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A Moderate Socialist Office-Holder

By Thomas Leaderless

ON August 26, 1917, an Italian priest named Guliani, held a religious meeting on the corner of Bishop and Potter Avenues, Milwaukee. Italian workmen, living in the neighborhood, who listened to what Guliani said, resented some of his remarks and heckled the priest. As a result of the heckling Guliani terminated his meeting but promised to return the following Sunday.

On Sunday, September 2, Guliani, with his followers, appeared a second time at the same corner. Some of the Italian workers who had resented the priest's remarks the previous week were again present and again objected to Guliani's statements. The priest was forced to close his meeting and went off, announcing however, that he would come again with police protection.

On the following Sunday, September 9, Guliani appeared for the third time at Bishop and Potter Avenues, accompanied by police. This meeting terminated in a riot at which revolvers were used. When the shooting was over it was found that one of the Italians who had had the altercation with the priest had been shot dead, another of them had been wounded so badly that he died an hour later at the hospital, and two policemen had been slightly injured.

As a result of the shooting, eleven Italian workers (10 men and 1 woman) were taken into custody and finally held for trial.

On November 30, five weeks after their arrest, District Attorney Zabel, Socialist, came out with his charge against the eleven defendants which read as follows:

"I, Finfred C. Zabel, District Attorney for Milwaukee County, hereby inform the Court that on the ninth day of September in the year nineteen hundred and seventeen, at the said County of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the said defendants Peter Bianchi (here follow the names of the other ten defendants) being then and there armed with dangerous weapons, to wit: loaded revolvers, did then and there with force and violence in and upon one Albert H. Templin, Paul J. Weiler, Joseph H. Rydlewicz and John F. Weselowski, make an assault with intent then and there to murder them."

Now what was some of the evidence brought forward by Socialist District Attorney Zabel to convict those eleven Milwaukee workers of the crime of "Assault with Intent to Murder," a crime, by the way, not found on the statute books of Wisconsin?

I shall here give samples of testimony as found in the official minutes of the trial.

John F. Weselowski (police officer), on Stand. District Attorney Zabel, questioning the witness. Q.—Where did you find this picture? (Picture of Karl Marx.)

A.—In the hall.*
Q.—The picture with the red flag on it?
A.—Yes, sir.
Q.—Hanging in the hall?
A.—Yes, sir.

(Picture offered and received in evidence.)
Q.—Did you find any American flags or drapings in that hall?

A.—No, sir.
Q.—Find any picture of George Washington, or Wilson, or any President of the United States on those walls?

A.—No, sir.
Q.—Where did you find the picture of this gentleman?

A.—It was found in the hall at 300 Bishop.
Q.—Do you know who he is?
A.—It was supposed to be the murderer of the Italian king.

Court—Strike that out.
(Picture received in evidence.)
Q.—Where did you find this picture—Louis Ling, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fisher, Haymarket anarchists, Chicago?

A.—Yes, sir; that was found in the club room, 300 Bishop.

(Offered and received in evidence. Objected to

as incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial. Objection overruled.)

Q.—Where did you find the picture of the tomb of the anarchists?

A.—300 Bishop.
(Picture offered in evidence. District Attorney introduces 129 books and pamphlets. Objected to as incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial.)

Court—Gentlemen of the Jury, all these pamphlets and papers are received for the purpose of throwing light, if any, on the subject of conspiracy.*

Joseph A. Rydlewicz (police officer) on stand. Rydlewicz—I found this I. W. W. membership book and button in the trunk of Vincent Fratessi. (Received in evidence and marked Ex. 22.) I found this membership card in the name of A. Fratessi in another trunk in the home at 239 Bishop. (Membership and button received in evidence, and marked Ex. 23.)

Frank Calabro, witness for defense, cross-examined by Zabel.

Calabro—I don't belong to the I. W. W., but have been collecting for them. I have been circulating the subscription list for the Haywood organization of the I. W. W. (Circular marked Ex. 61.) I didn't admit to Weselowski that I paid \$2.60 a month to the I. W. W., and sent no money to them.

(Objected to as immaterial.)
District Attorney Zabel—It shows the attitude of certain of these people toward the government.

(Motion that the remark of the District Attorney be stricken out.)

Court—The remark was addressed to the Court. I will receive the paper for the purpose of showing his interest in the I. W. W.

G. A. Lizzi (State witness) on stand.

G. A. Lizzi—The picture of the person in the upper left hand corner of Ex. 26 is Gaetano Bresci, an anarchist, the man who killed the king of Italy, Humbert I. The picture to the right is Antonio Dolbar, an anarchist. The four gentlemen in the picture below Bresci are four Japanese anarchists, and the five to the right of the Japanese are George Engel, Adolph Fisher, Louis Ling, Theo. Spies and A. R. Parsons. Above these, at the top we find "1887"—"There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today." In the middle is a picture of Francisco Ferrer, at the left hand corner a priest, representing him as the assassin of Ferrer. The man with the long beard is Emilcar Ciprani, who has been in prison in Italy several times as an anarchist. The man with the glasses to the right is Angelio, an Italian anarchist and the man with the cap in the lower left hand corner is Michael Bakunin, a Russian anarchist. In the lower right hand corner a Russian woman anarchist who wrote several pamphlets.

Court—The significance of this frame, red and black stripes running transversely across the corner is that it means blood and death.

District Attorney Zabel charged the defendants with having gone to the corner meeting on Sunday, September 9, armed with revolvers, and having formed a conspiracy so to do, with having committed an "assault with intent to murder" upon certain police officers. Zabel contended that the defendants were not only armed but were the ones who started the shooting.

Here is some testimony on those points by witnesses for the prosecution.

Maud Richter, witness for prosecution, cross-examined by defendant's lawyer.

"I did not see anybody have any guns besides the detectives, but after the shooting I saw the two guns in the hands of the detectives and I noticed the detectives pick up another gun after the shooting."

Cornelius Pajot, witness for prosecution.

"I saw six guns but I didn't see any of these defendants have a gun or do any act towards an officer there that day, nor raise their hand toward an officer."

Domenic Gernanotta, witness for prosecution.

"I didn't see any of these eleven defendants have a gun there."

At a preliminary hearing, District Attorney Zabel cross-examined the defendants as follows and

*Keep in mind that the charge was conspiracy to "assault with intent to murder."

introduced the statements thus obtained in evidence against the defendants at the trial.

Examination of L. Amedeo, by Zabel, at preliminary hearing:

Q.—How long do you belong to the anarchist club?

A.—I don't belong to the club, but I went there several times.

Q.—How long have you been an anarchist?

A.—I am not an anarchist.

Q.—You had a gun last Sunday when you shot the officers?

A.—No.

Q.—Wasn't a gun taken from you? Didn't you hand a gun to one of the other anarchists?

A.—I had no revolver.

Q.—And they agreed to meet so as to break up this meeting?

A.—I don't know anything about it.

Examination of A. Pantaleoni, by Zabel.

Q.—How many years have you been an anarchist?

A.—I never was.

Q.—You belong to the anarchist club?

A.—No.

Examination of P. Nardini, by Zabel.

Q.—How many years are you an anarchist?

A.—I never was an anarchist.

Q.—Belong to the club, don't you?

A.—I never belonged to the club, but sometimes I went there when there was a special speaker or music.

Examination of A. Fratessi, by Zabel.

Q.—How many years are you an anarchist?

A.—I am not an anarchist.

Q.—You belong to the club?

A.—No.

Examination of P. Bianchi, by Zabel.

Q.—What is the name of the anarchist club you belong to?

A.—Italian education club.

Q.—You believe in having no government, you want the government overthrown?

A.—I believe in that.

Q.—You want to kill off the officers?

A.—I don't kill nobody.

Q.—(Asked suddenly, without introduction or connection with what had gone before.)

What did you do with your gun? You had it Sunday.

A.—Nothing doing.

Q.—You knew the others had a gun?

A.—I didn't know nobody had a gun.

Q.—Who first said you would go over there and break up that meeting?

A.—Nobody; I wasn't with the bunch.

Examination of V. Fratessi, by Zabel.

Q.—What time did you get to the club room when the rest of the anarchists were there Sunday afternoon?

A.—I didn't go to the meeting.

(District Attorney assumed that defendant was at club room and that they were all anarchists. Defendant not given chance to explain.)

Q.—What did you do with your gun?

A.—I had no revolver.

Q.—Didn't you march ahead and tell the men to go and break up the meeting? What did you do with the gun that Angelo gave you on the corner?

A.—Nobody gave me a revolver, because I run away.

(Two questions asked at once with defendant naturally expected to answer only last one, leaving it for argument to urge that he did not answer the first one and that therefore he did march at the head of the procession and tell the men to break up the meeting.)

One of the witnesses for the defense was John LaDucca, secretary of the Italian branch of the Socialist party of Milwaukee, who lectured at the "Circolo di Studi Sociali" on the Sunday of the shooting.

To show that the club had lectures on the philosophy of a party that was not in accord with anarchist ideas, the lawyer for the defense, Mr. Rubin, questioned LaDucca as follows:

Q.—I will ask you whether or not it is a part of the general scheme of the Socialist party to have any President or presiding officer?

(Question objected to by Zabel and objection sustained.)

(Continued on page 7)

*The "hall" was a room in the rear of a saloon at 300 Bishop Ave., Milwaukee, used as the meeting place of the "Circolo di Studi Sociali," a club for the study of social sciences, to which several of the defendants belonged, while the rest occasionally went there to meet their friends or to participate in musical entertainments held there. The club was raided soon after the shooting and literature of a scientific, philosophic, socialistic and anarchistic nature found there was taken away by the police.

