

# The New York COMMUNIST

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## The Aftermath of May Day

**M**AY 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 Bolsheviks 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.

# A Challenge and A Greeting

By Rose Pastor Stokes

**MAY DAY**—the day of Labor's International— and never before a May Day so thrillingly significant! Where once we hoped, today we realize; where once we yearned, today we fulfill; where once we only thought, today we think and act! Not all of us, everywhere, true; but for millions of us, the world's workers, the day of liberation has dawned.

For us here, how sweet-scented is this Day with the air of approaching freedom! From far lands in the old world is borne to us the new odor of the flowers of our long awaited Spring-time—the Spring-time of Humanity. And for the gift of this fragrance, from blossoms nurtured with the blood of Europe's revolutionary proletariat, we send them, in return, the electric current of our unshakable will—to be faithful and loyal to the true International.

From over the vast spaces we hear the voices of our Comrades. Over the still-budding birth of Liberty; over the world-filling clash of class will and class conflict; over the effort of the world's exploiters (hiding behind armies of confused workers—"facing" the aroused, irresistible hosts of the proletariat); over the battle of the losing Black guards against the winning Red Guards there comes to us, workers of America, a ringing call. In the accents of Shelley, in the meaning of Marx, millions of voices, mingling as one voice, cry to us:

*"Rise like lions after slumber,  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake your chains to earth  
like dew,*

*Ye are many, they are few."*

And we—we stir, we make answer. Hear us, Comrades. Catch the meaning of our message over the "wireless" of our world-encircling class-consciousness . . .

Yes! We are many, they are few. Yet we have slept. Yet we have allowed them to rob us of the common earth and the fruit of our hands; to bleed us white for their strength; to break us in our youth that they might have youth in old age; to draw the frail energies of our children and shut the gates of industry in our men's faces for their profit. We, the many, who build all that is built, clothe all that are clothed, feed all that are fed, who carry and fetch, comfort and heal, educate and entertain, create and inform; we have suffered them, the few, to leave us ill-sheltered and naked, hungry and insecure, limited, sick and uncomforted; untaught, unsatisfied, repressed, uninformed, while them we have surfeited with all things.

We, the many, have suffered them, the few, to insult and betray us—to send us forth with the Judas-kiss of their hypocritical patriotism to kill our comrades and be killed, that they, the betrayers, might gain a few more bloody pieces of imperialistic silver. We, the many, have permitted them, the few, to fatten us before the killing, for their gold's sake, and then for the sake of their gold to starve us at the very doors of our own granaries.

Like sheep have they driven us over the separating stiles of creed, race, nationality. While they themselves welcome every faith and color and nation in an imperialistic alliance against us, we have, ourselves, been divided by them into Jew and Christian; Black and White and Yellow; Teuton, Slav and Anglo-Saxon—Native and Alien.

We have been lured by a beautiful word made hateful with bourgeois hypocrisy; and turned deaf ears to the music of a phrase become sweet with the prophecy of proletarian power.

Berlin, October 31 st 1918

## To the workers and soldiers of the entente!

Friends, Comrades, Brothers!

In the midst of the earthquake of the world war, of the chaotic collapse of the tzaristic imperialist society the Russian proletariat, in spite of misunderstanding, hatred and slander, has established its rule—the Socialist Republic of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. It is the titanic beginning of the Socialist construction of the world, the work which constitutes now the historic task of the international proletariat. The Russian revolution has tremendously stimulated the revolutionizing process of the world's proletariat. Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are already drawn into the struggle. The German revolution, too, is awakening. Still, tremendous difficulties are arising on the way to victory of the German proletariat. The bulk of the people of Germany are with us. The power of the most bitter enemies of the working class is breaking down. Still they are striving by means of lies and deception to chain the masses to their chaotic and to put off the hour of the emancipation of the people of Germany.

And just as the imperialism of the Entente powers was strengthened by the robberies and murders perpetrated by German imperialism in Russia, so have the German rulers made use of the assault of the Entente powers upon Socialist Russia for the maintenance of their power in Germany.

Have you seen how a few weeks ago Kaiser Wilhelm II, who after the overthrow of Tzarism is the representative of the most infamous reaction, made use of the intervention of the Entente powers against proletarian Russia to arouse anew the war spirit of the masses of workers?

We cannot allow that such welcome opportunities for demagoguery be placed into the hands of our contemptible enemies—the most abominable enemy of the world proletariat. It cannot be that the proletariat of the Entente powers should allow such a thing to happen. Of course we know that you have already raised your voice against the machinations of your governments. But the danger is constantly growing. The united front of the world imperialism against the proletariat is becoming a reality in the case of the campaign against the Russian Soviet Republic.

It is to fight to prevent this that I am appealing to you!

The world proletariat cannot allow the hearth of the Socialist Revolution to be put out if it does not want to see its own hopes and power vanish. The downfall of the Russian Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the world proletariat.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! Raise your arms against your masters! Long live Russia of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

Long live the revolution of the French, British, Italian and American proletariat!

Long live the emancipation of workingmen of all countries from the hell of war, exploitation and slavery!

From *The Class Struggle*

We have allowed the Church, State, Press, Bourse to drug, suppress, confuse and swindle us—to undermine the foundations of our uprearing class-solidarity, while diplomats and politicians have used us as pawns in their criminal game.

But even as "lions after slumber" we, in America too, are awakening. We too, are flinging our proletarian challenge into the teeth of our bourgeois sharks:

You have fed upon us and our wives and our children long enough! We shall take our common heritage, the land. We shall take the mills and the mines and the workshops; we shall take the roads and the wires and the ships. All that we have made and you have held we shall take. We shall establish an order in which none shall starve who is a willing worker and none shall eat who can work and will not; where each shall have a

voice and vote who has the will to serve, and where the deliberate idler alone shall be disfranchised. In which enforced idleness of men and industry will be as rare as now it is common; in which insecurity, that cancer in your hellish civilization, shall disappear from the social body forever.

