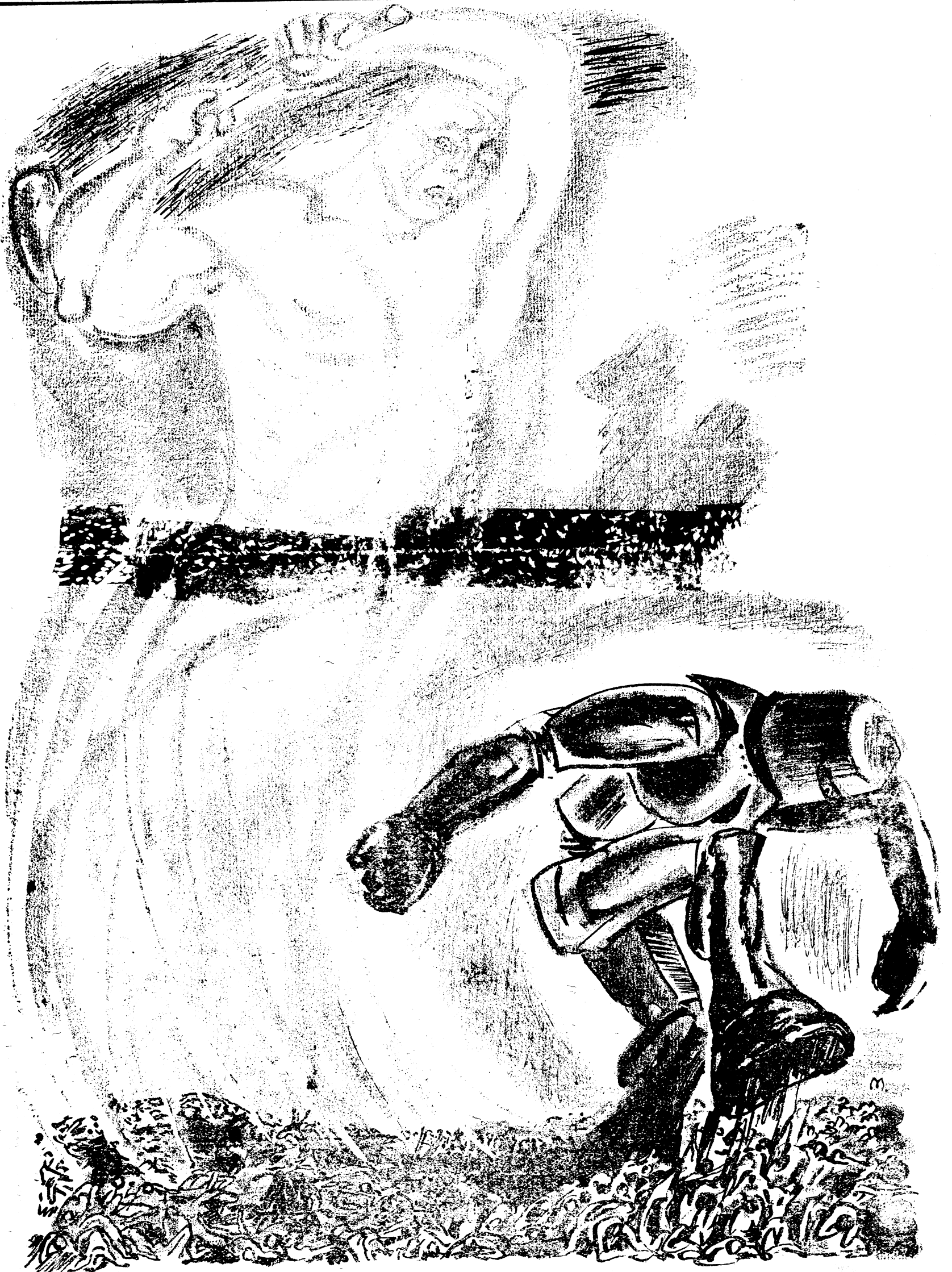


The New York
COMMUNIST

Vol. I., No. 1

New York, Saturday, April 19, 1919

Price 5 cents



The New York
COMMUNIST
Official organ of the Left Wing,
Socialist Party,
Greater New York locals.

John Reed Editor
Edmond Mac Alpine Associate Editor
Maximilian Cohen Business Manager

Published Every Week.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

1 Year \$3.00
6 Months 1.50
3 Months75
Single Copies, 5 Cents.

Bundle Orders of 10 or over, 3½ Cents
a Copy.

43 West 29th Street - - New York City



COMRADES! Across the sea the workers are rising, wave on wave. The surf of Social Revolution beats on the crumbling dikes of the old order.

The nations of the world are bankrupt. The Capitalist System is bankrupt. The headlong competition of the two imperialist groups of nations, resulting in the great war, has wrecked the international credit system upon which Capitalist Imperialism is based, and taught the industrial proletariat that there is no hope for the world but in the Socialist Commonwealth.

At the same time, that "Socialism" in which the working class of Europe so confidently trusted to avoid a world war, went down like a house of cards before the first serious onslaught of international capitalism. **The Second International joined the Army!** Bewildered and betrayed, the workers were divided and conquered, hurled into the trenches, to slaughter and be slaughtered.

"Moderate Socialism" revealed itself in its true colors. Having adopted the tactics of parliamentary action within the capitalist state, the "Moderate Socialist" leaders found themselves forced to uphold capitalism in its grand climactic crime, and consoled themselves by preaching that the War was the last great "reform"—a step in that slow and peaceful evolution from autocracy to parliamentary democracy, and then to Socialism, in which they believed.

Obsessed with this theory, they beheld the disillusioned proletariat rising to overthrow the parliamentary state, between whom and the Kaiser the workers saw little to choose. And the "Moderate Socialists," in Russia and Germany, found themselves on the capitalist side of the barricades, shooting down workers to preserve their petit bourgeois theories.

Capitalism is bankrupt. And "Moderate Socialism," an integral part of the capitalist system, is also bankrupt. Therefore the question of "moderate versus revolutionary Socialism is no longer debatable. The sum and substance of parliamentary democracy is the World War, now happily ended with all the belligerents defeated—and among them, the "Moderate Socialists."

The workers know now that only by means of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can they achieve their ends. And the experience of the Russian Soviet Republic, attacked on all sides by the combined capitalists of the world, has shown brilliantly that only the destruction of the capitalist forms of government, and the erection of a new

proletarian state, can guarantee the workers' revolutionary victories.