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Stabbing Soviet Russia

SOMETIME ago we called attention to the recrudescence of friendly words about Soviet Russia emanating from American Governmental sources. Steffens, Weyl and Bullitt, sent to Moscow by the President, returned to Paris with enthusiastic reports of the Proletarian Dictatorship; and semi-official reports from Washington indicated that it was only a question of time before the Soviet Government should be recognized. This appeared the more probable from the treatment accorded Comrade Martens by the authorities, who flatly refused to prohibit his activities here.

However, we had noticed in the past that whenever the United States Government gave vent to amicable sentiments toward Soviet Russia, this action was almost invariably followed by some particularly outrageous attack upon the Russian people. So we warned Russia to "keep her hand on her watch."

The new offensive heralded by the Bullitt-Steffens Mission is now developing. In concert with the Governments of England and France, the press reports that *the Government of the United States is about to recognize the Kolchak autocracy as the de facto Government of Russia!*

Already the White Guard Government of Finland, headed by the butcher Mannerheim, has been recognized by the Allies—including America. The papers report that fifty thousand Finns and Allied troops have been concentrated at Helsingfors for an attack on Red Petrograd.

The new organ of the Estonian League (which is composed of eighteen bankers and business men who want the Allied bourgeoisie to guarantee their right to exploit their own people) announces that the United States Government has loaned the Estonian Provisional Government some \$20,000,000, with which to buy clothing, munitions and guns to supply the Estonian White Guards in their attack upon Soviet Russia from the west.

In the east the United States Government is aiding the dictatorship of Kolchak, the tsarist, the mass-assassin who destroyed even the remnants of constitutional government in Siberia. Eight thousand American troops are being sent to murder Russian workers and peasants, and destroy the government set up by them, and restore the worst reaction of the Romanovs. In the west, the United States Government is co-operating with the Finnish White Guards who butchered seventy thousand workers in one day, with Swedish, Danish and Norwegian bourgeois volunteers, many of whom fought in the German army during the war, and with the exploiters of the people in the Baltic Provinces, the pro-Germans and the Tsarists.

The Allies' Brest-Litovsk Peace

THE delegates of "Socialist" Germany, headed by that grimy-handed proletarian, Count von Brockdorf-Rantzau, have reached Versailles, and the terms of the Just Peace are out.

By them Germany is dismembered, ruined, forced to pay staggering punitive indemnities (the first instalment to be \$5,000,000), and garrisoned by Allied troops until the payments are complete. West Prussia and Danzig are split off for the benefit of the mock-State of Poland; the Saar Valley is practically handed over to the French capitalists to exploit (besides Alsace-Lorraine); the German colonies are taken away; the German army and navy are reduced permanently to the size of the New York police force; German rivers are "internationalized"; German tariff walls are broken down; and

a strip of territory fifty kilometers east of the Rhine is forever "demilitarized."

Thus, "peace on the basis of the Fourteen Points", promised by our eloquent but ineffective President, and concurred in by the Premiers of the virtuous Western Powers. Thus the "victory of democracy over autocracy." As Bernard Shaw predicted long ago, the victorious Powers have acted as Germany would have if she had won—and perhaps a little worse. Again and again the lesson is being driven home with terrible distinctness, for all the world to read: *Power is the only thing which counts; Might is Right.*

The position of Germany at this time is an eloquent indictment of "Moderate Socialism." Having chosen to make their bed with the capitalist class, the Kaiser Socialists in control of the German Government must lie in it. Better to cringe under the whip of the Allied imperialist nations than to submit to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Russia having cut adrift forever from capitalism, rose from defeat refreshed and powerful, with allies in all the countries of the world. Starving, disorganized, ringed 'round with enemy nations, she combats the world. Germany, with thousands of well-trained troops, great quantities of war-supplies, and even foods, leans upon the shattered sword of her broken capitalism, which is turned only against her own proletarians, to subjugate them to the cruel conditions of a conquered people.

The Peace of Brest-Litovsk defeated Imperial Germany. It was the sudden revelation of the hypocrisy of German ambitions which destroyed the morale of the German armies. Said General Hoffmann, the German military representative at the Brest-Litovsk Conference, in an interview with the correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, published March 14:

"Immediately upon signing the peace with the Bolsheviks we discovered that we had been conquered by them instead of having conquered them. Our victorious army became rotten with Bolshevism. Our military machine became the printing press of Bolshevik propaganda. We did not dare to send a corps of the German Bolsheviks to the western front"

The Peace of Versailles, heralded with so much idealistic cant, turns out to be more disgraceful than the Peace of Brest-Litovsk. The masks have fallen; the oft-repeated "democratic" war-aims of the Allies appear in their true colors—an ignoble scramble for the loot, a bandits' peace.

We Socialists rejoice at it. We feared that perhaps Wilson's smooth hypocritical phrases might be embodied in the peace treaty, to deceive the world as to its real nature. We were anxious lest even now, after so many disillusiones, the European and American working-class might be won again by the plausible slogans of Liberalism.

But now we need not worry. There lies the shocking document in all its coarse literalness. It matters not whether the German delegates sign or no. The Social Revolution is certain.

A Coalition Convention

MR. JAMES DUNCAN, vice-president of the A. F. of L., is quoted as saying that his organization has nothing to do with the strikes threatened on July 4th in protest against the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs. He goes on to say: "We do things in a regular and legal fashion and do not engage in flighty outbursts; we have agreements with our employers which we intend to carry out."

Apart from the fact that Mr. Duncan by implication thus does what Congress wanted to do but dared not—declares strikes to be illegal—apart from the fact that he announces it to be the policy of the A. F. of L. to support the employers against the workers where, through the legal trickery of union lawyers, the workers are used against each other; apart from these facts we would like to know what the officialdom of our Party expects to gain from a convention in which people of this stripe and organizations which support them, will be represented? Debs has been quoted to support the idea of the Amnesty Convention; *The Milwaukee Leader* editorially chastises the Left Wing for opposing participation by the Party in such a convention, and suggests that we are obstructing the work of releasing our imprisoned comrades by so doing.

It is generally accepted that the political prisoners will not be released until the workers release them. To those who do not accept this we would cite the Mooney Case. And the only way the workers can bring pressure to bear is through the exercise of their economic power, through the general strike. But Mr. Duncan announces in advance that the A. F. of L. will have nothing to do with the general strike for this purpose. The Liberal organizations who will be at the convention have no economic power, one of the spokesmen of the labor movement says labor will not move, therefore the convention will simply be a talking machine, and at the best will pass a few weak resolutions pleading for amnesty or pardon, which will be thrown in official waste baskets. Perhaps it may even influence a partial pardon, which indications point will be the government policy, and maybe under

this Debs will be released—because of his advancing years. But Debs has publicly stated that he does not want such a pardon, that he will not accept it unless all political prisoners are freed, and it is very doubtful if he would accept any release at the hands of men like Duncan. He, like many others of our imprisoned comrades, has stated that the workers themselves must release him.

If the Party is really in earnest about the liberation of the political prisoners, then we must organize along Socialist and revolutionary labor lines. There has been enough talk, action is necessary now, and we can safely leave the pleading and the pardoning to the "Liberals."

The money wasted in such a convention could be utilized to better advantage in organizing the movement to the end that its voice will be the voice of power, of the economic might of the class conscious workers. Let the "Liberals" take their own course; our course is clear; the Socialist and revolutionary labor movements must act on their own responsibility. Only in this way can we achieve results, and give due honor to those who are suffering that the cause of Socialism may live and thrive.

Tactics of a Desperate Oligarchy

THE statement concerning the Left Wing, issued by the Executive Committee of Local New York and printed in *The Call*, is the crowning act of a series of illegal expedients to preserve the power of a little group of political bosses in Local New York.

Every branch where a Left Wing majority has recently made its appearance has been ruthlessly disrupted by the "machine." Against the will of the majority of the members of the 17th A. D., the 2nd A. D., and the 8th A. D., the Executive Committee has ordered a "reorganization", which means the disenfranchisement of most of the members of those branches. Without daring to risk a referendum, the Executive Committee has dispatched punitive expeditions, usually headed by "Socialist" Aldermen, who have locked headquarters, and in one case, at least, carried off the furniture with the help of the police.

These petty larceny proceedings, however, have raised a storm of protest wholly out of proportion to the results achieved. Therefore the Executive Committee has decided to make a clean sweep of the entire Left Wing, and for that purpose has appointed a committee "to reorganize Local New York." *This means, to expel all branches and all members affiliated with the Left Wing organization.*

The petty political bosses in control of the Executive Committee, who dominate Local New York, established long ago a "steering committee" of their own, which effectively blocked democratic action in the Party here for years. It is therefore hardly consistent for them to accuse the Left Wing of action by caucus. They have deliberately opposed Party control of the official Party press; they have made use of every parliamentary trick to thwart the will of the rank and file; they have held up for months the application cards of new members, and put them through the third degree as to their opinions on labor organization; they have acquiesced in the formation of political cliques on the East Side, and the establishment of a system of patronage, by means of which "good" Comrades were sent on lecture tours and given jobs as "organizers" in Socialist unions.

It is as a protest against these methods that so many of the rank and file have joined the Left Wing. And to this perfectly legitimate movement within the Party the bosses oppose strong-arm tactics.