We shall become masters of our own destiny as today we are victims of your greed. We shall control all things that they, who create all things may profit thereby. We shall rear temples of

Art, Science, Learning for ourselves and our children as to date we have done these things for you alone. No longer at us, the "ignorant" and "uncouth," shall you fling the challenge of the culture with which we have labored to provide you.

We shall wipe out war and the cause of war. We shall wipe out the parasitism that, to exist, must find more and ever more victims to feed upon. This May Day, we, the many, aroused and alert, reaffirm our solidarity with our brothers in revolutionary lands. You shall not use us to wage your predatory wars upon our own class. We solemnly vow, and give you warning, that never shall we become executioners of our own freedom, destroyers of our own hope, traitors to our own historic destiny, prison wardens of our own power!

Speak what sweet words you may, never shall you lure us with honeyed phrases; conjure up from your trick-bag of cunning diplomacy what scare you may, no racial, religious or nationalistic bogey shall frighten us. We have done. The spell is broken. We know the secret of all your black magic. Our seeing eyes are turned to the most significant, the most stupendous fact in all history: **THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE STRUGGLING SUCCESSFULLY TO THROW THE PARASITES OFF THEIR BACKS.**

You the few, have browbeaten us long enough. Your bullying must come to an end.

Soon we shall have done toiling and starving, fighting and dying

for you. Our hands that have been busy in your service shall become busy in our own. For you, we shall cease to labor. Against the power that resides in our unitedly idle hands you cannot prevail. To our general order "Tools down!" you may oppose the cry "To arms!" It will avail you nothing. Our forces are gathering. "We are many, ye are few!"

Yes, soon we shall have done toiling and starving, fighting and dying for you. Against your industrial chaos we shall oppose our industrial order; against your social rotteness we shall oppose our social sanity; against your war-breeding imperialism we shall oppose the fraternal interdependence of our Socialist Republics; against your Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie we shall oppose our Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This, despoilers of the People, is our May Day challenge to you!

# The Productivity of Russian Labor

From The Russian Soviet Government's First Annual Report

By A. Lomov

**E**XACTLY a year has passed since the proletariat by violent effort wrung the power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. A year of incessant, intensive effort by the proletariat to solve the problem of rehabilitating the disorganized apparatus of National Economy has passed.

The nationalization of the banks, the nationalization of industry, the regulation of the process of distribution, the transfer of industry to a peace basis, (the demobilization of industry)—all these reforms have radically changed the whole structure of national economy.

In what way, then have these reforms reflected on the general economic conditions of the country? Have they increased the national welfare or have they made it still worse?

The bourgeoisie and its "Socialistic" satellites, in resolute chorus, reply:

"The Soviet authority by its wild reforms has destroyed industry; that is why the productivity of labor has catastrophically fallen and continues to fall. There is but one escape from this difficulty—it is necessary to call forth anew the bourgeois spirits and give them authority over production."

Not thus does the proletariat view the situation. It continues uncompromisingly to carry out its plan of the *economic reorganization of the whole system of bourgeois economy* on the basis of a Proletarian Dictatorship, and insists that the economic program of Communism has proven to be deeply vital and correct.

Which of the two is right?

Let us attempt to give our answer on the basis of an analysis of the material facts concerning the productivity of labor.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, we must make a few preliminary remarks. In recent literature, very often two conceptions are confused—the productivity of labor and its intensity. As is well known, however, there exists a wide difference between these two conceptions.

The productivity of labor, *i. e.*, its ability in a certain time to produce a certain quantity of goods, depends not only upon the worker's skill and integrity, but also upon the means and tools of production at his disposal. Therefore, in the process of increasing the productivity of labor, tremendous significance must be attached to the condition of the means and tools of production, and the incessant and sufficient supply of raw materials and fuel.

In this respect, all the districts of Russia, thanks to the war and to the internal disorganization of the mechanism of exchange, were unable to repair and renew their industrial equipment. The impossibility of obtaining new machinery makes necessary the continuation of work in the factories with old, loosened machines, the inability to acquire new parts for them results in substituting parts approximately fitting, etc. All these have seriously disarranged the process of production.

The lack of raw materials and fuel, particularly after the occupation of the Donetz Basin by German and Ukrainian troops, aggravated this industrial ruin. Under such conditions the productivity of labor could not but decrease catastrophically.

Simultaneously with this, and with similar effect, proceeded the very rapid demobilization of factories—the transfer of production from a war basis to a peace basis, which the Soviet Government

had to carry out without previous preparation, immediately after its capture of political power. But even a gradual transition from one kind of production to another, under normal conditions, is followed by a period of some disarrangement, adaptation to the changing conditions; it is ordinarily connected with the receipt of new supplies of raw materials, and particularly with the receipt of new machinery and tools of production. Under conditions, however, of inconceivable world economic exhaustion, with an almost complete cessation of foreign trade and an immense decrease of the internal exchange, the situation was becoming worse and worse. If we add to this the acute lack in the means of obtaining raw material and fuel and of the paying of labor, then it becomes clear that for the proletariat to organize and carry on production under such conditions was a problem inconceivable in its difficulty and perplexity.

The reports and statistics from all factories in one voice point to the lack of fuel, to attempts at adaptation of new forms of it in connection with the transition, and to the lack of the whole series of parts and raw materials.

Reality often presents us with difficult peculiarities—a whole series of factories and mills are often incapable of putting out their full production as a result of the over-congestion of their storehouses; this is to be seen in a whole series of cement and textile mills; match and rubber factories have also complained of the congestion of their storehouses; the same complaint is often made even by our car and locomotive construction factories. Thus, the spokesman of the Kolomensky factory in the May factory conference of mills supplying railroad equipment, brought forth the following data: "The output of cars is delayed by the fact that there is no place in which to store the finished product. . . . At the factory, cars stand in large numbers over the whole factory area; there are now ready about 7 tenders and 35 locomotives." Financial difficulties have been and are experienced by almost all factories. If delays in the payment of the bi-weekly wage which took place at the Kolomensky factory, according to the evidence of the spokesman, have already caused much concern to the masses of workers and have greatly influenced the whole productive process, then what an influence would the non-payment of wages for a period of two months, (Vikunsky factory) or the periodic payment of only a third of the wage, (Beloretzky factories) have produced?