The American Socialist Party, although its different currents have not been as clearly defined as those of European countries, has been for years controlled by petit bourgeois elements. It has compromised with bourgeois liberalism to a point where its campaign literature, and the writings of its leaders, sounded like a movement to return to Jeffersonian Democracy; it has pushed reformism to a point where the Progressive Party could safely adopt planks from its platform; it has entangled itself with capitalist parliamentarism to the point where Meyer London could support the war and still be renominated—where Socialist Aldermen could vote for Liberty Bonds and still be asked to speak at official Party meeting to greet the proletarian revolutions in Europe—where a Socialist Mayor could join Gompers' Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and not be censured.

The Non-Partisan League, the Labor Party, the League of Free Nations, the People's Council—to the support of all these our Socialist leaders instinctively rush—to the support of everything except Revolutionary Socialism. They greet Kerensky as a revolutionary proletarian; they endorse the Ebert-Scheidemann Government as a "Socialist" Government; they hasten to send delegates to the Berne Conference of social-patriots, who are as responsible for the war as Wilhelm.

We of the Left Wing declare that we repudiate "Moderate Socialism" and all its bourgeois affiliations, whose activities, however sincerely meant, are nevertheless directed toward patching up the capitalist system and avoiding the Social Revolution. We demand that the American Socialist Party adopt this attitude.

We take our stand with the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviki), with the Spartacists of Germany, and the Communists of Hungary and Bavaria, believing that only through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can the Socialist order be brought about.

And in token of our position, we have named our official organ **The New York Communist**.

Why the New York Communist?

WHY does the New York Left Wing establish another paper? Isn't **The Revolutionary Age** enough to represent the Left Wing? Are we fighting **The Revolutionary Age**? If not, if we intend to publish a paper which cannot compete with **The Revolutionary Age**, why do we call it **The New York Communist**? All over the country a multitude of little Socialist papers is springing up, all professedly advocating Left Wing principles and tactics. With the resources of the Left Wing so weak, why do we divide our forces still further?

First, let us make our bow to **The Revolutionary Age**, which, with the support of Local Boston, and under the brilliant editorship of Comrade Louis Fraina, has, from the beginning, been the best expression of revolutionary Socialism ever published in this country—and indeed, has created a new type of Socialist journalism here.

The Revolutionary Age is to be, without any doubt, the official organ of the National Left Wing, which will be created by the National Left Wing Conference. This is made more certain by the generosity of the

Comrades of Local Boston, who have passed a resolution providing that the paper, with all its assets, shall be turned over to the Executive Committee of the Left Wing as soon as it shall be constituted.

But in the meanwhile, the New York Left Wing, which has taken the initiative in forming a National Left Wing by issuing its Manifesto and Program, has no organ of its own. **The Revolutionary Age** cannot fill our needs. It is the organ of Local Boston; so far it has confined itself largely to being "A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe"; it has no space, nor should it have, for the details of our fight here in New York; and it is published two hundred and fifty miles away.

The Left Wing organized in New York. In New York, with its thousands of Party members, the Left Wing is fighting for control of the local Party machinery, against a fierce and unscrupulous resistance by the petty politicians who direct the Party machine. **The Revolutionary Age** has contributed enormously to the education of the rank and file in New York; but we need a paper here.

After all, New York is the citadel of Right Wing resistance. As long as the entire machinery of the Party is not in our hands, a New York Left Wing paper is essential.

Be it understood, however, that **The New York Communist**, as it now stands, is a more or less temporary affair. When **The Revolutionary Age** is turned over to the Central Committee of the Left Wing, **The New York Communist** will probably combine with it, as we hope other Left Wing organs will, into a national weekly interpreting and expressing the revolutionary class-conscious proletariat of the United States, interpreting revolutionary events in Europe, and conducting an active propaganda for Socialism among the American workers.

At the present time we must strengthen and spread our Left Wing propaganda among Party members everywhere. For that reason the more Left Wing papers, the merrier—so long as they hold to true Left Wing principles.

Kate Richards O'Hara has entered Jefferson City prison to serve her sentence of five years—if the American working class stands for it. The war is over. In no other country in the world would the government now dare to imprison a working class champion for expressing anti-war opinions. Only our economic powerlessness makes us powerless to rebuke the insolence of the master class. Before the American Socialist Party can remedy such evils, it must enlist the economic power of the workers.

All Socialist news for **The New York Communist** should be received at the office at 43 West West 29th Street not later than **Tuesday evening at 6 P. M.**

Comrades everywhere are requested to send us reports of all Branch and Local meetings, and all Central and Executive Committee meetings, at which action is taken upon the Left Wing Manifesto and Program; or at which matters of interest to members of the Left Wing are acted upon.

Socialist Tactics?

LOCAL. New York Executive Secretary Gerber caused a mild sensation in the State Committee meeting on Sunday last by suddenly producing and reading copies of the minutes of the Left Wing City Committee. That the minutes disproved what he sought to prove: that Comrade Gitlow had been sent out by the Left Wing as State Organizer, is of little moment. The question is: Where did Gerber get the minutes?

The Left Wing is not a secret organization. Its Central Committee meets openly and now that the Left Wing is in possession of a medium of expression, the minutes will be published. We are informed that Gerber had an actual copy of the minutes, and this precludes the possibility that he was acting on a report of the meeting. Where did he get his copy? But even the means that Gerber employed to obtain a copy of our minutes is not for the moment important. The important point is that an official of the Socialist Party reads from copies of minutes that he had no title to possess, to one of the highest delegate bodies in our organization. It was obvious to everyone present that he had not come by his copy openly, yet he was allowed to proceed without anyone making a protest.

The party has been protesting vigorously against the espionage carried on in this country both by official government agencies and by unofficial stool-pigeon organizations. Yet when information obtained by methods manifestly similar to those employed by the espionage agencies is laid before our "Comrades" no protest is made, but on the contrary the Right Wing sits open-eared and prepares to act upon the information.

On what ground does the party protest against government espionage? Is this a sample of Socialist honor? Is this typical of the revolutionary integrity of our Party?

The possession of a copy of our minutes did us no harm and consequently we are not suffering under the sting of defeat. Are these the methods the Right Wing intends to use in future? Does the membership of the Party support these methods? Forewarned is forearmed.