At the last Central Committee meeting, when the police had finally been brought in by Right Wingers, Karlin suddenly announced that there would be no more meetings until called by the Executive Committee. *No motion to this effect was ever made or voted upon. And no motion was ever made or voted upon to "empower and instruct the Executive Committee to reorganize Local New York."* These statements, as all other statements of fact in the *Executive Committee's manifesto*, are perversions of the truth.

The Left Wing is charged with "ridiculing all ideas of democracy." It is true that we ridicule capitalist "democracy," which is merely an instrument of the ruling class to oppress the workers. It is this kind of "democracy" which is defended by the Executive Committee—a form of government which permits them to retain control over the Party for their private benefit, and prevents the rank and file from dictating Party policies. This is why the Right Wing, which has been for years organized in a close and secret machine, objects when the rank and file organizes openly and in accordance with the best Socialist precedents.

It is because the Right Wingers are not revolutionary Socialists that we refuse to submit any longer to their domination; it is because they are opposed to Socialism that they must go.

Let the Executive Committee try to "reorganize" Local New York if it dares!

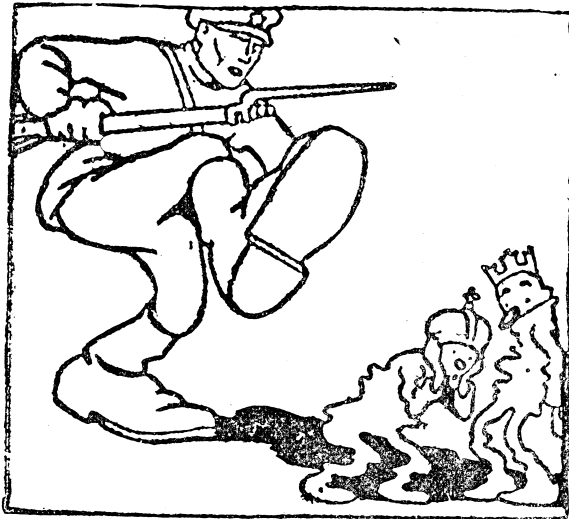
Soviet Russia's Red Army

An Interview with Sklandsky, Assistant Commissar of War

By Michael Puntervold

A Norwegian Socialist Lawyer Now in Russia as Special Correspondent of the *Social Demokraten*, a Norwegian Left Wing Socialist Paper.

KREMLIN, Moscow, February 25th.—Today is a military holiday all over Soviet Russia. It is the first anniversary of the Red Army. Red flags and pennants are waving in the streets and the emblems of the army are shining red over the mighty portals of the Kremlin. Symbolic soldier placards illustrate the year's work accomplished by the "Krasny (Red) Army," from all



FROM A RUSSIAN RED GUARD PAPER *The Front*

the roofs of the houses, while Red Guard soldiers in grayish-brown uniforms are rattling their collection boxes and pinning the Red Army buttons on the coat lapels of all those who give. In honor of the day, I have interviewed Tavarish Sklandsky, assistant Commissar of War, concerning the results of the "Workers' and Peasants' Red Army" in its work for the past year. The Minister of War, People's Commissar Trotsky, did not reach home after his inspection trip on the Ukrainian front until this evening. Equipped with the necessary propusk (admission card), I made my way past the Guards and machine guns until I reached his representative, who was sitting in the great apartment in which the All Russian Minister of War at present has his headquarters, and studies the latest reports from the fronts. Sklandsky is a man of fully thirty years of age, a physician by profession. During the war he was assigned to the service with the sanitary corps, was elected after the March revolution to various soldiers' councils, and, as early as November 28th, 1917, became the second in seniority in the Commissariat of War (army department). A physician with a quietly, energetic, civilian appearance. "But I have been able to acquire a little of the military trade—for the sake of my comrades. Here every man must do what he can. You can get a better idea of the military situation from the general staff, but I can indicate a few general view-points.

"The greatest accomplishments of the Red Army are the victories which we gained in the Donetz region over the armies of Ataman Krasnov," declared Sklandsky. "This is of great political importance in the first place, since Krasnov and his peasant Cossacks have heretofore been the most powerful factor in the counter-revolutionary movement, and have really been a danger to Soviet Russia. From an economic standpoint this victory means that we have now opened a path to the anthracite fields of Russia in the Donetz basin, and have thus a prospect of once more opening up our industrial activity. We have here gained possession of the best developed railway system, with railway connection to the Caucasus and the considerable contingent of Red groups there, which formerly were obliged to communicate with the main army over territory in which there was not railroad communication. Krasnov's Don Cossacks have been completely disorganized. Whole regiments are deserting to us, led by their company commanders, while the staff officers, knowing very well what punishments await them at our hands, remain with the enemy. As to the size of Krasnov's army? It certainly is not as high as one hundred thousand, which is the figure assigned in foreign countries. At most, several times ten thousand. And the population is complaining that these soldiers are getting drunk and harrying the country. We consider the Cossack something like a man on horseback with a knout. We shall take the knouts from him and cast him literally to the earth," declared Sklandsky, with an ex-

pressive gesture. "On the Ural front also, we have Cossacks. But these Cossacks have no military connection whatever with the Don Cossacks; the connection is at most a 'spiritual' one. With the conquest of Orenburg, the possibility was obtained for establishing connections with Turkestan. The railroad from Orenburg to Tashkent is, however, pretty well torn up, and a number of bands of White Guards are still harrying the line of the road. But we shall restore order there in a few days. The great majority of the Ural Cossacks are disbanding their armies, and seem willing to become decent citizens of Soviet Russia. The remnants of their main force are withdrawing in a westerly direction along the ridge of the Ural towards Ursk, and the days of the latter place are numbered. They are scattered divisions, much weaker in practice than the Don Cossacks. In Turkestan we have millions of poods of cotton, which is the necessary raw material for our principle industry, namely, textile manufactures. But it is not only our White Guards who are looking with greedy eyes toward Turkestan, but also England's imperialistic capitalism. It is not impossible that we shall collide with the English in the search for cotton. The English long ago took possession of Baku on the Caspian Sea with its great naphtha and oil wells. It is said that they already have fifty to sixty thousand men there, and that the Turkish troops have there also united with their enemies of the world war."

"Has Soviet Russia any war-ships on the Caspian Sea?"

"Yes, and we have also a firm hold on the seat of Astrakhan, at the mouth of the Volga, which has always been in our possession.

"We now come to our third front, namely the Czecho-Slovak front. The fact that these Czecho-Slovaks and Yugo-Slavs from Austria are operating

took the entire district east of the Volga from beyond Perm in the North, all the way down to Samara in the South. They obtained re-inforcements from Kolchak's Siberian divisions, and under Kolchak there prevails a severe Czarist military discipline. His extremely young officers are afraid of being swept down by their own soldiers, and therefore must with "kadaver" discipline seek



FROM A RUSSIAN RED GUARD PAPER *The Front*

to prevent any understanding of the political situation from reaching the uninformed privates. In addition to money and ammunition, they also received re-inforcements from time to time from France, England and other Entente powers. And these are very much needed, for most of the Czecho-Slovaks are tired of their own mercenary lackey services, and are already on their way home throughout the length of the Siberian railroad. We have thrown back the Kolchak army all the way from the Ural regions down to the neighborhood of Zlatoust. However, they will hold Perm, which fell through treachery. On the Archangel front, the French, English and Americans as is well known, have a private front of their own, the object of which is to cut us off from maritime communication by way of the White Sea. Simultaneously, the Entente talks about not desiring to intervene in any way in the affairs of Russia!

"On our fifth front, the Finnish front, Mannerheim is collecting his White Guards for a possible attack on Petrograd, —but he must wait for the signal to be given by his Entente friends. But don't forget that there are also Red Finns.

"In Esthonia, White Guards are in power. In addition to the Esthonians and a few thousand Finns, we here find also a number of Swedes. And behind the front here also is of course the Entente. The situation in Esthonia is not the most favorable for us, but here also the changes that are operating seem to be in our favor. Narva is already within range of our guns. Latvia (Kurland) is entirely in our hands, as is also the greater portion of Lithuania and White Russia. And in the next few days, these two provinces also will be cleared to the boundaries of Poland, and the soviet regime will be re-established. The Entente tried to form a continuous barrier against the Bolshevik bacillus, but I don't think they have succeeded—for we are in communication with Germany through Livonia and Kurland." Tavarish, Sklandsky here lighted a cigarette before proceeding to the favorite subject of all Soviet Russia, namely, the Ukrainian front.

"Ukraine! This is not only the romantic homeland of the Little Russian 'Cossacks,' but it is first and foremost the great granary from which comes our bread. And what word in the Russian language has such a fair sound at this time as the word Khleba—bread. This in truth is the battle cry of the Red Army."

We took an automobile ride with the President of the Moscow Soviet, Kameniev, to a military outpost at eleven o'clock in the morning, in honor of the first anniversary of the Red Army.

"There won't be any parade; the people are so hungry," explained Kameniev on the way. The battle cry of Khleba, is unfortunately only too realistic a background. I was not surprised that Sklandsky had to light not one, but two cigarettes before he got through with the seventh front, the Ukrainian front.

(Continued on page 7)



THE WORD ON THE FLAG IS "COMMUNE" AND THE WORD ON THE WALL IS "CAPITALISM"

along our eastern boundary in Siberia, is as a matter of fact one of the most remarkable accidents of the world war! They came to us as prisoners of war, but in the last few months of Czarism, and particularly under Kerensky, a great number of them were liberated and armed, namely, those who were willing to co-operate with Russia against Austrian and German Imperialism. After the revolution of November, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power, our government wanted to ship them home again by way of Siberia and Vladivostok," declared Sklandsky. "The Czecho-Slovaks now came under the influence of the White Guards and the members of the dissolved Constituent Assembly," continued Sklandsky. "And they got money and weapons from the Entente for their fight against Red Russia. At first they met with great success. They

Why Political Democracy Must Go

By John Reed

Why Political Democracy Must Go.