The reports of the managements of the nationalized Petrovsky and Makeefka factories definitely emphasize this point. The management of the Petrovsky factories formulates its opinion on this question in the following words: "The management together with the factory committee has from the very beginning considered it its duty to increase the productivity of the factory, but all our endeavors in his direction could not be realized because of the lack of funds, therefore, to increase the productivity of the factory appeared impossible." In spite of the seeming simplicity of this position, many comrades, not speaking of bourgeois economists, do not take it into consideration; and yet it is a fact that absolutely all factories, either systematically or spasmodically, are suffering from great financial difficulties which bring terrible delays to the productive process. At the present time the financial difficulties have been to a greater or lesser degree solved.

No less an influence on the productive process is exercised by supply. The Russian worker who, until the war, used an unlimited quantity of bread, cannot exist upon an eighth or a quarter of a pound of bread, and still, judging from reports and information, he cannot always figure even on this modest ration. And the worker everywhere was occupied, not only with factory work, but also with the food problem. At times a whole factory (Viksa) brought by the lack of bread to the last extremity, mobilizes and sends out detachments armed with machine guns to obtain bread. There is no need of saying that a starving or half-starving worker is in general a poor worker; besides this, however, the insufficient and irregular bread supply breaks the continuity and organization of the productive process, by causing mass idleness (which numerically continued to grow in a series of factories of the Central district.)

At the present time, when we are successfully realizing the new harvest and are introducing everywhere the class ration, the situation may be considered much improved. The influence of this will be noticed in the factory work in the next few months. We shall not speak at all of the influence of the civil war upon the productive process when Makeefka, for instance, was twice occupied by Kaledine's Cossacks and the Ukrainians, and is now held a third time by the Germans; the same thing has also happened to the Petrovsky factories.

Under such conditions an increase in production can come about only as the result of a titanic struggle of the workers, as the result of an inconceivable sacrifice on the part of heroic masses of their personal interests for the triumph of the common cause. And none the less, it is exactly this process of increase that we are bound to admit on analyzing the figures of a whole series of factory reports.

Ordinarily, when it is attempted to prove a great decrease in productivity of factories, it is done in an extremely simple manner: figures are taken for the first quarter of the last pre-revolutionary years, and are compared with the corresponding figures of the present year; or it is done even more simply by merely taking the figures for Nov. and Dec. in a series of late years. The result is always the same; a colossal decrease of productivity is shown, and from that the inference is drawn of the immediately forthcoming catastrophe. None the less, not a single sane person ever doubted the fact that the greatest economic changes must temporarily affect production. And therefore, it is not important for us to know that after the proletarian revolution which has taken place in an atmosphere of extreme economic exhaustion, there was to be noticed a decrease in the productivity of labor. What is important is how the curve-line ran after the change. It is necessary to compare the figures of the nearest months following the change, gradually one after another, in order to discover the basic tendency which will enable us to draw a conclusion as to whether we have to deal with a decrease of the productivity of labor—as a permanent phenomenon under the present changed social structure of life—or whether it is merely a temporary condition. On the basis of this proposition, we will now submit some figures.

(To Be Continued)

# A Moderate Socialist Legislator

IN the Spring of 1918 a member of the Socialist Party was drafted and taken to Camp Dix, New Jersey, where he refused military service, claiming to be a Conscientious Objector. Instead of being classed with other Conscientious Objectors, this Comrade was seized, *after taps*, when the rest of the camp was asleep and thrown into the Guard House, where the officers in charge threatened to beat him up. When he protested, he was told that he was entitled to no consideration from the authorities, because he was a Socialist; the officer in charge informed him that if Socialists were given consideration, *they would do in this country what they had done in Russia.*

Having refused to salute an officer, this Comrade was then starved and again threatened. He replied that he had not signed any enlistment papers, and was therefore still a civilian. He then appealed to the "Socialist" Congressman, Meyer London. The following letters, signed by Congressman London's secretary, are illuminating. It will be noticed that the writer ignored the Comrade's contention that he was still a civilian, and addressed him as "Private —"; thus helping to fix his military status:

MEYER LONDON, 12th Dist., New York

House of Representatives U. S.  
Washington, D. C.

May 6, 1918.

Pvt. M —,  
153rd Depot Brigade,  
Guard House, No. 2,  
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Comrade:—

Under separate cover I am mailing you a copy of the Official Bulletin containing the President's Proclamation with regards to the rights and duties of conscientious objectors. You will realize, if you have not done so already, that there are rules and regulations governing the conduct of men in the military service, and also, that there are punishments provided for any violation of those rules and regulations.

Fraternally yours,

MARK LEWIS, Secretary.

June 2, 1918.

Pvt. M —,  
12th Battalion, Guard House,  
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Comrade:—

I regret very much that I did not make myself sufficiently understood in my reply to your communication.

Your case will not be taken up here. Your immediate superiors have entire jurisdiction in a case such as yours.

I have mailed you an additional copy of the President's Proclamation concerning conscientious objectors, and also, supplementary instruction issued in the same connection.

Fraternally yours,

MARK LEWIS, Secretary.

At the same time the Comrade wrote to Roger Baldwin, of the National Civil Liberties Bureau—not a Socialist organization. And almost immediately he received the following answers, which furnish a glaring contrast to those quoted above:

National Civil Liberties Bureau,  
70 Fifth Avenue, New York

May 7, 1918.

Mr. M —,  
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Mr. M —:—

Your letter of April 30th, addressed to the Call

has been referred to me, and I have asked to have inquiry made as to your sentence to determine whether it is in accordance with the orders of the Secretary of War. I knew sometime ago of your having been placed in the Guard House, but I have such confidence in Captain Termini's good sense and judgment that I didn't feel like calling it to the Department's attention. I would write him now about it except that I believe army regulations require any complaints of this sort from citizens to be made directly to the Secretary of War.