National Left Wing Conference

The call for a National Left Wing Conference, published in *The Revolutionary Age*, has our heartiest endorsement. Just as the Left Wing has united all the truly revolutionary elements within the Party in New York, so must we join forces with these same elements the country over, so as to organize more efficaciously for the capture of the Party both locally, Local by Local and Branch by Branch; and nationally in the coming Emergency Party Convention.

The Centrists protest that they agree absolutely with the principles and program of the Left Wing, but they do not approve of a "separate organization" within the Party. How then, we ask, shall we actually go about capturing the Party machinery? They tell us to form caucuses in the Branches and the Central Committees, and at the same time to agitate our principles and program among the rank and file.

Instead of a series of little caucuses, we substitute one big caucus — the Left Wing — which at the same time agitates our principles and program. The National Left Wing Conference will create a National

Caucus, which can present in action within the Party a disciplined and united front.

It is true that the Left Wing has called for an Emergency National Party Convention. It is argued by many Comrades that in view of this fact, a National Left Wing Conference is unnecessary — since the rank and file is with us already, and a conference of Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Convention, held a few days before it, could accomplish our purpose of arranging for united action in the Convention.

To a certain extent this is true. But we must remember that, although the rank and file of the Party members are much more revolutionary than their leaders, they are not by any means united on the details of Party tactics.

The Left Wing has an immense propaganda to accomplish before, in this country, we have a Socialist Party fit to take its place as the "most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties." Even after the delegates to the Emergency National Convention are elected, the education of the rank and file must go on, so that they may intelligently follow and pass on the significant action of the Emergency Convention.

A National Left Wing Conference will weld into one conscious unit the delegates of Locals from all over the country, and their return to their homes will carry into the remotest branches Left Wing principles and tactics, which will operate to change the fundamental ideas of the Party more profoundly than ten thousand speakers sent out on tour from New York, Boston or some other center.

Will Debs Come Out, or Shall We Go In?

ON Saturday, April 13th, 'Gene Debs went to prison for ten years.

The editors of this paper, and every member of the Left Wing, stand squarely behind the position of 'Gene Debs, and we herewith endorse the speech for which he was convicted.

'Gene Debs told the truth about the war. Every event that has happened since he spoke—the invasion of Socialist Russia by the International Imperialists, the armistice terms to Germany, the futile proceedings of the impotent "Peace Conference" at Paris, and the mobbing, suppressions and arrests of Socialists at home—all these things prove clearly to the blindest that the War was nothing but a capitalists' war, and no workingman had any place in it.

The court which convicted 'Gene Debs, and the Supreme Court, which sustained the conviction, proved his charge—that the courts of this country are created to defend and protect the capitalist class against the workers.

The ruthless ruling class of the United States, hysterical at the sight of red clouds in the east, turns instinctively to its sore weapon against the righteous wrath of the tyrannized and exploited workers—brute force. They have taken away our beloved 'Gene; they have shut in their ferocious bastille our fearless Comrade, who dared to speak what is in the hearts of thousands of us.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has arranged to hold five thousand meetings of protest all over the country on May 1st.

Protest? To whom? To the capitalist Government that put Debs in jail—and whose spies and petty agents have riveted

on America for the past two years a veritable White Terror? The Government pays no attention to our protests; the Government allows Tom Mooney to put in prison for life, convicted on perjured evidence; the Government permits torture of conscientious objectors, and holds behind bars thousands of political prisoners, under terms of imprisonment unparalleled in modern countries.

Does the Government yield to our protests? One hundred odd conscientious objectors out of many hundred have been set free; before sailing for Europe the last time President Wilson "pardoned" one Socialist political prisoner, who didn't commit the crime for which he was convicted, and "reduced the sentences" of others; from twenty and fifteen years down to one, two and three years. The press reports that he has sent from Paris for the "papers" in the Debs case, presumably to "reduce the sentence."

No, Comrades, our protests and our prayers did not win these contemptible sops. It was the European comrades, the Communists of all countries, who, growing tired of lies and hypocrisy, have turned to action. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the workers' answer to the White Terror. It is to quiet the giant of awakening Labor in Europe that Wilson hands out these crumbs, saying, "See, here's an amnesty. I'm a Democrat—I love the workers."

Protests are foolish. Prayers are despicable. The only way to answer the brute force of the ruling class is by means of the organized power of the American workers. Right, justice, reason mean nothing to our rulers; organized power is the only argument they recognize.

If the workers of the United States were to stop work for three days, the jails would open and Debs and our other Comrades would be free.

We are sick of protests and prayers!

We are sick of resolutions and manifestos

We demand the release—not "pardon"—of 'Gene Debs.

We demand the release—not "pardon"—of Tom Mooney.

We demand the release—not "pardon"—of all political prisoners.

The Amnesty Convention

It has been proposed to call a National Amnesty Convention of all the organizations in favor of a Government amnesty for political prisoners—including bourgeois Liberal societies such as the Civil Liberties Bureau, etc.

We have nothing but admiration for the handful of Liberals who stood out against autocracy in this country, not only during the War, but afterward. We realize that Socialists owe them a debt of gratitude. We heartily approve of their desire to liberate political prisoners in the United States.

But the time has come for Socialists to withdraw from active cooperation in reform movements, and to devote their energies to organizing the proletariat so as to make its strength felt directly—which will do away with the necessity for Amnesty Conventions.

Our own National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party will meet soon—and there we shall take action according to Socialist principles on the matter of the political prisoners.

For these reasons we condemn Socialist participation in the proposed National Amnesty Convention.

The Party Situation in New York

THE INQUISITION

WITH the rise to power of the Left Wing organization within the Socialist Party in New York City, the local officialdom instituted a variety of new regulations and committees governing those within the Party and those who would within the Party be. Not the least offensive of these was the creation of a committee of three for the purpose of grilling applicants for membership in the Socialist Party.

In the past the party has been very lax regarding the admission of new members, practically any one who signed an application blank being admitted without question. This fact has often been pointed out by many of those members who now constitute the Left Wing, but without result. But those who suggested a change in the method of admitting new members had no idea of handing the control of the growth of the party in this city over to a few hand-picked individuals. The most common suggestion made was that branches should exercise, through their executive or membership committees, a stricter control in this matter.