DURING the War the American Labor Unions were attacked under the pretense of "military necessity," their union regulations broken down, and results of years of organization wiped out. Pleading "patriotism," the employers' associations represented in the Council of National Defense and other bodies secured the suspension of labor legislation in some states. Men who were persistently active in labor organization, or who failed to buy Liberty bonds or contribute to the Red Cross, were thrown out of work, and rendered liable to the Army draft. Whole striking factories were threatened with instant conscription into the Army. In some parts of the country such workers, not only for opposing the war, but even for opposing the ruthless profiteering of employers, were blacklisted by the Councils of National Defense. At the same time private police and detective organizations, composed of business men and manufacturers, and authorized by the Department of Justice, used their power to crush labor organization wherever possible.

The Government created a joint body of workers' and employers' representatives called the War Labor Board, to settle industrial disputes. In many cases the awards, presumably binding upon the employers, were either accepted and not applied, or else partially disregarded. The most powerful corporations, such as the United States Steel Corporation, which has always resisted with terrorism and brute force all attempts of its employees at organization, the War Labor Board did not dare openly to affront.

Protests of the workers against unfair awards of arbitrators during the War were met by defiance and threats from Government officials—such as the flat refusal of Charles Piez, Director of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, to reconsider the Macy award to the Shipyard Workers of Seattle, and his ferocious denunciations of the men.

These measures proceeded from an Administration which Organized Labor had united almost solidly to elect, and whose leader—President Wilson—had flattered the vanity of the workers by reviewing the Labor Day parade with Samuel Gompers in 1916; and during a War which Organized Labor in America had voted overwhelmingly to support in the name of democracy.

A typical sufferer during the War was the Machinists' Union. The employers discovered that a skilled, highly-paid machinist was a useless luxury. Four unskilled workers could be taught each one part of a machinist's job, in a very short time. These four comparatively unskilled workers could do the work of four machinists, and do it much cheaper—thus destroying the union wage-scale, and throwing the skilled workers on the street.

It is interesting in this connection to quote from an article in *Fincher's Trades' Review*, written by William H. Sylvis, the first great American labor leader, in 1863, describing the same process applied to the Stove-Moulders:

"Simultaneous with this was introduced the 'helper system' . . . the stoves were cut up, that is, each man made one piece . . . Thus this system went on until it became necessary for each man to have from one to five boys; and . . . prices became so low that men were obliged to increase the hours of labor, and work much harder; and then could scarcely obtain the plainest necessities of life . . ."

It was directly from these conditions that the first powerful national labor union sprang—the Molders' International Union. Likewise, it was the replacing of skilled men with young apprentice-boys, at starvation wages, which was the chief grievance resulting in the second great union—the National Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths, under the leadership of another of the famous early American labor leaders, Jonathan C. Fincher.

The beginning of the Civil War,* with its industrial paralysis and widespread unemployment, wiped out whatever tentative labor organization had begun, except for the two great national unions above mentioned. But in 1862 the Government began its issuance of hundreds of millions of dollars in "greenbacks," which, accompanied by the high war tariff and the tremendous demand for army supplies, caused a hectic revival of industry, and laid the foundations for a class of capitalist employers. As in the European War just concluded, all classes profited except the wage-earners; for while wages in 1864 had risen 30%, the average of retail prices had risen 70%.

*Mass meetings of workmen to protest against the Civil War were held in Philadelphia, Reading, Norfolk, Peterborough and Richmond, Va., Cincinnati, St. Louis and Louisville, Ky., at which latter place a resolution was adopted declaring that "workmen had no real or vital issue in the mere abstract questions used to divide the masses." A national convention of workers met in Philadelphia in 1861 to oppose the War.

The frightful pressure on the working-class at this time led to an era of labor union organization, most of the unions being local, and affiliated in trades assemblies, which supported one another in strikes and boycotts. The local and scattered character of these small unions corresponded exactly to the conditions of production at the time. But by the end of the war the manufacture of standardized products, and the establishment, though the new railroads, of national markets, created rapidly, one after another, the great national unions. This was the real birth of the American Labor Movement.

Before the Civil War the Government was controlled by the Southern slave-holding class. This control was challenged by the small capitalists of the North, opposing the interests of wage labor to those of chattel-slavery. It was as a representative of this small property-holding class that Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency, and as a representative of this class that he conducted the war. He feared the growing ruthless power of Wall Street, and warned against it again and again. And when the war was ended, with the slave-power destroyed, he wished to see Reconstruction in the South proceed rapidly and generously, so that the rising class of small property-holders there could unite with the same class in the North to keep control of the Government. But Lincoln was assassinated, and there is no small evidence to prove that the bullet which killed him was fired from the direction of Wall Street . . . And the capitalists, seizing control of the Federal Government, proceeded to loot the South, and to create there such bitter sectional and racial antagonism, that it made co-operation between the small property holders of the North and South impossible and enabled a small group of capitalists to settle themselves firmly in the saddle. Finally, abandoning the ruined South, the ruling class turned its attention to looting the public domain, natural resources, and the Government—State and National. Great political machines were built up throughout the country, resting on political patronage and Governmental graft, whose power to this day has never been shaken off.

Before the Civil War there were no great capitalists. Industry was largely localized, the products being consumed where they were manufactured. There was plenty of free land in the West to which the exploited could go, and the workman could always become a small manufacturer and merchant on his own account. Literally speaking, *there was no wage-earning working-class as such in the United States.* But the free workmen of America who enlisted or were drafted into the Union armies, leaving a society in which the manufacturer came to them, returned after the war to find gigantic new centralized industries, to which they must travel and beg for work. With the development of power, transportation and great factories, industry after industry left the country and moved to the city; and the worker was forced to follow. This concentration in the cities was intensified by the waves of immigration from Europe. Free land was gone; not even the Homestead Law, breaking up the great land-holdings and creating millions of small land-owners, could prevent the growing concentration of labor power and capital. In fact, the new free-holders were at the mercy of the railroads, marketing facilities and banks, which were already in the hands of the great capitalists.

From before the Civil War to this day, the psychology of the American worker has been the psychology not of a class-conscious laborer, but of a small property holder. The evolution of industrial society in America has been so swift, that the American worker still has in his mind the idea that he may climb into the capitalist class.

Why?

Not the least of the reasons is, that two or three generations before Labor in other countries had received the first privilege for which it fought, the American worker had been given *the political vote*. The first manifestations of his class consciousness were *political* manifestations. In spite of unending disappointments, in spite of the hollowness of all his legislative victories, the American worker continues to believe the promises of the capitalist political parties, and *vote, vote, vote*.

It is to be noticed that the beginnings of American economic labor organization were dictated by the necessity for *defense* of his class interests—never *offense*. The Knights of Labor was founded to *defend* standards of living; the American Federation of Labor was formed to *defend* Labor's interests. Except comparatively lately, as partially in the I. W. W., American Labor has never supported any economic organization with a *political* object—that is to say, with the object of gaining control of the State. Its efforts at political conquest of government have

been in the form of political action—and this political action has never been a class-conscious proletarian movement, but always the joining of forces with the small property holders, in *their* efforts to conquer power. Such was the Union Labor Party, the Greenback Labor Party, the Populists, the Bryan Free-Silverites, the Progressives, and finally the Wilson Democrats. And, as we have noted in a preceding installment, these movements, which in essence were nothing more than revolts of debtors against the strangling greed of the great capitalists, failed utterly. The control of Government by the great capitalists was too strong to break.

In all these debtor-revolts, the farmer, who feels the pressure the most severely, was the most prominent element. Union labor followed the farmer—not as the propertyless industrial worker, but as the owner, or prospective owner, of a little property. The latest of these revolutionary movements of small property holders is the Non-Partisan League, with its program of State banks, State-controlled elevators and transportation lines, and its combination of the farmer with Union Labor in the cities to wrest control of the State from the great financial interests. It, too, will fail.

For more than half a century American Labor has turned its attention alternately from politics to economic organization. Says John R. Commons, in his "History of American Labor":

"The repeating cycle of politics and trade unionism, political struggle and economic struggle, political organization and economic organization, marks out the course of this history of labor."

In the last two decades before the European War, Union Labor, disenchanted with the failure of political action, adopted the course of adjuring politics, and developing the economic organization alone.

In the last decade before the European War, Houses of Congress, and was using the Courts to the Employers' Association had captured both Houses of Congress, and was using the Courts to revive "conspiracy" charges against labor organizations, and to defeat them by means of the injunction, turned its attention to politics in order to protect its economic action. Political pressure was brought to bear upon legislatures; lobbies were maintained at Washington, and in the State legislatures; the policy of "voting for our friends and defeating our enemies" was largely practised; Mr. Samuel Gompers and other labor leaders were familiar figures in Congressional Committee rooms, arguing for or against such and such a bill.

The legislative achievements of Union Labor are impressive. A Department of Labor in Washington, and State bureaus in almost every State; eight-hour laws in Government work, on the railways, and in many States; Federal Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation; Workmen's Compensation laws in most States; restriction of foreign immigration, and exclusion of Oriental laborers; Factory laws of all sorts, legislative safeguards, and legalization of strikes and picketing; and the Clayton Act, which declares that Labor is not a commodity, and professes to abolish the use of injunctions in industrial disputes—a law which Mr. Gompers hailed at "the new Magna Charta."

