all this was going on in the 2nd A. D., the Right Wing was holding a parliamentary massacre in the headquarters of the 6th A. D., at 106 Avenue C. The meeting opened with the election of a dummy chairman, semi-Comrade Alexander, who during the meeting went through the motions of a regular chairman while in reality Beckerman dictated the procedure.

After Beckerman had set the stage to suit his fell designs by altering the regular order of business, he rose to report as a delegate to the Central Committee. Old timers of the Right Wing gaped in open-mouthed admiration as he jumped from misstatement to misstatement, omitting in his verbal leaps everything that would reveal the real character of the machine's purpose at the Central Committee. He dealt at length with the "reorganization" of the 17th A. D., representing that the branch had dissolved itself, concealing the fact that dissolution of a Branch can only occur with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Local and neglecting to mention the Left Wing motion for a committee of seven (three from the Right, three from the Left and an impartial chairman agreed upon by the other six) to investigate the matter of the 17th A. D.

After he had warmed up to his subject he proceeded to slam the Left Wing in a manner that made his audience sigh with regret that the atmosphere in the Aldermanic Chamber is not so conducive to eloquence as that of Avenue C. In a tremendous peroration, that so entranced the chairman that he recognized a Left Winger immediately afterward in a moment of forgetfulness, and had to be rescued by a well placed point of order from the Right, Beckerman pleaded that action be taken upon his report.

It is said that the timid suggestion from a Left Winger that the recall of Beckerman from the Central Committee would be appropriate action was met with howls of denunciation, and action was forgotten. Several other delegates rose to "report" but their work was clumsy compared with Beckerman's and they were hastily silenced lest they give the game away.

Comrade Frost, who was given the floor because he is not affiliated with the Left Wing, made a motion that the Branch *do not* concur with the State Committee's resolution to expel Left Wing locals and branches. The motion was seconded and a pause ensued during which the chairman glanced fearfully at the Right who could ill conceal their annoyance at his blunder in allowing anyone not known to be "safe" to get the floor. Nods, winks and whispered comments soon showed the chairman the way out of the difficulty, and grasping the gavel firmly in his hand he announced in a voice tense with emotion that the motion was out of order, on the ground that the report of the Central Committee was before the house.

Almost immediately afterward a Right Winger got the floor and, after consulting his written instructions, moved that the Branch concur in the State Committee's resolution, and that all members of the branch affiliated with the Left Wing be suspended until such time as they renounce their allegiance thereto. Although the report of the Central Committee was still before the house, and although the motion was contrary to the by-laws of the Local and to the State and National Constitutions, the chairman did not declare the motion out of order, but, with eyes flashing with the light of firm resolve to do his duty, proceeded to recognize Righter Winger after Right Winger until fortunately some one called the previous question and

thus averted the necessity of having the Right Wing members speak twice each to the same motion.

The motion was then put to the house and with the able assistance of the Right Wing tellers whose eyesight is reported to be variable,—sometimes they see double and other times they can hardly see at all,—was carried 60 to 40. The entire Left Wing membership of the 6th A. D. was thus completely wiped out of existence and the branch "made safe for democracy."

Now comes the real tragedy of the affair from a Right Wing standpoint. In the moment of victory they have to acknowledge defeat, not only in the branch but throughout the entire Local. In order to carry out their own motion they are forced to resort to that Right Wing horror of horrors—organization within an organization.

Scarcely had the meeting adjourned when dispatch riders were seen speeding up Avenue C. in the direction of the nearest job printer, and in less time than it takes to tell the printing presses were humming at high speed turning out pledge cards, whereon the Right Wingers will inscribe their devoted adherence to the principles of Scheideinann Socialism, receiving in return the right to vote on all matters coming before the branch.

Thus organization within organization is vindicated for all time and those who have hitherto lain awake o' nights thinking out speeches against this vicious method are now among its warmest adherents. It is rumored that the Branch has engaged Julius Gerber, at enormous expense, to lecture on how to perfect this duplication of organization, and that he will show drafts of secret letters to "faithful" members, original minutes of secret meetings, and will wind up with some useful suggestions as to pass words and subterranean passages.

Bonfires, it is said, will be lighted along Avenue C. next Friday night to celebrate this complete victory for the forces of Lawanorder and democracy over the black menace of Bolshevism which for a time reared its ugly head in the 6th A. D.

LEFT WINGERS!

COME TO THE MASS MEETING
SUNDAY, MAY 11, 1919

AT THE
LABOR TEMPLE
243 EAST 84th STREET,
New York City

SPEAKERS:
EADMONN MacALPINE
BENJAMIN GITLOW
JOHN PALMER

Editor of the Estonian Socialist Weekly "Uns Ilm."

At 6 P. M.
COME ALL

ADMISSION
FREE

S. P. NEW YORK
Estonian Branch

Left Wing Membership Meeting

ON

SUNDAY, MAY 25, 1, P. M.

AT

Manhattan Lyceum

66 EAST 4th STREET,
NEW YORK CITY

To Elect and Instruct
Delegates to National
Left Wing Conference