The creation of this committee, or Star Chamber Extraordinary as it now functions, at this time, is clearly not a matter of coincidence. It is a direct attempt by those at present in control to perpetuate themselves. Apparently the Right Wing believes that the present trend of events in the world at large will result in the rise of such revolutionary sentiment, that it behooves the Party to be very careful in admitting new members, lest the influx of revolutionary recruits overwhelm the present officialdom and give the Left Wing control of the party. The net result of the creation of this Star Chamber is the holding up of hundreds of applications and the consequent loss to our movement of the services of men and women whose eyes have been opened to their economic conditions through the pressure of world events. The fact that over 90 per cent of the hundreds of applicants so held up are working men and women, members of that class in society which we claim to be the voice, merely strengthens the assumption that this whole proceeding is a political move in the interest of the machine. While some of the questions asked by this amateur Overman Committee clearly show that the applicant's knowledge of, or sympathy with, the Socialist movement is not the real point at issue.

The following is an account of these third degree methods by one of the victims:

Together with several would-be "comrades," I waited one Sunday morning, before locked doors at the appointed hour, for those annointed of the Lord to arrive, to put us through our tests. While waiting, we exchanged experiences as to how many times we had come before, etc. I was told how the Sunday previous fifty or more working men had waited in vain for over an hour, and finally had gone away with their object unachieved. One comrade remarked, "They don't want us in the Party now"—but just as I was beginning to lose all hope of being a "Party member," our Chief Examiner arrived and unlocked Room 505. We filed in and whiled away the time reading our Socialist papers and waiting for Chief Examiner No. 2. Finally he too arrived, and the Holy of Holies was opened, and in we went, one by one, to meet our fate.

"Why are you joining the Party now?" was the first question. Remembering the law of the land, that one is assumed to be innocent until proven guilty, we took courage and replied: "Because it seems the psychological moment." This seemed to pass, and we waited breathlessly for the next "test," which was, whether we were born in this country. Reassuringly bulwarked by the fact that our ancestors since 16 something had been born here, and we likewise, we answered in the affirmative. Whether we stood by the statement printed on our pink application card, which was taken from a box where it had lain for some seven weeks, was also answered in the affirmative.

Here the examination seemed to be over, and we were told there would appear over, and we were told there would be apparently no further difficulty as to our membership. We prepared to leave, when suddenly Chief Examiner No. 1, who had stood by silently during the proceedings, shot out the question, "Do you know anyone in the 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. Branch?" Remembering our conversation with the comrade who had assured us that we were not wanted in the Party—we scrambled frantically in our brains for some innocuous-sounding Anglo-Saxon names, carefully avoiding all of Celtic origin, and found two. These seemed also to pass.

With a sigh of relief we left the building, feeling sure our red card was as good as in our pocket; but to date—two months since application—we are still cardless

REPRESENTATION IN THE CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Owing to the fact that the machinery of the Party is in the control of the Right Wing, many opportunities occur whereby the machine consolidates itself. While all branches known to have a majority of Right Wing members are given their full quota of delegates to the Central Committee, branches known to be controlled by the Left Wing or suspected of harboring a strong minority of Left Wing members are wherever possible deprived of their full representation. This especially applies to the various Russian language branches. For example, the first (downtown) branch of the Russian Federation was given only two delegates, after protest by the branch it was given three delegates, although its full representation is at least four if not five delegates. The 20th Branch of the Ukrainian Federation has only two delegates, although according to the by-laws it is entitled to four, or five.

GERRYMANDERING

Another of the methods recently brought into play by the Right Wing of the party is the Gerrymander—a tactical manoeuvre which calls forth voluble denunciation by the Socialist Party when practised by either of the old parties. The Gerrymander is a scheme of reorganizing districts so as to divide the forces of the opposition. It is not a particularly vicious political move and, indeed, in capitalist circles has come to be looked upon as one of the little privileges of the party in power. But the majority Socialists have always affected righteous indignation when they were the victims and

profess to believe that it is a vicious method of foiling the "will of the people." Now, however, that officialdom faces insurgency it immediately discovers in the Gerrymander a friend indeed, and it proceeds to attempt the reorganization of several branches in order, if we are to believe its previous arguments, to foil the will of the people, who in this particular case are the membership of the Socialist Party. The second Jewish Branch has been so reorganized and the 17th A. D. Branch is at present in the throes of the Gerrymander.

Where the case is so hopeless that the Gerrymander is useless more violent measures are resorted to; as in the case of the 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. and 8th A. D. Branches, both of which have charges pending against them which it is sincerely hoped (by the Right Wing) will result in their expulsion from the Socialist Party.

THE PARTY PRESS.

Although one of the immediate points at issue between the Right and Left Wings is the ownership and control of the party press; the Right Wing taking the attitude that the status quo should be maintained to all intents and purposes the machine within the Party controls the press when it comes to matters of Party policies and tactics. Officialdom is invariably in the position of the stand-patter. Thus when the Party press remains silent on the matter it is playing the game of the machine.

In all appeals for moral and financial support which from time to time are issued by Party papers one of the strongest arguments advanced is that the membership will have a paper which will present its views and which, by virtue of the absence of financial control through subsidies or advertisements, will present the truth on all occasions. Yet when a powerful minority arises within the Party the official press refuses to acquaint the membership with the fact. The *Call*, through its Board of Management, has refused to give any publicity to the Left Wing organization; even going to the length of refusing to advertise meetings held under its auspices as such, and the Left Wing can only insert notices of its meetings by camouflaging under the name of a committee or some other body. The *Call* says in effect "we will accept your advertisements but we will not print the name of your organization" and thus it maintains the fiction of a "free press" for which it is always ostensibly fighting.

The *Jewish Daily Forward*, an official organ of the Socialist Party, takes much the same attitude towards the Left Wing but in other matters it goes so far to the right as to refuse to print the names of party members who may have fallen under the displeasure of the government. It refuses to advertise the *Novy Mir*, the official organ of the Russian Federation, although this body is part of the Socialist Party, in fact occupies in relation to the Party exactly the same position as does the *Jewish Federation*.

Local Bronx has held two meetings for the discussion of the *Left Wing Manifesto and Program* and will hold a third meeting, Friday, April, 18th in *London Casino*, 3875 Third Ave., at 8 p. m.

The Left Wing and The Call

AMONG the ridiculous accusations hurled at the Left Wing by the Right is the charge that we want to wreck the **New York Call**.

This is based largely on the fact that the Left Wing has refused to support or contribute to **The Call's** campaign to raise \$90,000 for a new printing plant.

Why?

The Left Wing stands for Party ownership and control of the official Party press.