But in the last analysis, what does all this come down to? The Department of Labor in Washington represents nothing but the interests of the upper strata of skilled workers; it is headed by a former workingman, William B. Wilson, who acquiesces in the persecutions of striking miners by the copper barons of Arizona, and defends the deportation from the country of foreigners active in labor organization, on the ground that they are "Bolsheviki"; in other words, it faithfully serves the capitalist Government. Long before the Eight-Hour laws were enacted, it was recognized by the more intelligent capitalist employers that they would increase the efficiency of workmen; and even now they are not obeyed by corporations whose interests they do not serve. Boards of Arbitration either "arbitrate" in favor of the employers, who will not relinquish an atom of their power, or fail. Most Workmen's Compensation laws are subject to decisions of Industrial Commissions, or similar Government bodies, and to appeal in the capitalist courts. Factory laws are generally disregarded, and strikes and picketing, though legalized, are still practically outlawed by the police. The Clayton Act is not worth the paper it is printed on.

In spite of the phenomenal growth of the American Federation of Labor, and its increase of power, nevertheless industry has grown faster yet. Even before the war, that great achievement of the American Federation of Labor, the "trade agreement," a sort of partnership between organized labor and capital,—in which contracts were signed between bargaining groups to cover a period of time—had been abolished in the largest companies, such as the United States Steel Corporation. Little by little

Left Wing Notes

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

For the National Executive Committee, 1st District: N. 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.

For Executive Secretary of Local New York: Maximilian Cohen.

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

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

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

Appeal for Funds for The N. Y. Communist

COMRADES: The Left Wing is in need of funds for the issuance of its paper; we have no dues paying membership and are solely dependent upon the voluntary contributions of comrades for our support. If you think our movement is necessary, if you feel that we must have public expression, you must come to our support. In the present crisis, more than ever before, we must keep in the field, our paper must be published. WE NEED FUNDS.

Cleveland, May 8, 1919.

Dear Comrade: Thank you very much for the check for \$10.00 for subscriptions. It is especially appreciated at this moment.

In regard to the May Day Demonstration and the attack made upon us by the agents of the exploiters, I wrote the story for the *Revolutionary Age*, and also sent an account which appears in this week's *Socialist News to The New York Call*. No doubt one of these will reach you.

At the present time the tools of the ruling class are trying their utmost to make use of the fact that in the fighting which resulted from the attack upon us, two policemen were hurt, to railroad Tom Clifford and me to the penitentiary for from one to fifteen years. The charge against us is assault with intent to kill, and the basis of the charge is a speech, or speeches, we made urging people to participate in the May Day Demonstration.

A gang, probably picked for the job, smashed our headquarters while the comrades were fighting against the gangsters and hoodlums, aided by police, who attacked them. Everything was smashed or stolen, and of course, we are working under difficulties just now. We have about a hundred comrades in the workhouse, most of whom, in addition to their days, have a fine included in their sentences, and we must raise \$2,500.00 to pay these fines so that they will not have to work them out at sixty cent a day, as well as to raise the funds to fight the cases still pending.

However, the fighting spirit of the movement is not killed. Last Monday we accepted 335 new members. Another day is coming and we will fight on until victory is ours.

Fraternally yours,
C. E. RUTHENBERG.

the "basic" industries are lost to Organized Labor. And the great mass of the unskilled workers, deliberately excluded from the ranks of the privileged skill workers of the Federation, had been recruited by the I. W. W., which abjured political action of any sort, and whose object was the conquest of the State by economic action.

The end of the European War leaves the great capitalists in command of the industrial world, and determined, if they can, to destroy labor organization for good and all.

This is the result of the votes of the workers who put the Democratic Administration in power.

To meet this menace a powerful movement has sprung up in the ranks of Union Labor, to form a Labor Party—a political organization which, by means of legislative reforms, will conquer power for the workers. Its program bears the marks of its historical genealogy—the psychology of the small property holder, and not of the proletarian.

The method of its organization shows once more American Labor's invincible trust in the vote, and in the possibility of "partnership" with the capitalist class.

Only after painful experience will Labor realize that the capitalist State is "nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

Labor cannot enter into "partnership" within the capitalist State. Labor can only win the product of its toil by the overthrow of the entire capitalist system—nothing less.

[To be continued]

"Editor of THE COMMUNIST: The members of the 17th A. D. read Mr. Blumstein's letter in the May 8th issue of the COMMUNIST, with a great consensus of opinion that we are very fortunate to have had the presence of this individual in our camp, only as a spy; and the feeling is one of relief rather than dismay, at the loss of the best and only original "Minutes Stealer" in the organization.

"Mr. Blumstein claims that in publishing certain remarks of his, THE COMMUNIST 'blackmailed' him. Does Mr. Blumstein know what blackmail really is, or is it possible that the editor of THE COMMUNIST demanded that Blumstein turn over substantial parts of his private fortune as 'hush money?'"

"If Mr. Blumstein means to deny that he pointed out certain Party Members to a policeman, declaring that they are 'Anarchists and should be deported,' then to his other accomplishments he has added that of being a liar, because the writer can at any time produce the members whom he so attacked. It is possible that Mr. Blumstein was at the time in such a rage that he does not remember having made the statements. The writer would be quite willing to accept this explanation which is probably the true one, and it would also justify Mr. Blumstein's existence as a member of the outlaw executive committee of Local New York.

"Fraternally,
"JULIUS CODKIND."

2nd A. D. Kings has joined the Left Wing.

Italian Branch of the 2nd A. D., Manhattan, unanimously joined the Left Wing.

Regular meeting of the City Committee held May 11th, 1919.

Meeting called to order and Comrade Hammer elected as chairman.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and accepted with one correction.

Following credentials submitted and accepted: Wm. Schachter and Dolgin, 17th A. D. Halpern and Sirkin, Jewish Br. 3, Local Bronx. Nesim and Pfeffer, 2nd A. D., N. Y.

Steinhilber and Reichenthal, Branch Ridgewood No. 1. Scharf and Goodman, Branch 2, 5th A. D., Local Queens. Camorda and Quintiliani, 2nd A. D., Italian.

The following communications were read: A letter from Local Hartford that they voted for the Manifesto and send their greetings to us. Letter filed.

From Local Queens that the Executive Committee instructed its delegates to the Central Committee to express the intentions of Local Queens to help the 17th A. D., to retain its membership, and to instruct the delegates to the State Committee demanding that the Berenberg resolution be submitted to a referendum at once. Communication referred to Executive Committee.

From the Lettish Branch, donating a money order of \$26.20 for the COMMUNIST. Accepted.

From Buffalo, with a contribution from Polish Branch, amounting to \$5.65. Accepted.

Leaflet from Cleveland referred to the COMMUNIST.

From five locals up-state asking for Left Wing speakers. Request has already been complied with and Gitlow to go as speaker. Communication filed.

Executive Secretary's report:

Income for the month of April	\$1,304 17
Expenditures	1,219 03
Balance	\$ 85 14
Previous balance on hand	322 76
Cash on hand	\$417 90

Subscription lists are coming in slowly and he suggests the issuance of pledge cards, and to advertise the COMMUNIST by getting out posters or placards. To initiate a referendum for the recall of the Executive Secretary of Local New York. The regular membership meeting was called for May 25th. To issue proclamation on the Peace Treaty. Branch Ridgewood donated \$20.00.

Executive Committee's report: Recommendation to print 5,000 lists of the various nominees for the coming elections, and to advertise the COMMUNIST on the back of these lists. Concurred in.

That all delegates to City Central Committee secure referendum ballots for the debarred branches. Concurred in.

That City Committee concur in action of editors and business manager in printing COMMUNIST at Graphic Press at \$120.00. Carried.

That the letter from Gerber announcing the re-organization of the 8th A. D., be printed in THE COMMUNIST with necessary comment, and to instruct the suspended mem-

bers to stand firm and proceed with their business. Concurred in.

Motion carried that the same action be taken by all other suspended branches, and that the secretary send a letter to the 2nd A. D., advising them how to proceed when their branch is re-organized.

Recommendation that the basis for the Left Wing National Convention be the acceptance of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program with amendments and to work out a Constitution. Concurred in.

Motion carried that the latter parts of Section (C) and (E) on page 13 be stricken out from the Manifesto.

Recommendation that the delegates to the National Convention use their own discretion on matters they are not instructed in, always preserving the Left Wing principles. Concurred in.

Recommendation that the place for the calling of the National Convention be left to the committee called for that purpose. Concurred in.

Recommendation that the representation be one for every 500 members or fraction thereof without limitation as to maximum representation. Concurred in.

Recommendation to elect 12 delegates and three alternates. Concurred in.

Delegates elected are: Lindgren, Hourwich, Lore, Paul, Waton, Wolfe, MacAlpine, Reed, Larkin, Cohen, Zucker and Gitlow. Alternates elected are: Hammer, K. Brodsky and Vaughn.

Motion carried that the Executive Committee with the Left Wing members of regular City Committee, proceed at once for the calling of a meeting of the Convention of all the Greater New York locals for the purpose of consolidating them into one local, and that it be done immediately.

Motion carried to call a membership meeting and elect there an emergency committee to function for the expelled members and branches.

Announcement that Local Queens donated \$5.00. That they will initiate a motion to stop the expulsion of members.

Motion carried to refer to the Executive Committee the selling of Martens' newly translated book "A Year of Proletarian Dictatorship," and the printing of the book by Bucharin.