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

June 8, 1918.

Mr. M —,  
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Mr. M —:—

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. Ferguson, Chicago, Ill., John Reed, N. Y., Louis C. Fraina, Boston, Mass., C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, O.

Additional Locals and Branches that have joined the Left Wing:

- Kansas City, Missouri
- Local Tonawanda, New York
- Lithuanian Branch, No. 19, Kings
- Branch Ridgewood, No. 2, New Jersey
- German Federation of Kings and Queens Counties
- Spanish Branch, New York
- 17th A. D. Branch, New York
- 18th A. D. Branch, New York

The following Left Wing mass meetings and open air demonstrations on May 1st:—

- Queens County at Queens County Labor Lyceum, 8 o'clock.
- Astoria Local, 458 Broadway Astoria, L. I., 8 o'clock.
- 5th Russian and Ukrainian Branch, Rutgers Square, 2 o'clock.
- Jewish 2nd A. D., Forward Hall, 8 o'clock.
- 4th A. D., Kings at headquarters, 8 o'clock.
- Branch 2, 6th A. D., Kings (Jewish Branch), open air, 2 o'clock.
- 14th A. D., Kings, at Bridge Plaza, Grand St. Ext., 7 o'clock.
- 8th A. D., N. Y., 10th Street and 2nd Avenue, and Houston Street and 2nd Avenue, 2 o'clock.
- 17th A. D., N. Y., open air, 2 o'clock.

There will be a general rally of the Left Wingers of the 23rd A. D. on May 1st, at 12 o'clock before the Brownsville Labor Lyceum in order to form a unit of the Left Wing for the parade that will take place during the afternoon.

All Left Wingers are urged to gather and present a strong front.

On Sunday, April 20th, the Eastern District Convention of the Hungarian Federation of the Socialist Party, adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. This is the third District Convention of the Hungarian Federation to join the Left Wing. There remains only one District, the smallest, which is in the west, and which, up to this time, has not had an opportunity to vote on the question. The Manifesto and Program will be submitted to the rank and file of the Hungarian Federation through-

Thanks very much indeed for yours of June 6th. I am glad to know that you have been released from the Guard House, and now have the freedom of the camp with the other objectors. I may be down at the camp within the next week or ten days, and will certainly look you up.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

Thanks to the Civil Liberties Bureau the Comrade was finally released.

This is only one of the counts in the long indictment of the Congressional representative of "the most advanced and resolute section of the work class parties." Nevertheless, the Right Wing in Local New York renominated him at the last election.

## Left Wing Notes

out the United States in the form of a referendum. MINUTES OF REGULAR CITY COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE LEFT WING SECTION, HELD APRIL 27, 1919.

Chairman, GITLOW

Minutes of the last meeting read and adopted. Minutes of the membership meeting read and credentials submitted, and the following delegates seated.

Left Wing Group, 20th A. D. Br 2, Kings Co.—Wm. M. Beek

Lithuanian Br. 19 joins Left Wing, delegates Yureff, Zilenkas, also contributes \$10.

Minority Group L. W. Br. 2, 23rd A. D. Kings Co., David Aber.

5th Russian Ukrainian Br., Schwartz and Matznerick. German Br. 2 Ridgewood, Gottehawk and Reichart.

Motion carried to have roll call by giving sergeant-at-arms lists of delegates who must sign on arrival at meeting, and if any fail to attend, branches be notified.

Kessler seated temporarily for 2nd A. D. pending regular election.

Herman seated temporarily for Br. 4, 16th A. D. Kings.

Motion carried to take up instructions of membership meeting after Executive Secretary's report.

Executive Committee's report (minutes):

No Left Winger shall debate on platform with Waldman.

Leaflets submitted by Russian Branch be turned over to Special Committee of 5.

Motion carried to elect committee of five to comply with recommendation of Executive Committee's minutes—Hammer, Wilenkin, Larkin, Cosor and Schachter elected.

Motion carried that the secretary should not receive applications for membership with reservations.

Committee from the 17th A. D. asking for 150 chairs for which they will pay later. Carried.

Motion carried not to hold any special meeting but to supply speakers to meetings arranged by the branches.

Following nominated for City Committee:

Lovestone, 12th A. D.; N. Hourwich, Russian Br.; M. Cohen, 8th A. D.; J. Brodsky, 8th A. D.; K. Brodsky, 8th A. D.; F. Horowitz, 8th A. D.; J. Brahdy, 3-5 & 10th A. D.; E. MacAlpine, 3-5 & 10th A. D.; Kessler, 2nd A. D.; Hiltzick, 2nd Jewish Br.; Michaels, German; Langnickle, 7th A. D.; Chapchick, Ukrainian Br.

Following nominated for City Committee from Brooklyn:

Lindgren, Weinstein, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Milner, De Milt, Zucker, Wichenson.

Executive Secretary's report:

Requests that all volunteer speakers for May 1st mobilize at headquarters.

Motion carried that all Left Wing branches recall all R. W. officers. Adjourned for 2 weeks.

F. HOROWITZ, Recording Secretary.

### HELP THE 17th A. D. Refurnish Its Headquarters

One day after the furniture, including the electric wires, was stolen by the leaders, the members of the branch succeeded in holding a meeting in their headquarters. The next day they received word that the furniture would be returned, but they united in the reply, that now they wanted neither the furniture nor the leaders.

At the present time they have only a few old chairs and a set of beautiful new electric lights. They need about five hundred dollars to restore the headquarters.

Will five hundred Left Wingers donate One Dollar each for this purpose?

Send no mail to the headquarters.