The Call is an official organ of the Party, yet it is neither owned nor controlled by the Party. **The Call** is raising \$90,000 for a new plant, and as an official Party organ, is appealing to the rank and file of Party members for funds. Yet when the printing plant is bought, it will be neither owned nor controlled by the Party.

This is how **The Call** is owned and controlled.

It is published by the Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association, an organization of Party members. Control is vested in the Association, and in a Board of Managers.

The Association meets every three months. Party members, and only Party members, may be elected members of the Association, upon the payment of five dollars initiation fee and dues of one dollar per year.

The Board of Managers is elected as follows: four members elected by the Association; four members chosen by the four Locals of Greater New York, and the State.

The Board of Managers is elected as follows: four members by the Association; five members by the four Locals of Greater New York, and the State Committee. (At the present time there are five additional members, who act in a more or less advisory capacity, representing organizations, formed at one time to raise money for **The Call**; we are informed that these additional memberships will be abolished at the meeting of April 25th.)

Two facts are plain. First, that it costs money to enter the "democracy" of the Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association. Second, that the "official" Party delegates on the Board of Managers are in a bare majority—five to four. So that by siding with the Association members, one Local delegate could defeat the will of the three other Locals of Greater New York.

Party members pay dues to the Party. For that they are entitled to a voice in Party affairs. **The Call** is an official Party organ; but before a Party member can have a voice in the management of **The Call** he must pay six dollars. This is a mockery of "Party control."

We have stated publicly many times that if **The Call** would submit to Party control, we would support the campaign of the official Party organ for a new printing plant, and gladly.

How can the management of **The Call** be democratized? Among many plans, the following has been submitted to the Board of Managers:

Every member of the four Locals of Greater New York becomes ex-officio a member of the Association. If the money paid by members of the Association is necessary, an annual special dues stamp will yield the revenue.

Why is there opposition to such a scheme

—or something similar? We are told by members of the Board of Managers that "the initiation fee and dues restricts the Association to those Party members who are really interested in the paper." What a splendid reason for a Socialist!

Why is it, as the Board of Managers says, that "plenty of people kick about **The Call**, but the kickers are never interested enough to come to meetings?" We have heard similar sentiments from captains of industry, explaining "why democracy is a failure."

Democracy is a failure chiefly because the great mass of the people have nothing to say about the Government. The "democracy" of **The Call** doesn't work for exactly the same reason. The constitution of the Association places obstacles in the way of Party control. In the first place, it costs money to be a member; in the second place, an applicant for membership must be voted on, and even then he cannot exercise his rights as a member until the next quarterly meeting, three months off.

To the rank and file, impatient with **The Call's** editorial policy, the Board of Managers and its supporters use strange arguments.

For example, "Party ownership and control is inefficient." This is the same argument used by private capitalists against Government ownership. In a Party which aims at the public ownership of industry, it sounds a little incongruous—and moreover, it shows that distrust of the proletariat characteristic of "Moderate Socialism."

Another: "The ownership of property makes the Party conservative." This is also surprising; if it is true, then the ownership of all private property, which is our aim, will make the workers black reactionaries!

We were told by one member of the Board of Managers, "It takes time to accomplish these changes. In the meanwhile, it is vitally necessary for **The Call** to have its printing plant. Help us now, and then we'll talk about changing the ownership and control." This is the same argument with which the Governments of Europe persuaded their workers to support the War!

The credulous are impressed by another piece of specious reasoning. The Board of Managers says that "Party ownership" is dangerous, for if the Association were identical with the Locals of Greater New York, then any suit for damages against **The Call** would make it possible to attach the Party funds (if any); or, since the Party is not incorporated, it might make every member liable.

Possibly. That is not the point at issue here. We do not demand the immediate abolition of the Workingmen's Cooperative Association; we demand that membership in the Locals of Greater New York carry with it membership in the Association.

LEFT WING

General Membership Meeting

Sunday, April 20, 1919

at 1 P. M.

MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 East 4th Street

Important matter to be discussed

To our demands, the Board of Managers answers just what the capitalist system answers to the workers, just what the Right Wing machine answers to the Left Wing: "Change it, then, by all means change it—but use the legal and constitutional machinery, which functions to protect us against you."

We reply: "What is your reason for refusing to democratize **The Call**? There can be no honest reason. Do not talk to us about 'legality' and 'constitutionality,' as if you were afraid of the majority of the Socialist Party."

Why should the Left Wing want to wreck **The Call**? On the contrary: the Left Wing wants to take over **The Call**, with the rest of the Party machinery, at the coming Emergency Convention.

Left Wing Notes

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

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

For International Delegates: I. E. Ferling, Brooklyn, N. Y., Louis C. Fraina, Boston, Mass., John Reed, N. Y., C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, Ohio.

The following branches and locals in Greater New York have affiliated with the Left Wing:

Local Queens: Entire local.

Local Kings: 4th Russian Br. of the Fed.

6th A. D. Branch 2

7th A. D. Branch 1

9th A. D. Branch 1

13th A. D. Branch 1

14th A. D. Branch 1

14th A. D. Jewish Branch

23rd A. D. Branch 1

Minority groups in all other branches.

Local New York: 1st A. D.

2nd A. D.

3, 5 & 10th A. D.

8th A. D.

8th A. D. Jewish Br.

All Russian Branches.

All Lettish Branches.

All Ukrainian Br.

All Hungarian Br.

German-Hungarian Br.

Estonian Branch.

2nd Russian Branch

(outside Federation.)

Murray Hill German

Branch

Minority groups in all

other branches.

Local Bronx: 3rd Russian Branch.

Hungarian Branch.

Minority groups in all other branches.

The following are the Left Wing papers in New York: **Der Kampf** (The Struggle) Jewish; **Novy Mir** (New World) Russian; **Elore** (Forward) Hungarian; **Robitnik** (Worker) Ukrainian.

6th A. D. Branch, N. Y., will hold a symposium debate on party tactics at its clubrooms, Friday, at 8 p. m.

A Window on the World.

SAMUEL GOMPERS' COUNTRY

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, of the Civic Federation and National Security League, arrived in New York last Thursday from Europe, where he has spent an interesting three months getting thrown out of the Labor Movement.

The papers report that as he walked down the gang-plank he cried, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," while the tears rolled down his cheeks. On the way over he made three addresses on "Patriotism."

Well, well, it must seem good to get home again to the only country in the world where the workers stand for him.