Charges were preferred against Cornell; that he voted against the Left Wing on all propositions at a meeting of Local Kings. Charges referred to the Executive Committee Meeting adjourned.

FANNIE HOROWITZ,
Recording Secretary.

AS charges have now been preferred against Gitlow by the Right Wing in the Bronx, the Left Wing has dropped its investigation of him.

We are informed that owing to the inability of the Right Wing spies to get material, *The Socialist* will only appear once every two weeks, weather and other circumstances permitting.

This will be a great disappointment to many comrades who are awaiting with breathless interest for Berenberg to reach the Left Wing Manifesto and Program in his article "The Left Wing Manifesto".

We, ourselves, find it difficult to curb our impatience for further utterances from Louis Waldman as to what Socialism really is.

But perhaps as he is going on the barricades he will not have time for writing.

Speaking of barricades we would ask Louis is he going to fight like a tiger when he gets there.

We understand that the 2nd A. D. is going to hold a meeting for the purpose of instructing Julius S. Smith as to what is really transpiring in his Branch. If he has not time to attend Branch meetings, 5c a week expended on THE COMMUNIST will keep him accurately informed.

We are glad to learn from *The Socialist* that Pancho Villa is a Standard Oil bandit, as this probably accounts for why John D. Rockefeller was so opposed to the efforts of the United States to take Villa dead or alive.

As to *The Socialist* enquiry about how to get Marx' "Capital" for 50 cents, we wonder that the editors should need Marx when they have Waldman, who is going to give the state the railroads, coal mines, water-ways, telegraph and telephone lines. Pood old Charley Marx had an idea that the state would be abolished under Socialism.

The Right Wing has discovered that Comrade Max Cohen is not an American citizen. This is causing great indignation among the Semi-Comrades who have just taken out their second papers.

We want to make our position clear once and for all. Although we admit Max Cohen is at fault, we refuse to sign a petition to have him deported. Besides he informs us that if he had been a citizen he might have been an Alderman, and this decided him to remain in the outer darkness.

The statement of the Executive Committee of Local New York, concerning the Left Wing, reads like Babuschka Breshkovskaya's appeal for intervention in Russia.

LEFT WING MEMBERSHIP MEETING

— ON —

SUNDAY, MAY 25th, at 1 P. M.

— AT —

MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 EAST 4th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

TO ELECT AND INSTRUCT

DELEGATES TO NATIONAL

LEFT WING CONFERENCE

The Productivity of Russian Labor

From the Russian Soviet Government's First Annual Report

(Continued from last week.)

By A. Lomov

At the beginning of 1918 a definite break became obvious in the mood of the workers, in the sense of recognizing the necessity of introducing strict labor discipline and a readiness and willingness to have the piece-wage established. At the same time the administration of the establishment undertook the planning and gradual realization of a project of technical reorganization of the factory production; the factory committee, at the same time selecting the best methods of introducing labor discipline, propagated the idea of the necessity of the latter amongst the masses of the workers.

In the Spring of the present year there was organized a mixed committee of representatives of the administration and workers' organizations, which worked out rules for the internal factory management; these were later confirmed by a general meeting of the workers and the administration of the establishment.

The practical introduction of labor disciplinary rules which in the main correspond to the labor laws, having for its purpose the introduction of the piece-wage, required a certain time for preliminary work and the improvement of the technical equipment of the shops; but during June, July and August these problems were in a greater or lesser degree solved, and the factory now works completely on the bases of piece-wage scales.

The introduction of piece work was preceded by serious doubts on the part of the workers as well as on that of the administration, because they feared that at the beginning the wages of piece workers would prove insufficient as a result of the general disintegration of production, and also because the workers themselves had lost the habit of more intensive labor. The workers greatly doubted the success of the enterprise, particularly on account of their physical exhaustion as a result of poor nutrition; it seemed that the general desire to establish the piece-wage system was threatened by no small dangers. It was decided that at the beginning, approximately for about three months, the rules of labor discipline would be applied with the necessary laxity, and that to the tariff scales there would be added, in case of necessity, pre-payment to individual workers in cases where the price-fixing commission found that the failure to produce the output required was not a result of negligence or lack of skill on the part of the worker himself, but the result of the general decline of efficiency in production.

But finally, however, these fears proved to be considerably exaggerated, and the output of the workers turned out to be completely satisfactory, so much so that the above mentioned correctives had to be applied in rare cases only.

While establishing new wage scales, the latter were increased as compared to the rates of 1914 proportionately to the average exchange, with an additional 25% on account of the shortening of the working day from 10 to 8 hours, 25% on account of the decrease of labor efficiency as a result of poor nutrition and about 1% to 10% on account of a somewhat lowered norm accepted for an average daily output in 1914.

Thus the accepted increase in piece wages for regular work, to which class most labor belongs, showed itself, as regards the hourly output, in an increase of 50%, and in regard to a daily output an increase of 35%. Some jobs, having no direct examples in 1914, were revalued anew in accordance with the experience of the daily output; in several factories the above mentioned increases were made.

As a result of wages calculated thus, it was proven that the average weekly pay of piece workers has exceeded the daily pay by 30-160%, an average of about 80%; i. e., the average output of workers during the eight hour working day is already now about equal to that produced in 1910 during a ten hour working day. The comparison of several separate operations has enabled us to discover the average hourly production of labor. The time passed since the introduction of piece-work is not sufficient to warrant a final conclusion of the results achieved, but nevertheless, the

fact that the hourly productivity of labor in 1914 has already been attained, must be considered more or less established. In the future, with the elimination of the technical and economic disintegration of production, and with an increased adaptability of the workers themselves to more intensive labor, we must expect a marked increase in production irrespective of any changes in the technical aspects of the work.

Similar information we have regarding the Tilman and Lubetskoye factories in the Moscow districts. The reports of a number of chemical, powder and other factories show an increase in the productivity of labor to a norm approaching that of peace time.

At the present time when the most acute period of hunger must be considered as passed, when the harvesting of the grain goes on in the main satisfactorily, one may and should expect further improvements in this field. For was not hunger that merciless power which could "destroy everything," as the workers' representatives used to say? The proletariat gradually takes possession of industry. For the year of the revolution he can with pride view the past route and to look at the incarnation of his slogans in ordinary practical life. There is much more for him to do, but the most difficult has already been achieved. Now everything is clear: the road is found, the work begun. With the greatest heroism the Russian worker realizes his economic system of Communism, gradually and infallibly perfecting its mechanism. That which the bourgeois world of Europe could not manage, that which the Kerensky band of chatterboxes could not handle, the Russian workers are beginning to accomplish successfully. At the time when bourgeois economy disintegrates more and more with every passing hour, the proletarian people's economy develops and becomes stronger. The first already gives off the breath of a rotting corpse, the second is just beginning to live and to blossom. The dead are still clinging to the living, but with growing resolution does the young world push down the old one. The Russian worker no longer wants to live in a kingdom of ghosts and shadows, he longingly stretches out his hands to the coming Spring, for ever breaking with the old system. Without compassion or pity he breaks with it, leaving to the bourgeois corpses to bury their dead.

It is necessary to note besides the economic, also the psychological significance for the workers of the nationalization of industry. From the moment of the transfer of industries into the hands of the Soviet government, the worker no longer labors for the benefit of a capitalist, but for that of the whole republic of proletarians and poor peasants. If before nationalization the worker had not sufficient incentive to increase the intensity of labor to the point of high efficiency, then, from the moment of workers' control, everything changes radically. Upon him now depends the finding of raw materials and fuel, the obtaining of orders, the delivery of the products, the financing of production and the payment of the workers. The deep significance of the November Revolution as it is prompted by the class feeling of the workers, consists in nationalization, which is becoming socialization, of the whole industry.

Those who daily and nightly sing funeral songs over the economic measures of the Soviet govern-

ment, do not notice the basic tendency to an increase in the productivity of labor which has markedly developed in the last few months.

The workers and their government cannot manage industry! Back to capitalism! Such is the "revolutionary" slogan of the Capitalist-Menshevik bloc.

Alas! — merciless history here also laughs at them. In Ukraine and Siberia the power has temporarily passed from the workers to the bourgeoisie, and the latter immediately has replaced the economic plan of the proletariat by one of its own. And what are the results of this change?

To all the critics of the Communist program of the Paris workers of 1871, Marx replied—"Does capitalistic society still exist in its maiden state of purity and chastity? Have not its bases developed, its self-deceptions been revealed, its prostituted reality been discovered?"

Back to capitalism! Here is the sole light-house amidst the stormy waves of the Communist Revolution. Thus think "Socialists" suckled by a bourgeois wet nurse in childhood fifty years after the experience of the Commune.

The capitalists must return to the factories and mills and pull the reins harder, because labor discipline and the productivity of labor have decreased. They forget that the fall in the productivity of labor is an incessant process that went on with gigantic strides both during Czarism and Kerenskyism.

Let the impartial language of the official statistics of the capitalist government of Skoropadsky give a clear and exhaustive reply to the question at issue.