Address all communications to  
Julius Codkind, 133 E. 97th Street

# International Notes

## Italy

THE Italian Socialist Party, the most powerful party in the country, has for the past two months been passing through a crisis which has divided it into two factions—for and against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Prampolini, Turati and other parliamentary leaders have flatly refused to support the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, declaring themselves to be against bloodshed, and considering revolution unnecessary to accomplish “the few reforms the workers need.”

“Violence is a crime, and futile,” Prampolini declares in a recent article in *Avanti*. “There is another way. We say that the bourgeoisie is a minority, still they rule. We can rule, and the way to rule is to conquer the majority with propaganda.”

Lazzari, secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, stands for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In an answer to Prampolini, in a subsequent issue of *Avanti*, he writes under the head, *Violence and Dictatorship*:

“Our fathers have taught us that the Social Revolution is not coup d’etat, but that the maturity of certain conditions call into action the revolution, which is necessary for changing the social relations between men. We remain faithful to this teaching. If the bourgeoisie chooses violence as the last defense of its privileges, we will use violence to consolidate the rising power of the proletariat.”

While this discussion is raging another question of more immediate tactical importance—the question of participation in the forthcoming national elections—is engaging the attention of the Party branches. *Il Soviet*, Naples, official organ of the Party in Southern Italy, opposes participation: “To accept the elections, today, means the spending of our energies for the continuation of the bourgeois institutions we need to destroy. . . . The revolutionary conquest of parliament is today unavoidable. Every electoral action, now, is futile and dangerous and is better left to the bourgeoisie. The Party must not take part in the elections.”

On account of the crisis brought about by these two questions the Socialist Party called a convention at Rome, in which it was decided that action was necessary and that the Party should call mass meetings to propagate the general strike for the release of all political prisoners, the withdrawal of the troops from Russia, the ending of the Tripolitan War and the immediate demobilization of the army.

The general strike started in Milan, Rome, Turin, Bologna and many other big industrial centers, resulting, in many places, in civil war. The government is using the question of Fiume to revive the hysteria among the masses and thus stampede the revolution. It will use Fiume for political purposes in the coming elections, and by this means the revolution may for a short time be postponed, but it cannot be averted. The forces which create revolution are active and the state is in complete bankruptcy.

Another general strike is called for May Day and all over the country the workers are massing for action. On the result of these demonstrations depends the immediate future of the revolution in Italy; if the government can survive May Day the revolution may be delayed for some months.

The Party has decided to sever connections with the reactionary Second International and align with the Third International on the basis of the Bolshevik call.

## Ireland

The National Executive of the Irish Labor Party has issued a call for a general strike on May Day. It is not clear whether it is proposed to have a one

day strike for the general purpose of demonstrating Irish Labor’s solidarity with their comrades throughout the world, or whether May 1st is to see the initiation of a general strike aimed against the government. The reactionary independent unions of Belfast, whose leaders were responsible for breaking the recent general strike in that city, have suggested that Labor down tools on May 3, giving as the reason that Saturday falls on that day and is a half holiday. Commenting on this action the *Voice of Labour*, official organ of the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union, believes that the rank and file in Belfast will stand with their brothers for May 1.

A new factor is the Limerick situation, which has developed since the National Executive Committee issued its call, and it is believed that Irish labor will now utilize May Day for a nationwide strike in sympathy with the Limerick Soviet strike.

## England

Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers’ Federation, sent the following message calling for a May Day strike, to the London *Daily Herald*:

“As one actively associated with the Triple Industrial Alliance, let me congratulate you upon the stirring appeal in the editorial today to that organization to decide upon ‘action, swift, sharp and stern.’ The Triple Alliance and the Labour Party are asked immediately to summon an Industrial Parliament to grapple with the present situation.

“The Labour Party Executive has passed a strong resolution upon the terms of the Miners’ resolution submitted to the Labour Party’s League of Nations Conference. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, however, is standing directly in the way of the wishes of the organized work-people of the country. Organized workers are determined that conscription should be resisted by every possible means, but the Parliamentary Committee, as its name would indicate, believes in lobbying and deputations.

“This matter of conscription concerns all organized workers, both outside and inside the Triple Alliance. Labour is accustomed to demonstrate on May Day or on the first Saturday or Sunday in May, according to varying circumstances. Labour

should make up its mind to take the same action in this country as was taken by organized labour in Ireland when conscription was about to be thrust upon the Irish people. Let us, therefore, commence by doing as Ireland did, and have a universal stop day on May 1.

“The Miners’ Federation are already pledged to a general stoppage for one day upon the first Monday in May. Perhaps the Miners’ Conference at Southport, to be held on Tuesday and Wednesday, will give a lead to organized labour by declaring their stoppage shall take place on May 1.

“We must all now choose between Karl Marx and Winston Churchill. It is quite possible that if the Miners’ Federation make strong representation to the Triple Alliance that body will back the Miners’ action. It would therefore be incumbent upon all trade unionists to consider favorably such a powerful lead as they would be offered.

“In every trade union there are resolute and courageous men who are as bitterly opposed to conscription as the Miners. Unfortunately for the members of these other organizations there is not such strength of character at the head of affairs as there is with the Miners. The whole of the organized workers of Coventry, it is reported, have determined upon this action. The workers of Britain want a lead; here is their opportunity. Do not let us demonstrate in a wishy-washy manner for the Workers’ International while Winston Churchill and his associates want to prepare two million bayonets to suppress the Workers International throughout Europe.”

The National Executive of the British Labor Party formulated a statement of its policy at the League of Nations Conference held in London in the first week in April. We reprint the statement in part:

“The Committee have also considered the Conscription Bill now before Parliament to be unnecessary, and a direct violation of election pledges given by responsible Ministers at the late general election, and demand its withdrawal.

“The Committee have also taken the Russian situation into special consideration, and, in the name of the politically-organized working class and Labour movement, reiterate their demand that the policy of military interference in Russia shall be stopped forthwith.

“They regret that the inability of the Government to make up their minds regarding their attitude to Russia has meant that British soldiers have been left practically isolated in Murmansk and Archangel, and exposed to attack; the Committee express an emphatic opinion that an arrangement should be made which will lead to the immediate cessation of hostilities and the safe withdrawal of British troops from Russian soil.