KEEP YOUR EARS BUTTONE

The American troops in Archangel have mutinied. It appears that they were poisoned by Bolshevik propaganda. The papers say indignantly that when the boys were ordered to the front, they asked their officers embarrassing questions, such as "Why are we fighting these people?" "What have they done to us?" "Has the United States Government declared war on Russia?" The fact that the officers couldn't answer these questions is a minor matter; the horrible thing is that these are the same questions which the Bolsheviks have been asking.

"In my long service," said General March, Chief of Staff, "I don't recall another instance where American soldiers did not want to fight. They always have said 'Lead us to it!'"

As a matter of fact, the "propaganda-proof army" of which the capitalist press has been boasting, has been found to contain reasonable men who want to know why they are fighting. Naturally the military authorities are amazed that Americans won't go out and kill anyone they're told to.

What's to be done with them? The Government can't allow them to come home—perhaps they would refuse to mob Socialist meetings and smash in the eye people who refused to buy Victory Loan bonds.

In the meantime, friends, look out for this Bolshevik propaganda. It's everywhere. If you hear anybody whispering anything about Industrial Unionism, scream for a policeman.

IMMIGRANTS EMIGRATING

Byron R. Newton, Collector of the Port of New York, notes that the rush of aliens from the United States to Europe has reached a total of 1,000 a day. The capitalist press is beginning to get a little worried about it. With immigration stopped to keep out Bolshevism, and all the foreigners here going home, the day will come when unemployment ceases—and then what will become of the capitalist system in America?

Sick of brutal oppression, cowering from the shameless industrial tyranny of this country, unmatched anywhere in the world, our disillusioned aliens are returning to their own lands in full sweep of Social Revolution, or illumined by its lightnings. The "melting pot" is cooling-pan.

Deportation? Let the Government deport ten thousand foreign-born, as it has threatened to do. A hundred thousand would welcome deportation with open arms.

And when they are gone—what then? Will America speed up industrial production, manufacture huge surplus of products

to dump on foreign markets, and thus capture world trade? The workers will strike—and there will be no unemployed to fill their places. Shut down the mills and starve them? They will take the mills.

Stop immigration to keep out Bolshevism. Then stop emigration to prevent Bolshevism. Then let in all the parasites of Europe fleeing before the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

What is the result?
Bolshevism!

PRUSSIANISM IN NEW YORK

Like the French ci-devants, the American ruling class "learns nothing"—but it forgets a good deal.

Mayor Hylan and his illiterate Board of Aldermen forget that Bismarck, backed by the military machine of Imperial Germany, tried to put over a "Red Flag Ordinance." He forgets that both the Kaiser and the Tsar tried to prevent persons who spoke foreign languages from holding public meetings in Germany and Russia. In Germany this was called "Germanization;" in Russia, "Russification;" and in America, with fatal logic, it is called "Americanization."

Recently, but not too recently for Mayor Hylan and his thugs to forget it—something happened to the Kaiser and the Tsar.

And now the ruling class of New York is openly arming against the workers. The "Evening World," of April 12th, prints an account of a new bureau attached to the New York Police Department, to be known as the Bureau of Special Service. At its head is Special Deputy Commissioner John M. Shaw, of the New York Stock Exchange. The personnel—between 3,000 and 4,000 men, who have givenne...m-nirslskis-rm men, who are given police authority and serve without pay—is composed of "Wall Street men and prominent citizens."

Commissioner Shaw says, "The bureau is non-political, and its purpose is to forward Americanism." The following answer to a reporter's question is significant:

Reporter: "Will the new service be used to enforce Prohibition?"

Commissioner Shaw: "No, indeed. It is to keep America for Americans. It is absolutely non-political in character and some of the best men in Wall Street will come in it."

We judge that he means "keep America for Wall Street." Probably based on the theory, "Set a thief to catch a thief"—set a Wall Street man to catch a worker trying to steal back his living.

DONT SHRUG YOUR SHOULDERS IN A SEDITIOUS MANNER

Alderman William T. Collins has introduced an ordinance before the Board of Aldermen making it a misdemeanor for three or more persons to assemble and "advise or advocate, whether by words, signs or gestures against the enforcement of the laws of the United States or of this State, prescribing punishment for crimes and misdemeanors or against the public peace of the people of the United States or of this State." It is stated by the press that this ordinance is satisfactory to Mayor Hylan but we refuse to believe that His Honor is so easily satisfied.

As it is usual to search for the graft behind any ordinance we are of the opinion that somebody is contemplating starting a course in public gesturing and of course people will pay well to be taught how to avoid going to jail. Just think of a well-meaning real estate agent, overcome by the beauty of the site he is trying to foist upon a Bronx family, who throws his arm towards the horizon and who realizes, all too late, that Bill Haywood uses this self-same gesture, or of the irate old gentleman, the back of whose neck has just stopped the violent flight of an over-ripe tomato, turning round to shake his fist at a group of small boys when he suddenly remembers having seen a Socialist Alderman employ this same gesture when refused tickets for a parade!

The Telescope

Martial law for five Irish Counties is one of the glorious achievements of the war for small nationalities, but then strikes in Limerick, Cork and Dublin are the achievements of martial law.

We learn on dubious authority that the A. F. of L. is bringing pressure to bear on some members of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party to have charges preferred against Comrade Gerber for employing non-union porch-climbers to get the Left Wing minutes.

It is rumored that the State Committee has reduced its appropriation to the Call printing plant by half in order that it may have funds to start an enquiry into Bolshevism.

In reply to Constant Reader we would state that the best method of keeping the cops friendly on election day would be the establishment of a Party owned and controlled cigar factory.

No, Old Subscriber, you have not got the situation quite right. A Centerist is a person who is too fastidious to belong to the Right Wing and not fastidious enough for the Left Wing.

In view of the fact that we are in a condition of suspended animation with regard to membership in the Socialist Party owing to the action of the State Committee in moving our expulsion, we would like to know if it will be correct to speak of our friends of the Right as semi-comrades?

Lloyd George when making campaign speeches used to ask, in a tremendous peroration, for \$120,000,000,000 indemnity from Germany; but it understood that England is now willing to give 80% discount off for cash. Small profits and quick returns!

Premier Clemenceau informs the French Deputies that everybody in France is as anxious as they are about the terms of peace "and for that reason, in the present circumstances, all have a right to the same information." Consequently nobody gets any information, which is one of the uses of democracy we had quite overlooked.

Problems of the Representative of Soviet Russia in America

By Nicholas I. Hourwich.