The output of coal and anthracite in the Donetz basin was shown in 1918 in the following figures of millions of poods:

January	80	million poods
February	38	" "
March	65.7	" "
April	45	" "
May coal	27	" "
May anthracite	20	" "
June coal	12	" "
June anthracite	4	" "

For the railroads it became necessary to import Silsian coal (from Germany). In July a bourgeois genius proposes to increase the output of the Donetz basin . . . to 18 millions poods—a figure, according to our conviction, greatly exaggerated. The Kiev flock of professors and bourgeois, relying upon Austro-German military and capitalistic forces, for two and a half months of its works, can only admit the complete failure of its economic program. However, of this speaks not only the impartial language of figures, but the Austro-German command itself, in whose "control" the coal mines were placed. Not long ago it unofficially put to the members of the peace delegation of the Soviet Republic the following question: On what conditions would the Soviet Republic be willing to assist them in organizing the coal output in the Donetz basin? To ask such a question means to confess their own impotence. But not only the coal industry is in a state of complete paralysis, the entire metallurgy of the South is also dead since the day of the capture of power in Ukraine by the adventurous traitors who sold themselves to the sharks of German and Austrian capitalism.

Under conditions of the present revolution the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of managing or of reconstructing industry, while the proletariat each day makes possession of them all the firmer and better.

Frightened, the bourgeois do not want to see the tendency toward the strengthening of labor control; stubborn in their desire to overthrow the workers' dictatorship, they close their ears when reality speaks of an increase in the productivity of labor.

RUSSIAN VETCHERINKA

TO CELEBRATE THE OPENING OF THE
NEW HEADQUARTERS

Will be given by the

5th RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN BRANCH
274 Grand Street

ON SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1919

Admission 25 cents

An Outline of the Communist International

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

II.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the annihilation of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The power of the bourgeoisie lies in its state machinery, with its capitalist army under the leadership of capitalist-junker officers, its police, its prison wardens and judges, its parsons, state officers, etc. The conquest of political power means not only the change of persons in the cabinet of ministers, but the annihilation of the state machinery of the foe, the conquest of the real power, the disarming of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers, of the workers' Red Guard; the abolition of all capitalist judges and the organization of the proletarian court; the abolition of the rule of the reactionary state officers and the creation of new executive organs of the proletariat. Immediately after the victory of the proletariat follows the disorganization of the hostile power, the organization of the proletarian power, the destruction of the capitalist, and the erection of the proletarian, state machinery. Only after the proletariat has become victorious and the resistance of the bourgeoisie has been broken, can the workers use their former foes for the new order, place them under control, and gradually add to the work of the communist construction.

* * *

The proletarian state, like every state, is a machine for suppression, but this machinery is directed against the foe of the working class. Its aim is to break the resistance of the exploiters, who use all the power at their command to smother the revolution in blood; its aim is to make this resistance impossible; the proletarian dictatorship,

which openly places the working class in a privileged position in society, is on the other hand a provisional institution. When the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, when it is expropriated and gradually reduced to the labor strata, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, the states dies out and with it classes vanish.

So-called democracy, i. e., bourgeois democracy, is nothing but the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The much praised general "national will" exists as much as the "united people." In reality the classes exist—the classes with opposite, irreconcilable purposes. But as the bourgeoisie is a small minority, it needs this fiction—the "national will" — of nice, pleasant-sounding words to strengthen its dominion over the laboring classes and impose its will upon the proletariat. The proletariat, on the contrary, being an overwhelming majority of the population, exercises the class power of its mass organization, of its soviets (councils), to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to assure the transition to the communist society.

The main power of bourgeois democracy lies in the purely formal declaration of "rights and liberties," which are unattainable by the laboring people, the proletarians and half-proletarians, while the bourgeoisie utilizes its material means to deceive and defraud the people through its press and its organization. In opposition to this the soviet system (council system), this new type of the State power, endeavors mainly to give the proletariat an opportunity to realize its rights and liberties. The soviet power gives the best palaces, houses, printing shops, paper stocks, etc., to the workers for their press, their meetings, their unions and other organizations. And only through such methods will proletarian democracy be realized.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary

system, defrauds, by words, the masses of participation in the state administration. Actually the masses and their organizations are totally deprived of the real state administration. In the soviet system the masses themselves administer, for the soviets attract the ever-increasing multitude of the workers to the state administration. Only through this method will the whole laboring people gradually become interested and take an active part in the administration. The soviet system rests upon the mass organizations of the proletariat, upon the soviets themselves, upon the revolutionary labor unions, cooperatives, etc.

Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system separate the masses from the State, by the division of legislative and executive power, by the toleration of unrecalable mandates. In the soviet system, on the contrary, the right of recall, the union of the legislative and executive power, the function of the soviets as working colleges, unite the masses with the administrative organs. This unity is promoted also by the fact that under the soviet system the elections themselves are conducted, not in accordance with artificial territorial districts, but in accordance with productive units.

The soviet system thus realizes true proletarian democracy, the democracy for and of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is preferred in a sense as the leading, best organized and politically most mature class, under which the half proletarians and small peasants gradually arise. This provisional privilege of the industrial proletariat is utilized to withdraw the poorer petit-bourgeois masses in the country, from the influence of the large peasants and the bourgeoisie, and to organize and educate them as co-workers in Communist construction.

Soviet Russia's Red Army

(Continued from page 3)

"The greater part of the Ukraine is now in the hands of the workers' and peasants' government of the Ukraine. And this will be the greatest aid to Soviet Russia. Let us first consider the regiments of the directorate under Hetman Petlura, and then the troops of the Entente. In Petlura's army are the Ukrainian nationalists and the counter-revolutionists, in addition to some Galician regiments. His troops nevertheless are already fairly disorganized and are deserting to us in masses. Our Bolshevik Hetman in Ukraine is Rakovsky, formerly very prominent in the Rumanian S. P. In Sebastopol and Odessa the Entente has its main basis of operations. They even have negroes there. In Ukraine we have captured districts which have put all together several millions of poods of grain into our surplus. The

Germans obtained no more than a fraction of the grain they expected from Ukraine. It was a poor speculation on the patriotism of other races! What they got they found on the farms of big farmers and land-holders, where it had been collected in great stores. But the small farmers were crafty, as they always are, they buried the grain in their fields!"

Comrade Sklansky lighted his fourth cigarette before he got through with Ukraine. We also went into the question of the inner organization and the working methods of "Red Army." But we must postpone this to another day.

It is so cold here in the "Iron corridor" in the fortress of the Kremlin, that I am hardly anxious to look a bit at the heavy military map

which I only got this evening, sent to me from the All Russia General Staff. It shows that the front of the Red Army, drawn continuously and without any regard to the thin reporting and patrol lines, represent a front-line of all together 12,000 kilometers, in other words, five times as long as the entire external island coastline of Norway from Christiana to Borislep on the Varangian boundary! And the area which the Red Army has won back for Central Russia in the first year of its activity amounts to about 3,240,000 square kilometers, or about ten times the area of all of Norway.

And now I shall light a Russian cigarette. I am eager physically to find something that will fill the largest space in a short time—even if it is only cigarette smoke.

A Moderate Socialist Office-Holder

(Continued from page 1)

Q.—Tell us what you spoke on—that social revolution?

(Question objected to by Zabel and objection sustained.)

After he had testified and was leaving the court building, LaDucca was arrested by the police. Counsel for defense objected to the arrest of a witness for he defense, to which Zabel gave the following answer:

Zabel—If this man was taken I don't know, he is not a witness any more, he has testified and has left the court room; and what the police department does with him is none of counsel's business.

In reporting the arrest of LaDucca, *The Milwaukee Leader* wrote as follows:

"Three other members of the local Italian branch of the Socialist party were arrested Monday, and the police announced that literature had been found on their persons that might prove of significance."

After deliberating seventeen minutes, the jury found the eleven defendants guilty of "Assault with Intent to Murder."

Commenting on their conviction, *The Milwaukee Leader* of December 29th, 1917, had the following to say:

"The element which seemed to weigh most heavily against the defendants during the trial was the fact that they were supposed to have been members of an alleged anarchistic organization in Bay View (Milwaukee) which advocated the overthrow of the existing forms of government and society by force."

Judge Augustus C. Backus imposed upon the

eleven defendants a uniform sentence of twenty-five years' imprisonment, the minimum sentence that he might have imposed upon them being one year.

Before imposing sentence Judge Backus addressed to the defendants the following words:

"There can be no excuse for your actions. You have banded yourselves together and worshipped at the shrine of criminal anarchy. You have been drinking from the bitter cup of poison which has led to your destruction."

The man responsible for the sending to prison of eleven Milwaukee workers for a term of twenty-five years, who charged them with a crime, which, it was evident, they did not commit, and who brought about their conviction by brazen illegalities, by the vilest sort of trickery and by inflaming the minds of the members of the Jury against the defendants by producing evidence intended to show that the defendants were socialists, members of the I. W. W. and anarchists, was Winfred C. Zabel, Socialist District Attorney for Milwaukee County.

It remained for the Supreme Court of Wisconsin to almost entirely undo the crime against eleven members of the working class committed by Socialist District Attorney Winfred C. Zabel. The Wisconsin Supreme Court has just set aside the conviction secured by Zabel in the case of nine of the eleven prisoners, seven of whom have been freed altogether (after having spent over a year and a half in prison) and two of whom are to get another trial. The two whose conviction the Supreme Court confirmed, will, as appears likely, soon be pardoned.

ATTENTION!

Members of local Bronx Socialist Party.
SHALL LOCAL BRONX GO LEFT?

TO DISCUSS THIS MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION CONFRONTING THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL BRONX ALL COMRADES ARE URGED TO ATTEND A

MASS MEETING

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 18th
At 1 o'clock

At the FINNISH HALL,
[Bronx Opera House Bldg.,]
442 East 149th Street

The following speakers will address the meeting:

BERTRAM WOLFE
JOHN REED
J. BRODSKY
JAY LOVESTONE

ADMISSION FREE, Party Cards Must Be Shown.