“The Committee have also considered the continued retention in prison of political and military offenders, including Conscientious Objectors, and declare that an amnesty should be granted at once.”

## Spain

The preparations for concerted action by the Spanish workers on May 1, have so alarmed the government that the workers have been mobilized as soldiers to carry on essential services under military law in the event of a general strike.

## South Africa

The Johannesburg municipal strike is ended, with the “concession” of the 48-hour week for the whites. Native labor is receiving the lash, jail, and casual bullets.

## In Time of War

By Louise Bryant.

*With wonder I read*

*Of those to whom this war has brought new*

*Love and faith in their fellows,*

*For my soul that had these things*

*Is slowly become desolate*

*As the hillside after the passing of the lumberman.*

*Pitiful with the wreckage of splendid visions*

*I sit idle, barren;*

*My restless hands pass over the little things of life*

*Seeking,*

*But that which once commanded them to create*

*and would not be denied,*

*Asks nothing of them.*

*My eyes become cold,*

*They rest indifferently on the desolation of battle-*

*fields,*

*On the dead heaps of those who carried the unborn*

*visions of the future.*

*But my foolish ears still listen*

*For what they once hoped to hear,*

*For the one thing that could give them back their*

*faith,*

*The revolution of the armies of the world.*

# A Window on the World

## The Military Situation in Russia

The capitalist press is again reporting a collapse of the Soviet Government's front on all sides, and that Lenin and Trotsky are again packing the old trunk with gold and bombs, preparing to evacuate to neutral countries.

By a careful reading of these same papers, however, one discovers the following facts:

The French, abandoning all stores, are rapidly leaving the Crimea; only a handful of soldiers are still guarding the dock-yards, in order to try and save the French battleship *Mirabeau*, which was laid up for repairs and cannot get to sea again.

A dispatch from Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, reports that "a large Bolshevik force is endeavoring to cut the Siberian railway line east of Krasnoyarsk." This is news. Krasnoyarsk is half way across Siberia. According to previous dispatches, Siberia was free from Bolsheviks six months ago; and yet here we find a "large force" operating "east of Krasnoyarsk." Of course if the attempt to cut the Trans-Siberian succeeds, that will be the finish of the Kolchak armies, the Allied forces and the Tchekho-Slovaks in the Urals.

Since a dispatch from Warsaw more than a month ago announced that General Petlura had made an agreement with the Russian Soviet Government, and that the joint Russian and Ukrainian armies were fighting the French in the Crimea, we fail to understand what is meant by the reported surrender of the Bolshevik First Army to Petlura's Ukrainian troops.

The only military reverses suffered by the Soviet armies in the last three weeks which appear to have any foundation in fact are a withdrawal of twelve miles on the Murmansk front, and the evacuation of the village of Sterlitmak, near Ufa.

Fortunately we have the story of an American reporter, published in the *Globe* of April 23d, of the Sterlitmak affair. It sheds light upon the methods of warfare employed by our "allies" in Siberia.

"We covered twenty kilometers a day," he says, "always pushing the Reds back on Sterlitmak, and, when Communists fell into our hands, treating them like assassins."

After the solemn promises of the British and American Governments to withdraw their troops from Russia, it is interesting to read about the new Allied "offensive" in the North, and the openly-expressed hopes of the Allied commanders to be able to effect a juncture with the Siberian forces of Admiral Kolchak as soon as summer comes. This is a continuation of the well-known Allied strategy of the "crab-retreat," illustrated by the Tchekho-Slovak "withdrawal" of last year, when the noble Bohemian troops, bound for Vladivostok, suddenly found themselves going West toward Moscow.

## Crawling Out of a Hole

The capitalist press, with its uninterrupted publication of filthy falsehood about Soviet Russia, finds itself in danger of complete reversal through the large volume of correct information which is beginning to leak into this country, even through official sources. It must therefore get itself into a position to be able to meet the facts.

A recent Associated Press dispatch from Copenhagen, the Father of Lies, reports that "on account of the attitude of the people, the Decree on Nationalization of Women has been suspended by the Soviet Government in certain provinces."

Now comes the *Globe*, with an editorial on the Lenin interview recently published.

"Lenin says definitely and for the first time in today's interview that the majority of the Russian workmen and peasants today consciously adhere to

the principles of Bolshevism.' Is he right? On the answer to this question hangs the fate of the world to a degree the importance of which it is hard to overestimate."

This is correct. Lenin is right—has been right ever since he stated the same fact more than a year ago.

The newspapers had better get a move on!

## Out of the Frying Pan Into the Fire

The *Times* of April 26th reports the arrival at Genoa, Italy, on the British warship *Lord Nelson*, of several Russian Grand Dukes, Grand Duchesses, and the Dowager Tsarina Marie Feodorovna, all formerly massacred by the Bolsheviks. The Dowager Tsarina has gone to England at the invitation of Queen Alexandra, where she will doubtless be granted a pension from the pockets of the grateful British tax-payers. The rest of the nobles, twenty-seven in all, are pretty active, considering how they were thrown into wells and bombs dropped on them. They are bound for Monte Carlo.

Italy is our idea of exactly the wrong place for a Russian Grand Duke to land these days, with its frontiers closed on account of "revolutionary disturbances." But then, where can a poor royalty go?

## The Rights and Wrongs of Small Nations

Mr. Wilson has just refused to grant Fiume to Italy, on the ground that it belongs, by ethnologic and economic right, to the new Yugo-Slav State, and must serve as commercial outlet to Hungary, Bohemia and Rumania—which are, as he says, "among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be safeguarded as the interests of the most powerful States."

In the meanwhile the Serbians are forcibly abolishing the independence of Montenegro, with the help of Italian and even American troops, and adding it to the Yugo-Slav territory under the hegemony of Serbia.