A FEW days ago the proletariat of America joyously greeted the news of the appointment here of an official representative of the Socialist Republic of Russia. Celebrations on this account are still going on. Everywhere meetings are being held to greet this newly appointed ambassador. Socialist and labor organizations from all parts of the country are sending telegrams of greetings and letters, promising aid and expressing willingness to help in every way the success of the cause officially represented here by him, and equally dear to the conscious proletarians of the entire world—the cause of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, the creative-constructive work of the toiling masses already begun there to strengthen and deepen the foundation of the new Socialist-communist system.

But the revolutionary Socialist organizations of the American proletariat would have made an inexcusably fatal error had they—with an idea that now there is someone here who, without their aid, could take care of Revolutionary Russia—limited themselves only to these greetings and promises, failing to translate all this into revolutionary activity.

The great significance of the appointment here of a Soviet representative consists precisely in that this appointment opens before the American proletariat new perspectives and new opportunities; opportunities of revolutionary activity in direct contact and cooperation with the Russian proletariat and the Soviet Government of Russia. The significance of this appointment lies in the fact that it represents a great appeal, reminding the American workingman that the "emancipation of the workers can be accomplished only by the workers themselves."

Not for a single moment do we doubt the great importance of the purely "diplomatic," so to say, activity here of the Soviet representative. Still less are we inclined to doubt the magic power of the Russian gold—the influence of this gold on the minds and disposition of American plutocracy has already manifested itself in a most obvious manner. But, with all due allowances, giving due justice to all this, we should like to sound a warning to the American workers—and to Comrade Martens himself—against any undue exaggeration of the importance of his purely diplomatic-commercial functions here. We would consider it a fatal mistake if purely diplomatic-commercial "efforts" become the centre of his activity.

However, as regards "diplomatic" activity, Comrade Martens himself evidently entertains no sentimental illusions. In an interview given by him and published the other day, he definitely and unequivocally stated:

The Russian Socialist Federated Republic does not care about political recognition by the United States.... All that we want is trade recognition. Comrade Martens perfectly understands that, in the world of capitalistic relations, "commerce"

in the words of Kuzma Prutkov—"is the real thing, and all the rest—nonsense." "Commerce" will create definite social-economic relations, a definite "equilibrium

of social forces," after which, as Comrade Martens has it, "the flag, i. e., political recognition, will follow.

We should like to go a little further in this absolutely correct, truly Marxian reasoning. We should like to emphasize that "commerce" itself—the establishment of commercial relations between Russia and the United States—will come only as a result of definite social forces—the very equilibrium upon which depends the success and the salvation of the Russian Revolution in general.

What, indeed, will guarantee the success of the Russian Proletarian Revolution? The Soviet Bolshevik leaders in Russia, including Comrade Lenin, have answered that question on several occasions.

Comrade Lenin has stated that the final triumph or the ruin of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia depends on whether the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and Proletarian Revolutions in other countries will come to its assistance. And in this phrase one finds the key for the understanding of the present political situation!

If the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in other countries triumphs, then the conquest of the Russian Revolution, the Russian Soviet Republic will be saved; and as a result, there will come also "commerce" and "trade" and all sorts of other relations. If, on the contrary, the revolutionary working class movement in other countries fails, it will strike a mortal blow at the Revolution in Russia. And no "commercial and trade relations" can help Russia in that event. Why, after all, should the capitalist world, capitalist America included, need "commercial relations" with Socialist Russia, while the cherished hope of the entire capitalist world is something greater, namely—to crush the revolutionary resistance of the Russian proletariat, to suppress Socialism in Russia, and then swallow the whole of Russia—with all her commerce, trade and natural resources?

Under present day political conditions, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries is the main thing, is the center of gravitation, is everything—both for proletarian Russia and for the emancipation of the proletariat of all the world. The success or failure of the proletarian movement, the strength of the Bolshevik movement, in countries ruled by capitalism, is at the pres-

ent moment a barometer of the "favorable," or openly hostile, attitude of capitalist governments towards Soviet Russia.

The establishment of commercial intercourse between Russia and capitalist countries, with all its intrinsic advantages for the economic life of Russia, is on her side to a certain degree similar to the signing of the Brest Litovsk treaty, merely a means to "gain time."

All the forgoing, in our opinion, tends to indicate a "line of behaviour" for the revolutionary Socialist organizations of the American proletariat, as well as for Comrade Martens as the representative of the Russian Soviet Government.

The center of his attention, the ever-constant "compass" directing his activity here, should be the interests of the revolutionary Socialist movement among the American proletariat, the interests of the advanced guard, the hope and guarantee of the success of that movement—the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

We are fully aware that in his manifold activities he may not always, or even frequently, be in a position to act under the banner of the Left Wing; but he should take great care that his attitude does not provide "bait" for the Right and "Moderate" social-opportunists, thereby unconsciously to "stab in the back" the only bulwark and hope of proletarian Russia—those whom it invites to its International Communist Congress—the Left Socialist Wing.

With these wishes, which are at the same time Bolshevik greetings to Comrade Martens, we conclude our article.

We believe that the "compass" recommended by us, and revolutionary Bolshevik sensitiveness, will help Comrade Martens to orientate himself in difficult moments, and will guarantee success to his coming serious and responsible work.

We heartily wish him that success.

The Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party, which is one of the most powerful props of the Right Wing, and whose action in "reorganizing" Downtown Jewish Branch 2, threatens to change a normal Left Wing Branch into an abnormal Right Wing Branch, is publishing a magazine called *The International*. This magazine, evidently with the idea of camouflaging its Right Wing tendencies, reprinted in its first number an article by Comrade John Reed from *The Liberator*.

Comrade Reed gave and gives no permission to *The International* or any other Right Wing Socialist paper to reprint his articles.

The Left Wing endorses only one Jewish paper in New York, *Der Kampf*, organ of the Jewish Left Wing.

On Saturday evening, April 12, the Central Committee of Local Kings instructed the Executive Committee to send copies of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program to all members of Local Kings; and to call a Borough meeting for May 11, to consider the question of endorsing the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY CITY COMMITTEE, LEFT WING SECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK, APRIL 14, 1919.

WHEREAS, Comrade L. C. A. K. Martens has been appointed by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic as its representative in the U. S. of America, and

WHEREAS, the form of government established in Russia by Workmen, Peasants and Soldiers represents the highest ideals of the revolutionary Socialists workingmen of the world, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we greet most cordially their representative, Comrade Martens, and assure him of our undivided support.