The Pink Terror

IV. Bloody Thursday in the 8th A. D.

ON Thursday evening, just as dusk was descending on the East Side and lights began to appear in the store windows, a number of Right Wing members of the 8th A. D., grasping white papers firmly in their right hands, were seen slinking in the shadows of the houses toward East 4th Street. When a fellow member of the Branch approached they were observed to huddle closer to the wall and hurry past with averted faces. They were on their way to the "reorganization" meeting in Casino Hall, 85 East 4th Street, at the command of the Executive Committee, and the last lingering shreds of conscience still troubled them. But black night, under whose pall men do deeds that blanch their faces in the clear light of dawn, dropped down, and smothering the faint cries of conscience, the Ring Wingers hurried on.

Early the same morning a carefully picked group of Right Wingers had received the following letter:

"Dear Comrade:—A meeting of the members of the 8th Assembly District, Socialist Party, will be held Thursday, May 8th, at 8.30 P. M., at the Casino Hall, 85 East 4th Street.

"This meeting is called by the Executive Committee of Local New York for the purpose of reorganizing a branch of the Socialist Party in the 8th Assembly District.

"For the past months, it was impossible for the members of the branch to conduct meetings, and to transact the legitimate business of the Party because of a group of self-styled 'Left-Wingers,' who place allegiance to factionalism above that of the Party and who have organized a Party within the Party, meeting behind closed doors and deciding beforehand what is to be done at the meetings of the branch; send delegates to a Central Committee of a faction where these delegates receive instructions what they are to do and how they are to act at the meetings of the Central Committee, with every member bound to vote in the branch as the leaders dictate; and every delegate in the Central Committee must act as the steering committee directs.

"The Party organization must be free from any dictatorship, no matter in what form it manifests itself.

"This meeting on Thursday, May 8th, is to place an organization in the district free from dictators and from outside influence.

"There is no intention of curbing the ideas of the comrades. Discussion of Party matters are always desirable, but there is no room for another organization within the organization, and only such comrades who are not members of the 'Left Wing Section' or who have ceased to be affiliated and left the 'Left Wing' will be admitted to membership.

"Bring your Party card with you, as no one will be admitted without a card. Only members of the 8th A. D. will be admitted.

"All comrades having the welfare of the Party at heart, and who are not members of the 'Left Wing' should attend, and help build up a loyal party branch in the 8th A. D.

Yours for a United and Solidified Organization,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Local New York, Socialist Party.

Simultaneously the organizer of the Branch, Comrade Dauber, received the following ukase:

Mr. Sam Dauber,
Organizer, 8th Assembly District,
Local New York, Socialist Party.

"Dear Comrade:—This is to inform you that the Executive Committee decided, that in view of the fact that your branch is affiliated and an integral part of the so-called 'Left Wing Section,' an organization within the party organization, organized for the purpose to destroy the party organization, and contrary to the decisions of Local New York, your branch is therefore suspended from the organization, and is no longer an integral part of Local New York.

"A meeting of the members of the 8th A. D. will be called by the sub-committee of the Executive Committee as soon as practicable for the purpose of reorganizing the branch.

"For the Executive Committee of Local New York.
"JULIUS GERBER,
"Executive Sec'y."

Several Left Wingers, being informed of the

plot, went down to Casino Hall to investigate the matter. Once inside the building they were subjected to a close scrutiny by the retainers of the Executive Committee, led by Grossman, and those known to be Left Wingers were refused admittance to the meeting. Those who survived this first examination were ushered into the hall where they were immediately seized by the second line of defense, led by Abe Beckerman, alias Abie the Agent, of the 6th A. D., and subjected one by one, to a protracted investigation as to their political, religious and artistic beliefs.

"Are you a member of the Left Wing?" one comrade was asked.

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

"Do you submit to this reorganization?"

When he refused to answer these questions he was informed that he couldn't be a member of the Party unless he answered. Herepliedthathehadbeen a member of the Socialist Party for four years, that no charges had ever been brought against him, and that he had no reason to believe that he was under compulsion to answer any questions. A discussion then took place between the members of the investigating committee, some wanting to expel him from the meeting and others arguing that he be allowed to remain. Finally they decided to allow him to stay.

After some thirty or forty people had gathered in the hall, Potter, a member of the 21st A. D., took the chair and announcing that the meeting was open, called upon Beckerman to state its purpose. Beckerman announced that the Executive Committee wanted the names and addresses of those who stood for the "reorganization" scheme. He further explained that these names would be investigated and another meeting called for those who were found to be satisfactory—or in other words, sufficiently devoid of intelligence to obey without question all the commands of the Party bureaucracy.

He continued to the effect that as he was not sure that all those present were Right Wingers, no business could be transacted. At this point somebody called attention to the fact that the chairman had not been elected. Immediately Anita C. Block augmented Abie's remarks by saying that those who gave their names in would be investigated, and if found to be O. K., would be invited to another meeting.

Comrade Schneider, who is not a member of the Left Wing, made an objection to this procedure, and moved that the meeting start reorganization right away and for that purpose that a chairman be immediately elected and the meeting proceed to business. Beckerman told the chairman that this motion was out of order and the semi-comrade from the 21st A. D. ruled accordingly. Schneider ap-

pealed from the decision of the chair but Beckerman again instructed that no appeals were in order and the chair so ruled. Schneider protested this decision and several comrades demanded that the protest be recorded, but Beckerman, with that cold logic that so often has saved the Board of Aldermen from deviating from the paths of duty, pointed out that as there were no records nothing could be recorded.

It was then decided by the Executive Committee's mercenaries that only questions were in order. Asked whether any member of the Socialist Party, not a member of the Left Wing, would be permitted to join the new Branch no matter what his or her beliefs, Beckerman answered in the affirmative. Whereupon he was asked how his answer squared with Anita C. Block's statement, but this he refused to answer on the ground that he did not want to enter into a personal discussion.

He then declared the meeting adjourned. It is authoritatively stated that the net results of the meeting were about twelve names and addresses. Waldman claims 71, but his knowledge of the facts doubtless equals his knowledge of Socialism.

While this serio-comic meeting was going on, the majority of the members of the Branch were attending the regular Branch meeting in the headquarters, which was still intact owing to the fact that a guard had been formed to protect the furniture from Assemblymen and Aldermen with a penchant for pilfering. Under a special order of business, Gerber's letter to the organizer was taken up first.

A motion was made to disregard the action of the Executive Committee and proceed to carry on the ordinary business of the Branch as heretofore, and to make an immediate appeal to the State Committee to rescind the action of the Executive Committee. After some discussion, during which the members who had been attending the "reorganization" fiasco came in, the motion was carried unanimously. Two reporters from *The Socialist*, the organ of the Pink Terror, Berenberg and Tuvim, were present during the meeting, and were observed taking copious notes which will doubtless appear in the next issue, if the publication is able to survive the publication of Waldman's speech.

Thus ended Bloody Thursday. The plot for the political butchery of the 8th A. D. fizzled out, and according to the latest advices the Executive Committee was gathered in Gerber's office weeping bitterly over the twelve pitiful names which represented what was to have been a new and obedient Branch. Our statistician computes that taking into account the deposit paid on the furniture van, which was held in readiness, the price of Casino Hall, and the hire of mercenaries, besides the tip to the cop on the beat, each name cost the comrades of Local New York over \$10, to say nothing of the cost of the cellar where the plot was hatched.

For the Freedom of Debs and all other Political Prisoners

The Conference of the Russian revolutionary Socialist organizations of New York and vicinity calls you to a

MASS MEETING

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21st, 1919

At MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 East 4th Street

SPEAKERS

John Reed N. Hourwich
Eadmonn MacAlpine P. Gelibter
COME AT 8 P. M. — ADMISSION FREE

8TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Comrades: The Joint District Committee of the 8th Assembly District has called for a Special Meeting of all 8th A. D. branches on Thursday, May 22nd, 8 P. M. at Branch Headquarters, 122 Second Ave. Important matters will be discussed.

THE JOINT DISTRICT COMMITTEE,
BENJ. LIFSHITZ, Organizer

For the Freedom of Debs and all other Political Prisoners

The Conference of the Russian Revolutionary Socialist organizations of New York and vicinity, together with the 4th Russian Branch S. P. calls you to a

MASS MEETING

TO BE HELD

FRIDAY, MAY 16th 1919

At BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM

219-227 Sackman Street,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Speakers

In English:

M. ZUCKER H. WATON
BERT WOLFE
N. HOURWICH, Russian
P. GELIBTER, Yiddish

COME AT 8 P. M. SHARP

Admission Free !!

HALL TO RENT

43 WEST 29th STREET, NEW YORK

LIGHT, CLEAN, AIRY HALL
SEATING OVER 100 PEOPLE

CAN BE RENTED FOR SEVERAL DAYS AND EVENINGS DURING THE WEEK. :: ::

MODERATE CHARGES TO LABOR UNIONS. :: :: ::

Apply to JAMES DUNLAVEY,
Caretaker.

HEAR YE ! HEAR YE ! HEAR YE !

Loosen your belts and get ready!

The big day is coming.

Time: Saturday Evening, May 17th, 1919.

Place: 8th A. B. Branch Headquarters, 122 Second Ave.

Occasion: Get-together membership.

Dancing, talking, eating, singing, excitement de luxe.

Pretty girls and lively men.

—SPEAKERS—

EASTMAN REED MacALPINE
McBRIDE

JOS. BRODSKY, Toastmaster

OH YES! — 50 CENTS IS YOUR ADMISSION