On April 26th the press reports that President Wilson delivered himself of a statement about Egypt, where the people, rising against British rule, are being massacred in the streets of Cairo.

In a note communicated to General Allenby, British Special High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, the President recognizes the British protectorate over Egypt, which was proclaimed during the war on December 18, 1914. The note proceeds:

"The President and the American people have every sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptian people for a further measure of self-government, but they view with regret any effort to obtain a realization of those aspirations by a resort to violence."

Apparently it depends upon the size of small nations whether they shall get Mr. Wilson's sympathy—and also, who's the oppressor.

The hypocrisy of "deploring violence" in the struggles of people seeking political freedom, just after a colossal war "to free the world," is too evident to need emphasis.

## The Telescope

THE new Covenant of the League of Nations constitutes a definite victory for the forces of light over those of darkness. Just consider the provisions made for labor. A permanent committee; one-third of whose members will be elected by Labor, one-third by Capital and one-third appointed by the Governments; will be set up to deal with labor problems. Labor will thus always be in a strong minority.

No wonder the Bolsheviks are losing their grip!

Another victory for Democracy lies in the exclusion of Mexico from the League, which will enable any power, so disposed, to restore law and order in that country without running up against the League.

Of course if two powers differ on the law and order, the League will intervene and doubtless arrange a joint expedition.

In view of the frequency with which the Right Wingers are calling in the cops to preserve Party unity, we suggest that an appropriation be made out of Party funds to buy police whistles.

We learn that a new office has just been created in Local New York—nominations are now in order for Official Locksmith.

We understand that charges are being preferred against Alderman Calman for using non-union moving vans in "reorganizing" Party Branches.

Advertisement:—The Left Wing is in the market for second-hand Branch furniture—preference will be given to Socialist Officials who have a surplus on hand, or pawn-tickets for the same.

It is rumored in Paris that the Peace Conference has removed the furniture from Orlando's headquarters, and has put a 45 frank lock on the door.

Unlike the Peace Conference, the Rand School has decided to recognize the Bolsheviks—*The New York Communist* is again for sale at the Bookstore, and Right Wingers can now have their daily hate without leaving the premises.

We are pleased to announce a victory for the Left Wing principle of Party ownership and control of the press—we learn that a weekly humorous paper, ironically called *The Socialist*, is shortly to be issued. It is rumored that it will be controlled by the Executive Committee of Local New York, who in order to show their impartiality will finance it out of Party funds accruing from the sale of Due Stamps to Right and Left Wingers alike.

Ben Gitlow has been indicted by a prominent member of Local Bronx and will shortly be dragged before the grievance committee. It is believed that the charge is Bolshevism.

England has just borrowed \$75,000,000 from Spain. Spain has decided that in future she will spend her money as she gets it. Easy come, easy go.

The rent situation reminds us of an old Irish story:

Agent: I'm going to raise your rent, Murphy.  
Murphy: That's fine. I was just wondering how the devil I was going to raise it myself.

## Left Wingers!

Come and be surprised!

at the REORGANIZATION Entertainment and Dance to be held by the 17th A. D., at its Headquarters, 1538 Madison Avenue, near 104th Street, on Saturday, evening, May 3rd.

PURPOSE:  
TO CELEBRATE THE  
REORGANIZATION

Admission

25 Cents

# The Pink Terror

## II. The Pillage of the 18-20th A. D.

HAVING tipped the policeman who safeguarded the looting of the 17th A. D.'s headquarters, and dusted off the moving-van with which the crime was accomplished, the Right Wingers met once more in the crypt of the Rand School. No longer were they obstructed by Democracy—the Central Committee had been indefinitely adjourned. Nothing remained which could hamper the free use of brass knuckles upon the persons of the rank and file.

A Committee was appointed to suggest ways and means for Preserving the Unity of Local New York. It was finally decided that the only way to preserve the Party intact was to expel most of the members.

The Comrade chairman of the Committee on Porch-Climbing reported that he considered it no longer necessary for his Committee to operate, since the Minutes of the Left Wing meetings were now openly published in the *New York Communist*. Committee on reading *The Communist* was then appointed.

Casting about for the next Branch to destroy, the 18th-20th A. D. was selected. This Branch lies next to the 17th A. D. whose demise we recorded last week. It has always been a particularly harmonious Branch, all meetings being conducted in the best of good feeling. However, the bacillus of the Left Wing had been infecting more and more of the Comrades, until there was a clearly a Left Wing majority in the Branch.

At the regular business meeting of the Branch on April 11th it was decided to hold new elections for delegates to the Central Committee, to take place at the next business meeting, on Friday, April 25th.

The next meeting was perfectly orderly. Both sides had mobilized all their supporters, and the hall was crowded. The Right Wingers, headed by Jacob Hillquit—who, although he lives in the Bronx, is treasurer of the Branch, which is in Harlem—declined nominations for the Central Committee.

The Branch is entitled to six delegates. Eight candidates were nominated; and the six Left Wingers were elected. Dr. Aronson, the highest, polled 68 votes, and the two lowest, 47 votes apiece. Comrade Markel, a Centrist, who said in the debate that the Left Wing "should be given a chance to show what it can do," was nevertheless defeated.

The unanimous action of the Right Wingers showed that there was some sort of scheme on foot, so after the meeting the Propaganda Committee proceeded to copy the records of the Branch, for fear that Alderman Calman and his moving-van might swoop down and carry them off.

Alas! Their forebodings were only too well founded. The next morning somebody broke open the door, jimmied the Financial Secretary's desk, and took away the records, which were afterward returned to the Branch by a small boy. That evening when the Yipsels came to headquarters for their regular meeting, they discovered the door fastened with a triple-bar Siegel lock costing nine dollars—the nine dollars evidently being receipts from the sale of dues-stamps; and window fasteners on every window. These had been placed there by the Executive Committee.