We're Gonna be Expelled! Help!!

IN Albany last Sunday the State Committee undashed the Pink Terror. On that momentous date, which deserves to rank in history with St. Bartholomew's Eve, the State Committee followed the example of the German Majority Social Democrats in 1916, when they expelled Liebknecht and the Spartacides; they attempted to expell the Left Wing!

The resolution was carried by a vote of 24 to 17, with three delegates absent and Trachtenberg, as usual, not voting until he sees which way the cat is going to jump.

What do you think of that, Comrades? You'll have a chance to say what you think about it, because it will be submitted to referendum, thanks to Comrade Lindgren. Meanwhile, beware of the Pink Terror. Never go out at night without a copy of the Communist Manifesto in your pocket. If you talk in your sleep, be sure to look under the bed before you retire—one of Gerber's spies may be concealed there with a pad and pencil to take down your somnambulist mutterings. Do not trust the books in the Rand School Library — phrases have torn from their context!

It was an historic occasion. Several of the Rights took advantage of the opportunity to declare their solidarity with the Ebert-Scheidemann gang in Germany — although later, in order to offset the effect of the Pink Terror, the meeting passed a resolution bitterly condemning the "murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg by the reactionary forces... supported by reactionary Socialists."

Comrade Waldman, as chairman of the Resolutions Committee, introduced the Liebknecht-Luxembourg resolution, but spoke against it as being too "vague"—not endorsing any one political party in Germany. He himself, he said, was heartily in favor of the Spartacides, and would endorse a motion to that effect. It developed, however, that Comrade Waldman had made the same objections to the resolution in committee; and Biedenkapp, the author, had requested Waldman to draw up a resolution definitely supporting the Spartacides — which Waldman refused to do.

Comrade Marie MacDonald said she didn't believe the charges made against Comrades Ebert and Scheidemann, and announced her conviction that "our Comrades are a real Socialist Government, and not responsible for the deaths of Liebknecht and Luxemburg."

Comrade Theresa Malkiel, in the course of a fearful attack upon the Left Wing, hinted darkly that "provocators are anxious to disrupt the Party in this country..."

"If it weren't for these provocators," she said, "in Germany, the Spartacan movement wouldn't have been formed, and our dear Comrades Liebknecht and Luxemburg wouldn't have been killed."

Proceedings were opened by the election of the new State Executive Committee, so that the gang might see just how much anti-Bolshevik sentiment it could count on. Only twelve votes were cast against the machine, so the Rights evidently thought they could go ahead.

It was in the late morning that Comrade Berenberg, with a pale, desperate face, read the fatal resolution. Poor Berenberg! We know what he was suffering; he was remembering how he gave us his office in the Rand School in which to draw up the Left

Wing Manifesto, and locked the door so his boss wouldn't catch us.

The debate lasted from morning until four-thirty in the afternoon.

Comrade Waldman, who was so hot for the Spartacides — especially the dead ones — made a speech that sounded like Solicitor Lamar telling the Senate about Bolshevism. The Left Wing, he said, had a secret organization in the Party. The Left Wing was seducing young members of the Party who didn't know anything about Socialism. The Left Wing was "capitalizing revolutionary enthusiasm." And finally, "the Left Wing was a bunch of cowards."

Comrade Theresa Malkiel said, among other things, "Here comes the Left Wing organization and takes the wind out of our sails. Where were these Comrades during the war? Were they out on the street corners advocating Socialism?"

But the most dramatic event of the day was the reading, by Comrade Gerber, of the minutes — full and complete — of the last



Getting the Left Wing minutes for Gerber.

meeting of the Left Wing City Committee, which had been stolen for him, no doubt, by one of his porch-climbers. Upon this, Comrade Esther Friedman was overcome with emotion, and declared that she was convinced that the Left Wing was a secret, low, vulgar, vile conspiracy.

Comrade Waton said that he stood for unity, but unity on the basis of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. Comrade Roudine said that the resolution was the very thing to split the Party. The Left Wing, he said, was the natural outgrowth of conditions in the Party. He was with the Left Wing in principle, and was not opposed to the organization—although he did not personally believe in it. Comrade Biedenkapp made a spirited defense of the Left Wing. "The Right Wingers," he said, "condemn the organization of the Left Wing, but they do not condemn their own wrong acts or their crimes, which have resulted in the formation of the Left Wing. The Left Wing is due to the political treachery of Meyer London and others. The action of honest Comrades in getting together to remedy abuses in the Party is not to be compared to this treachery..."

But it was Comrade Lore who threw the real bombshell into the camp of the Rights.

He declared himself a member of the Left Wing.

"I didn't before realize the necessity for a Left Wing organization," he went on. "But now I realize the necessity, and I have joined it. Every German local and branch in the United States is with the Left Wing, and will leave the Party if the Left Wing is expelled..."

The resolution was then voted on; following which Comrade Lindgren proposed to submit it to a referendum, a motion which the gang did not dare to vote down.

When news of the passage of the resolution reached the meeting of the Left Wing City Committee Sunday evening, they unanimously passed a vote of thanks, as follows:

"The City Committee of the Left Wing expresses its gratitude to the Right Wing for assisting our efforts by showing their hand so early in the game."

THE STATE COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION AGAINST THE LEFT WING

Whereas, the constitution of the Socialist Party of the State of New York provides (article 1, section 3) that members and locals of the Socialist Party must adhere and conform to the national and state platforms and constitutions; and

Whereas, the spirit and machinery on the Socialist Party provide adequate channels for the fullest and freest discussion of ideas through branch and Party meetings, the Party press, conventions, referendums, representative bodies and other mediums for the full exchange of opinions and sentiments; and

Whereas, in violation of the spirit of the constitution, an organization calling itself the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party has been formed, endeavoring to force the Party to take certain positions without making use of the existing channels, thereby diverting its energies and funds and paralyzing its activities, therefore be it

Resolved, that the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party is definitely opposed to the organization calling itself the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party, and to any group within the Party organized of the same or similar purpose; and be it further

Resolved, that the State Committee instructs its executive committee to revoke the charter of any local that affiliates with any such organization or that permits its subdivisions or members to be affiliated.

The sudden rise to power of the Hungarian workers was accomplished so quickly and completely that many doubted it. However, there is now no need for doubt — the bourgeois press reports that the Hungarian Soviet Administration has decided to nationalize women.