The Yipsels broke into the hall and began their meeting. Immediately a delegation of Right Wingers appeared, headed by Ex-Assemblyman Karlin, and composed of Shilb, Extract, Shpritzer and a friend who was not a Party member. Shilb offered to fight one of the Yipsels, while Karlin threatened to have the Yipsels arrested for breaking and entering. After the Yipsels' meeting was over, the Right Wingers again locked the hall, this time using an ordinary lock. (The item of expenditures

for padlocks must now be fairly large on the books of Local New York.)

On Sunday, April 27th, the Left Wing members of the Branch held a meeting in headquarters, and

### One Reason for an Organization Within an Organization

The following letter was sent by Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary of Local New York, to a few carefully-picked Right Wingers. The italics are ours. Some of the results of the Conference are now evident.

New York, April 19, 1919.

Dear Comrade:—

I am calling a conference of party members to meet at the office of Local New York on Monday evening, April 21st. We will meet at 9 P. M. People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

The situation in the party is rather critical at this time, and it is almost too late now to stem the tide.

We ought to be clear among ourselves what we will, or can do. The so-called Left Wing is determined to either capture or split the party. What the capture of the party by the Left Wing means ought to be evident to any one who has watched their performance.

On the other hand, is it worth while for the sincere Socialist to keep the fight up? While we are fighting among ourselves there is no work for the party. Our energies, our time, and the money is wasted in the fight among ourselves.

A split in the party will at this time do irreparable injury to our party and to the Cause, while the control of the Party by these irresponsible people will make the Party an outlaw organization, and break up the organization.

Tuesday evening, the Central Committee meets. At this meeting the die will be cast as far as Local New York is concerned. We ought to decide before hand. We ought to know what we are to do.

The reason the Left Wing has grown and is making converts is because they have an organization that does nothing else. They have their organs that give their side. They act as a group while we have neither organization, nor press (The Call should not be used for factional purposes) and our comrades act as individuals. Result is chaos on our side, organization, discipline and success on their side.

As the official of Local New York, I have tried to do the party's work regardless of faction, have tried as much as possible to keep factionalism out of the party. But the time has come when I have a duty to the party, and my duty compels me to call this conference to lay the situation before the party members.

I have for myself decided as to my course and my action, but I feel I have no right to do anything without the knowledge and consent of my comrades. My comrades, who with me have helped to build, maintain and hold together our party, and for this reason I am calling this conference, and I hope you will come. Come about 9 P. M. as the Executive Committee meets that evening and we will meet soon thereafter.

I know this may inconvenience you. I know you are out nights and perhaps will have to be out again Tuesday at the Central Committee but believe me this matter is of importance enough so that you can miss an hour's sleep and put up with a little inconvenience.

Sincerely,

JULIUS GERBER.

decided to allow the Executive Committee to remove the furniture or take any other illegal action they pleased, but not to submit to the reorganization or dissolution of the Branch without a vote of the

majority of the members. The names and addresses of those against the action of the Executive Committee were taken down.

In the middle of this, Extract, Shilb and Shpritzer entered. Shpritzer said, "Take my name. I want to join the Left Wing." He was referred to 43 West 29th Street, where we eagerly await him.

Shilb then remarked that at Monday evening's meeting of the Executive Committee, the business of "reorganizing" the 18th-20th A. D. would be taken up; and that on Tuesday evening, April 29th, a meeting to "reorganize" the Branch would be held at Harlem Terrace Hall, on 104th Street, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues.

Afterward, however, Shilb denied that he had said this, but announced that he was going to prefer charges against the Propaganda Committee for breaking open the Financial Secretary's desk.

By the time this paper is off the press, we expect to hear that the 18th-20th A. D. has been thoroughly "reorganized," and that the great majority of the rank and file has joined the Party Bread-Line.

What further atrocities have the Semi-Comrades in store for us? By what machinations do they intend further to lacerate the poor, bleeding Left Wing? Time, and the next issue of *The Communist*, alone will tell.

### Socialist Politicians Please Answer

THE columns of this paper are open to Right Wingers to reply to this editorial in the *New York Times*—which is, so far as our knowledge goes, the only intelligent editorial which ever appeared in the *New York Times*:

The Socialist Congress at Paris on Tuesday voted, by a majority of 894, that it was willing to join the Second Internationale provided that those who were Socialists only in name were excluded. But the Congress drew a line against the Third Internationale, that is LENIN'S, and a motion to adhere to it commanded only 270 votes. The denunciation of the Bolsheviks is good reading, and far be it from us to say anything in their defense. The dictatorship of the proletariat is hateful. But why should the Socialists denounce it when practiced by the Third Internationale, forgetting that it was the fundamental and original pronouncement of the First Internationale? In the words of the Communist Manifesto, never repudiated by any Socialist authority:

The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class . . . wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie . . . by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property.

The first test of the orthodoxy of Socialists by the First and Second Internationales alike was adhesion to the program of "conquest of the public powers by the proletariat organized as a class party." Admittedly, there are some peccadilloes chargeable to the Bolsheviks, but who can say that they have not conformed to the first requisite of orthodox socialism?

Who are the First or Second Internationalists that they should point the finger of scorn at their brethren guilty of excess of zeal? Excess profits, tax discrimination against the too rich, restriction of railways and banks—these are not the touchstones of socialism, whether they be good or bad. In short, socialism is not social reform, and there is equal need of disavowal of all the Internationales, as well as the Third, by those who are sticklers for propriety. The denouncers of the Third Internationale as a caricature of socialism are themselves guilty of the same fault, unless they disavow the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "conquest of the State," and the confiscation of capital. These tenets are not voided because those who practice them are guilty of other "errors," in the words of LENIN, in the interview cabled to the *Times*, in which he reiterated adhesion to the platform of the Internationale as quoted above. There is too much sailing under false colors.

Either a Socialist believes in the class struggle, the expropriation of the expropriators, and lines up with the Bolshevik and Communist movement of Europe; or he joins the Second International (now defunct) and definitely allies himself with John Spargo, Scheidemann, William English Walling, J. P. Morgan and Samuel Gompers.